Food as Cultural Expression and Architectural Catalyst: A Case Study of the TIAFI Community Center in Izmir, Turkey

Aleksandar Daniel

Faculty of Architecture - Yasar University, Izmir TR

Faculty od Arts - Masaryk University, Brno CZ

### Food as Cultural Expression and Architectural Catalyst

This paper explores the role of food as an important element of cultural and architectural expression among displaced Syrians in Turkey. It focuses on the case study of the TIAFI community center in Basmane, Izmir. The paper argues that food can be a way of preserving and transmitting cultural identity, as well as creating social bonds and economic opportunities for displaced people. The paper also examines how the design of the community center facilitates these functions and reflects the values and aspirations of the displaced individuals. The study makes use of both primary information gathered through key informant interviews, observations, and document analysis as well as secondary sources from scholarly literature. The data are analyzed and the results are presented using a qualitative and interpretive approach in the study. The study adds to the growing body of knowledge in the fields of food and architecture as well as to the larger conversation about culture and migration.

# Introduction

#### **Background and Context of the Study**

The conflict in Syria has resulted in the emigration of millions of people, most of which fled to the neighboring countries such as Turkey. As the literature review suggests, food can help in the integration of displaced populations by bridging cultural divides and encouraging integration.

The TIAFI community center in Basmane, Izmir, provides an interesting case study for exploring the role of food as a crucial element of cultural and architectural expression among displaced Syrians in Turkey. For refugees to interact socially, acquire new skills, and access support services, the center is intended to provide a warm and secure environment. The centerpiece of the center is food, which fosters social connections, preserves cultural identity, and offers displaced people employment options.

The literature highlights the importance of food practices in maintaining and continuing cultural identity and the symbolic value of food consumption in maintaining a sense of home and boundaries. Additionally, kitchens are not only practical spaces but also cultural mediums capable of supporting or suppressing the practice of food traditions. Community kitchens have been shown to have a positive impact on food security, social interactions, and cooking skills for displaced individuals, but their potential in resolving issues rooted in poverty is limited.

The study, which focuses on the TIAFI Community Center, intends to investigate how food, culture, and architecture interact. The study will focus on how the design of the center supports the cultural significance of food for Syrian refugees and how it exemplifies their ideas and aspirations. The study will also concentrate on how the TIAFI Community Center's physical and psychological experiences are impacted by the use of food as a medium for social interaction and cultural expression. Ultimately, the findings of this study may contribute to the emerging field of food and architecture studies and the broader discourse on culture and displacement.

# **Research question and objectives**

1. How does the use of food as a tool for cultural expression and social bonding impact the physical and emotional experience of individuals at the TIAFI community center?

2. How does the architectural design of the TIAFI community center support the cultural significance of food for displaced Syrians?

3. What can architects and designers learn from the TIAFI community center case study to create spaces that facilitate the use of food as a tool for empowerment and integration among refugees in urban settings?

The study's primary goal is to achieve the following objectives:

1. Examine how food might be used by Syrian refugees in Turkey to showcase their culture and form bonds with each other.

2. Examine how food affects people's physical and psychological well-being in the context of a community kitchen.

3. Examine the cultural and architectural expressions associated with community cooking practices at the TIAFI community center.

4. Analyze the design elements and spatial arrangements of the TIAFI community center that facilitate food-related interactions and cultural expression.

## **Literature Review**

## The Intersection of Food, Culture, and Architecture

The literature suggests that food, culture, and kitchen architecture are intricately intertwined. Food practices are essential in preserving and continuing cultural identity (Reddy, 2020), and food consumption abroad can be symbolic of maintaining boundaries and a sense of home (Bardhi, 2010). Food selection is highly influenced by cultural identity, with individuals preferring to consume foods that symbolize their culture (Cantarero, 2013). Additionally, food can serve as a window into specific cultures, making it an effective tool for teaching concepts about culture (Long, 2001).

Culture also plays a significant role in shaping kitchen architecture (Bech-Danielsen, 2012). Kitchens have evolved from practical workspaces to central spaces in many dwellings, designed to reflect the personalities and lifestyles of their residents (Bech-Danielsen, 2012). Cultural diversity is reflected in the products and product experiences of the kitchen environment (Leur, 2006), and kitchens act as cultural mediums capable of supporting or suppressing the practice of food traditions (Hadjiyanni, 2008). Knowledge of dining culture and household chores can influence the design of optimal living conditions, including the ergonomic design of kitchen zones (Nowakowski, 2016).

In terms of community kitchens, the literature suggests that they can have a positive impact on food security, social interactions, and cooking skills, including for displaced Syrians. Community kitchens can improve food security and financial status (Ibrahim, 2019) and increase social cohesion and integration with host communities (Ibrahim, 2019). They can also improve cooking skills, social interactions, and nutritional intake (Iacovou, 2012), alleviate food insecurity and provide social interaction for socially isolated people (Furber, 2010). However, community kitchens have limited potential to resolve food security issues rooted in severe and chronic poverty because they do not alter households' economic circumstances in any substantial way (Tarasuk, 1999).

While the literature review on the relationship between food, culture, and architecture offered insightful information about the value of community kitchens in fostering food security, social interaction, and cultural preservation, it also revealed a sizable gap in the literature regarding the difficulties and opportunities associated with designing and implementing community kitchens in particular cultural contexts.

Designing a communal kitchen that satisfies the various requirements and preferences of its users can be difficult given the intricate and ever-changing nature of food practices and cultural identities. The layout, usability, and accessibility of the kitchen may also be impacted by the cultural milieu in which it is located. Therefore, a deeper investigation of the cultural and socioeconomic aspects that influence the conception and operation of community kitchens is crucial.

To address this gap in the literature, the research was focus on the design and implementation of a community kitchen in the TIAFI community, which comprises displaced Syrians and host communities in Turkey. By examining the challenges and opportunities associated with designing and implementing a community kitchen in a specific cultural context, this research aims to provide practical insights into promoting food security, social interactions, and cultural preservation in similar settings.

# Methodology

### The research design for the pilot study

To achieve the research objectives, a qualitative and interpretive approach was employed, which involved the conduct of in-depth interviews with a total of 3 participants. The sample included 1 management member of the TIAFI community center, who provided secondary source information, as well as 1 Syrian cook and 1 user of the community kitchen, who are the primary targets of the study. Due to the interviews' semi-structured format, it was possible to examine how displaced Syrians utilize food as a tool for pursuing economic opportunities, fostering social connections, and expressing their culture.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face and audio-recorded with the consent of participants. To ensure confidentiality, all personal identifiers were removed from the transcripts. In addition to interviews, participatory observations were conducted at the TIAFI center. The observation period started in the morning when the cooks begin their work and continued until the end of the day when the food is distributed, and the kitchen is cleaned. This comprehensive observation has provided insights into the entire food preparation and distribution process. The observation period lasted for one full working day.

The data obtained from the interviews and observations were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using thematic analysis, a flexible and iterative approach that allows patterns and themes to emerge from the data. The thematic analysis involved identifying recurring patterns and themes related to the cultural significance of certain foods, the role of food in social bonding and community building, and the economic opportunities that food-related activities can provide for displaced Syrians. By conducting in-depth interviews with management members, cooks, and users of the community kitchen, as well as observing the kitchen operations firsthand, this research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of food in cultural and architectural expression among displaced Syrians in Turkey and the design of the TIAFI community center. These insights will contribute to the emerging field of food and architecture studies and the broader discourse on culture and displacement.

# Sample selection and recruitment process for the pilot study

To achieve the research objectives, a qualitative and interpretive approach was employed, which involved recruiting participants who have lived in Syria long enough to be able to provide insights and comparisons regarding community cooking. A purposive sampling technique was used to select participants who possess this specific experience and can provide in-depth information about the role of food in cultural and architectural expression among displaced Syrians in Turkey.

The recruitment process involved identifying potential participants through collaboration with the TIAFI center's management team and other key informers who have a deep understanding of the community and its members. Prospective participants were approached and informed about the study's objectives, and they were invited to volunteer and share their experiences and insights.

## **Pilot study results**

## Summary of the Responses to the Interviews

### TIAFI management:

 Cultural Practices: The community kitchen serves both the displaced Syrian community and the host community (Turkish citizens) equally, promoting inclusivity.
 Cultural practices related to providing food for the community are observed, such as making extra food donations on the anniversary of someone's death, etc.

2. Communal Cooking: The kitchen team, composed of women, has limited prior experience in running kitchens. The kitchen is open, allowing people to observe the cooking process. Over time, the kitchen has expanded its operations to meet the growing demand for meals, now serving up to 615 people daily.

3. Architectural Design: The community kitchen's architectural design is primarily driven by practical considerations, such as water and electricity supply, rather than specific cultural or social elements. The kitchen is located in an old shoe factory.

4. Challenges and Barriers: Providing food has been a significant budget issue, with fluctuating food prices impacting operations. Cultural issues initially arose when a Turkish cook prepared food for primarily Syrian recipients, leading to discussions about cooking styles and preferences. The availability of food from various sources influences people's food choices.

5. Growth and Future Planning: The demand for meals has increased significantly over the years, with the number of portions served rising from 60 daily to an average of over 500, with peaks reaching 615. Strategies like equipment replacement and increased efficiency are being considered. 6. Cultural Elements in Cooking: The community kitchen procures bread from a local bakery, which may differ from the traditional bread-making process mentioned by the cooks. Certain Syrian bread-making practices may be challenging to replicate in the community kitchen due to time, space, and resource constraints.

# TIAFI cook:

1. Cooking Experience: The participant had previous cooking experience in their own house in Syria, primarily for their family. However, they mention that cooking for larger gatherings, such as weddings, Eid celebrations, and Ramadan, is a cultural practice in Syria. They have never worked as a professional cook before.

2. Syrian Flavor and Style: The participant tries to replicate the Syrian flavor and cooking style in the community center kitchen. However, they face obstacles due to the availability of spices and differences in kitchen equipment.

3. Differences in Kitchen Setup: The community center kitchen is larger than the participants' kitchen in Syria, but they feel that their Syrian kitchen was more unique and had everything they needed. They miss specific tools and machines, such as the kibbeh machine, which they cannot use in the community center kitchen due to time constraints.

4. Varied Food Preferences: The participant mentions that there are differences in food preferences and cooking styles between Syria and the community center. For example, the community center's lentil soup includes additional ingredients like carrots and potatoes, while in Syria, they only use lentils.

5. Positive Reception of Syrian Food: The Syrian style of cooking, with its unique flavors and vibrant colors, is well-liked by the community. Syrians cooking in the community kitchen are appreciated, as people enjoy the Syrian influence in the food. (Unconfirmed by

observation, might be because homemade food was vegetarian while brought food was with meat.)

6. Work Hours and Staffing: The participant works approximately eight to ten hours daily, with occasional changes in assistants and volunteers. Having assistants and working with people from various cultures has helped the participant to make friends and meaningful connections.

7. Standing Fatigue: Standing for long hours in the kitchen is a challenge for the participant. They suggest having options like stools or a way to take a break from standing to reduce physical fatigue.

8. Recipes and Traditional Knowledge: The participant relies on inherited knowledge from their parents, grandparents, and mother-in-law for recipes. However, they also adapt to the availability of ingredients and try new combinations to create new dishes.

9. Personal Growth and Career Development: Working in the community kitchen has provided the participant with a routine and a sense of purpose. It has helped them support their family financially, learn some English and Turkish, and develop their cooking skills by experimenting with new recipes.

10. Ideal Kitchen Modifications: The participant suggests design changes in the community center kitchen, such as incorporating a furnace-like cooking area with hidden storage, using marble or stone countertops for practicality and durability, and implementing accordion doors to indicate the kitchen's open or closed status.

# The user of the community kitchen:

1. Homemade bread: The participant's family made bread at home due to limited access to the city and a lack of transportation. This was a common practice among the farming community. Homemade bread was preferred for its taste, health benefits, and convenience of making it whenever needed. Observation in rural settings also confirms the significance of homemade bread for displaced individuals.

2. Community cooperation: In the participant's culture, there was a tradition of distributing flour among neighbors during special occasions like weddings. The flour was used to make bread, then shared among the community. This practice exemplified solidarity and cooperation within the community.

3. Cultural significance of food: Food was closely tied to cultural identity and personal memories. Certain smells, flavors, and dishes reminded the participant of their homeland, family, and specific experiences. The participant found comfort and a sense of home when consuming traditional Syrian food. However, serving food in a community kitchen is more individualistic. In the homeland people would share one big pot, in TIAFI everyone gets an individual portion which lowers the "grand feeling" of eating together.

4. Adaptation to a new environment: The participant mentioned that the food in their current location was not 100% similar to the food in Syria. Due to the unavailability of certain ingredients and the need for mass production, some adjustments were made to recipes and cooking techniques. However, the participant's partner cooked more traditional Syrian dishes at home, utilizing the necessary equipment and having more time for preparation.

5. Gender roles in cooking: In the participant's culture, women, especially the elderly, were primarily responsible for cooking traditional dishes, particularly during special occasions. However, men were responsible for activities like butchering and preparing animals for food. Based on gender roles and specialization, there existed a distinct division of work.

6. Socializing and knowledge transfer: Cooking and food preparation have traditionally provided valuable opportunities for social interaction, fostering bonding, and the transmission of culinary knowledge across generations within Syrian culture. Women would gather on special occasions to engage in cooking activities, exchange recipes, and preserve culinary traditions. Additionally, this communal practice often served as a platform for matchmaking and the identification of suitable spouses within the community. However, within the context of the TIAFi community center, the participant's experience differs. The constantly changing guest hinders the establishment of lasting connections, resulting in a lack of a cohesive sense of community. Consequently, food primarily fulfills a functional purpose rather than facilitating socialization and networking. The participant has not been able to forge any significant relationships, suggesting that the communal dining experience at TIAFI lacks the potential for meaningful connections.

Moreover, the absence of privacy further emphasizes that the participant does not perceive dining at TIAFI as an opportunity for networking. This indicates that the primary focus is on fulfilling basic nutritional needs rather than utilizing mealtime as a platform for building social connections.

7. Separation of genders during meals: In the participant's cultural context, there was a prevalent tradition of segregating men and women during meals, particularly on special occasions. The conservative nature of the culture at the time was reflected in this practice. However, there is more tolerance for mixed-gender dining in the current setting, where both men and women eat together. It is important to note that in the observation study, It was noticed that individuals tend to spontaneously form gendered groups during mealtime.

8. Different dining setups: In the participant's country, eating on the floor was common for their family, while some people in the city used tables and benches. In the current location, tables and benches were used. The choice of dining setup varied based on social and economic factors.

9. Natural element: Participants' preferences and experiences suggest that he values outdoor dining for its natural and open atmosphere, which may remind him of his home

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country. (TIAFI has an indoor dining room) Furthermore, he appreciates the use of natural materials like clay, wood, and marble, likely for their aesthetic and cultural significance.

### Discussion

# Interpretation of the results in relation to the research question and objectives

The findings of the study provide valuable insights into the role of food as a tool for cultural expression and social bonding at the TIAFI community center in Izmir, Turkey. The interpretation of the results in relation to the research question and objectives is as follows:

1. The use of food as a tool for cultural expression and social bonding impacts the physical and emotional experience of individuals at the TIAFI community center. The community kitchen serves as a space where both the displaced Syrian community and the host Turkish community come together, fostering inclusivity and promoting social interactions. Cultural practices related to providing food for the community are observed, such as the commemoration of anniversaries through donations and the preparation of specific Syrian dishes. The communal cooking process allows people to observe food preparation, creating a sense of connection.

2. The architectural design of the TIAFI community center supports the cultural significance of food for displaced Syrians to some extent. While the design was primarily driven by practical considerations, the open layout of the kitchen allows for transparency and visibility, enabling people to witness the cooking process. However, there is no explicit incorporation of specific cultural elements from Syria into the architectural design.

3. Architects and designers can learn from the TIAFI community center case study to create spaces that facilitate the use of food as a tool for empowerment and integration among

displaced communities in urban settings. The study highlights the importance of considering cultural practices and preferences when designing community kitchens. Providing opportunities for cultural expression, social interaction, and economic empowerment through food-related activities should be central to the design process. Furthermore, addressing budgetary constraints and ensuring the scalability and efficiency of kitchen operations are crucial for meeting the growing demand and maximizing the impact of such spaces.

# Implications of the findings for architects designing for refugee communities

The findings of the study have several implications for architects and urban planners who are involved in designing spaces for refugee communities:

 Cultural Sensitivity: Architects should be aware of the cultural significance of food for displaced populations and incorporate this understanding into the design process.
 Understanding the food traditions, cooking practices, and cultural preferences of the community can help create spaces that are sensitive to their needs and promote cultural expression.

2. Inclusive Spaces: The study highlights the importance of designing inclusive spaces that promote social interaction and integration between displaced populations and the host community. Community kitchens, like the one at the TIAFI center, can serve as a meeting point where different cultures can come together. Architects should consider the layout and design elements that encourage social connections and facilitate interactions between individuals from different backgrounds.

3. Flexible Design: Designers should prioritize flexibility in the design of community kitchens to accommodate diverse cooking practices and preferences. The kitchen should be adaptable to different cultural traditions, cooking techniques, and equipment requirements.

Providing a variety of cooking tools and appliances can empower displaced individuals to recreate their traditional dishes and maintain a sense of cultural identity.

4. User Participation: Involving the end-users, such as the displaced population, in the design process can lead to more effective and culturally sensitive solutions. Architects should engage with the community to understand their specific needs and aspirations related to food, cooking, and cultural expression. Participatory design processes can help create spaces that are truly responsive to the community's desires and facilitate a sense of ownership.

5. Efficient and Scalable Designs: Architects should consider practical constraints and budgetary limitations when designing community kitchens. Design solutions should aim to maximize efficiency in food preparation and distribution processes while ensuring scalability to meet the growing demand. This includes considering factors like storage space, workflow optimization, and equipment selection that can contribute to the long-term sustainability of the kitchen.

6. Integration of Cultural Elements: While the architectural design of the community center should prioritize practical considerations, incorporating cultural elements from the displaced population's heritage can enhance the sense of belonging and cultural expression. Architects can explore ways to integrate symbolic elements, materials, or spatial arrangements that reflect the cultural identity and aspirations of the community.

# **Suggestions for future research**

Future research can further explore the role of food as a cultural expression and architectural catalyst among displaced populations. Some suggestions for future research:

1. User-Centered Design: Conducting research focusing on user-centered design approaches to community kitchens. Exploring how participatory design processes involving displaced populations can result in culturally sensitive and empowering kitchen spaces. This research can highlight the importance of involving end-users in the design and planning stages to ensure the community kitchen meets their specific needs and aspirations.

2. Comparative Study: Conduction of a comparative study of different community centers or refugee camps in different locations to examine how the design and implementation of community kitchens vary based on cultural contexts and the specific needs of the displaced populations. This research can provide insights into the cultural adaptations and architectural considerations necessary for successful integration and empowerment.

3. Social and Cultural Impact: Examination of the links between displaced and local residents as well as the broader social and cultural effects of community kitchens on host communities. Exploring the ways in which community kitchens can promote kinship, intercultural communication, and understanding, enhancing the general health of the neighborhood.

4. Longitudinal Study: To determine the long-term effects of community kitchens on the social, cultural, and economic well-being of displaced communities, such a study would provide a better understanding of how cultural traditions, social dynamics, and economic possibilities evolve over time and how community kitchens can have a transforming effect.

# Conclusion

# Summary of the key findings

1. Cultural Significance: All three interviews emphasize the cultural significance of food and cooking practices. Traditional dishes, flavors, and cooking techniques are important for maintaining cultural identity and providing a sense of home for displaced individuals. The community kitchen and the cooks try to incorporate these cultural elements into the meals, although they face challenges in replicating certain practices and flavors due to limitations in resources, ingredients, and equipment.

2. Demand and Growth: There is a consistent theme of the growing demand for meals in the community kitchen. The number of portions served has increased significantly over time, indicating a rising need for communal cooking services. However, the limited space of the kitchen presents a challenge for expanding the operations. The interviews suggest that strategies such as equipment replacement and increased efficiency are being considered to address this issue.

3. Challenges and Adaptation: Various challenges are mentioned across the interviews, including budget issues, fluctuating food prices, cultural differences, and availability of ingredients. The cooks, as well as the community kitchen users, have had to adapt their cooking practices and recipes to the new environment, making adjustments due to constraints and the need for mass production. This adaptation sometimes leads to differences in flavors and preferences between the original cuisine and the food served in the community kitchen.

4. Gender Roles and Socializing: The interviews highlight the role of women in cooking traditional dishes, particularly during special occasions, and the importance of food as a platform for socializing, bonding, and sharing knowledge. However, in the community kitchen dining set, the socializing aspect is limited due to frequent changes in guests and a lack of meaningful connections among them. The separation of genders during meals, a common practice in the participant's home country, is not strictly observed in the community kitchen.

5. Kitchen Design and Functionality: The architectural design of the community kitchen is primarily driven by practical considerations, such as water and electricity supply, rather than incorporating specific cultural or social elements. The cooks mention missing certain tools and machines from their original kitchens, and they suggest modifications to the community center kitchen to improve functionality and replicate some elements of their Syrian kitchens.

6. Personal Growth and Empowerment: The interviews reveal that working in the community kitchen has provided opportunities for personal growth, career development, and a sense of purpose for the cooks. They have learned new languages, developed their cooking skills, made friends, and supported their families financially through their work in the kitchen.

7. New primary interview group: A newly identified primary interview group consists of individuals who receive food assistance but do not have access to the community kitchen's dining area. Instead, they receive their meals exclusively at the counter. This revelation came after discovering that the community kitchen's dining area is primarily utilized by TIAFI service users, accompanied by their children and some individuals with disabilities. The majority of food recipients, however, rely on take-away food support rather than dining onsite.

# Limitations of the study and recommendations for improvement

# Limitations:

1. Language Barriers: The researchers' native language is Slovak, while the interviews were conducted in English. However, the native language of the cook and the user of the community kitchen is Arabic. This language difference may have led to potential miscommunications or difficulties in fully understanding and capturing the participants' experiences and perspectives.

2. Small Sample Size: The study only includes a total of 3 participants, including 1 management member, 1 Syrian cook, and 1 user of the community kitchen. The small sample size limits the generalizability of the findings and reduces the sample's representation of the greater community of displaced Syrians. The study should be considered a pilot study rather than an in-depth examination of the topic.

3. Limited Scope: The study focuses on the case study of the TIAFI community center in Basmane, Izmir. While this case study provides valuable insights, it may not fully capture the diversity of experiences and perspectives among displaced Syrians in Turkey.

# Suggestions for Improvement:

1. Language Support: Professional bilingual interpreters or translators who can facilitate effective communication between the researchers and participants would provide better results.

2. Increased Sample Size: The validity and generalizability of the results would be improved by doing a larger study with a more varied sample.

3. Mixed Methods Approach: Incorporating quantitative methods alongside qualitative approaches would provide a more comprehensive analysis. Surveys or questionnaires could be used to collect quantitative data on participants' perceptions of the cultural significance of food and the impact of the community kitchen on their well-being.

4. Longer Observation Period: Extending the observation period beyond a single working day would allow for a more in-depth understanding of the daily operations and dynamics of the community kitchen. Observing the kitchen operations over an extended period would capture variations and patterns that may not be evident in a single-day observation.

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# Appendices

# **Deep interview scenario**

# For TIAFI management:

1. Could you share any cultural practices or experiences you have observed within the displaced community where individuals cooked for larger groups?

2. How does the design of the community kitchen impact the functionality and accessibility for both the cooks and users?

3. In what ways does the architectural design of the community kitchen incorporate cultural and social considerations?

4. Have there been any challenges or barriers during the implementation of the architectural design, and how were they addressed?

# For Cooks:

1. Have you encountered any cultural experiences or practices within your community where communal cooking for larger groups was common? How does this influence your approach to cooking in the community center?

2. How do the layout and design of the community kitchen affect your cooking process, and how have you adapted to the space?

3. How does the architectural design of the community kitchen facilitate cultural exchange and interaction among the cooks and users?

4. Are there any specific design elements or features in the community kitchen that have been particularly helpful or challenging for your cooking process?

For People using the community kitchen to receive food:

1. Have you had any prior cultural experiences where communal cooking for larger groups of people was common? How does your experience at the community center compare?

2. How does the architectural design of the community kitchen contribute to the comfort and accessibility of the space for receiving food?

3. Have you noticed any cultural or social elements in the design of the community kitchen that have contributed to your sense of belonging and community within TIAFI?



Photos of TIAFI kitchen area:

 $Fig. \ 1-Picture \ of \ the \ Kitchen$ 



Fig. 2 – Picture of the dining area and the kitchen





| Fig. 3 – Take-away setting for users of TIAFI food <i>support</i> | Fig. 4 – Example of a dish. Bulgur   |
|---|--------------------------------------|
|   | with beef, and beans in tomato sauce |
|   | (prepared outside the TIAFI), and    |
|   | mushrooms and vegetables prepared    |
|   | by TIAFI cooks                       |