

THE EMERGENCE OF THE KITCHEN AS AN OBJECT FOR CONSPICUOUS
CONSUMPTION

A Master's Thesis

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September 2016



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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

By

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

THE DEPARTMENT OF
MANAGEMENT
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

September 2016

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Management



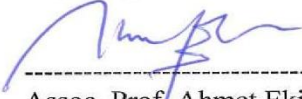
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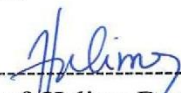
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ABSTRACT

THE EMERGENCE OF THE KITCHEN AS AN OBJECT FOR CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

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September 2016

The meaning of kitchen has changed overtime. Kitchen was perceived as a factory where food was produced for the consumption of the dwellers of the house and has more recently become a space for leisure and living (Hand & Shove, 2004), gaining the status of the “symbolic heart” of the house (Meah, 2016). Along with the change in its meaning, the kitchen has also become part of the public space of the house. The kitchen’s becoming part of the public space in the house has been an evolving process overtime where other factors also contribute in the integration of the kitchen into the public space. One of these factors is the response of the market to an occurring social change. One of the major changes that have taken place in social demographics is the increase of women into work force and emergence of time scarcity (Jabs & Devine, 2006). The market has responded to this by introducing convenience food and kitchen appliances which make the cooking process more efficient and quicker (Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). As kitchen

has become part of the public space of the house the products available for kitchen have increased in variety. People consume certain goods for not only their functionality but also for their symbolic meaning to show to their environment. Such consumption is known as conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1899). So far literature has explored conspicuous consumption over a product which already has a symbolic meaning. In this research instead of looking at a given product or an object, I trace the role of the kitchen becoming conspicuous from being inconspicuous or a hidden place in the house to make it an object for conspicuous consumption. In order to do this research my context is Turkey, I take the new middle class of Turkey to trace the changes in the kitchen. I have collected data from Hürriyet Real Estate, Mimarlik Magazine and YDA Construction. The data collected from these sources was analyzed through visual content analysis. I present my argument how we can look at the kitchen as an object for conspicuous consumption.

Keywords: Conspicuous Consumption, Kitchen, Time scarcity,

ÖZET

MUTFAĞIN GÖSTERİŞÇİ TÜKETİM OBJE OLMASININ OLUŞUMDAKİ SÜREÇLER

Mahmud, Syed Shahid

Yüksek Lisans, İşletme Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Güliz Ger

Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Olga Kravets

Temmuz 2016

Son zamanlarda mutfak anlamı değişmektedir. Mutfak daha önce yemek üreten bir fabrika olarak algılanırken, günümüzde yaşam alanı olarak anlam kazanmıştır (Hand & Shove, 2004). Mutfak anlamının değişmesi yanı sıra, mutfak evin kamuya açık olan alana dâhil olmuştur. Evin kamu alanında, hane halkı dış çevresini ağırlar (Giuliani, 1987). Mutfak evin kamu bölgesine dâhil olması evrimsel bir süreçten geçmiştir ve bunun gerçekleşmesi için bir den fazla sebep neden olmuştur. Bu sebeplerden bir tanesi sosyal yapıdaki yaşanan değişiktir ve bu değişikliğe piyasa tarafından gelen tepkidir. Son zamanlarda kadınların iş gücüne dâhil olmasından dolayı ev işleri için zaman kıtlığı doğmuştur (Jabs & Devine, 2006). Piyasa ise buna tepki olarak yeni hazır yemekler ve pratik mutfak ürünler sunmuştur (Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). Mutfak evin kamu bölgesine dahil olması birlikte, piyasada mutfak ürün çeşitliliği artmıştır. İnsanlar tüketimi ürünün kullanım değerini ötesine sembolik değerler içinde yapmaktadırlar. Bu tarz tüketim gösterişçi tüketim diye adlandırılmıştır (Veblen, 1899). Türkiye’de yeni orta sınıfın

tüketim alışkanlıkları batı ülkelere takıp etmektedir. Bu çalışma mutfakın evin kamu alalında birleşmesini ve bu sebepten dolayı tüketim obje haline gelmesine sunmaktadır.

Bu çalışmayı için Hürriyet Emlak, Mimarlık Dergi, ve YDA İnşattan toplanmıştır.

Toplanan veri görsel içerik analiz yöntem ile analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelime: Gösterişçi Tüketim, Mutfak, Zaman Kısıtlılığı,



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Olga Kravets, for her valuable guidance throughout the development of the research presented in this thesis. I would also like to thank the jury members. Prof. Güliz Ger, Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Ekici and Assoc. Prof. Berna Tarı Kasnakoğlu, for being part of the jury on a very short notice and their valuable comments and feedback.

I would like to thank Mrs. Remin Tantoğlu, the graduate program coordinator, for her extraordinary effort, help and support in going through all the bureaucratic procedures which made sure that I could defend my thesis on time. I would also like to thank Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Önder, the academic advisor, who guided me throughout my turbulent phases during the master's program.

I would like to thank my parents, brother and my sister for their patience for the past three years. They have always encouraged me, which made sure that I could complete my journey. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Burçak Baş and Forrest Watson. Both have been very supportive in the development of this thesis. They have provided with suggestions and ideas that are actually amongst the major building blocks of this research.

I also appreciate the patience of my friends Utku Özsesi Çağdaş Savaş and Samet Dönmez. They were always there to motivate me during the hard times. I would like to thank all of my colleagues and my office mates, Murat Tiniç, Ecem Cephe and John

Omole, for their support and making sure the time spent during the master program was enjoyable.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Thorstein Veblen coined the term conspicuous consumption more than a hundred years ago. The basic idea behind his theory was that people consume certain goods for the purpose of display of their economic power rather than actually needing the product for its function. Veblen presented this theory in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* in 1899. The theory came from looking at the people who had accumulated wealth during the second industrial revolution in the 1860s. With the accumulation of wealth, a new upper class had formed. This new upper class with the display of certain products were able to manifest their social power and prestige. The display of power could be real or perceived. In the 20th century, there was an increase in an overall living standard. This led to the emergence of a new middle class. This new middle class also tend to behave in a similar way as the upper class from the second industrial revolution. Also in the 20th century other lower class use consumption as tool to hide poverty (Postrel, 2008). Therefore, people can consume conspicuously across different socio-economic class. Further research regarding what factors help to consumer conspicuously have shown the price tag of a product (Chen et al., 2008;

Kastanakis and Balabanis, 2014) and/or aesthetics (Woodside, 2012) of the product are the signals that communicate to the social class. This communication takes place due to the symbolic value the product carries (Trigg, 2001).

The notion of conspicuous consumption has been mostly looked through a product or a combination of a few products. Yet conspicuously consuming spaces in houses as an object have not been directly studied. There is a study by Spigel (2005) which talks about smart houses and how this notion makes the consumption of the house conspicuous. But there is not much work on how or why certain spaces within the house become an object for consumption and conspicuous consumption. The kitchen is one of the spaces that have become part of the public space of the house recently (Giuliani, 1987). This movement has been very fast over the past few years (Meah, 2016). The kitchen which used be perceived as a factory to produce food (Meah, 2016) and was hidden, has become a place for leisure and living (Hand & Shove, 2004). This has completely changed the way the kitchen looks today. In this thesis, I present how kitchen's movement from being an inconspicuous space to conspicuous space makes it an object for conspicuous consumption. The data I used, has shown how the overall appearance of the kitchen has changed with the integration of the kitchen into the public space of the house and made it conspicuous.

The literature review for thesis traces the factors outside the house has that have made the kitchen part of the public space of the house. In order to understand the movement, the role social change has played has been presented. In addition to the social change, the literature also helps to trace how the market has been responding to the social changes by developing new products. The literature actually shows that there is a constants iteration

between social change and the product market offers. The market constantly comes up with new products which help people to negotiate with the social change. Through advertisements they communicate how the new product would make the life easier of the user. The market further intensifies a social change by coming up with a product that tells the people how important it is for them to cope with a certain change.

The research context for this study is Ankara, which is the capital city of Turkey. Turkey is an emerging market which has gone through many changes in a very short time. In the 1980s, Turkey had a policy change which gave more power to private sector. As result Turkey became more open and familiar with global products and trends. Due to the change in policy, the emergence of a new middle class started to take place. The new middle class of Turkey was defined as educated young professionals who did not follow the traditional Turkish values and customs but rather followed the global trends. This new middle class is focused in big metropolitan cities of Turkey such as Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara. The females of this new middle class also take part in the workforce and therefore face similar challenges as mentioned above (Karademir, 2009). The emergence of convenience food sector (Ayyildiz & Keskin, 2010) and kitchen related appliance (Fendal, 2012) can also be seen in Turkey. The new middle class of Turkey follows the global consumption trends (Karademir, 2009) therefore, in this study I have taken my context as Ankara since that is one of the cities in which they dwell and also since their consumption habits can be triangulated with the western consumption patterns.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I present the relevant theoretical and contextual literature. I will explain what conspicuous consumption is and how the theory has evolved overtime. Then I will explain the interplay that takes place between social

change and the market. Finally, I will explain the meaning of the house and the kitchen and they have evolved.

In the third chapter, I will give information regarding my data sources and their relevance for this thesis. Secondly, I will explain how the data was collected. Finally, I will explain the methods used to analyze the data collected from the respective data sources

In the fourth chapter of this thesis, I will explain the themes emerged from the data using the methods explained in the previous chapter. In the fifth chapter, I present the discussion in line with the research question of this thesis and establish a bridge between the literature and the findings of this thesis. In the last chapter of this thesis, I summarize the main contribution of this thesis and the limitation and prospects for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I will provide the relevant theoretical and contextual literature review. I will provide the development in the literature regarding conspicuous consumption, social change overtime and the literature regarding the house and the kitchen.

In the following section, I will define what conspicuous consumption is and how it has evolved overtime. Also I will present the literature which outlines the dimensions involved in conspicuous consumption.

2.1. Conspicuous consumption

Conspicuous consumption is a very old term introduced by Veblen (1899) in consumer behavior. The basic idea behind conspicuous consumption is that people may consumer certain products to display their wealth instead of really needing the product for its functional value. Based on Veblen's theory on conspicuous consumption, further research has suggested that people choose certain products to communicate their characteristics and identities that they want to show (Solomon, 1983). The communication of desired identity and characteristics are assisted by brands. The logos, designs and symbols used on the product communicate the association of the product to a brand (Berger & Ward, 2010). The brand already in the market has a perceived financial value known to people.

Based on this perception of price associated to a product, people are able to link the possession of a certain product to the social status of the possessor.

Through conspicuous consumption a person is able to communicate his/her wealth by displaying expensive products, get attention to his/her wealth and it also helps to satisfy and inflate the ego (Veblen, 1934). Products that are conspicuously consumed, as mentioned earlier, also help a person to satisfy their social needs in addition to the functional needs of the product (Belk, 1988; Grubb and Grathwohl, 1967). This is achieved by the being able to display the product visually and by using the products when others are present (O'Cass and McEwen, 2004).

The modernization of Veblen's work came by Duesenberry (1949). Duesenberry introduced a new term called the bandwagon effect. The bandwagon effect basically states that people consume certain products to preserve their self-esteem in order to "keep up with the Joneses" (McCormick, 1983). In other words, the purchase and consumption of certain products done by people is in relation to what is usual to their reference group and the product satisfaction is achieved by the reaction of the audience (Wong, 1997). Further work on both Veblen's theory and Duesenberry's bandwagon effect was done by Mason (1981). Mason introduced the relationship between snob effect and conspicuous consumption. Snob effect basically states that people for whom their social status is important reject the consumption or the possession of product which are possessed by common populace. As a result, such people only possess products that have limited availability. Such exclusive consumption helps them preserve their social prestige (Mason, 1981).

In addition to Veblen, Duesenberry and Mason, recent work has shown that conspicuous consumption has moved from an exclusive behavior to mass consumption although the elitists are trying to keep it exclusive (Page, 1992). Trigg (2001), shows that since there is multiplicity in symbolic meanings, conspicuous consumption has become more sophisticated and subtle. Studies have shown that for certain groups, conspicuous consumption is a way through which they get themselves recognized to a certain social group by the symbolic value of the product they consume and are able to show their wealth (Chen et al., 2008; Kastanakis and Balabanis, 2014). In addition, they are also able to display their high self-concept (Sirgy, 1982; Kastanakis and Balabanis, 2014) and uniqueness (Tepper-Tian et al., 2001).

Apart from the monetary value of a product, fashion has also emerged as one of the major components of conspicuous consumption. The fashion dimension of conspicuous consumption is composed of the product design and style. This plays an important role regarding the presentation or the aesthetics of the product rather than its functional value (Rahman, Jiang and Liu, 2010). As a result, people with superior taste but not monetarily strong enough can compete with those who are financially strong but have no taste in order to join a social group (Chaudhuri & Majumdar, 2006). Therefore, for conspicuous consumption the fashion dimension also plays an important role in addition to the monetary value. Recent studies provide evidence of the dual perspective on conspicuous consumption. Woodside (2012) found in study on fashion marketing that both design and price could act as conspicuous symbols. The study done by Kapferer and Michaut (2015) regarding luxury and suitability show that luxury can be signaled through both aesthetic and price.

In the following section, I will explain and identify the change in social demographics relevant for this thesis. Then I will explain how the market responds to the occurring social change.

2.2. Change in social demographics and emergence of time scarcity

Over the past few decades the social demographics have been changing. One of the main change that has occurred is the significant increase in the participation of females in the labor force. The participation of the female in the labor force is not confined to any parental or social status (Oropesa, 1993). In the United States, in 1975, 40% of the women were part of the working force and this number increased to 53% by 1987 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1988). Although the rate of increase of women participation as labor force in Turkey has not been as high as the United States,

Turkey has different dynamics when we look at its social structure and employment structure when compared with the western countries. Since the policy change in the 1980s, the new middle class has emerged (Karademir, 2009). Turkey has a huge difference in the way of living in its urban population versus rural population. The focus of this thesis is the new middle class in Turkey since they follow the global consumption trends (Öncü, 1997). The demographics composition of this new middle class is basically made of young professional who work in various services sectors. Roughly 70% of this new middle class is between the age group of 25 to 45 (Karademir, 2009). The participation of female from this new middle class into workforce is about 45% (Karademir, 2009).

The increase in participation of female in the workforce has lead to the emergence of certain phenomena. Individuals feel short of time while doing certain daily activities (Robinson 1990). Although women have joined the workforce along with their husbands yet much of the household work responsibility still remain with the women since the husbands do not actively participate in household work (Thompson and Walker 1989).

As a result, we see the emergence of the concept of time scarcity in industrialized societies (Jabs & Devine, 2006; Zuzanek, Becker, & Peters, 1998). Time scarcity is the feeling that there is not enough time to complete all the task within a day (Godbey, Lifset, & Robinson, 1998). The emergence of this feeling comes due to the fact that both the husband and the wife are working (Daly, 1996). Since people also want to maximize the time for leisure and socialization (Jabs & Devine, 2006) they have to develop new venues to socialize and cope with time scarcity. This change has also affected within family socialization. Since both the parents are working and the roles of the parents are no longer defined by gender (Barnett & Hyde, 2001), parents have to find ways through which they can socialize with their children. One of the strategies to have time for within family socialization is to make the food preparation a joint activity. A focus group study conducted by Fulkerson et al, (2001) with working parent who had school-aged children show that the parents prefer to prepare the meal together with their children. By doing so they are able to spend time with their children while preparing the meal and maximize the time they can spend with their children while they socialize.

The emergence of the concept of time scarcity is associated with the movement towards industrialization and urbanization of societies (Gross & Sheth, 1989). This movement has made time valuable and therefore, use of time efficiently has become very important.

According to an economic perspective, with increase in productivity due to industrialization time has become important (Linder, 1980). From a sociologic point of view urbanization and industrialization with social interdependence has fractionalized, synchronized and has given more control of use of time to individuals (Lewis & Weigert, 1981). In addition, literature from these different disciplines have also shown that developing societies when compared with less developed societies feel that time is a scarce resource (Gross, 1987).

With the realization of time scarcity, time and labor saving products have made the feeling of lack of time even more intense. Such products have encouraged people to maintain high housekeeping standards and have administrated the increase in consumption (Cowan, 1983). The role of advertisements in the process and how they have evolved overtime has been studied Gross & Seath (1989) in their study. The authors have done a content analysis of the advertisements published in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Their findings show that in the late 1800s and the early 1900s the advertisement targeted the housewife who were responsible for maintaining an efficient and hygienic house. Also the authors note that the advertisements focused on the core purpose of the product rather than any time dimension. Between the 1920s and 1930s the study shows that although the prime function of the product was still the main focus but the notion of time started to emerge in some advertisements.

With the involvement of women in the second world war, the orientation of the advertisement changed dramatically. Since the women took part in the war, they had to divide their time for housework. As a result, advertisements of products during the war years simply focused on the time dimension. The advertisements tried to communicate

that how their products help save time. After the war when men came back, the women could dedicate more of their time on housework but even with this development the concept of convenience products emerged. The advertisements focused more on instant food products and tried to communicate that time saving dimension by using their products. During the 1960s and 1970s although the time dimension in the advertisements varied but still it was an important attribute of the products which were advertised. 1980s onward the concept of time became a value attribute. Since doing housework still remained with the women, yet advertisement of products that were in the magazine emphasized on time saving in household products. This study shows how the market through products and their advertisement further vocalize the need of the time. From the results of the study it can also be inferred that how the role of women changed overtime and also how the requirement of household products also changed simultaneously complementing each other.

The ready frozen food or convenience food sector started to show its place since the 1980s in Turkey. Over the past 30 years it has technologically improved and today it meets the western standard of production (Ayyildiz & Keskin, 2010). Although the average per head consumption of convenience food is very low for Turkey when compared with western countries (Gündüz & Murat, 2010) however when the average per head consumption is looked at only metropolitan cities in Turkey, the average gets close to the averages of western countries (Keskin, 2002). One of the reason identified for the increase preference of convenience food consumption in Turkey is due to the practical efficiency gained in terms of saving time to prepare a meal for female who work (Çurkan et al, 2012). A similar trend as for the case for kitchen appliances is also true in

Turkey. There has been a significant increase in production of kitchen appliances in Turkey. Local companies have also emerged to produce kitchen appliances which make the process of cooking easier. The Turkish coffee maker is a good example since it is an appliance targeted directly to accommodate local culture (Fendal, 2012).

In the following section, I will present the relevant literature regarding the house. The focus of the literature review is to understand meaning of the house and how it has been perceived overtime. Also I will highlight the meaning of the house in collective and individualistic societies.

2.3. The house

The meaning of house has been evolving with time. But at the very core, the least common function of the house has been to provide shelter. With its core to provide shelter to its dwellers, the way a house was decorated has varied with many reasons. Over different periods of history, the house has been used for rituals, ceremonies and religious ceremonies (MacCorquodale, 1983). However, with the progress of time and modernization, house can be perceived as the symbol of the self (Copper, 1974). House can also represent something which shows the relationship between its dwellers and the environment (Dovey, 1983).

How a house can be defined as different experiences has been categorized by Sixsmith (1986). Sixsmith comes up with three divisions regarding the modes of experiences. These modes are the physical home, the social home and the personal home. The physical home mainly involves household facilities, everyday modern conveniences, style of architecture, and living accommodations that afford opportunities for activities. The

social home mainly consists of relationships with others within a shared space. The personal home can be viewed as an extension of oneself, of one's own desires, feelings, hopes and actions.

On a similar account to Sixsmith, Giuliani (1987) provides the historicity of the house. He states that house can be further divided into spaces. The private space and public space. The private space is basically used by the dwellers of that house whereas the public space is where the dwellers interact with their environment. However, he further points out the spaces in the house are not static in terms of their category and a space which is private can become public and vice versa.

After evaluating the house as a space, it is worth understanding the meaning of house and how it has transformed over time in different societies. In order to do so it is worth going over Duncan's (1982) account where he compares the role and meaning of the house in a collectivist social structure and individualistic social structure. In order to conduct his study, he has evaluated the traditional royal families of Hyderabad, India with more sort of a new generation families again located in different neighborhood of Hyderabad, India. Although this is his only context but his study is in line with the study of Herbert Gans (1982), *The Urban Villagers*, which was conducted in Boston and had similar findings. Therefore, his findings can be generalized in that sense.

In order to understand the difference between the two types of social structures, Duncan provides the account how people define their social status in each type of social structure. For elite traditional family which comes from more of a collectivistic social structure, the symbol for wealth was the ceremonies that were organized. These ceremonies include wedding, funerals and huge family get together and in order to show the social status

people tried make such events as lavish as possible. Therefore, the meaning of prestige for such traditional families came by spending their income and wealth for a collective benefit. On the other hand, for the more sort of individualistic people a good life-style was the symbol for their status. They achieved this by consumption. As Duncan emphasizes the most important consumption for individualistic group was their house, therefore the location of the house and how it was decorated had an important role.

In addition to the argument that in individualistic social structures house represents the social status, Loyd (1981) argues that with emergence of a distinct middle class the house as a social status has become more important. The types of houses that are available, are being designed in way that they can also be used as a way to express social status. Although someone may own a good house the interior of the house requires cleaning, rearranging and reevaluation on a more frequent basis.

Duncan also notes the gender segregation in both social structures. For the collectivistic social structure, the role of the women was more in the private space of the house and would not really leave that space. Whereas for the male, he could go around and could socialize outside. Female are basically of low status and have passive social role compared to the male who have a rather high status and are more active in terms of their social role. Whereas the individualistic social structure is concerned, they are relatively more open social group. Meaning that they easily incorporate or socialize with people they do not know. There is a competing value system and people in this social structure try to keep up with emerging trends. There is more freedom for individual choice regardless of the person's gender. Also people in individualistic social structure are ready to relocate themselves for their interests. The other important difference is that both

gender socialize together instead of male being the dominant socializer himself.

Therefore, the use of the house as socializing space become more prominent.

Putnam (1999) provides another interesting account of the house. He provides the phases through which the house has transformed in modern and postmodern era. With the advancement in the main infrastructure of energy and telecommunication on the macro level, the incorporation of the house into the system was important. Between 1920s and 1960s the reconfiguration process started. The designs of the house were made in the fashion such that the house could incorporate itself and benefit from the energy and communication infrastructure. The following phase is more about more about the changes in living the mode. Putman puts this phase as “artificial” because in this phase there has not been much dynamic physical change. During this phase most of the changes that have occurred with the house are due to changes in social structures. Examples of the changes in social structure will be presented more in more details in the following sections but to give an example for such change can be the movement towards living a more individualistic life.

So far we have looked at the house as a space and its meanings. It is also important to understand that how the house is filled with objects and what may be the possible reasons for choice of a particular object. Pratt (1981) argues that people have the tendency to show themselves as unique. In order to show themselves as unique through their house is by adopting a certain type of interior decoration. Therefore, the interior decoration that a person opts acts like a bridge which show the relationship of the individual and the society.

Houses in Turkey can be categorized into two basic categories in terms of their design. The first category being the traditional Turkish house and second being the modern Turkish house. The traditional Turkish house can be divided into both private and public spaces in Giuliani's (1987) terms. The living area in the traditional Turkish house is an area where activities such as sleeping, working or eating takes place just by the dwellers of the house (Küçükerman, 1988). Traditionally, Turkey also had a joint family system. Which meant that when the son of the house got married, he would keep on living in the same house with his family and his wife moving in. This required the rooms to be large enough to accommodate large families (Göker, 2009). In the traditional Turkish house, there were two living rooms. In the first living room the formal guests were hosted. The second living room which was peculiar to the dwellers of the house could be shared with very close relatives and family friends (Ayata & Ayata, 1996).

The modern Turkish houses came into existence during the 1990s with the emergence of the new middle class which is composed of young professionals. This new middle class does not follow the traditional way of living and therefore do not have the joint family system. As result the house requirement for them are different (Karademir, 2009). The different lifestyle of the new middle class also changed their demands regarding the house designs and their location. The new middle class preferred to live in areas which are away from the city center enabling them to distance themselves from the poverty and immigration (Karademir, 2009; Öncü, 1997). Regarding the house design and aesthetics, the new middle class gives a lot of importance to the overall decoration of their house and they also try to look different from the traditional middle class of Turkey by following the globalized trends (Güvenç & Işık, 2002). As a result, the houses preferred by the new

middle class follow the globalized standard design and therefore the western design and architecture is followed.

In the following section, I present the relevant literature regarding the kitchen. In order to do so I look at the place of the kitchen historically and how it has changed. Also how the meaning of the kitchen has changed.

2.4. Kitchen

Historically the kitchen was a space which basically was not an integral part of the house. It used to be a space constructed to a distant place. Pilaroscia & Ragan (1998) explains the reason behind this being caused due to the externalities created while cooking was done a few centuries back. In order to prepare the stove for cooking it, required burning wood and coal which produced a lot of toxic fumes. Since these fumes were toxic, the space had to be away from the place where the dwellers lived. Also once the cooking was completed it took some time for the stove to become cool and mild. Therefore, for the safety of young dwellers it had to be some space out of their reach.

With the progression of time there has been improvement in technology and also as explained earlier, the improvement in overall infrastructure related to house has also played a key role in making the kitchen a less toxic space. Human beings were able to learn new and less toxic ways to prepare the kitchen for cooking. This led to slow integration of the kitchen into the main space. Even with the integration of the kitchen to the house the cooking process remained as a messy process which still meant that kitchen had to remain as a private space rather being a public space. Apart from the physical condition of the kitchen, kitchen was a space used by working class women. These

women could be in their own kitchen or could be working at a kitchen as cook (Meah, 2014). These women working in the kitchen would also remain out of the gaze of public space doing sanitary work in the kitchen (Saarikangas, 2006).

Looking at the house designs today, the main thing that comes forward is the integration of the kitchen and the living room. Modern house designs have basically made the kitchen part of the public space (Giuliani, 1987). To better understand the movement of the kitchen it is worth going over the study of Meah (2016). In her study she outlines how the kitchen was perceived overtime and how it has changed. She states that the kitchen was perceived as a factory in the house where food was produced. The workers at this factory were basically the housewives and/or the maids employed by the dwellers. It has also been identified during this time the women working at the kitchen complained about their isolation while they worked at the kitchen and also not being able to administer the kitchen the way they would like in terms of the items that they would like to have in the kitchen (Jerram, 2006). But recently, the way the kitchen is perceived has changed. Meah (2016) states that the kitchen is now perceived as a living space rather than a factory. Hand and Shove (2004) points out that since the 1950s and onward the kitchen has become “an aesthetically attractive and automated entity” which has redefined it as a space for leisure and living.

Hand and Shove (2004) in their study also trace the historicity of the kitchen in terms of the material arrangement and technologies, meanings and images, and skill competence and forms of know-how from 1922 to 2002. In term of appliance used in the kitchen they identify three phases that they developed in. In the first phase which is around the 1920s, the kitchen appliances were large in size and required a lot of mechanical work. The use

of such appliance required a supervisor when they were being used. In the second phase which is around the 1950s, the kitchen appliances become smaller in size. They were sets of appliance with new materials and different colors. They were easier to use and were more efficient. Lastly around the 2000s, the surface and appearance gains a lot of importance. In this era the appliance become rather invisible. This has been achieved by the idea of fitted kitchen appliances.

In terms of meanings and images the kitchen in the 1920s was place in the back of the house. It was a region where the idea was to achieve efficiency and time saving. In the 1950s, it became more integral part of the home. It no longer had the meaning of a place where work is being done rather it become a modern place to live in. In the 2000s, its integration with the home even further intensified. The kitchen also become a place for a unique or a customized way of self-expression. Regarding the skills required in the kitchen in the 1920s, quality, culinary skills and domestic management skills were very important for a person to have in order to work in the kitchen. In the 1950s, it was more about time management. This was achieved by delegating a lots of the tasks to machines and appliances. Finally, in the 2000s, it all become about image management. This was achieved by decorating the kitchen with different items and coming up with a lifestyle concept and design. Since the core function of the kitchen, which is to produce food, has changed, the requirement of cooking skills have also reduced. This can also be traced by changes in the education curriculum. Home economics classes do no longer exist in the secondary education and this also contribute to the loss of extensive cooking skills which was gained through those classes (Short, 2003).

Over the period of last hundred years' the kitchen has been the only room in the house which has had such intense aesthetical and technological innovation (Meah, 2016: MoMA 2014, design + the modern kitchen). It has completely transformed from a private space into a public space and is also referred to as the symbolic heart of the home (Meah, 2016). The importance of the overall appearance of the kitchen has become rather important. In the United Kingdom, on average, people renew the features and fixtures of their kitchens once every seven year (Shove et al, 2007). Since kitchen is conceptualized as a place where people live and spend their time (Hand et al. 2007) it has to be kept up to date and a place where people can spend time.

The meaning and usage of the kitchen in Turkey has followed a similar trend as in the western countries. Even after the integration of the kitchen into the house after the improvement in the construction of houses after the industrial revolution, it was built small in size since the expectation of the kitchen was to simply produce food for the dwellers in the house. The kitchen was not expected to accommodate any other activities beyond cooking food therefore no additional space was required (Sak, 2014: Arcan & Evci, 1992). But over the past few years, the dwellers have not only started to spend more time in their kitchen but also started to do other activities in their kitchen. The open kitchen design has made it possible for the kitchen to become a place for living for the entire family (Sak, 2014).

The literature review highlights that along with changes in social demographics other aspects have also evolved simultaneously. The products offered also have evolved in the direction to accommodate the new dynamics. The attributes of the newly emerged product are communicated with the consumer in a way that tells the consumer that they

require the new product in order to manage and cope with the new dynamics. The kitchen is one of the spaces which has not only evolved with time but also the meaning of it has changed. The kitchen which was a space for just producing food (Meah, 2016) has become a space for leisure and living (Hand et al. 2007). Since it has become a space which is open to public gaze, the requirements of its appearance have also changed. There has been increase in the number of appliances which make the tasks related cooking easier. Since kitchen has become a place for living and leisure, the appearance of these appliances has also gained a lot of importance (Hand & Shove, 2004). The data for this research is collected from Ankara which is the capital city of Turkey and a good percentage of the new middle class dwell in this city (Karademir, 2009). The literature in reference to the new middle class in Turkey show similar trends regarding the change in social dynamics, house design and meaning of the kitchen. Since the new middle class have emerged in the late 1980s in Turkey, there is a lag in certain events but the trends resemble to the western countries. Kitchen which used to be a hidden space in the house about a century ago has become part of the central location of the house. With its integration to the central area of the house it has become an object for conspicuous consumption. Kitchen has become an object which should have a harmonious appearance with all the features and fixtures that make up the kitchen. Kitchen's integration to the central part of the house has happened overtime and in stages as the literature suggests. Since the kitchen has become the symbolic heart of the house (Meah, 2016), the kitchen as an object also show the dweller's socio-economic status.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study is to understand the processes involved for the kitchen becoming an object for conspicuous from being a hidden or inconspicuous space. The reasons identified in the literature review of the kitchen moving to the public space of the house is due to the improvement of technology and infrastructure, change in social demographics and the markets response to cope with the social change. Since the kitchen has become part of the public space or in other words have become conspicuous from being a hidden space, it has become an object for conspicuous consumption. In this study I have analyzed the changes that have taken place regarding the kitchen in the past twenty years in Ankara, Turkey. Ankara is one of the metropolitans where the new middle class of Turkey dwells. In this chapter, I will discuss the methodology employed while doing this research. I will first explain the Turkish context and the emergence of the new middle class in Turkey, explain from where and how I collected my data and what analysis tools I used.

3.1. The emergence of new middle class in Turkey

The data collected for this study is from Turkey. In order to understand the context, I briefly outline Turkey's history and how a new middle class has emerged. The new

middle class has played an important role in how houses are designed today. Therefore, it is important to go over the history. Turkey has a very diversified social structure. Although every nation has an urban and rural division but for the case of Turkey, the overall difference in culture between urban and rural is huge. Due to this huge gap, the literature does not have the tool to measure the social class structure of Turkey (Karademir, 2009). A study done by Keyder (1989) explains the historical development on terms of capitalism, the Ottoman era and the emergence of the Republic. During the Ottoman era, the ruling elite or the state was classified as the upper class. The reason behind this was due to the fact that all resources were state controlled. Therefore, all the wealth accumulation was in the hand of the people affiliated with the state. Since the formation of the republic this slowly changed and over different periods of time the social class structure based on the policies of the government changed.

During the 1980s, the change in state policies played a vital role in the emergence of a “new middle class” in Turkey. The policies adopted in the 1980s reduced state control over business and empowered the private sector and as a result a young urban professionals emerged (Karademir, 2009). These young urban professionals were more flexible, had a more entrepreneurial character and opposed state bureaucratic procedures (Şimsek, 2005). This change created new sectors such as financial institutes and entertainment sector (Şimsek, 2005). Due to the emergence of young urban professional the demand for new type of housing emerged in the 1990s. The new type of housing demanded by young urban professionals were basically houses located away from city centers which had certain features. The emergence of such demand is due to the lifestyle choice of the young urban professionals (Şimsek, 2015, Öncü, 1997).

This new middle class follows the global consumption culture (Öncü, 1997). The family structure of the new middle class involves dual household careers. In other words, both the male and female have a professional career and their children attend private schools (Karademir, 2009). In order to keep up with their status and keep their identity, the young urban professionals adopt strategies to consume certain products in order to distinguish themselves from the prior middle class (Şimsek, 2005).

Kravets and Sandikci (2014) also show how this new middle class have changed overall consumption and production in Turkey. They identify that after the policy change in 1980s, the reliance of domestically produced products decreased and were replaced by imported products. The emergence of new sectors also meant that Turkey could also add to the global brands. These new sectors become successful and were able to become significant subcontractors of global brands. In the process Turkey became the 2nd largest exporters of textile products in the world (Kravets & Sandikci, 2014; Tokatli & Kizilgun, 2009).

The emergence of the new middle class in Turkey has become more identifiable since the 1990s. The emergence of new sectors due to their profession and the development of new form of houses due to their lifestyle demands started to emerge in the 1990s. Since this new middle class follow the global consumption trends, the other studies used in this thesis showing Western trends can be adopted to this particular class. Even though it is worth to note that there might be a lag in the adoption of certain Western practices but similar trends are followed. This new middle class lives in urban parts of the country

which include Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Therefore the data used for this study is from Ankara.

3.2. Data Collection Methods

In order to address the research question mentioned above, a historical analysis is required. In order to understand the movement of the kitchen to the public space and the processes involved, it is important to understand how the dynamics of kitchen has changed or evolved and what kind of changes have occurred. In order to understand and analyze this change over the course of past twenty years, I have used three types of data sources. The first data source that has been used is classified advertisements posted on the online portal called Hürriyet Emlak. The second data source is apartment plans and advertisement published in the magazine called Mimarlik. The final data sources is the apartment plans provided by a local construction company called YDA İnşat and a discussion with an architect and a civil engineer working at the YDA İnşat. The analysis for this research mainly relies on the online real estate portal called Hürriyet Emlak. Whereas the other two data sources support and give more depth to the findings that have emerged from the advertisements selected on the portal. Since the advertisements only provide me with the point at which they were published, the other two data sources support by looking at the historicity. Therefore, the three data sources altogether provide more depth.

3.2.1. Hürriyet Emlak

The integration of the kitchen into the public space cannot be understood and explained by only analyzing one dimension and therefore in order to get a comprehensive

understanding of the change one has to go beyond simply looking at the kitchen. Apart from the blocks that are peculiar to the kitchen and make it a whole, one has to also consider the kitchen's relative location in the house, its shape, size and so on. The classified real estate advertisements posted online give the opportunity to make an in-depth and multi-dimensional analysis of the kitchen. Since the advertisements of the houses posted online are semi structured and give more flexibility to the person who posts them. On an online real estate portal generally, the person posting the advertisement has to provide some mandatory information and in addition can attach several pictures (the upper limit of pictures that can be posted vary from website to website) and can write a long description regarding the real estate that is being posted. The description usually does not require a structure and the poster of the advertisement can freely provide the information as s/he intends to. In addition, the online portals require the poster of the advertisement to provide the age of the building in which the house is. This also makes it possible to compare houses historically based on the age of the building. The age of the building would reflect the trends and dimensions that very part of the houses constructed during a particular year.

Today there are several online portals which provide the platform to advertise a real state, automobiles and other items which a person might want to sell in Turkey. Amongst these there are a few which are only dedicated to sell or rent real estate. Amongst one of them is Hürriyet Emlak. Hürriyet Emlak being amongst the top three online real estate portals in Turkey has also won international awards. In 2015 the website has won the Stevie Award for having the most innovative search filter (Hürriyet newspaper, 20 August 2015).

Hürriyet Emlak's history can be traced back from the emergence of Hürriyet gazette. Hürriyet gazette was founded in 1948 by Sedat Simavi in Istanbul, Turkey. The newspaper is owned by Doğan Media Group since 1997. With several newspapers, radio stations, and television channels, Doğan Media Group is one of the strongest media groups of the country (Christensen, 2007). In its very first week, Hürriyet gazette, sold around 50,000 copies (Hürriyet, 2005). Since then the newspaper has had an increase in its readership overtime. From 2005 to date, Hürriyet gazette is amongst the top three most read newspapers in Turkey (Karagöz, 2015). Also roughly half a million copies are printed daily (Hürriyet, 2015). In 1974, Hürriyet gazette, was first to introduce a classified advertisement page in Turkey (Hürriyet, 2005). The classified advertisement page evolved overtime and became a platform where people could publish advertisements regarding automobiles, real estate, job vacancies, and so on. With its strong readership, the reputation of the classified advertisement page also became very strong and became a page where people would look into if they are looking for a job vacancy, second automobile, real estate and so on. Due to its strong reputation the newspaper, in addition to its main daily gazette, started to publish weekly supplements for different topics. In 2005 it started to publish a weekly supplement just dedicated to real estate. This dedicated supplement featured information regarding the laws, city planning projects and advice for the consumer (Hürriyet kurumsal, 2012). The readership of Hürriyet gazette is popular amongst the young generation of Turkey. According to a study done by Saraçer and Gönenli (2008), Hürriyet gazette's website is second most accessed website amongst all the newspapers that have an online website. About 62% of young online newspaper readers visit Hürriyet gazette online website to get access to news. Since the demographic

composition of the new middle class in Turkey is dominated by younger population (Karademir, 2009), Hürriyet gazette is one of the sources that the new middle class uses.

With the emergence of the internet and online portals, Hürriyet newspaper group in 2006 launched their online portal <http://www.hurriyetemlak.com> (Şen, 2008). The working philosophy of the portal is very simple. An individual, real Estate Company or a construction company can advertise their property, free of charge, online with providing the information regarding the real estate which include its basic details, pictures and description. Along with this information the poster of the advertisement provide their contact details. They can be contacted by a potential customer who has viewed the advertisement. Usually the person or the company that has posted an advertisement online can leave their phone number and can be contacted directly without any need of the portal to act as an intermediary. Any form of real estate can be advertised online on the portal. This can be a barren piece of land, an apartment, a villa, or even a building. On the portal a property can either be on sale, out for rent or both. The website is available in eight different languages. They are Turkish, English, French, Russian, Deutsch, Dutch, Spanish and Italian.

The website has an interactive layout which provides filters that can be used while a user is trying to find a certain type of property. These filters include the province of the property (in addition to all provinces in Turkey, the portal also has provinces of Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic), town, number of rooms, building age, floor in the building, price range and variables regarding the access to utilities. While doing a search on the portal, a user can specify as many of these variable s/he would like. The search engine shows the result based on the filters chosen by the users and lists all the properties that

fall into the categories specified in the filter. The page lists the available real estate on sale or rent by the date of the post. Figure 1 is a snapshot of the search page on the portal.

Although Hürriyet Emlak gives the opportunity to everyone to post on their portal but there has been a dominance of the real estate agent posting on the portal. Since this has become a channel through which the real estate agents advertise their portfolios, the quality of the pictures used is also every good. It is hard to come across any blurry picture. The portal provides the platform for the people from every city in Turkey to post their advertisement on the portal. However, 60% of the apartments on sale on Hürriyet Emlak are from Istanbul and Ankara. Istanbul and Ankara are amongst the metropolitan cities where the new middle class live (Karademir, 2009), therefore, this is a good proxy to say that the users of Hürriyet Emlak are people who live in metropolitan cities and belong to the new middle class.

3.2.2. Mimarlik

The way a house is designed has evolved over time. The architects have to respond to the demands and requirements of the dwellers in order to make sure that they succeed in designing and selling the right house. Since kitchen is also an important aspect in the design process of a house it is important to understand the debate over it and how the emphasis is given to it. To trace the debate and concern over the design process of a house one has to look at historical data (Tuchman, 1994). Such traces can be found in old newspapers, magazines or old picture albums. Since the focus of this study is kitchen therefore, going over an architectural magazine would provide more relevant insight. The two most relevant magazines available in Turkey are XXI and Mimarlik. XXI is more

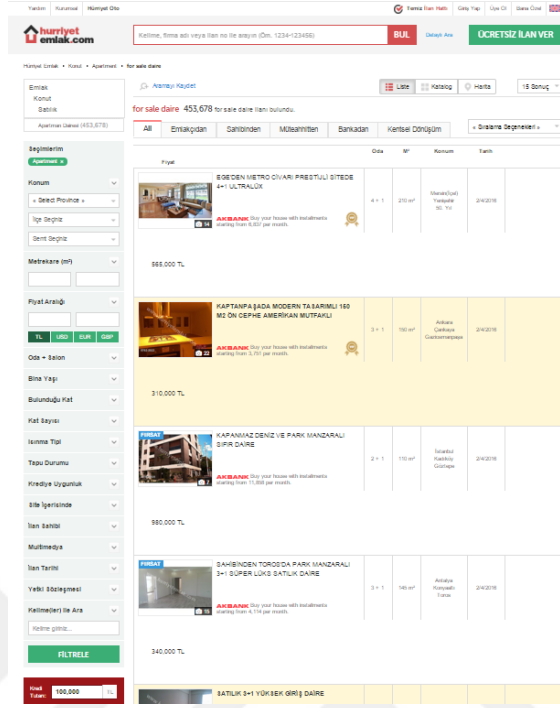


Figure 1 Hürriyet Emlak search page

directed to civil engineering and also is more academic oriented therefore for this research Mimarlik magazine was chosen as a data source.

Mimarlik magazine was the initiative of chamber of architects of Turkey. They started to publish this magazine in 1963. The magazine publishes by-monthly and a total of six edition in a year (“Mimarlik Hakkında,” 2016). The magazine is comprised of articles, concepts, and advertisements. The articles are written by academicians and professionals working in the sector. The articles are not simple plain text but also have drawings and pictures to understand the design. Whereas the advertisements in magazine vary from construction companies to small interior design products. They cover topics such as city planning, office designs, shopping mall designs and house designs. The focus of the articles is more architectural. Each edition of the magazine has a theme and all the

content in the magazine is around that theme. For example they can have an edition dedicated to office designs. Therefore all the material that that particular edition covers is regarding office designs both exterior and interior.

3.2.3. YDA Construction

The construction companies actually design and build the houses as a product that they have to sell and as a result they are one of the main stakeholders who present the manifestation of the customer needs and demands. Since they have to sell their products, which are in this research context houses, therefore they have to have right idea. In Turkey, there are several companies which have been in the construction industry for a long time. One of these companies is YDA construction Inc.

YDA construction was established in 1954. Over this period of time their company has been involved in building several types of buildings. Their portfolio includes airports, hospitals, schools, shopping malls, business centers, high-tech buildings, industrial plants, cement plants, highways, light rail tram and high-speed railway lines, bridges, intersections, and mass housing projects. The worth of projects that YDA construction has completed is USD 6.8 billion (“Turkey’s Productive Power: YDA,” 2016). YDA construction has a good number of architects and civil engineers who have been in process of designing houses for Turkey. Such professionals are very reliable asset to understand the trends that have emerged overtime. In addition to their experience of their professionals, they also have large database of house plans which they have constructed over years.

3.3. Sampling strategy

As mentioned in the previous sections, the main data source that has been used for this research is the classified advertisement posted on the web portal of Hürriyet Emlak. Hürriyet Emlak provides with a list of classified advertisements when you search on the portal by specifying the filter criteria mentioned in the previous section. When a classified advertisement is selected it shows all the details provided by the entity which has published that advertisement on the portal. This information includes the location of the property, its age, size, number of rooms, asking price and any additional description that the advertiser would like write down. In addition to written details, the poster of the advertiser is allowed to attach as many pictures as s/he likes to along with the written information. Therefore the one data point is basically the compilation of the written information and all the pictures that has been provided with one classified advertisement. For the magazine Mimarlik, there are two types of data that has been used. The first type is the house plans provided along with an article and secondly any advertisement that has been published in a magazine relevant to kitchen. Each individual house plan and the advertisement make a data point. Finally the data taken from YDA construction are house plans. Therefore each house plan provided by the company are a data point.

To collect data from Hürriyet Emlak, I used criterion sampling strategy. Criterion sampling strategy allows to collect data which meets specified criteria (Kuzel, 1992). Before I specifically mention the criteria used while searching for data on Hürriyet Emlak I would like to point out that the data was collected in three categories. These three categories are Low Priced Houses (LPH), Medium Priced Houses (MPH), and High Priced Houses (HPH). I created these categories based on the price range the house fell

in. The LPH category houses range from 0 to 250,000 Turkish Lira, the MPH category range from 250,000 to 500,000 Turkish Lira and the HPH category houses price had a minimum of 500,000 Turkish Lira with no upper limit. The reason for developing such categories was to get data from all socio-economic neighborhoods of Ankara. If such categorization had not been done, the output that the online portal sorts is based on the date of the advertisement was published on. The results are listed as recently posted first. Therefore, it would have not captured houses from all possible areas of the city and representing all neighborhoods of the city. While searching for data on Hürriyet Emlak for all three categories I used three criteria. The first criteria that I imposed was that the house should be on sale rather than being rented out. Secondly, all the houses that were searched on the online portal were 3+1 apartments. 3+1 apartments are ones which have three bedrooms and a living room in them. The area of the such houses can vary. Finally their location was restricted to be only in the province of Ankara.

Houses that are posted for rent or are for sale have different level of description since the concerns for a tenant versus a buyer are different. The advertisement that are posted for houses on rent give more information regarding the house's location and the benefits that would be provided by the landlord or the owner of the house. Whereas for the houses on sale the description is more focused on the house's attributes. These attributes can vary from a description on type of material used to what kitchen appliances there are already in the house. Therefore in order to have a come consistent and focused data I only opted for the houses that were on sale rather than taking both types into my data. The reason I only took 3+1 apartments as my data was because they are the most occurring type of houses which are on sale. Almost 60% of the houses that are for sale in Ankara on

Hürriyet Emlak are 3+1 apartment houses. Another important factor to keep only this type of apartment was that it is important to compare similar type of houses across different price range. Since larger or smaller houses would make the data inconsistent since the design dynamics for other type might differ.

The reason I selected Ankara for my data points is due to the familiarity I have regarding Ankara and its neighborhoods and it also is one of major metropolitans where the new middle class live (Karademir, 2009). The dynamics of Ankara is easier to understand compared to a city like Istanbul due Ankara's being smaller in size. With a population of roughly five million, Ankara is the capital city of Turkey. Ankara being the capital city of Turkey, has been known as the city of civil servants (Uner & Gungordu, 2016). Although Ankara carries this tag attached to it but with urban regeneration initiative since the 1990s, a lot of new houses were constructed and the construction of new houses is still in progress. This construction of new houses has provided new opportunities not only for the local people of Ankara but has also attracted a lot of migration to the city (Güzey, 2009). Recently Ankara has also started to become the center of certain businesses and there has been a great increase in the number houses being built (Eraydin, 2014). Looking at Ankara overall in recent years, its inhabitants are comprised of people from very different professions. It inhabits bureaucrats, businessmen, diplomats, teachers and students. The relatively small size of Ankara and the diversity of profession it inhabits give access to city which has people from distinct socio-economic class rather than being homogenous. Also many houses that have constructed after the regeneration initiative, it also gives me the access to see how the new houses are designed.

Initially I collected forty-five advertisements from Hürriyet Emlak and analyzed all of them. The distribution of the forty-five data points was to have fifteen data point for each category. While doing the first round of analysis I realized that in order to do an insightful analyses, the data should consist of at least eight pictures and at least two pictures of the kitchen from different angels. The reason behind having such a condition is because if the number of pictures are less, it is not possible to do a reliable analysis of the data since it becomes very difficult to capture some of the dimensions for the analyses. Therefore, nine data points were omitted due to having insufficient number of pictures. Secondly the scope of this research is to understand the transformation within the last twenty years, any data whose building age is more than twenty was omitted. There were seven data points which did not meet this criteria and were omitted. As result the final number of data points that ended up was twenty-nine. After omitting the data for LPH category there were ten advertisements, for MPH there were nine and for the HPH there were ten. As mentioned above for each category I kept the same filters while searching the classified advertisements on the portal and based on the search result the selection was made. Once all twenty-nine advertisements were selected and finalized, another round of analyses was done for only the selected data points. The details of the data are presented in table 1. The sizes of all the houses in each category varied between 100-meter square to 200-meter square. The size dimension of the house was not controlled while collecting the data but since each category has houses in the same range therefore the analysis would not be affected due differences in sizes.

The data that was collected from Mimarlik magazine is comprised of house plans and advertisements published in the magazine. The datum from Mimarlik magazine can be a

single house or a single advertisement. All the 120 published editions from 1995 till 2015 were analyzed. The Bilkent University library is a subscriber of Mimarlik magazine and keeps the archives of the magazine. All magazines are kept as physical copies. The reason for going through all the twenty years was to make sure to get all the data that was available related to houses and kitchens for the respective twenty years. As explained in the previous section the magazine has dedicated edition to a certain theme and therefore in every edition it may not be possible to find something peculiar to the house and/or the kitchen. Therefore it is very important to go over all the edition in order to make sure that all the material published regarding houses and/or kitchen could be accessed.

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While collecting the data, relevance sampling strategy was used. Since the data collected from Mimarlik magazine is very specific to the research question, relevance sampling strategy is the most appropriate type of strategy for this scenario (Krippendorff, 2012).

Table 1 Data points from H  riyet Emlak

Data	Age	Category	Price (Turkish Lira)
1	0	LPH	235,000
2	15	LPH	105,000
3	20	LPH	135,000
4	10	LPH	140,000
5	0	LPH	145,000
6	10	LPH	112,000
7	20	LPH	118,000
8	5	LPH	120,000
9	20	LPH	175,000
10	0	LPH	175,000
11	3	MPH	297,000
12	12	MPH	450,000
13	20	MPH	435,000
14	20	MPH	455,000
15	20	MPH	410,000
16	0	MPH	265,000
17	9	MPH	363,000
18	0	MPH	385,000
19	20	MPH	435,000
20	0	HPH	645,000
21	12	HPH	510,000
22	13	HPH	500,000
23	10	HPH	590,000
24	0	HPH	540,000
25	1	HPH	1,100,000
26	13	HPH	500,000
27	0	HPH	530,000
28	0	HPH	535,000
29	0	HPH	530,000

Therefore, where ever relevant house plans and advertisement related to kitchen were found in any edition of the magazine were found, they were taken. From 120 editions, 17 house plans and 4 advertisements were identified. After the identification of all the house

plans and advertisements they put into order according to their date of publication. Once the data taken from Mimarlik magazine was into order they were analyzed.

The third and last data source that has been used for this research is the house plans taken from YDA Construction Company. Amongst all the construction companies in Turkey, YDA construction was chosen because of ease of access to the civil engineer working at YDA construction. Therefore, in order to obtain data from YDA Construction convenience sampling strategy was used (Krippendorff, 2012). To acquire the data from YDA Construction, I visited their office. During my visit I meet with a civil engineer and an architect working at the YDA Construction. They provided with nine house plans from 1995 until 2015. In addition to the house plans I had informal discussion with both the civil engineer and the architect for two hours. This informal discussion was in line with my research question and gave me the view that what factors the designers take into account in process of the development of the house.

3.4. Method of analysis

After collecting all the data from each data source it is very important to expand and extend it. This helps to take the data beyond a descriptive account (Wolcott, 1994). In order to do so the data collected was gone through the process of coding. Coding basically helps to organize qualitative data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Coding helps to break down the data and help organize it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

For this particular study the coding procedure used was based on grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I coded the data in two phases. In the first phase I coded the data collected from Hürriyet Emlak. Each advertisement was analyzed separately. All

themes that emerged from all twenty-nine data points were examined separately. Once this was done, codes from every advertisement were analyzed together and the commonly occurring ones were extracted and analyzed. The data that was extracted from Mimarlik was also coded similarly. The house plans selected from the magazine were used to mainly analyze the size, shape and the relative location of the kitchen in the house over the twenty years. The analysis done over the advertisements extracted from Mimarlik were more about to understand the overall outlook of the kitchen and its presentation. Similarly the house plans provided by YDA Construction were also analyzed to understand the size, shape and the relative location of the kitchen in the house. Also to the analysis made the notes taken from the conversation with the architect and the civil engineer working at YDA construction were also analyzed and incorporated.

The data from Hürriyet Emlak was very rich in its content and required a very cautious analysis. The first thing that was analyzed was the size of the kitchen. Since the advertisements do not provide the exact dimensions of the different areas of the house, a relative analysis is required in order to compare across data. The size of the kitchen was coded in four. The kitchen was either called small, medium, large or open. For kitchens that were part of the saloon or any other room could not be assessed since they had no dedicated space for them. For such cases the code as open was used. The relative evaluation whether the kitchen was small, medium or large was based on analyzing multiple things available in the kitchen. In order to make this judgment the number of kitchen cabinets a kitchen has, length of the kitchen walls, spaces provided for kitchen appliances (refrigerator etc.) and the relative size of the window in the kitchen if any. All these aspects were taken into consideration before declaring whether the kitchen was

small, medium or large. Out of these dimensions the most important one is looking at the number of kitchen cabinets. Since the kitchen cabinets usually come in standard size, therefore they can be used to make a relative comparison across different kitchen.

Another important aspect that was analyzed was the shape of the kitchen. A kitchen could either have a square shape or a rectangular shape. Similarly as in case of size, open kitchen could not be given a shape since they do not have dedicated space to them. In order to understand whether a kitchen is square or rectangular, the relative length of the walls and the layout of kitchen cabinets were used. Using both these dimensions I gave a relative judgement in regards to understand which shape could be associated to a particular kitchen.

In addition to the size and shape of the kitchen, the other important dimension that I analyzed was the overall outlook of the kitchen or in other words the ambience of the kitchen. In order to assess the overall outlook many variables were taken into consideration. To start of I looked at the floor of the kitchen. A kitchen may have two possible types of floor. It could have tiles, wooden floor. The tiles also vary in types. They could either have no design and can be of one color across the floor or have some design on them. Therefore if a kitchen has a tiled floor, it could be either plain or with design. The wooden floored kitchen did not have much variation except for that fact that in some cases it had a small piece of carpet placed on it. The second aspect that was evaluated was the wall. The first thing that was looked at on the wall was its color scheme. The wall could either have a single color throughout or it could be multi colored. The second aspects that was evaluated on the wall was its overall outlook. Some kitchen had concrete cement walls whereas some had tiles on them. Last dimension that was

looked on the walls were the visibility of utility pipes. In a kitchen the utility pipes (gas pipes and water pipes) were either visible on them or were hidden and could not be sighted.

The tone of the color used on both the floor and the wall also is an important factor which affects the overall outlook of the kitchen. Some kitchens have a plain single color scheme used on the wall and the floor. For such kitchens the wall can have simple white plain color on their walls and a light colored floor usually light grey. The color on the floor is either light grey or light cream in color. Whereas for the other types of kitchen which go for variations in colors have many different colors. Usually such kitchens have multiple colors on the wall which go in contrast with each other. There are many different color schemes that can be chosen. In my data I have different shades of brown to different shades of yellow and red. The multi-color scheme for the floor is only possible for tiled floors. The floors that have tiles and opt to have multi colors have lighter colors with small portions of darker shades. In order to distinguish the difference in the two color schemes mentioned above I either coded a kitchen as with brighter colors or standard colors.

The way kitchen cabinets look also vary. Since one of the first things that catch the eye when glanced in a kitchen are the cabinets that the kitchen has. Therefore, the way kitchen cabinets look make a significant contribution to the overall outlook of the kitchen. In my data I identified two types of kitchen cabinets. The first type of kitchen cabinet are plain with standard fixtures on them. The second type are the ones which have a different shape and very stylish fixtures on them. Such cabinets can have a shiny texture and can be different shapes. By shape here I mean is their flatness or concavity.

Also there is a lot of variation in the colors of kitchen cabinets. Therefore the simple standard kitchen cabinets were coded as standard and the second type was called stylish. The kitchen cabinets also have types. They can have drawers, open from the front or can be standard doored cabinet. In addition to the cabinets, some of the kitchens may also have wall racks to place the items.

The last aspect that I evaluated regarding the overall outlook of the kitchen was the evaluation of the kitchen appliances. There are two possibilities regarding the kitchen appliances. The first case is where there is a dedicated space for big kitchen appliances such as cooking range, dishwasher and refrigerator. For this case there is only the space for such appliances but they are external. The second case is when such appliances are fitted into the walls while the house was being constructed for the very first time. In this case the cooking range and the refrigerator are pre-fitted to the wall. Also when such appliances are pre-fitted, they contribute to the entire outlook which is presentable and their functionality goes into the background since the mechanical side of the appliance is not visible. When I say presentable appearance, I mean the way they look. Usually they have a metallic outlook and are either grey or silver in color. Therefore, the kitchen can either have pre-fitted appliances or only dedicated space for such appliances.

There were two types of data collected from Mimarlik magazine as explained earlier. The house plans extracted from Mimarlik were used to analyze the size, shape and their location in the house. Since the numerical dimensions were not present with house plans, as for the data from Hürriyet Emlak a relative assessment was made. For the size again same codes were used. A kitchen could be small, medium or big in size. The placement was made by comparing different house plans. As for the shape it was again either square

or rectangle. Identifying the shape was easy since the house plans were drawn very neatly. Since the house plans present a comprehensive layout of the house it was also easy to judge the location of the kitchen.

As for the advertisements collected from Mimarlik, the analysis was more about the overall presentation and the outlook of the kitchen. The focus was more on how different items are presented in the kitchen in harmony. These items vary from big items such as refrigerator to small cutlery items. The picture presented in the advertisement basically portrayed how an ideal kitchen should look like covering all the minor details that affect the overall outlook of the kitchen. The main focus while analyzing these advertisement was to look at the lighting of the kitchen. This was not possible with the data from Hurriyet Emlak since not all house were fitted with lights. In that data source there were kitchen which only had the basic connection and no fitted lights could be evaluated.

Whereas in the advertisement it is possible to understand what kind of lamps, chandeliers, or standard lights are used. The advertisement also provides an ideal concept showing other items that can be used to decorate the kitchen. For example, flower vases and other decorative items.

The data collected from YDA construction is basically comprised of house plans. As in the case of Mimarlik magazine these house plans were coded in a very similar fashion. The house plans were used to determine the size, shape and kitchen relative location in the house. Same codes were used that were developed for the first two data sources regarding the size and shape. Therefore, a kitchen in terms of size could be labelled as small, medium or large. For the shape, the kitchen could be either squarer or rectangular.

3.5. Visual Content Analysis

The composition of data that I used for this research is basically pictures and house sketches collected from the three data sources. Therefore for all types of data visual content analysis was used. Visual content analysis is a systematic procedure to provide an objective analysis around a research question. Visual content analysis also helps to make implicit and explicit generalization of actions, roles and situation present in the visual content (Jewitt & Leeuwen, 2001). For the data collected from Hürriyet Emlak, after going over it for a pre analysis, I developed categories to make an accurate analysis. The categories that emerged from my data are size of the kitchen, shape of the kitchen, and kitchen's relative location in the house. These three categories or codes show how the kitchen's physical location has changed over the course of the past twenty years.

The other set of categories that I developed were more about the overall appearance or the aesthetics of the kitchen. These categories focus on the thing which are apparent in the kitchen. These categories comprise of the type and color of the floor, type and color of the walls, type and color of the kitchen cabinets, and the appliance that are present in the kitchen. In order to give meaning to the categories mentioned above, semiotics was used. Semiotics helps to give meaning to what things represent in the picture (Jewitt & Leeuwen, 2001). Therefore, by looking at the color and design of the walls, floors and the kitchen cabinets, I have traced down meaning from what they represent.

The foundation for this research is the data collected from Hürriyet Emlak as explained earlier. Therefore, the house plans extracted from Mimarlik magazine and acquired from YDA construction went through a similar analysis. The focus on the house plans was to understand how the size, shape and the relative location of the kitchen has changed in the

past twenty years. Therefore similar categories or codes were used while analyzing this data. Since the data are pictures of house plans, therefore visual content analysis was used.

The advertisement extracted from Mimarlik magazine were used to understand the outlook and overall ambiance of the kitchen. Therefore, the advertisements were used to understand the items that make up the kitchen. This included looking at the lighting in the kitchen, the color and design of the wall, the color and the design of the floor, and also what other items are presented in those advertisements which basically add value to the overall outlook of the kitchen. As this process also required to understand the meaning of the items present in the kitchen, semiotics was used to analyze the advertisements.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The data collected from Hürriyet Emlak, Mimarlik magazine and YDA Construction shows how change in space, relative location, and the appearance of the kitchen have changed. The variety in the products present in the kitchen and their presentation in harmony has made the kitchen an object for conspicuous consumption after its integration to the public space of the house (Giuliani, 1987). As a consequence, the dwellers can use this object, the kitchen, to show their social class by consuming it conspicuously. As mentioned earlier that the kitchen about a century ago used to be a space that was either separate from the house or it was part of the private space (Giuliani, 1987) which was not open to any outsiders. In this section I will provide the insights from the data that explains the changes that have occurred and made kitchen an object for conspicuous consumption.

4.1. Change in space

The spaces in the house are divided into two categories. The first space is the private space, which is only accessible by the dwellers of the house (Giuliani, 1987). The second space is the public space. In the public space the dwellers basically interact with their environment and therefore it is open to outsiders or in other words to the people who do

not dwell in the house. Which area of the house is going to be part of the public space or the private space is not fixed and it changes with time. The focus of this study is to understand the processes through which the kitchen, which was hidden or inconspicuous, becomes an object for conspicuous consumption. Amongst all the areas of the house, kitchen is one of the spaces that has changed the most over the course of time (Meah, 2016) and is one of the spaces where great amount time is spent by its dwellers (Sak, 2014). One of the major dimension that emerges from the data is about how size and shape of the kitchen has changed over past twenty years. Following are the details about the role they play in this transformation.

4.1.1. Size

The change in the size of the kitchen plays a vital role for it becoming an object for conspicuous consumption. In the methodology section I had explained the three categories in which I have divided my data that was gathered from Hürriyet Emlak. These categories are low priced houses (LPH), medium priced houses (MPH), and high priced houses (HPH). Within all these three categories the area or the size of the kitchen has increased over the past twenty years. Not only it has increased but rather more recently it has started to share the space with the main lounge or saloon in the house which is referred to as an open kitchen. The larger space of the kitchen is able to accommodate more items. Also in cases where the kitchen shares the space with the lounge, it gives the opportunity to the dwellers to have presentable items which are visible to the people who do not dwell in the house since this space is shared by the people to socialize with the dwellers of the house.

Figure 2a represents a kitchen from a LPH house which is twenty years old. Whereas figure 2b represents a kitchen from a LPH house which has been built recently. Focusing only on the size, reveals a lot of changes that have occurred. The first thing that is noticeable is the difference in the wideness of both kitchens. Comparing them relatively, shows that the newer kitchen of the two is significantly larger than the older one. There are more kitchen cabinets in the newer one and also the marble counter is also longer in length.



Figure 2a LPH age 20 years



Figure 2b LPH age 0 years

Figure 3a is a picture of a kitchen from the MPH category and the age of the house is 20 years. The picture in figure 3b represents a kitchen from the MPH category and the house is built recently. The kitchen in the first picture is smaller compared to the one in the second picture. The kitchen in figure 3b is an example of an open kitchen. Therefore looking at the number of cabinets and other proxies is not required in order to measure the difference between the two in terms of their size. If we were to evaluate this dimension in terms of space that can be utilized in both cases, in an open kitchen the space from the saloon can always be barrowed without making any major alteration.

Whereas in the kitchen in figure 3a the space is small, limited and it is not easy to add any additional space to the kitchen as in the case shown in figure 3b.



Figure 3a MPH age 20 years



Figure 3b MPH age 0 years

The change in the HPH category is also a very significant one. Figure 4a represents a kitchen from a twelve years old house and figure 4b represents a kitchen from a house recently built. The kitchen in figure 4b is an open kitchen. It is another variation of an open kitchen. It is covered from two sides and open from one end which was not the case in figure 3b. The kitchen in figure 3b was exposed from three sides to the saloon. But comparing the kitchen in figure 4a to figure 4b, the kitchen in figure 4a is smaller than

the kitchen in figure 4b. The number of kitchen cabinets are more and the length of the marble counter is relatively longer.



Figure 4a HPH age 12 years



Figure 4b HPH age 0 years

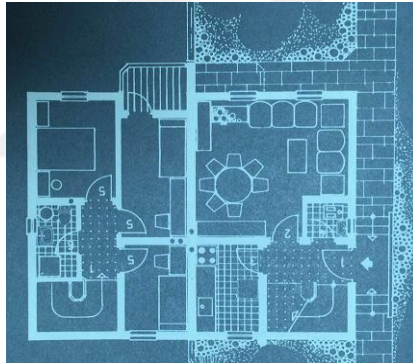


Figure 5a, Floor plan from 1996



Figure 5b, Floor plan from 2014

To summarize the findings on the size dimension of the kitchen, it can be seen that in each respective price category there is a change in size overtime. In the LPH category the newer kitchens are wider and have more space in them whereas compared to the older ones. In both MPH and HPH categories there is a movement from a kitchen with its own dedicated space to become part of the saloon in form of an open kitchen. In all categories the size of the kitchen is increasing and MHP and HPH they are totally being exposed to

the area which is shared by the outsiders and dwellers. Also this can be seen from the floor plans taken from YDA construction. Figure 5a and figure 5b are house plans from 1996 and 2014 respectively, the significant increase in size can be seen. The change in size shows us that the kitchen is able to accommodate more products. The increase in space and being able to accommodate more products into the kitchen increases the functionality of the kitchen. The integration of the kitchen with the salon in form of open kitchen also brings in the dimension of the symbolic presentation of these products and the kitchen itself. Therefore, the open kitchen in addition to the functional aspect of the kitchen also makes the appearance of it very important. Since the kitchen has become the symbolic heart of the house (Meah, 2016), the exposition of the kitchen to the visitors of the houses gives dwellers the opportunity to use it as a symbol. This can be achieved by keeping a neat and clean appearance.

4.1.2. Shape

Along with the increase in the size, the shape of the kitchen has also changed. For kitchen that falls in the category of LPH, the kitchen which used to have a squarer shape before has changed into a rectangular shape. The comparison of the kitchens in figure 2a and figure 2b also shows this change in shape. The kitchen in figure 2b is wider and longer compared to the kitchen in figure 2a. For the MPH and HPH category however the kitchen is converging to become an open kitchen as discussed earlier. However, the data regarding MPH shows that this change in shape has emerged in stages. As for case in LHP, older kitchens have a squarer kitchen. A few years later, the kitchen that are part of MPH also have rectangular shape. Recently this rectangular shape has changed into an open kitchen. For kitchen that are from LPH category, there is a change from a

rectangular kitchen to an open kitchen. Yet in terms of shape, if we look at the open kitchens, they also seem to have a wider and a longer area dedicated to them. This can be seen in the pictures of figure 3b and figure 4b. The house plans in figure 5a and figure 5b also provides similar insights.

The change in both size and the shape of the kitchen go hand in hand. This process opens a place for products which along with their functionality in the kitchen also represent something else. Increased variety in kitchen related products with various price tags in the market actually represent the ability of the products to add meaning beyond their functionality (Levy, 1959). The market where all kitchen related products are on display have a lot of variation in their prices.

The brand name basically represents not only its quality but also the price range it belongs to. Usually the brand names are also visible on the products that are being used in the kitchen. This representation of brands on kitchen related products is not limited to small hand held kitchen appliances but also on larger products such as the kitchen cabinet itself. The brand name that is present on the product inhabited in the kitchen therefore informs about its price tag. Since the kitchen is now in the vision the public area, the dweller of the house is prone to filling it up with commodities which also tell something about the socio-economic class of the dweller as mentioned earlier.

4.2. Change in overall appearance and relative location of the kitchen.

The kitchen's integration to the public space of the house has made it an object. The kitchen is an object which an accumulation of several dimensions that put together construct it or make it a whole. As also explained in the methodology section, the color

and texture of the wall, the color and texture of the floor, the way appliances have been placed in the kitchen, and the design of the kitchen cabinets all together in harmony create this object and make it a whole. This presentation of entire kitchen from a distance makes the kitchen's overall appearance. The emergence of open kitchen has also changed the location of the kitchen. It has integrated the kitchen to the central part of the house.

4.2.1. Change in the overall appearance of the kitchen.

As mentioned above many small objects put together make the kitchen a whole. The way these objects are aligned together have changed over the past twenty years. If we evaluate the images in figure 2a and figure 2b in line of these dimension, the increase in overall neatness can be seen. To start with in figure 2a the utility pipes are visible on the wall whereas that is not the case in figure 2b. The floor in figure 2b has a neat and clean outlook and have a marble look whereas the floor in the figure 2a although has multiple color and design but it is a standard tile. The kitchen cabinets in figure 2a are of a simpler design which have nothing stylish in them. On the other hand, the kitchen cabinets are shiny and have an outstanding impression. They attract the attention of the eye when you look at the picture of the kitchen in figure 2b. Also the ceiling and the lighting features have a big difference. The kitchen in figure 2a has a standard roof and a light whereas the kitchen in figure 2b has a very neatly finished roof with multi colored light.

The change in the MPH category is even more significant than in LPH. Since the movement is from a dedicated area for the kitchen to sharing the area with the saloon. This fusion requires more radical changes. There is a top to bottom change when the kitchen in figure 3a is compared with the one in figure 3b. The big difference can be seen when the kitchen cabinets are compared for both kitchens. The kitchen in figure 3b has

more variety in the cabinets. For example, there are cabinets which are not covered by two sides and this leads to the visibility of the item which is placed in that cabinet from both sides. The kitchen appliances such as oven are fitted in the wall in the kitchen in 3b whereas this is not the case in the kitchen in figure 3a. Since the open kitchen in figure 3b is sharing the space with the saloon, it is sharing the wooden floor and the wall paint scheme with the saloon. On the other side the kitchen in figure 3a. In the HPH category there is a similar transformation as explained for the MHP category. Since in the HPH category there is also a movement to an open kitchen from a regular dedicated one.

The integration of the kitchen into the public area or space in form of open kitchen makes the appearance of the ceiling, floor, wall and who the area is illuminated very important.

The ceiling, floor, wall, and illumination all make up how the kitchen would look like.

For the ceiling there are many different kinds of tiles or paints that may be used.

Regardless what is opted for the ceiling there is a lot of variety in the way ceiling can be made look good and in line with the entire concept of the kitchen that has been adopted.

Another important thing that adds value to the ceiling is the type lighting scheme that has been used. The type of lights bulbs and chandeliers used on the ceiling also make the ceiling look distinct and unique. Similarly, for the floor there are many variables which make the floor presentable. To start with, the material used on the floor matters. The floor can be wooden, tiles, marbles or a combination of these. Once the material used is there, the second thing is the color of the floor. There many different colors and combinations of colors which can be used with these materials.

There is a lot of variation in the kitchen walls as well. The wall can be simply a concrete wall or it can also have tiles. Similarly, with the floor, the second important dimension is

what colors the wall is going to be painted. If tiles are being used, than there is the availability of many designs in tiles. Wall papers with different designs and shades are available for concrete walls. All of the decoration comes with cost and the materials used. As also discussed above, the type of ceiling, flooring and the wall that can be used for the kitchen is on display in the markets and have a price tag associated with them. Therefore, whatever is adopted as a choice reflects the social class of the dweller. Even if the price tag is not associated, the overall aesthetics and the combination of these features can also be used to look distinct and unique.

4.2.2. Change in kitchen's relative location.

The kitchen's location in the house relative to the other spaces in the house is also something noteworthy. Historically the kitchen used to be disconnected to the other spaces of the house (Pilaroscia & Ragan, 1998). Today the kitchen has become an integral part of the house or in other words have become part of the public space (Giuliani, 1987). The location of the kitchen in almost all houses is either very close to the saloon or it is located in the main corridor of the house. Also with the concept of open kitchen, as it can be seen in figure 3b and figure 4b, the kitchen has become a part of the saloon. The kitchen having a more central location in house makes it a place which has to have a consistent, neat and presentable appearance. In other words, it should be complete in terms of how it looks. The completeness comes from not having any objects which look odd or out place in the entire appearance or the outlook of the kitchen. Therefore, all the items that make up the kitchen have to be put together in harmony.

The change in the relative location of the kitchen makes all the small dimensions which make the entire appearance very important. The dweller of the house has to be more

critical in choosing all the features that are going to be placed in the kitchen. The outlook of any items such as the pots, cutlery, crockery, and other kitchen appliances has become as important as their functionality. When the kitchen was more secluded or not exposed to public gaze, the items with stains on them or any form of disorder could be part of the kitchen since the expectation from the kitchen was to simply produce food but now since with the concept of open kitchen, such items can no longer be part of the kitchen or at least have to be placed in an area which was not very visible.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this section I will be explaining how the change in the size and the location of the kitchen, the market and the social changes occurring overtime interplay with each other. Also I will discuss how the kitchen becomes an object or a product which is consumed conspicuously after its integration to central part or the public space of the house . I will also discuss the functional values or the attributes of the kitchen as an object/product. Finally, I will discuss how the appearance of the kitchen makes it an object for conspicuous consumption.

5.1. Establishing the kitchen

The kitchen was perceived as a factory where food was produced (Meah, 2016) and the kitchen was just a space with not much importance. Although the perception of the kitchen as a factory goes back to the 1920s, the data collected for this thesis also shows that the traces of the kitchen being an unimportant space still exists even during the late 1990s in Turkey. The small size and the location being a bit distant to the public space of the house was due to the reason that it was only used for cooking and there were no other expectations from the kitchen (Sak, 2014). The data also gives us the evidence to establish that even though the meaning and expectations from the kitchen has changed but this change has taken place in phases. Also, the kitchens in the data which belong to

houses with ages more than 15 years, also show that the appearance of the kitchen is not as important as it is in the younger buildings.

The change in the kitchen also follows other changes. One of the major change is the change in social demographics where women have joined the workforce and still having much of the responsibility of completing household tasks (Thompson and Walker 1989). With this change, time scarcity has emerged. In industrialized societies there is the problem of time scarcity. Time scarcity basically refers to a shortage of time due to which all the tasks required to be done cannot be completed within a day (Jabs & Devine, 2006). With this change taking place, the market has been developing and promoting products that help people cope with time scarcity (Cowan, 1983). At the same time the companies in the market are constantly developing new products to help cope with this time constraint targeting women (Gross & Sheth, 1989) and household work. A similar trend has also been seen in Turkey with the emergence of the new middle class. Since the percentage of female participation in the workforce is high in the new middle class (Karademir, 2009).

One of the product categories that has emerged as a response is the convenience food. Convenience food is basically described as processed or semi processed food (Jackson & Viehoff, 2016). The convenience food varies from chopped frozen vegetables to readymade meals which simply need to be heated before serving. Along with the emergence of convenience food, there has also been development in kitchen appliances that are used in order to bring the frozen food into edible state taking less time. One of the major appliance that have emerged and has become popular is the microwave oven. The microwave oven has also significantly reduced the time required to prepare a meal

(Oropesa, 1993). With the emergence of convenience food and appliances like microwave oven, the time required to prepare a meal has reduced compared with conventional home prepared meal. Also as discussed above, having extensive cooking skill no longer is required since the frozen food takes care of much of the cooking skills. The convenience food industry has also started to emerge since the 1980s in Turkey. Today the products produced by the frozen food sector in Turkey meets all the international standards, therefore the products available in Turkey are quite similar to ones that are available globally (Çurkan et al, 2012). Similarly the kitchen appliance industry has also grown rather quickly in Turkey over the course of past few years. The sector offers appliances like the Turkish coffee maker which peculiar to Turkish culture (Fendal, 2012). The emergence of both the frozen food and kitchen appliance sector started to emerge during the 1980s. This development is simultaneous to the emergence of the new middle class which follow the global consumption patterns (Karademir, 2009)

The emergence of new product categories in response to change in social demographics has also influenced the kitchen. The data reveals that over the past twenty years the size and shape of the kitchen has changed. The increase in space has allowed the kitchen to accommodate more appliances. The kitchen in figure 2b is a good illustration of this. Even though this kitchen belongs to LPH category, but it also has dedicated space for certain kitchen appliances. In addition to having dedicated space for kitchen appliances, some appliances are already fitted in their respective spaces such as the oven. Which is in line with the argument that the kitchen appliances visibility and design is more important than the display of itself (Hand & Shove, 2004). Therefore, at the construction and designing stage of the kitchen certain appliances are fitted into the wall that they can be

used but the mechanical side of appliance is not visible. This helps to keep the kitchen outlook integrated and smooth. For example, if we look at the kitchen in figure 3a, it can be seen that there is only space for a refrigerator whereas in figure 2b the kitchen design has taken the possibility of having smaller appliances also into account. This shows us that today the kitchen has to come with room for certain appliances in order for it to be acceptable by the buyer who are going to dwell in the house. Therefore, the housing market also has to take this dimension into account at the very designing stage of the house. This point was also highlighted by the architect at YDA construction in the informal conversation. The architect said that if the up to date requirements are not met by the house design, it is usually hard to sell it.

5.2. Consuming the kitchen.

Along with the increase in the size of the kitchen, its relative location has changed over the past twenty years. This change in the location of the kitchen has resulted in two possibilities. The first possibility is that the kitchen could have a dedicated space in the house. Even though it may have a dedicated space, its larger size and its location being close to the central location of the house has made it possible to not only accommodate more items but also gives the possibility to do more activities in the space apart from cooking. The second type of kitchen that have emerged is the open kitchen. The open kitchen is part of the saloon or the living room which even further allows the ability to do activities beyond cooking. This change in the kitchen's relative location has made the kitchen an object itself rather than being a space. The floor, walls, ceiling, kitchen cabinets, kitchen appliances and all the small crockery and how the cutlery look have to

be in harmony with each other. This harmony in all the small products make the kitchen an object itself.

5.2.1. The kitchen's functional value.

After establishing the fact that the kitchen has become as object, I would like to take a step forward and say that like any other product, the kitchen is also consumed.

Consumption of a product, brings functional value and a symbolic value. In this section, I will look at the functional dimension of the kitchen, which has increased in size and become part of the central location of the house. Due to the change in social demographics, the role kitchen plays for within family socialization is very important. Within family socialization is basically the time how parents socialize and spend time with their children at home. According to a study done by Fulkerson et al (2011), parents prefer to have their children helping them in cooking the meal together so that they can also socialize and spend time with their children while preparing the meal. This increases the requirement of more space in the kitchen and also the cooking process has to be easier since young children would be in the kitchen helping with the preparation of the meal. As discussed above the open kitchen design makes it possible to have simultaneous activities happening together around the kitchen. Even though if the children do not intend to or cannot help during the cooking, they can be present next to the kitchen and can still spend their time with their parents while the meal is being prepared. They can have a conversation with their parent or can simply do their homework next to their parents while the parents prepare the supper. The functions mentioned above are from studies done outside of Turkey. However, since the focus of this study has been the new middle

class of Turkey, it can be inferred that similar usage patterns are followed. Since studies peculiar to Turkey only tell us that families have started to spend most of their time in the kitchen (Sak, 2014) we can make such an inference.

Another function that the kitchen serves is being able to do more than one activity simultaneously. With limited time, eating food is also considered as a secondary activity for some. People often prefer to do certain activities simultaneously while eating. These activities include watching television, walking or even reading books (Kaufman et al, 1991). This multitasking approach has also contributed to requirement of kitchen being close to other spaces of the house where such tasks can be carried out while cooking and eating. This also increases the requirement for the kitchen to have more space to accommodate items that would make other activities possible. The picture in figure 6 is another example of an open kitchen. The kitchen area is in the background next to the saloon. The saloon has very comfortable looking sofas and there is a television on the wall. Having such a space right next to the kitchen does not only makes it possible to do other activities while eating but also it makes it possible to do other activities while cooking.



Figure 6 HPH age 0 years

5.2.2. The kitchen as an object for conspicuous consumption.

In the previous section, I have discussed the functional aspects of the kitchen as an object. In this section I will discuss how the kitchen becomes an object for conspicuous consumption through its appearance and aesthetics. With some exceptions generally people consume conspicuously in order to show their socioeconomic status beyond the functional value of the product. With the change in the meaning of the kitchen, it has become the symbolic heart of the house (Meah, 2016) and more time is spent in the kitchen by the dwellers (Sak, 2014). Therefore, beyond its functional value its symbolic value has become very important. Interpersonal interaction plays an important role for the consumption of certain products, as the possession of a certain good can play the role as signal for identity of a person (Berger & Heath, 2007). Levy (1959) also states that consumption is not necessarily just by its function value but also due to the symbolic value the product carry. Therefore, consumption has become a way through which people classify themselves with respect to others and also communicate with other people (Holt, 1995). Giving away signal through consumption is one side of differentiating a person with respect to people around him/her but also people make inferences about a person's social identity, social class and preference through the products consumed by a person (Belk, Bahn, & Mayer, 1982). Also the new middle class in Turkey distinguishes its self by living in houses that are in particular areas distant from the city center. By doing so they are able to identify themselves from the traditional middle class (Karademir, 2009). These new houses are expected to have more modern design (Şimsek, 2015, Öncü, 1997). In the new modern house design kitchen plays an important role (Sak, 2014). In order to consume conspicuously, the product that is being used has to be visible to other people in the environment. As discussed in the previous section, the size and

location of the kitchen has changed over the course of time. The kitchen has started to move to a more central location in the house, which has made it more accessible to the gaze of the visitors. In Giuliani (1987) terms, kitchen has become the part of the public space where the dwellers interact with their environment. The kitchen in figure 4a is from a house whose age is more than 12 years. As it can be seen that it has its own dedicated space and a door which can make it totally away from the gaze of outsiders. The kitchen in figure 3b is an open kitchen which is from a house which is almost less than year old. It does not have the chance to be hidden. All features and fixtures that make up the kitchen are completely visible. By comparing these two types of kitchen, over time we can see the movement of the kitchen to a more central location in the house and becoming part of the public space (Giuliani, 1987). This movement has made the kitchen come into the direct gaze of a person visiting from outside. Also part of the house design where the new middle class dwell, does no longer have two living rooms one for the formal guests and one for close family friends (Ayata & Ayata, 1996). As also discussed in the previous section and above, kitchen has started to integrate and share space with other parts of the house such as the drawing room or the living room. With this integration, the possibility of activities other than cooking can also take place in the kitchen or within its premises. Even though food may not be consumed during the interaction of the dwellers and the visitors but since it is occurring next to kitchen, the kitchen is in the gaze of the visitors. Therefore, the kitchen becomes very important object/product for the dwellers to communicate their social status by keeping the kitchen up to the standards that they would like.

The variety in kitchen related products is enormous. For each product that make up the kitchen, there is a huge range in products. The data provides us with the evidence that there is so much variety since there are no two kitchens a like in the data. The variation in the products also implies that there must be a huge price range associated with each product category. A product can be consumed conspicuously either due to its known price or by the way it looks (Woodside, 2012). While showing the change in the size and location of the kitchen, the data also shows a significant change in the overall appearance of the kitchen. In order to consume conspicuously, a person can use the aesthetic symbolic value of the product to display a high taste (Chaudhuri & Majumdar, 2006). Therefore, the variety in the product ranges give the opportunity to consumers to buy a product from a lower price range and integrate the product into the concept that they have developed at a more comprehensive level. By purchasing products from a low priced category but being able to maintain the overall appearance, the dwellers can still achieve to show a superior socio-economic class.

The kitchen has evolved over time and the process is continuing. During this process of evolution, the kitchen has come to a point where it become accessible to the gaze of the outsiders since it becomes part of the public space (Giuliani, 1987). In this section I have discussed how the overall appearance of the kitchen can be used to communicate their social identity and social class. A person can only communicate these symbolic values through products that are visible to the others. About hundred years back kitchen was a space which was completely detached from the main house area and was not visible to any outsiders (Pilaroscia & Ragan, 1998) and was considered simply a factory that produces food (Meah, 2016). Therefore, it did not matter what products were used in the

kitchen. The neatness and how the kitchen products are aligned in harmony did not matter. But with the kitchen's integration into the public space of the house, it has become to have harmony in the kitchen's overall presentation and outlook. Therefore, it has become possible for the people who dwell in the house that the products they use also have symbolic value. This entire integration of the kitchen into public space has made it an object first for consumption and then for conspicuous consumption.



CHPATER VI

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have looked at two simultaneously occurring events. The first thing that I have looked at is the interplay between change in social demographics and the market. This interplay has been established by doing an extensive literature review. The second thing that I have looked at is change in the meaning of kitchen. The literature show that the meaning of kitchen has changed from being a space where food is produced to a space which is for living and leisure (Hand & Shove, 2004, Sak, 2014). This change of the meaning of the kitchen has made it a part of public space. As a result, what products consumed in the kitchen gain importance since they symbolize the socio-economic status of the dwellers. Since public space is where dwellers of the house interact with their environment (Giuliani, 1987). The findings section of this thesis shows that the location of the kitchen in the house has changed and there is a lot of variety available in each product category which makes up the kitchen. Even though the integration of the kitchen into the public space has a functional value but since kitchen is in the public gaze, the kitchen has to have harmony across different products that make up the kitchen. As a result, the kitchen becomes an object itself which is also consumed conspicuously. The kitchen as an object which is accumulation of all the objects that make up the kitchen.

Therefore, the kitchen being open to public gaze itself is subject to becoming an object of conspicuous consumption.

The increase of women in the work force has led to the notion of time scarcity (Jabs & Devine, 2006). Time scarcity is basically the feeling of lack of time to complete all the household tasks within a day. In order to cope with time scarcity, the market has been developing product that helps to cope with time scarcity. We see the emergence of convenience food products that help prepare a meal quickly. In addition to help process frozen food, the market has also supplied new appliances which help the processing of the convenience food. This interplay between the social change and market's response has further intensified the occurring social change. This has also contributed to the change in the meaning of the kitchen. Traditionally, the process of cooking created a lot of externalities and as a result it had to be space which was located somewhere which was not in the public gaze. But since new products make this process tidier, the kitchen has been able to become part of the public space of the house.

As also mentioned above, public space in the house is the space where people interact with their environment (Giuliani, 1987). The kitchen has gone through a process, which has made it part of the public space. The emergence of open kitchen has completely made the kitchen part of the public space in the house versus the kitchen which have a dedicated space. Even though the location of the kitchen with dedicated space is also very close to the public area but till it has some form of seclusion. Which basically mean that how the floor, walls, ceiling, kitchen cabinets and all the small crockery and cutlery look have to be in harmony with each other. It has become important that the kitchen should not have any odd looking item which creates a negative perception. Therefore, kitchen

rather than being a space which accommodates different objects become an object itself. The kitchen as an object can be defined as an object which is the accumulation of all the products that make up the kitchen. People consume conspicuously in order to show their socio-economic status. This is achieved by consuming products that have symbolic meaning. When we look at the kitchen with the lens of conspicuous consumption and the finding of this thesis, it can be inferred that due to a lot of variety available in each product category which makes up the kitchen, the kitchen has become an object which is consumed consciously. Since the price perception of products and aesthetics both are used as signal for conspicuous consumption (Chaudhuri & Majumdar, 2006), the price tag of the products in the kitchen and overall appearance of the kitchen makes the kitchen an object subject to conspicuous consumption.

5.1. Limitations and future research

One of the main limitations of this research is the static nature of the data used. Since through pictures it is not possible to actually feel the quality of the products that are being used in the kitchen. To add more depth into the data, going over the products available for each product category used in the kitchen could be analyzed. But this would require more time and resources since it would require going to different shopping areas and going over the products available.

A future research direction for this project can be conducting in-depth interviews with dwellers. This would provide more insight about their perception of their kitchen. Also to understand what attributes are important for them regarding their kitchen. Also it would be interesting to know whether people are actually willing to show their kitchen to the

visitors who visit their house. In other words, whether the functional value of the kitchen is more important of the symbolic value of it.



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