

THE NEW LUXURY OF HOME DECORATION OBJECTS IN TURKEY:
A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE
CONSUMPTION MOTIVATIONS AND STATUS RELATIONSHIPS
SINCE 2000S

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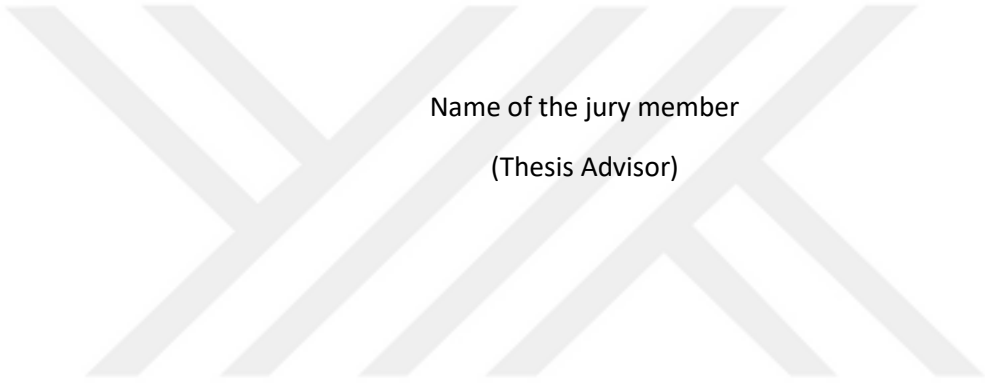
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Özyeğin University
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The thesis of The New Luxury of Home Decoration Objects in Turkey: A Theoretical
Framework for Understanding The Consumption Motivations and Status Relationships Since
2000s

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To my dearest uncle, Kaan Ertem...



ABSTRACT

In the 2000s, changing socio-economic and political structures of Turkey have affected luxury consumption practices. A new modern conservative class has emerged in Turkey. The conservative lifestyle has gained a new dimension within the scope of a universal modernity perception and gained visibility in the public sphere. Luxury consumption styles of the conservative lifestyle have been re-aestheticized in universal aesthetic discourse and spread among the upper and middle class. Thus, the decorative objects of the luxury traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative have become a popular and trendy taste. The literature review about this specific topic reveals that there is a theoretical gap in analyzing the luxury decorative objects of traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative. To fill this gap, the thesis aims at two aspects. Firstly, the theory of “modest conspicuous” aestheticism was obtained in the light of Veblen's theory of the leisure class and Bourdieu's theory of distinction. The theory was formed through the decorative objects of the Hiref and Armaggan luxury decoration brands. It has been determined that the traditional motives were articulated on the modern form. Secondly these home decorative objects, one of the luxury consumption practices of modern and tradition-preserving lifestyle, were examined through this theoretical perspective. The standpoint that conservatism is a mediator factor to establishing domination by the upper class has been analyzed through the design of these objects. Thus, it has been determined that the conservative, which is preserving traditional, design discourse functions as a tool in maintaining the dominance of the upper class.

Keywords: luxury home decorative objects, design, traditionally inspired modern design, luxury consumption in Turkey.

ÖZET

Türkiye’de 2000’li yıllar içinde değişen sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi yapılar, lüks tüketim pratiklerini etkilemiştir. Türkiye’de yeni bir modern muhafazakâr sınıf ortaya çıkmıştır. Muhafazakâr yaşam tarzı, evrensel bir modernite anlayışı kapsamında yeni bir boyut ve kamusal alanda görünürlük kazanmıştır. Muhafazakâr yaşam tarzının lüks tüketim stilleri ise evrensel estetik söylem bağlamında yeniden estetize edilerek üst ve orta sınıf içinde yayılmıştır. Böylece, gelenekselden ilham alan modern ve/veya yenilikçi lüksün dekoratif objeleri, popüler ve modaya uygun bir tat haline geldi. Bu spesifik konuyla ilgili literatür taraması, gelenekselden ilham alan modern ve/veya yenilikçi lüks dekoratif nesnelerin analizinde teorik bir boşluk olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu boşluğu doldurmak için tez iki yönü hedeflemektedir. İlk olarak, “mütevazı göze çarpan” estetizm teorisi, Veblen’in aylak sınıfın teorisi ve Bourdieu’nun ayırım teorisi ışığında elde edilmiştir. Teori, lüks dekorasyon markalarından olan Hiref ve Armaggan markalarının dekoratif objeleri üzerinden oluşturulmuştur. Geleneksel motiflerin modern form üzerine eklemlendiği tespit edilmiştir. İkinci olarak modern ve gelenekleri koruyan yaşam tarzının lüks tüketim pratiklerinden biri olan bu ev dekoratif objeleri bu teorik bakış açısıyla incelenmiştir. Muhafazakârlığın üst sınıf tarafından tahakküm kurmada aracı faktör olduğu görüşü, bu objelerin tasarımı aracılığıyla analiz edilmiştir. Böylece gelenekseli koruyan muhafazakar tasarım söyleminin üst sınıfın egemenliğini sürdürmede bir araç olarak işlev gördüğü tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: lüks ev dekoratif objeleri, tasarım, gelenekselden ilham alan modern tasarım, Türkiye’de lüks tüketim.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Statement and Research Questions

In the flux of life, human beings first consume the material in nature and later start consuming the artificial fruit of their production due to their existential nature. As a result of the increase in mass production with the industrial revolution, many products started to be produced in meta-production in quantitative means. Mass production in modern industrial societies has brought about the problem of a monotone form in commodity production due to the standardization in production (Bilgin, 2002). Thus, it is aimed to eliminate this problem by creating a variety in the form in the designs of the produced commodities (Bilgin, 2002). Differentiation has been provided in the production of commodities by attempting the forms of objects through design (Bilgin, 2002). The production of many commodities with different design languages has also affected the structure of consumption activities. Thus, commodities with a wide range of diversity have begun to present different semantic values (such as prestige, status, urbanity, etc.) thanks to their different

design style languages. After satisfying their fundamental needs, people turn to consumption objects with semantic value to shape their social identity in line with the lifestyle they idealize for themselves. Consumption objects with a semantic value consist of products that attribute a social identity to the individual when consumed. Thus, today it is deduced inference that consumption and commodity consumption exist as a means by which the individual introduces himself/herself to the outside world. Consumption is not only based on commodity consumption in modern and post-capitalist societies period but it has been an essential element that defines the modern lifestyle, especially with industrialization. As will be briefly mentioned later, the effect of consumption on lifestyle (determining, expressing, attributing symbolic value, etc.) gains different forms during and the modern period and after the period. The role of symbols and signs in consumption is undeniably prominent. According to Baudrillard, consumption elements such as food, clothing, and furniture are instrumental in making sense of and shaping people's sense of identity (Bocock, 2005; 74). In the 21st century world, a lampshade is bought not only for its functional value but also the semantic value in terms of its symbolic meaning also plays an active role in the process. The effort to make sense of the individual identity that underlies the

purchasing motivation of individuals is often provided by the semantic values of the purchased product. Furthermore, the semantic value contains key elements for the identity that it will provide to the individual. Semantic value in modern and after the period capitalist societies is shaped by terms such as prestige and status.

The consumer's tendency to consume continuously with an unsatisfied desire is a return of the modern and after the period world (Bocock, 2005; 75). With the spread of desire objects and signs, consumers have an insatiable need to consume. On the other hand, luxury consumption, which comes as a return of consumption, has existed throughout history. According to Sombart, the completion and exceeding of basic needs that need to be met in life appears as an indicator of luxury consumption (Sombart, 2013; 117). While luxury consumption quantitatively means wasted consumption in terms of the amount, it can be qualitatively defined as purchasing products that have better quality (Sombart, 2013; 117).

This thesis seeking an answer primarily to the question of how design and luxury good concepts are perceived in Turkey? From this point of view, how luxury consumption has changed and transformed will be examined through the home decorative objects. The thesis aim is to

discuss in which conditions, depending on which dynamics and over which features the design objects that named as luxury consumption objects are defined. In this context, it is aimed to examine both the transformation of luxury consumption and the role of design in this transformation.

The eclectic structure of modernity and tradition has become the aim of studying modern conservative luxury home decorative objects, where modern forms are combined with conservative elements. In the thesis, it will be examined how the concept of luxury consumption in Turkey transforms through objects in recent years. Object analysis has been made through cultural symbols that are effective in the selection of decorative and service objects. Consumable objects are also affected by the socio-economic and political transformation process of Turkey especially after 2000. It is convenient to examine the concept of luxury consumption in the changing order in Turkey through the decorative and daily objects used for offering within the scope of the literature review. In the thesis, the term daily object will be used to describe daily objects used for the offering. In this changing order, it has become clear that luxury consumption objects are not only bought by the secular middle and upper classes, but also by modern and bourgeois upper-middle class consumers. It can be said as a result of the background

research of the literature review that a change has occurred in the design language of luxury home decorative objects in consequence of the new modern conservative part of the bourgeois class occurrence in Turkey. As a result of the object creating a distinction through design, a differentiation has also occurred in the design language of the objects. When the mentioned objects are examined in terms of the historical process, it is concluded that there are luxurious. Moreover, they can be categorized as traditionally inspired modern home decorative objects for innovative purposes. This means that the traditional cultural codes of these objects have become prominent with the features of traditionally inspired modern innovation and continuing the traces of the past. This change in the luxury product scale has become much more noticeable over time.

There are historical and descriptive studies made in Turkey in the context of luxury modern conservative consumption objects. These studies have been examined within the scope of the literature review and are included in the next section. However, within the scope of the literature review, it has been concluded that there is no theoretical analysis between the mentioned objects and the concept of luxury consumption. As a result of this conclusion, a hybrid aesthetic theoretical statement from the theories of Veblen

and Bourdieu is presented. The home decorative-daily objects examined in the thesis are analyzed in terms of motif, production technique, material and form-function. In the thesis, the term of the daily object will be used for identifying the objects used for offering purposes. The analysis is focused on examining the semantic values through reading the design language of the objects. In short, the consumer behaviour of luxury objects in Turkey will be examined in the context of providing a theoretical context out of home decorative objects.

In the thesis, the presence of luxurious traditionally inspired modern decorative objects that encountered during the home decorative objects and daily objects elaboration and their aesthetic language is theoretically examined. As a result of this examination, the objects of Hiref and Armaggan, the brands that design luxury home decorative objects, are analyzed in terms of design language. To which aesthetic origin the modern traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative category in luxury home decorative objects appeals and the design motivation of this product group has been searched. In the thesis, the modern traditionally inspired modern luxury consumption objects have been analyzed with the focus of Veblen's (2007) theory in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and Bourdieu's (1968) theory in his book of

Distinction. The luxury consumption motivation of the conservative dominant class mentioned by Veblen (2007) in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* was examined. Along with this theory, the similarity created by the intersection of bourgeois hedonism and aristocratic ascetic aestheticism, which Bourdieu mentions in his book *Distinction*, is considered. Moreover, the entire theoretical background mentioned is prepared with the aim of creating an aesthetic theory criticism through object analysis. The objects mentioned in the thesis are studied as case studies and discussed with a synthetic theory analysis. These objects have been studied as a case study within the scope of a theoretical system with internal consistency rather than an empirical study. There are many designer brands and companies that focus on the production and promotion of luxury decorative objects. There are also brands that focus on traditionally inspired or modernist designs that each targets a specific type of consumer in Turkey. Nevertheless, the brands that aim to be innovative by merging the concept of traditionally inspired modern decorative objects with luxury are very few. In this cluster of brands, Hiref and Armaggan are the forerunners, hence they are selected as the main case studies for this thesis. For the sake of the limitation of the thesis, the objects selected from these brands are the most representative ones,

meaning that they reflect a match with the criteria of “simultaneously being a) luxury object and b) traditionally inspired modern objects”.

The new traditionally inspired modern luxury consumption objects can be considered not only as home decorative or daily objects but also as fields where semantic values can be examined such as tourism-entertainment expenditures, clothing products and magazine consumption. The traditionally inspired modern luxury consumption objects are also suitable to examine in these fields. In later studies, specified objects are found as a subject that can be examined based on consumer insight analysis. Additionally, how luxury traditionally inspired modern home decorative objects are used by consumers and how they are displayed in their own houses is another subject for the research.

How and in what position these objects which preserve tradition and increase their value with modern elements are used in houses? With what motivation and in which parts of the house are the objects mentioned positioned? All these questions are supported by one-to-one insight studies with the object owners and appear as topics that can be used in future studies.

STRUCTURE

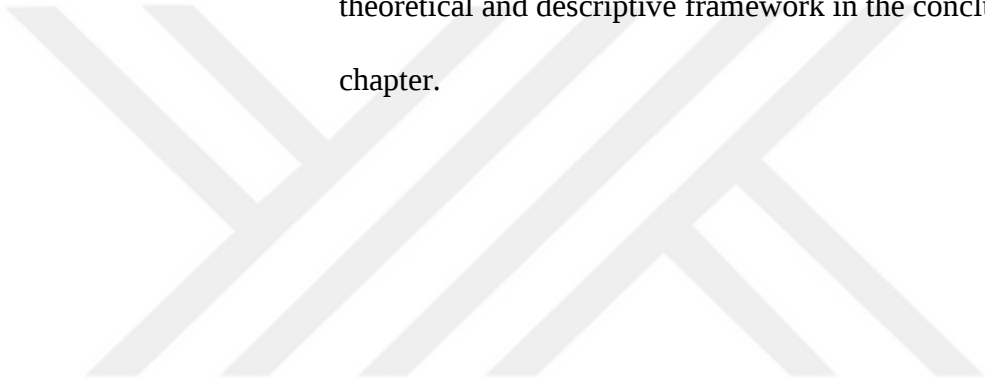
In the introduction section found in the first part of this thesis, there is an entry to understand the changing luxury consumption perception in Turkey.

The second part of the thesis consists of a literature review of changing luxury consumption habits in Turkey in the conceptual framework chapter. While discussing the meaning and distinction principle created by furniture-home decoration, the character and development of the modernist attitude in Turkish design history have also been examined within the literature review scope. In the latter lines, there is an investigation of studies that revolve around the concept of luxury consumption in Turkey. Later, luxury consumption has been simultaneously analyzed within the rise of the new modern conservative class. This investigation to determine the factors of conservative luxury product consumption in Turkey has been fruitful for the thesis. In the last part of the literature review, studies on modern conservative design language and object designs are included.

In the third chapter of the thesis, there is a theoretical investigation associated with luxury consumption. Firstly, the luxury consumption theory of Veblen is studied in the theory

chapter. Afterwards, Veblen's conceptualizations and analyzes on consumption motivations and instinct have been included. Finally, in this part, Veblen's theory of conservatism has been analyzed. In the second part of the theory chapter, Bourdieu's theory of luxury consumption is studied. In the continuation of this part, Bourdieu's concept of capital type, aesthetic taste and luxury consumption judgment theory, habitus and class act theory, and finally, the domination idea in society have been analyzed. In the fourth chapter of the thesis, there is an object analysis of the daily, which is used for offering, and home decorative objects of Hiref and Armaggan brands as a case study about the reflections of traditional factors in the modern product design language. Hiref and Armaggan brands' offering and home decorative objects have been analyzed under the headings of motif, crafting techniques, and materials and form-function in terms of design language. This categorization in object analysis has been done to focus on analyzing the preservation and sustainability of tradition in object design. Craft techniques and materials, which are thought to feed the objects' qualification as a luxury, have been examined in detail. Finally, within the scope of the form-function relationship, the harmony between the modern design language in objects and the context of conservatism or

preserving traditionalism has been analyzed from the perspective of an aesthetic theory. In the continuation of the fourth chapter, a theoretical background was formed by discussing the obtained object design analysis together with the theoretical discourse. The mentioned theoretical background is justified and presented in the discussion part. Finally, the obtained results have been analyzed with a theoretical and descriptive framework in the conclusion chapter.



CHAPTER 2

LUXURY CONSUMPTION AND DESIGN

Considering the motivations for selling and buying luxury home decorative objects in Turkey, which is the research subject of the thesis, it would be appropriate to address a general perception of luxury consumption in Turkey.

2.1. Modern Design and Furniture-Home Decoration

Design can be defined as an aestheticization tool that has engrained all areas of life. It can be said that along with mechanization and mass production, the desire to differentiate in the products produced in modern life is a return of the aesthetic pleasure situated in human beings. In this section, there is an introduction to the history of modern design, and then the importance of furniture and home decoration will be mentioned. Differentiation in furniture and home decoration is an instrument in bringing the social status

of the individual to the desired position in modern life.

Modernization movements in design can be seen most concretely in the fields of architectural and industrial product design. Home decoration, which has become a status symbol, also exists symbolically with the presentation of the intimate area called a house. For this reason, explanations will be given about the importance of furniture and home decoration in terms of social status and classism.

With the 20th century, design has begun to be seen not only as decorative arts produced by handicrafts but also as a part of modern life. Mass production, which attracted attention with mechanization after the industrial revolution, brought differentiation in the production of products in terms of design. This differentiation in the products produced has occurred by designing with color, form, function and motifs. From the historical perspective, it can be seen that the idea of differentiation through design has spread to solve the problem of standardization in products that occur with mechanization and mass production. However, contrary to this idea, according to Raizman (2010), there have been schools stating that mass production is alienated from the product because the worker sees only small parts of the product (Raizman, 2010; 81). The Arts and Crafts movement, led by John Ruskin and William Morris, is a school based on

the mentioned idea (Raizman, 2010; 80-81). Drawing attention to the interior design of houses, this school pioneered the establishment of a design movement based on the unity of arts and crafts (Raizman, 2010; 80). At this point, it is also significant that the design approach of the Arts and Crafts school aims to spread the design to the middle classes and to have a democratic basis in design that is also influenced by the Renaissance and rococo styles. (Raizman, 2010; 80). This trend, in which a modern interpretation of ornaments and craftsmanship is made, has also softened the gothic elements in design and put forward the democratic perspective of the classes' access to these products (Raizman, 2010; 83). As for the presentation of the mentioned elements in a democratic framework, it can be explained by the accessibility of the middle class. Furthermore, the history of philosophy has had great importance in the development process of the history of design. The foundations of modernism were laid in the age of enlightenment, where reason and rationality were valued.

Kurtgözü referred to Descartes, one of the founders of modern philosophy, in his study (2003) and before describing the modern design, he cited Descartes theory on soul and body duality (Kurtgözü, 2003; 50-51). Within the framework of this theory, there has been a period when the designer, who

is the subject, does not reflect his own subjective world on objects but makes standardized designs (Kurtgözü, 2003; 51). The main reason for this situation is that the philosophical attitude of soul and body duality places the subject in a higher position and separates the subject from the object. In the continuation of the mentioned period, basic ideas that shaped the history of design emerged, stating that ornamentation is almost a crime and that form follows function (Kurtgözü, 2003; 51).

According to Pevsner's statement (1968), when Adolf Loos published an article in 1908 on the idea of assuming ornamentation as a crime, an attempt was made to universal and standard beauty patterns in design (Pevsner, 1968; 169).

Raizman (2010) mentioned that the Bauhaus school is a school in the history of modern design in which universal aesthetic norms have been sought since the 1920s and that the defects of handicrafts were tried to be eliminated by mechanization. (Raizman, 2010; 158). However, the Art Deco movement, which emerged in the recent period, had a significant effect on the history of modern design (Raizman, 2010; 158). With this trend where the artist and the designer are intertwined, modern luxurious furniture and decoration objects have been designed (Raizman, 2010; 158).

Consequently, with the increase of mass production and consumer demand, differentiation in design has emerged as a need. Although the modern design is usually considered as an unadorned and plain style, it has been adopted as ostentatious and ornamental in some other schools. Different schools in the history of design have emerged due to the dynamic philosophical foundation in the structure of the design. The design, which adds meaning to the objects used by individuals, has become an important symbol in the life of the individual. When the basis of modern design is examined philosophically as Kurtgözü mentioned (2003), it is possible to say that with the transition to the postmodern world, in consequence of the phenomenological approaches, an effort to fill the gap created by the duality between subject and object and to bring the subject and object to an equal hierarchical position is born (Kurtgözü, 2003; 53-54). In the continuation of this process, the consumption objects chosen by the individual were examined in a semantic relationship with the codes in the culture they lived in (Kurtgözü, 2003; 53-54). Within the framework of the historical changes it has gone through, modern design has spread to places such as the home. Especially in societies where guest entertaining is highly valued (such as Turkey), home decoration has started to have a semiotic meaning. Guest entertaining can be

perceived as introducing the interior of the home to a person who does not belong to the household. From a historical perspective, it can be said that the interior arrangements including furniture and home decoration, have progressed in parallel with the logic of being modern and suitable for civil life. Although the furniture is an important part of contemporary life, the fact that it is not used in archaic societies or societies that maintain archaic social characteristics today proves that it is not a vital basic requirement. However, considering today's societies, it is very difficult to think of a living space without furniture. The reason for this is that the furniture that is bought by the house owner also contains the judgment of taste of the host.

Boyla (2012) examined the meaning of furniture and the historical evolution of this meaning in her study. According to Boyla (2012), the furniture appears as a symbol of respectability in terms of its instrumental features in history such as showing the greatness of kings (Boyla, 2012). Furniture, which symbolizes the value and ostentation of a house, offers many clues about people's beliefs, personalities, cultures and economic capital (Boyla, 2012). This is because furniture that is bought for the house also contains the judgment of taste of its buyer.

The motivations of individuals in purchasing furniture or clothes and the tendencies of their taste preferences while choosing these objects are shaped together with the distribution rates of economic and cultural capital. For these reasons, home decoration and furniture, in which the judgment of taste becomes observable, have been examined as a case in the thesis research. In line with the analysis of the selected furniture, it is aimed to reach an aesthetic inference. The meaning of furniture has been exposed to many evolutions in history. Because mass production did not spread before industrialization, it was rare and handcrafted and later on, it took its place in mass production with industrialization. With the migration and increasing population in developed countries, furniture production has started to be *fast and much* as a result of industrialization.

The industrialization period has spread to all fields of consumption. According to Boyla (2012), economic concerns in furniture design have become more explicit due to the furniture production that started to appeal to larger masses with industrialization (Boyla, 2012). Due to the appeal to large masses of different socio-economic classes, cheaper production techniques in furniture production compared to the past, products with less hand workmanship and the use of imitation materials instead of valuable materials have

increased significantly (Boyla, 2012). Thus, rather than the quality of the furniture, its functionality has come into prominence. However, since appealing to different masses has created distinctions in furniture production and consumption depending on the judgment of taste, the priority of function is not the dominant situation for all classes. The increasing need for furniture in the 19th century also required easy and fast production. Therefore, instead of materials that can be hardly molded like natural wood, materials that can be molded easily, such as iron, are preferred. (Boyla, 2012).

Natural wooden products that cannot be molded easily and products produced with less labor instead of handwork have gained a very important place in mass production. Thus, in the 19th century, the emergence of overly ornamented poor workmanship products with low aesthetic value began to be judged by intellectuals and artists (Boyla, 2012). As a result of industrialization, designs started to focus on simplicity and functionality due to the idea that the decorations in industrial products are machine work instead of human labor, and they do not have a value/worth like they did in the past (Boyla, 2012). Especially towards the middle of the 19th century, during the most significant periods of modernism, modern designs with fewer components and plain language occurred.

Since the decoration objects in a home are seen as introducers and show many clues about the lives of individuals, it is insufficient to consider home decorative objects, which are within the scope of furniture, only as concrete objects. Even a simple candle and candle holder in the living room are positioned for aesthetic purposes. Any decoration object that is bought for the house gives a clue about the cultural and economic capital of the household. While Bourdieu speaks of the unequal distribution of economic and cultural capital in society, he mentioned that this distribution is perhaps most concrete as an expression of taste judgment in home furnishings and clothing (Bourdieu, 1984). This thesis, it is aimed to derive an aesthetic theory from the examined cases of decorative object products. Home decorative objects that embodied the social status of individuals and their purpose of recognition by others can be read on the scale of Turkey through concepts and components in Veblen-Bourdieu's theory. The reading will be made on two currently active brands. The reason for this is to show that a new aesthetic language has emerged in the products of current brands. The socio-cultural elements in furniture and home decorative objects can be read from an aesthetic context. Consequently, although a house is a private space for people, it introduces itself to the outside world through

interior objects and decorating the house is for introducing the private to the outside world.

In Turkey, guests are welcomed in living rooms. The living room, where the house is introduced to the outside world, can never be considered as private as a bedroom. It has semi-permeable privacy as it is an area where the household communicates with each other and outsiders. The living room of the house has the characteristic of being a private area as well as being used as a tool in the construction of the social status of the household. Thus, the furniture and decoration objects used in the home living room are not only functional but also presentational. Consequently, to put forward an existing aesthetic theory in Turkey, the selection of decorative objects that shows judgment of taste can be examined through reading product design language. Considering the scale of Turkey, modern conservative decoration objects that contain modern and conservative elements in terms of design language can be seen. How Turkey-scaled modern aesthetic judgment shaped and evolved historically will be discussed in the next section. As a result of these researches, current aesthetic judgment in Turkey, the country that is neither fully western nor fully eastern in terms of its geopolitical location, will be examined

within the context of the modern conservative objects that are designed by both modern and traditional techniques.

2.2. A Historical Overview of Modern Aesthetics in Turkey

Why and how modernism was built in Turkey? In this section, the prementioned process has been studied with a historical examination of the design codes in furniture and home decoration. The historical stages of modern and luxurious design codes in Turkey will be examined in this section. The processes of intertwinement and interaction between modernization movement and exclusive-luxury design approach will be examined historically in terms of the development process of aesthetical sense in Turkey. For the modernism movement in Turkey, where modernism in design began to emerge at a later time period than Europe and United States, it is a fact that not all segments of society have easy access to modern design. Thus, due to the fact that modern design is not easily accessible over time, an intertwining between modern design and exclusive-luxury design has occurred. In short, modern design has been seen as

a manifestation of the concepts of luxury and elite since the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Since the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, the effects of the modernization culture, which is called *Alla franga* (in the European style) in design, have continued for a long time. As resistance against the *Alla franga*, the culture of *Alla Turca* comes into prominence as a culture in which traditional symbols come to the fore.

Although an eclectic structure was formed by ensuring the combination of *Alla Turca* (in Turkish design) and *Alla franga* culture in time, sometimes a duality consisting of *Alla Turca* and *Alla franga* concepts have also emerged. The mentioned dynamic process had continued until the 2000s and socio-economic foundation and political processes have had an impact based on this process. Whether it continues today can be examined as a separate research question. Especially after Turkey's shift to liberal economic policies in the 1980s, "American or European" products have become accessible in the country. In this section, the mentioned processes will be reviewed in detail. And this review will be important in defining contemporary modern conservative luxury home decorative objects.

The modernization process in Turkey can be traced back to the pre-republican period. According to Nasır, Timur, Gürel (2019), the transition to modern life in the

Ottoman Empire in the 18th century was shaped by the contribution of the observations made by Yirmi Sekiz Mehmet Efendi as a result of his travels to France (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019). When analyzed the domestic life in the Ottoman Empire, simple and functional home designs in accordance with Islamic traditions can be seen. (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019). However, with the transition to modern culture in the 18th century, the conspicuous consumption branch of the modern consumer culture, which was taken as a model from France, came to life in the Sultan's palace, in the upper-middle class communities living in Istanbul and non-Muslim families (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019).

An emptiness occurred when the home decoration system of the Ottoman traditional lifestyle came across with the style modeled on France. The use of floor tables that were considered simple and functional low couches in a traditional manner and called 'sini' in the west, had difficulty in adapting to the new order. For these reasons, the Western modern lifestyle rooted in the Ottoman lands as a luxury attitude and could not achieve the transition from the elite to the lower classes. Concepts such as modernization and keeping up with modern culture occur mostly in architecture and domestic life. In these times, it was thought that the best way that will ensure the adoption of the idea of being modern

and the ideology of reaching the level of contemporary civilization by people is the design of domestic and public life.

According to the information that Sibel Bozdoğan stated in her book (2002), the emergence of the early Republic style has three stages. The first one is the first national movement dominated by Ottoman revivalism, the second one called the second national movement that has an international characteristic with local references and has a new architectural style with the transition to the Republican regime. (Bozdoğan, 2002; 316). Ottoman revivalism, which prevailed in Ottoman architecture until the 1930s, is an art movement intertwined with decorative elements in classical Ottoman architecture (Ottoman domes, tiles, motifs, pointed arches, etc.) and modern construction techniques (iron, steel, reinforced concrete, etc.) (Bozdoğan, 2002; 31). Ottoman revivalism also called as Neo-Ottomanism or the national architectural renaissance is based on consciously regenerating the Ottoman architecture from a historical perspective as a rational and systematic discipline (Bozdoğan, 2002; 35). Moreover, the movement's main aim was breaking down the stereotypical orientalist discourses of the West about Ottoman architecture (Bozdoğan, 2002; 35-36). The national architectural renaissance was shaped by the movements of

the Young Ottoman members. The publication of an article titled *Usul-i Mi'mari-i Osmani* in 1873 was an important step towards balancing the extreme westernization movement in the reforms of the *Tanzimat* period with the Ottoman cultural heritage (Bozdoğan, 2002; 36). The purpose of this article was to address the preservation of the traditional style of Ottoman architecture and building and systematizing the dominant architectural discipline in a contemporary perspective. Looking at the works of Osman Hamdi Bey, who is from the young Ottoman generation, it is possible to see that the human images envisioned in the stereotypical images of harem, hammam and bazaar and are portrayed as a productive and progressive Muslim society that reads books and makes discussions on the books. (Bozdoğan, 2002; 39-40). This attitude of Osman Hamdi seems to be progressive and rational that aimed at breaking the stereotypical oriental discourse in Western memories. Thus, the classical sense of Islamic state image in Ottoman architecture is filled with terms such as Turkishness and nationality and appears as modern architectural structures. The important point here is what westernization means and how to understand the concept of it. It can be said that one of the reasons for the Turkification movement in Ottoman structures is that it is not necessary to apply modernization in terms of content. The

important point here is to establish a systematic and rational architecture without denying the authentic legacy of Ottoman architecture. In 1931, the national architectural renaissance collapsed and was replaced by "New Architecture", in which Ottoman forms were rejected (Bozdoğan, 2002; 61). The reason to apply the new architecture especially in public buildings such as hospitals, government offices and higher education institutions was the revolution that puts the new against the old with the declaration of the Turkish Republic. (Bozdoğan, 2002; 76-78). This perspective offers a very radical perspective compared to the National architectural renaissance. The basis of radicalism lies in the propagation of the Republican ideology, which is the rejection of the old. Since the development of a new order primarily lies in the change of habits and built environment, it won't be surprising that architecture becomes one of the most concrete indicators of a new nation. However, after the collapse of the old and the emergence of a new radical view, the second national movement that nationalized the modern emerged (Bozdoğan, 2002; 260). The main purpose of the second national style was to distinguish Turkish architecture from the ostentatious and ornate traces of Arab and Persian architecture and to bring the modest and plain Turkish architecture to the fore (Bozdoğan, 2002; 269). The basic argument of this style was

that classical Turkish architecture already had the elements of simplicity and plainness in Western modernism and was different from Islamic architecture (Bozdoğan, 2002; 269). Thus, modernity was blended with Turkish elements in the Ottoman heritage and reshaped by considering the Seljuk traditions and motifs from the past. Furthermore, Sedat Hakkı Eldem, who embraced the elements of traditional Turkish identity with a modernist perspective, used the language of modernism dominated by plain and geometric forms in his interior works between 1928 and 1929, while at the same time completing this synthesis by using traditional elements such as cedar and stove in the spaces (Bozdoğan, 2002; 283-285). Since Eldem created his classical traditional Turkish interior designs in terms of low furniture, built-in wardrobes and plain language, the form of the designs was not against modernity (Bozdoğan, 2002; 285).

Turan (2010) has historically examined the understanding of design in the early Republican period in one of her studies. According to Turan's article (2010), in the interior design in the 1930s, woven and leather furniture, ceramic, metal and glass works, cotton, silk and wool materials came to the fore and traditional handicrafts were emphasized (Turan, 2010). The main aim here is to create a modern decoration style in which the heritage of traditional

handicrafts does not disappear. Two different design views of Seyfi Arkan and Sedad Hakkı Eldem occurred in the field of Turkish architecture and design in the 1930s (Turan, 2010). Sedad Hakkı Eldem adopted the national modernist style while Seyfi Arkan adopting the international modern style (Turan, 2010). On the road divided into two in the history of Turkish architecture, on one hand, the metallic surface and lighting system based on the Bauhaus school continued in a limited way, on the other hand, the interior designs were highly eclectic and were designed with traditional elements (Turan, 2010). In the 1930s, while houses representing the cubic movement were built, the interiors of these houses were designed with a combination of eclectic and traditional styles (Turan, 2010). According to Turan, one of the common points of the divided styles in architecture was the inspiration of the art deco style in the Western sense (Turan, 2010). Art deco style is a style of visual arts that first appeared in Europe in the 1920s and lasted for a long time, embodying luxury, glamor and flamboyance with symmetrical designs¹. It offers a symmetry of flowing shapes, animal skin patterns, frequent mirror decors, shiny surfaces and geometric shapes².

¹ www.architecturaldigest.com

² www.architecturaldigest.com

In modern Turkish architecture of this period, while the shiny surface and metallic furniture designed with inspiration from the machine aesthetics of the art deco movement were used eclectically with traditional elements, natural materials (wood, etc.) referring to the past were also used (Turan, 2010). Moreover, Eldem referred to a pre-Ottoman tradition by using elements belonging to the Seljuk and Anatolian nomadic Turks in his interior designs (Turan, 2010). However, according to Turan, advanced technology and luxury materials in the art deco movement were not on the agenda of the Turkish people before 1950 (Turan, 2010).

In the 1950s, the politically liberal democratic party government adopted an understanding of the American side of modernism. According to the study Gürel (2009) designed by American architects and Sedad Hakkı Eldem from Turkey, Istanbul Hilton Hotel was one of the biggest results of this American effect. (Gürel, 2009). With participation in NATO and America's Marshall Plan during this period, Turkey succeeds to create an opportunity for erasing the sick man image of the Ottoman Empire during its last period from the viewpoint of Europe (Gürel, 2009). One of the most important symbolic examples of this situation, the luxurious Istanbul Hilton Hotel, designed with an international architectural technique, can be seen as an introductory

transition phase made to model the new modern architectural aesthetics for houses in domestic culture (Gürel, 2009). Since the tourism effect was also considered in the hotel rooms, while a modern international architecture was used, traditional Turkish symbols were also appeared in designs (Gürel, 2009). The low sitting sets, tasseled pillows and the cage system in Turkish architecture in the hotel rooms are designed with a contemporary perspective (Gürel, 2009). However, for this period, the modern design still remained a high-cost model appealing only to the upper-middle class (Gürel, 2009).

The lack of technological and industrial infrastructure during the beginning of the Republican era in Turkey was blocking Turkey to be an industrial society. Thus, Western-inspired magnificent home decoration trends such as art-deco were sustainable only in the upper-middle classes. As stated in the study of Nasır, Timur, Gürel (2019), modernist decoration elements, known in the Western sense, turned the living rooms of the upper-middle class into museum-salons in the continuation of this trend (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019). Museum-salons are areas that are not used by the households in their daily lives, open only for display purposes for guests on special occasions and invitations, and are always kept clean and where high-value decoration objects are displayed

(Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019). Since in the 1940-the 50s the museum-salons were a means of introducing hosts to the others rather than being a private area, they were places where velvet-covered or heavy wooden furniture, crystal and porcelain products appeared (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019).

Nasır, Timur and Gürel (2019) made a study on the museum-salon concept which was once very popular in Turkey. The museum-salon is not a space where daily life routine takes place. It is concluded that while the museum-salon space is the salon that is not used in daily life, the living room space is used in everyday life. During the 1980s, a new middle class has occurred in Turkey, where socio-economic globalization has started in its politics (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019). Thus, globally popular consumption trends can be learned by various magazines and publications and have become much easier to access (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019). With another new middle-class occurrence in the '90s and later, the museum-salon culture was considered as arabesque with its dark brown, heavy and richly ornamented designs as an effect of the neo-classical movement (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2019). Therefore, as of the end of the 90s and the beginning of the 2000s, the idea of museum-salon gradually disappeared with the emergence of the new middle class that had access to global trends and products.

When looking at the whole modernization movement in the history of Turkish architecture and decoration, it is seen that the processes in which the modern and the traditional were visibly separated began to be intertwined with globalization.

2.3. Luxury Consumption in Turkey

Consumption of luxury products in Turkey can be examined by many consumption dimensions such as home decoration, clothing shopping, jewelry, holiday options. As part of the research, we encounter upper and middle-class consumption habits when the classes who practice luxury consumption are examined.

For the examination of luxury consumption in Turkey, the historical development of consumer perception in Turkey was first examined. First of all, looking at the beginning of the transition to luxury consumption style in the Ottoman period, the Tulip Era is encountered. According to Topay and Erdem (2019), the first core of pleasure-loving excessive and luxury consumption movements, although not mass, began in Ottoman times during the Tulip Era. According to Topay and

Erdem (2019), this magnificent luxury consumption, which was primarily in and around the Palace, then spread towards the middle class.

Before starting this conceptual study, it is necessary to look at the process of Westernization that affects the form and habits of consumption in Turkey. Because in the context of luxury consumption research in Turkey, it was found that there is a similarity between the Westernization movement and the luxury consumption movement. According to Aydemir's work (2006), Westernization in the Turkish modernization process has begun to show itself, especially in consumption habits since the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, with the consumption of European imported consumer products and lifestyle by the Ottoman bourgeoisie (pianos in halls, European fashion, food and drink, culture, etc.), the people began to recognize and care about these consumption habits. In the continuation of this process, the idea of taking consumption to the forefront instead of consumption or saving without production became widespread in the Ottoman Empire. According to Aydemir, the Westernization that occurred during the last period of the Ottoman Empire with the Republican period took a sharp turn. But since an imported life order would condemn dependence on the

country, there have been initiatives by the state about domestic and national production. This led to the reintroduction of savings and production. In the 1950s, with the help of the Marshall Plan, consumption became more mass than before. With the gradual liberalization, many foreign companies have opened branches in Turkey during this period. Thus, the consumption of modern white goods such as washing machines and refrigerators has become accessible. The presence of these products in homes has become a source of status and prestige.

According to Topay and Erdem (2019), with the increase and spread of the desire to make money by the masses since the 1980s, the desire to consume and become rich has been at the forefront during this period. As a result of the belief that Westernization will be effective in increasing its consumption, consumption in the name of gaining more meta-oriented social status beyond physiological needs has come to the fore. According to Aydemir's (2006) study, liberal economics and industrialization have increased the accessibility of modern consumption elements. Especially in Turkey, which is approaching globalization after 1980, the expansion of the products mentioned not only in cities but also in towns has been observed. With globalization and the liberal economy, domestic goods and imported goods have

gradually become indistinguishable. Besides, expensive products and brands have become an important status symbol. According to Aydemir, as a result of all this process, with the increase of spaces and non-productive activities that provide leisure time, consuming or spending more than what it produces, which was previously caused by westernization, is again a debatable issue on the agenda.

According to Bayhan (2011), with the influence of the media reaching the masses in the 1980s, the most decisive source of status was money based on competition and hedonism. In this way, individualism based on competition instead of social solidarity has come to the fore in society. Shopping malls opened in these years, which are a prominent indicator of social inequality, also played an important role in increasing the desire for consumption. Thus, many brands have become status symbols.

One of the current consumption habits in Turkey is the luxury consumption habit. As mentioned above, studies have been conducted to examine the motivations and objects of consumption of this form of consumption which is mainly seen in the upper and middle classes. These studies show how luxury consumption in Turkey is located. For instance, Sütütemiz and Kurnaz (2016) examined 2950 participants in twelve regions of Turkey how they perceive the concept of

luxury and whether there is a differentiation in the perception of luxury. As a result of the research, the concepts of money, wealth, car, quality and quality life, comfort, vanity and unnecessary appeared in each group as the meaning attributed to luxury. As a result of the research on the perception of luxury consumption, which varies depending on factors such as culture, economy, socio-demography, money and wealth ranked first compared to households with all income groups. As a result of Deloitte's research in 2015, the article stated that luxury consumption is perceived as showing off in Turkey as well as in developing countries and is perceived as a matter of status. In addition, it is stated that the middle class in Turkey also longs and desires to buy luxury products.

But in addition to this longing, Yıldız and Baş (2017) made a judgment in their study that the general perceptions of middle-class consumers in Turkey about consumption have a negative meaning to eliminate, to lose, in short.

Kocabaş (2019) in her research on luxury consumption in Turkey, Deloitte stated that after 2010 years in Turkey, it was clearly more affected by the luxury market. She also mentioned his research stating that in the luxury market, especially watches, accessories, clothing, jewelry are becoming categories. As part of this research, it is possible to say that while the upper-middle class consumption habits of

luxury are increasing, middle-class consumers are also increasing the demand for luxury to be accessible. According to Kocabaş, bags, shoes and jewelry, which are the sign of socio-demographic status, have become important luxury categories, especially for women in Turkey. In addition, especially in the younger generation, a situation arose from the need to care about the consumption habits of “celebrities” and identify their lives with their own. According to Deloitte’s report, luxury consumption in countries progresses in five different stages: elite class, wealth accumulation class, prestige seeking class (pretentious), internalization class and lifestyle class. According to this report, it has been suggested that Turkey, like other developing countries, is in the process of providing prestige to the luxury market. In the elite stage, which is the first stage, luxury is seen only in countries where it is accessible to the limited person. Countries with wealth accumulation, which is the second stage, appear as countries that begin economic development. In the second stage, luxury consumption is usually carried out in the field of food and textiles. In the third, the luxury market area is expanding with the inclusion of middle-income classes. Here, it is seen that buying more luxury products is means of ensuring prestige and status. At this point, the display and display of a luxury

product come into play. In this research, Deloitte suggested that this phase appeared in Turkey. Deloitte has categorized luxury consuming groups in Turkey in six different ways. The first is the rich, who have high culture and are looking for wealth and new luxury products that have been owned since time immemorial. Secondly, they are the new rich, usually made up of entrepreneurs and managers, who raise their class position by receiving higher education. The third, luxury-consuming identity group is strong women with careers. The fourth group is metropolitan men, who care about fashion and personal care. The fifth is young bosses and managers from Generation Y. Another is the shopping tourist group, formed by high-income tourists, especially from the Middle East. Finally, it appears to be internalized. This group is a group in which luxury is a sophisticated state, but also luxury is a need and lifestyle.

Çınar and Çubukçu (2010) conducted a research on pretentious consumption, one of the motivations for luxury consumption. Çınar and Çubukçu's (2010) research shows that pretentious consumption serves the purpose of achieving value not only to meet an individual's own desires but also in the eyes of others. In this study, it was mentioned that middle-class members over the age of thirty-five have a desire to save money and rise to the upper class. However, in

general, the idea that industrial products, especially household products and kitchen utensils, still gain prestige and status is growing. Çınar and Çubukçu included Bourdieu's theory of pleasure and distinction in this work. In this direction, he noted that practices and tastes can also be embodied in commodities, and for example, the idea of laying a space according to its taste is also an indicator of this situation. According to Çınar and Çubukçu (2010), there is an order that meets the desire for the status of the mass media (films, serials, etc.) and spreads the principle of encouraging consumption. Global culture, spread by mass media, plays an important role in identifying similar desirable objects of consumption, creating cultural convergence between pleasure and preferences.

In addition to the above studies, research has also been conducted on how the perception of luxury consumption creates meaning for young people in Turkey. These studies also support the current understanding of luxury consumption in Turkey. Oral (2014) conducted a survey of 451 university students in Turkey and investigated university students' perceptions of luxury consumption and their behavior towards luxury consumption, as a result of her study, he identified four different attitudes towards luxury consumption behavior among students. These behaviors have been

identified as elitists, pretenders, rejecters, and out of reach. According to the results of the study, it was found that those with a pretentious attitude adopted the qualities of being conspicuous, brand, popular, personalized. In those who adopted the elitist attitude, it was found that they adopted the qualities of elegance, quality, prestige, originality, aesthetics and influence.

Additionally, the mentioned study, Belgin Yazıcı (2018) conducted another study on the luxury consumption culture of generation Y in Turkey. Yazıcı (2018) mentioned that the demand for luxury consumption, which appears prominently in generation Y, born in the 90s, was born as respectability and prestige. With the development of technology and globalization, expanding consumption opportunities have made luxury much more accessible than before the 2000s, which has led to the democratization of luxury. Thus, the alternative or alternative use of most luxury products (expensive car rental, boat rental services, uber luxury car rental, etc.) has occurred. As a result, the luxury that was a privilege in the past has democratized and become the new luxury. In this case, generation Y in Turkey has more access to luxury products and services.

In a study, Zorlu (2009) divided the consumer culture of Turkish youth into five main categories; youth of poverty

culture and youth who care about traditional culture, hedonist culture, intellectual culture. Young people with a culture of poverty, only meet their basic needs due to low cultural and economic capital from the family. The main issue of this segment, which lacks areas that produce cultural capital such as theater, cinema, reading books, is usually work and living. The second group takes the characteristics of the first group and those who dominate the family and traditional cultural codes within themselves and becomes the moral conservative section at the same time. The third segment is the modest, non-excessive (own house, have a middle-quality car, etc.), luxury consuming segment, which usually comes from a middle-class family. This segment believes that money will bring happiness. According to Zorlu, in the sense that Bourdieu is talking about, it is a segment with judges of appreciation formed according to economic capital. Young people who care about hedonistic culture are often the ones who have wealthy middle-class families and buy expensive products according to their tastes without worry. This segment accomplishes the element of pleasure by taking expensive products through objects. Finally, the youth who care about intellectual culture are the children of families with middle and upper socioeconomic levels and consist of young people who are highly educated and care about

cultural activities such as theater, cinema, opera.

Consequently, those with hedonistic, material and intellectual categories include more modern practices in their daily lives, while those in the traditional and poor category tend to more traditional and religious practices. According to Zorlu, as youth goes from traditional to modern to the intellectual, this journey goes towards materialism on the way to being visible along with globalization.

A recent study on young consumers comes across a study in which Mine Satı (Satı, 2018) investigated the views of young people about luxury clothing brands in Bursa province of Turkey in 2018. According to the conclusion of Satı's study, it was concluded that the atmosphere of the store, quality, hedonism, fashion, status and reference group has a significant influence on luxury clothing preferences.

The above-mentioned understanding of luxury consumption in Turkey and the study of the motivation of the young group in this form of consumption support the motivation of luxury consumption studied in the thesis.

As part of the study of the nature of luxury home decorative objects found in the infrastructure of the dissertation, it is also necessary to look at the culture of luxury consumption, especially spread through mainstream

media channels such as television. Home decoration programs and series shot indoors point to clues on behalf of luxury home objects. Television and mainstream media programs are one of the platforms where the perception of consumption and luxury consumption, in general, is spread, which has also reached the younger generations in particular. According to Dağtaş (2008), the show of wealth offered in Tv series since the mid-90s on Turkish television is super luxury villas with pools. In the series, luxury villas with improved security are often symbolized as elitism and privilege, away from the crowds of the city. The latest cars, phones, luxury restaurants and luxury villas found in the series during this period stand out as new indicators of wealth. One of the most important elements in these series is fiction, in which the lower and upper classes of society coexist and arise from the conflict between them. As a result, in the 90s, due to the glorification of consumption, especially through the media, there was a segment that avoided showing off the wealth of old times, rather than showing off its wealth and wanting its terms to be dominant.

According to research conducted by Koç (2016), the words modern, stylish and fashionable were used quite often in the reality show *Evim Şahane*, which aired on Turkish television in 2012, aimed at redesigning a house. In the

research conducted, it is worth noting that candles/candle holders, mirrors and decorative coffee table accessories are found in the part that is not in the hall and are supplied for decorative objects. Another detail found in the research is that there are halls that are opened for the guest and are a symbol of panache instead of being used. According to the results of the research, modern and stylish redecoration of the homes of poor people imposes ostentatious consumption, creating the phenomenon that poor viewers themselves can also buy the products shown in the program.

In addition to the television programs and series mentioned, it is interesting to research one of the home decoration magazines that is often encountered in daily life. Saral Güneş (2016) conducted a study in Home Art Decoration magazine in which she examined ads that symbolize the luxurious lifestyle. Home decoration and furniture ads in the magazine often focus on the new middle class, showing economic and cultural segregation in styles of acclaim such as spatial difference. The current ads feature Ottoman-palace indicators, aestheticized life highlights, and a luxurious environment that emerges from dualities such as classic-modern, East-West. Luxury and attraction features of daily-use products have outstripped their functionality. Saral Güneş (2016) mentioned that in the modern postmodern

world with late capitalism, consumers are trying to gain identity through the symbolic value of products. According to Saral Güneş (2016), for this period, ads focused on increasing consumption, especially in home decoration magazines and encouraging luxury life, are an important factor in shaping consumption.

2.4. Rising New Bourgeoisie Conservative Identity and Luxury Consumption

When current consumption habits in Turkey are examined, a new consumer identity, the new conservative bourgeois class, is encountered within the upper-middle class, especially within the scope of the masses who consume luxury. Consumption behavior within the new class mentioned, including luxury consumption, there are homogeneous structures and similar codes with the consumption behavior of the existing upper and middle classes in Turkey. With the beginning of modernization movements on the scale of Turkey and the spread of capitalism, the conservative sector was the most affected by

the changing and transforming ways of life. The conservative sector, dominated by tradition, should not be treated only as religious. Conservatism can be defined as a segment that preserves tradition within a globalized order in which traditions are preserved.

According to Demirezen's study (2016), there have been significant changes in the lifestyle, behavioral practices, in short, habitus of the conservative segment in Turkey. With the political and economic liberalization movements implemented in Turkey after 1980, Turkey began to participate in the global and also capitalist world order. With the coming to power of conservative parties in the 90s, there have been noticeable changes in the conservative environment. According to Demirezen (2016), during the transition to consumer society, an eclectic combination of consumer values and religious values occurred for the conservative segment. In consumer societies where values and services are commodified and artificial needs are born, the religious segment is also affected by this situation. This change occurs in two different forms in conservative life, the first is the differentiation in clothing style and the second is the change in leisure time assessment with holiday understandings. Demirezen exemplified this situation. The first is the inclusion of hijab in the fashion sector and the

increase of hijab fashion magazines (e.g. Ala, Modanisa magazine). The styles in these magazines match the fashion sense of modern women's magazines. The second is the birth of VIP hajj and umrah facilities and the emergence of five-star luxury hotels with separate beaches for men and women. Due to concepts such as hijab fashion shows, hijab fashion, criticism has emerged about the commodification of hijab. The point that was mainly criticized was that a form of religious veiling occurred in the context of aesthetic concerns. Demirezen can be said to have reached the conclusion that in some quarters the religious elements in habitus acquired luxurious qualities. According to Demirezen (2015), consumption elements that promise luxury, such as hijab fashion shows, luxury pilgrimage and umrah visits, create an irony because luxury and panache are not welcome in Islam.

Karakaya (2018), deduced that the conservative segment leads a life more compatible with modern life as the level of economic prosperity increases. In particular, with the establishment of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) in a post-Islamist and liberal order, he mentions that the distance between the religious and secular sections, which were previously othered, has narrowed. Thus, an area emerged, including the Anatolian bourgeoisie and Anatolian

culture, in which Islamic morality was added to global capitalist rationality. Increasing the capital of individuals in Anatolia also supported this situation. According to Karakaya, an Islamic bourgeoisie was born with the conservative classes, which prospered. Thus, a new hybrid way of life emerged which is modern and religious. In particular, the modern conservative class emerged, which reorganized daily life practices, such as clothing, food and drink, places to go. The most important indicators of this situation are the combination of modern and traditional motifs in lifestyles and houses becoming concrete. New architecture and decoration, especially designed with modern details, is created with an elegance in which light, comfort and spaciousness come to the fore. In short, the new middle class mentioned in this study has also been called the authentic middle class or the conservative bourgeois. Eventually, it has been emphasized that it is possible to say that there are conservative and modern classes with a high level of economic prosperity, rather than a capital class in the Western sense, which have gained visibility in the public sphere.

Looking at these studies, the relations of the modern and new conservative class, which are in the position of the upper and middle class, with the capitalist system should also be

examined in detail. As a result of this review, some studies have been identified. First of all, the origin of this process must be examined.

Serter (2018) conducted research on conservatism and the construction of the city in his work. Serter emphasized that conservatism is the most important place to continue the tradition and family structure. Spaces, especially the interior of houses, are structures where most daily life practices and religious rituals are performed. Serter mentioned in his book that there are especially dead ends in the design of conservative cities so that foreigners do not participate in privates. He mentioned that conservatism has become urbanized, especially with the transition to the neo-liberal period in Turkey. Serter concluded that with the beginning of the migration from village to city in this process, religious conservatism and rural life habits continued in those who emigrated to the city. As a result, neoliberalism's emphasis on private property has met the common denominator of conservatism's belief that private and outward property protects the private. In this way, Serter came to the conclusion of values that nourish the passion for consumption, such as class privilege, pleasure and status, rather than the public property of space.

In another study, Aygöl and Gürbüz (2019) encountered neo-liberalism and religious capitalism in the 1980s. In addition to the neoliberal processes, the Islamic bourgeoisie has formed with the Islamization process. The fact that the logic of declining interest from the previously earthly one encounters capitalist processes has created a new scale of consumption. The impact of the norms and principles of mass consumption, especially on the practice of Islamic clothing has been realized in terms of fashion coming to the forefront. Along with a new identity based on individual economic success, Muslim actors have become actors who have acquired an economic place with individual success, instead of content with less and completing their fatalistic logic. The emerging Islamic cultural industry has emerged as an area where religious sensitivities are taken into account, but with a contemporary view of the world rather than traditional patterns. Thus, Islamic practices were restructured according to the capitalist market and entered a period in which symbols of Islamic identity were referenced. For example, halal label products (food, cosmetics, etc.) have occurred. Another example that proves this situation is that a religious symbol such as hijab becomes a status in terms of fashionably. Muslim female consumers, in particular, have experienced contemporary consumption patterns such as

religious-sensitive hairdressers, entertainment venues and gyms, which have made them gain visibility in the public sphere. Hijab women, who experience trends together with contemporary consumption patterns, make their status differences evident and are respected by society as a result of these patterns being a means of reinforcing status or class separation.

Baltacı (2019), in a study, associated the conservative segment with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, where there are behavioral practices that take shape on the side of the societies in which the individual resides. Habitus, in which class distinctions are constantly reconstructed, is a structure that determines a person's clothing, behavior, and various forms of consumption. According to Baltacı, these structures, in which a person's social status is determined, appear like a good concept for understanding the conservative segment. According to Baltacı, it would be fruitful to study daily life practices within conservative habitus, as Islam suggests a way of life. Because religious orientation is one of the elements that determine the social interaction and lifestyle of a person in habitus in society. Thus, consumption trends within the habitus of the new conservative class, which has become a consumer society, explain that conservative values have also become commodities. Daily life practices, luxury

consumption trends, and the importance given to consumption indicate that the conservative segment is transitioning to a consumer society.

According to another study, Bilgin's (2019) analysis shows that there is a derogatory criticism of the consumption of middle-class conservative classes, such as *süslüman* (which is derived from the word ornate Muslim in the ostentatious sense). Bilgin stated in his research that modernity does not constitute a categorical barrier to conservatism. Bilgin found that conservatism was different from Islamism and that Islamism was based on revolutionary foundations. But he has focused on the question of whether modernization can also be from Westernization. According to him, the answer to this problem means that conservatives, pragmatically integrate modern life into their own lives, preserving the religious and cultural essence. Bilgin notes that this integration process is in a hybrid structure.

Jular and Elmer (2017) examined 571 journals published between 1965 and 2014 to analyze changes in consumer culture in Turkey. As this process moves towards globalization and individualism in socio-economic terms, hedonistic indicators have started to be used more in advertisements in Turkey. In the study, the definitions of hedonistic values were considered as luxury, wealth and

pleasure. The values mentioned consist of the need for consumption for pleasure, rather than the necessary needs of the primary order. The Republic of Turkey was born during a period when economic growth was at a slow level. The values that emerged with the establishment of the Republic were modern, Western, secular, on the other hand, shaped by conceptual conflicts, including rural, religious, Ottoman-based. In the 1980s, with the increase of interaction with global brands and promotion of imports, Turkey's modernization was undeniably reshaped with traditionalism. In the 1990s, shopping malls, luxury shops and luxury hotels were opened. Another inference in the article is that the collectivist structure, which has settled under the influence of the traditional family structure found in the cultural codes in Turkey, has been replaced by a more individualistic structure over time. In this study, some judgments are made that the collectivist and traditionalist structures match the conservative codes. In this study, hedonistic codes are discussed in the concepts of emphasis on sexuality, pleasure, waste and ornamentation. As a result of the analysis of the Journal, the principle of hedonism's emphasis on sexuality in the content of its ads in Turkish magazines was high between 1965-2005, while this principle of hedonism declined between 2005 and 2014. However, Jular and Elmer

concluded that between 2005 and 2014, the general principles of hedonism were increasing, except for the principle of emphasis on sexuality.

According to Aygöl and Öztürk (2016), there is a religious market known as green capital, where the religious, conservative and elite are consumed. This style of consumption is a form of consumption in which religious sensitivities are preserved and modern at the same time. Hijab fashion is suitable for religious sensitivities, while Holiday and entertainment venues create a sense of distinction that shows the class difference. As the Islamic segment became visible and enriched in the field of public consumption, a new conservative lifestyle emerged, such as luxury villas inspired by Ottoman or Mecca culture, the consumption of expensive hijab scarves, luxury cars, luxury hotels in accordance with Islamic norms, and houses with luxury interior decorations.

In the neo-conservative bourgeois part, the hijab, one of the religious symbols, became an important element affecting the difference in taste and class status. Thus, many studies were conducted between hijab fashion, luxury consumption, conservatism and conservative bourgeois women.

Some studies have been made about the aestheticism of conservative taste, especially in the study of luxury consumption codes of the rising new conservative bourgeois segment. Yücebaş (2012), in her study, examines how elements that aestheticize everyday life, such as clothing, holidays, places to go, are interpreted from the point of view of the conservative segment. Yücebaş has studied advertising photographs in magazines that appeal to middle and upper modern conservative urban women, such as Ala. She mentioned that the spaces, houses, furniture used in these photos are used as a carrier and indicator of the concept of modernity. She mentioned that the spaces, houses, furniture in these photos are used as a carrier and indicator of the concept of modernity. According to Yücebaş's study, the middle and upper classes tend to live in places where there are people like them, rather than the complex structure of the city. According to Yücebaş's study, the middle and upper classes tend to live in places where there are people like them, rather than the complex structure of the city. According to Yücebaş's study, the middle and upper classes tend to live in places where there are people like them, rather than the complex structure of the city. The way middle and upper classes idealize houses with security, clean, high-quality social environment, gym, garden (e.g. barbecue, garden).

These features also build a social environment. These houses, which are preferred by middle-upper conservative and non-conservative individuals, provide the individual with a sterile environment and a feeling of being privileged. In this way, it has become a commodity of desire, providing housing status within the capitalist order. In the mentioned housing projects, concepts have been created according to the conservative segment. For example, old Istanbul or Ottoman-themed styles that preserve the tradition have come to the fore. The interior decorations of the houses in these projects are also designed in a comfortable, spacious and stylish concept where traditional modern motif details are combined. This type of decoration is based on comfort and spaciousness, while aesthetic concerns are aligned with the traditional reference. In her article, Yücebaş mentioned that while traditional crafts are used in home decoration, hidden spotlights are placed to add depth to space. Yücebaş drew the following conclusions from the judgments of the decorator he mentioned; it has a traditional warm atmosphere while creating a modern cold atmosphere. But as a result of the harmony of the contrast created by the integration of this contrast with each other, it occurs when the traditional adds a moderate air to the modern. Yücebaş covered a home decoration story in *Ala* magazine (June, 2012:164) designed with a focus on luxury

and comfort. In the content of this news, it has been emphasized that there are large seats to accommodate crowds, which emphasizes the traditional phenomenon of crowded family, rather than the modern elementary family. In the interior decoration of the house, the renewal of old furniture renewed with polish coating, and the presence of pillow sets embroidered with plain and floral fabrics remain conservative-traditional in the modern sense from a simple-functional point of view. In addition, there is a luxury mansion image that is aestheticized and deepened with traditional forms (April, 2012: 119). In Yücebaş's (2012) study of the aestheticism of the new bourgeois conservative life, judgments about the appreciation of the new bourgeoisie conservative segment are determined in this way.

In addition to this study, another study was found that investigated the appreciation judgment in products purchased by the new conservative segment, which occupies a very important place in today's luxury consumption. Akçaoğlu (2018) referred to Bourdieu's term power struggle as social and individual action-oriented when exploring conservatism. By pluralizing itself, power flows from the value of commercial exchange to the system of differences in social structure. As social segregation increases, the types of capital can also increase. The unequal distribution of different

capitals settles on the actions and thinking structures of the individual living in habitus. Thus, the individual in habitus does not realize that what they choose as a choice is actually a mandatory lifestyle. Akçaoğlu believes that Bourdieu's sociology will help provide the study of conservatism in an empirical sense. In this work, Akçaoğlu defines conservatism as a form in which the principles of social distinction (such as religious affiliation, race, gender, nationality) are expressed through the symbolic initiative in various fields. In this way, it looks at patterns and symbols in the social structure (such as life in the house, the role of gender, social life, home decoration). Akçaoğlu mentions that conservatism manifests in two processes. The first is conservatism, which offers a life that needs to be lived in religious, political and cultural sense (media and publications, etc.). The second is that the principles of social distinction in social space come into contact with individuals through manifestations such as institutions, events, or journals. In this way, the principles of social separation are internalized by individuals. A strong link between Islam and conservatism has been established in Turkey as a result of religious experts, political groups, or cultural entrepreneurs resorting to the idea of religious daily life proposed by Islam. It is possible to say that this situation exists in social life as a symbolic product when it is desirable

to give a conservative form to the principles of social separation. Trends defined as the symbolic product that an individual acquires in school, family, and the social environment can make the individual conservative. Because these tendencies, which are symbolic products, become a mental diagram of the individual. Akçaoğlu (2018) noted that in Turkey, especially in the 1990s and after, the Islamic conservative segment has switched to a trend of socialization rather than introversion. Thus, an alternative way of life occurred within the conservative habitus. At first, the conservative lifestyle was socially perceived as an ascetic conservative lifestyle, in which the ostentatious expression of wealth was condemned. However, the AKP and its desire to express national values in the universal language of conservatism laid the foundation for the collapse of collective orthodoxy. In this way, the pedestals of the capitalist economy became the agenda again, and the strict criticism of the modern way of life was flexed. Thanks to all these factors, the previous integrity has disappeared, and class differences between the conservative classes have become more visible. As the Islamic identity became individual, the conservative lifestyle ceased to be the general representation of conservatism. Along with factors such as living in luxury homes, luxury home decoration and clothing that were

included in the likes and lifestyles of the conservative middle class, the abstinent and introverted conservative identity disappeared significantly. All these changes in the style of acclaim and lifestyle of the new conservative identity came to life with religious sensitivity. Akçaoğlu (2018) worked on Çukurambar known as the conservative bourgeois quarter of Ankara. He mentioned that many venues (such as an increase in alcohol-free cafes) and public spaces (such as an increase in mosque construction) have become conservative thanks to symbolic power that can produce influence without imposition in this neighborhood. Thus, there has been a significant change in the conservative-leaning judiciary over the past ascetic lifestyle. Akçaoğlu (2018) noted that the conservative middle class has shaped the likes with its elegant and religious principle of judging the likes. This judgment of acclaim was first embodied in home decorations, with conservative decorations where there were religious indicators. As a result, it is possible to mention that Islamic icons placed in this new lifestyle add a traditional view to the popular judgment of the conservative middle class and make the new familiar. Thus, the innovations brought about by modern life have been reshaped as a result of traditional integration. Akçaoğlu noted that the home decoration brand preferences of the younger generations of the conservative

and middle class are brands that produce modern furniture, such as Rhapsody, Bellona, Ikea. He said that the house decorations mentioned were created by decorating them with symbols such as edicts and bricks belonging to the Ottoman period. In addition, he emphasized that brands such as Zara, Burberry, Armani, Mango, Ipekyol are preferred in the field of clothing. Finally, while domestic coastlines and European trips were preferred, the perception was found that none of them were as exciting as a visit to the holy land due to their spirituality. Conservative middle-class likeness also occasionally draws criticism from some quarters on the side of luxury and a tendency to over-consumption.

In his work Sungur (2017) explored the elitism of the Turkish elite and the new conservative classes. The Turkish elite imitates the Western style of clothing and leisure, while the middle class imitates the lifestyle of the Turkish elite. In Sungur's work, he defined the class structure in Turkey as the urban white Turks who make up the upper and middle classes and the believing middle and lower classes who usually come from Anatolia. According to Sungur, a new bourgeoisification has occurred with the enrichment and class jump of the faithful. According to Sungur, a new bourgeois class was formed as the faithful prospered and jumped the ranks. The bourgeois class adopts the values and behaviors of

the dominant class. Thus, referring to the emphasis of Göle's study in 2011, it was mentioned that the new pious bourgeoisie formed an opposing elite class. As a result, this process of religious elites has taken the path of transforming and imitating the lifestyle of those in the upper class in their own jargon. In this way, elites in Turkey identify religious elites as counter-elites in terms of new consumption styles. But this situation does not always have to cause conflict. With the emergence of a hybrid elitism consisting of secular and religious, new lifestyles have occurred. Elitism adopts criteria such as career and foreign language proficiency, luxury consumption and aesthetic pleasure. The conflict yawns as these criteria identify with the new religious class in the same way. In his work, Sungur associated this new class with the concept of the new petty bourgeoisie (upper-middle class), which Bourdieu mentioned in 1996, born out of the middle class with a good education. On the other hand, he associated it with what Veblen called a conservative definition for the rich leisure class in the 2005 edition of *Theory of Leisure Class*. He judged that all this change took place within a postmodern world. Sungur (2017) mentioned that the definitions of the petty bourgeoisie, Islamic bourgeoisie and counter-elites were made about the new pious elites. Sungur mentioned here that the new religious

elite desire power not only in economic interests but also in order to gain power and social honor. The class in question has previously criticized the othering language of the upper layer, while the upper layer has achieved its position. Sungur (2017) was inspired by Bourdieu's definition of creating class segregation of likes. Because the life forms mentioned actually coincide with the judgments of liking.

Consequently, it is concluded that the preferences of the emerging new conservative bourgeois class for luxury consumption affect the scale of luxury products in Turkey. As mentioned above, with the formation of the new conservative bourgeois class, luxury consumption became widespread. Instead of the homogeneous understanding of design that occurs with globalization, the differentiation of product design with conservative identity codes should not be read only through the new conservative bourgeois class. Because on a global design scale, the loss of cultural codes in design is not just problematic for a single class. As part of the history of design, differentiation in design is present in current discussions as a broad topic that remains up to date. But the effect of the rising new conservative bourgeois audience on encouraging traditional codes in design is undeniable. An important distinction was made when the rising new bourgeoisie and conservative masses began to

distinguish themselves from traditional consumption habits in the classical sense of daily life. The new bourgeoisie sets the conservative segment's daily life apart from traditional conservatism by seeking a contemporary aestheticism with religious and traditional precision. The height of the economic capital of the new conservative bourgeoisie and the high cultural capital that they had along with modern educational trends have shown itself especially in the judgment of acclaim.

In their study Sandıkçı and Ger (2016), they stated that the Islamic bourgeoisie, which is present in avant-garde consumption practices, emerged with the economic capital accumulated in the religious sector. With the growth of political Islam, the heterogeneous transformation of hijab women's clothing in line with fashion has appealed to the conservative middle and upper class. The middle and upper conservative women mentioned are urban, well-educated, and consist of a new generation of religious women. The differentiation in the style of clothing in the class mentioned gave a heterogeneous indicator, creating a socio-cultural distinction with the lower religious section. This newly emerging segment has changed the traditional image of religious women. Thus, the differentiation between Westernized and secular middle-class women was

minimized. The emerging Islamic elitism has taken its place alongside the dominant secular elitist segments. In this way, Islamic elitism emerged, which separated itself from Islamist and secular identity with high intellectual capital and at the same time placed traditional values at the center. Thus, traditional themes have been incorporated into luxury consumption with a historical infrastructure. According to Sandıkçı and Ger (2016), consumption themes of historical origin have emerged, especially with a nostalgic interest in Ottoman tradition and culture. This consumption style, which appears, is quite stylistic, but also image-oriented. This style of consumption was said in the article as “Ottomania”. The semiotic expression of Ottoman style in consumption has shown itself in leisure activities, home decoration, fashion and art. Sandıkçı and Ger (2016) exemplified the design concept and inner workings of luxury hotels in Istanbul. According to the findings of Sandıkçı and Ger (2016), Çırağan Kempinski Hotel, Four Seasons Hotel in the luxury districts of Istanbul can be shown as an example of this situation. For example, the Çırağan Kempinski Hotel is a hotel where Ottoman music and food culture are used, and customers are entertained like a sultan. The Four Seasons Hotel is also arranged in the same way. According to the quote in the article, the hotel seems to be a crossroads where

tradition and cosmopolitan modernity merge due to its location and decoration. Sandıkçı and Ger (2016) noted that many of the rising new bourgeoisie conservative young consumer audience often designed their homes with reference to Ottoman design principles. In addition, it is also noted that those who have sufficient financial resources in this mass receive household objects such as furniture, miniatures, vases from many auctions and Ottoman antiques. In addition, kaftan, mattresses, curtains and many upholstery fabrics can be purchased from luxury brands or designers such as Vakko. The design codes of the consumption mentioned are a nostalgic re-reading of the authentic cultural codes of the Ottoman Empire. Most of those who do this type of consumption are usually those who support the reconstruction of the Republican and Ottoman cultural codes. This process of rebuilding and re-reading is aimed at building a kinship that arises from the coexistence of the modern versus the past, the contemporary and the traditional. According to Sandıkçı and Ger (2016), it should be noted here that the modern-traditionalist form of consumption mentioned is not a return to the old one, but that the traditional one is reformed and re-formed in a modern context. Class distinctions became even more pronounced with the addition of global and modern forms of

consumption. In this way, urban, which is a hybrid formation of old and new, creates new and ostentatious consumption. This new form of consumption has enabled the locality and authenticity of Turkish/Ottoman culture to emerge from a global space with a modern identity.

2.5. The Use of Modern, Conservative Decoration Themes in Luxury Consumption

When the home decorative objects displayed in the private area are investigated, the objects exhibited in the salon space draw attention. As Nasır, Timur, and Gürel (2015) point out in their study, it will be fruitful to mention the museum-salon concept, which attracted attention in Turkey in the 1940s and 50s. However, in the 2000s, this idea evolved into the following form. According to a study by Nasır, Timur and Gürel (2015), the privacy sense of living room and the public sense of museum-salon are intertwined

with the young generation's rejection of museum-salon culture, the living room found its present meaning (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2015).

The museum salon usually appeared as space where the guests are hosted, and the decorative objects of the salon reflect the social status of the householder. According to a study by Nasır, Timur and Gürel (2015), as the museum-salons are not used in daily life, living rooms where households spend more time have started to be a private area by furnishing simple and useful furniture with much more affordable prices (Nasır, Timur, Gürel, 2015). The museum-salon is where the private space is introduced to the outside, while the home decorative objects are displayed. Decorative objects of the salon are carefully displayed as if they belong to the museum, and these objects determine the respectability of the householder by others. Thus, it is revealed that the home decorative objects displayed in the salon also have semantic values that provide privileges.

The use of traditional themes in decoration within the above-mentioned situations has taken a great place in luxury consumption. According to Ozel's study (2011), traditional and modern forms are intertwined with stylish materials and colors in the design of Besiktas Four Seasons Hotel, one of the luxury hotels in Istanbul. Another example of the

integration mentioned is the bookcase, which was inspired by the entrance to the mosque in Galata restaurant in Nişantaşı, one of the exclusive and affluent districts. Looking at the scale of architectural structuring, it can be said that there is a local and modern or Eastern and modern synthesis in elite, affluent districts such as Akaretler and Nişantaşı in Istanbul. The concept of the mansion, the name of the houses in which the Ottoman elite lived, has been revived in luxurious and prestigious locations such as Beykoz, Kemerburgaz. For example, Tabanlıoğlu architecture's Levent Loft building design, which makes contemporary designs, was inspired by the window design called bay window in Ottoman houses and appealed to the upper class by integrating a modern meaning.

Lighting is one of the product areas where traditional motifs are used as original design in-home space designs. In his work Menek (2009) carried out a lighting design study using traditional motifs of Turkish culture, modern forms of lighting on lamps, lampshades (chandeliers). In doing this work, Menek (2009) added a national identity with traditional motifs and patterns to the lighting forms abstractly stylized by modernism. In this way, he expressed that the products differ instead of mediocrity. In this way, he mentioned that he added an image of originality to the products by creating an

artistic image in the Illuminations he designed. Most of the designs were realized by applying Chintamani, tulip motifs and traditional geometric motifs on modern forms as surface decoration. As a result of this work, it is possible to say that with the placement of traditional motifs on modern forms, there is a goal of originality and differentiation in design. There is a goal here that traditional touches applied in modern designs can prevent alienation.

Kaygan (2006;31) investigated the relationship of the national design discourse in products with the designer by analyzing the discourse within the scope of Art+Deco magazine in Turkey. As a result of the study, the references in the articles were generally identified as some important themes; Istanbul, Ottoman, Turkish style and culture, other cultures, etc. (Kaygan, 2006; 37). Kaygan emphasized that an eclectic structure exists in Turkish culture; he mentioned that the interior of this structure consists of cultural heritage such as Ottoman, Seljuk, Central Asia (Kaygan, 2006;63).

According to Kaygan, the concept of Turkish design is generally associated with original/authentic Turkish culture (Kaygan, 2006;24). According to Kaygan, it is likely that the expression and influence of the concept of nationality in design styles will be observed by national communities that are involved in the international design discourse (Kaygan,

2006;30). When the national stylistic dimension of design is examined, the tulip-shaped tea cup and bath culture in Turkish design have become national icons (Kaygan, 2006;28). As an example, Kaygan referred to product designs with reference to traditional indicators today, Erdem Akan's modern revision to the traditional tulip-shaped cup icon (slippery, 2006;29,30). According to Kaygan, the reason for this situation is that the Turkish aesthetic source is sought in tradition and traditional icons (Kaygan, 2006;29,30). Kaygan mentioned that cultural products are designed in a lean form in the sector, but also with a modern design language and using up-to-date materials (Kaygan, 2006;67). As an example of these products, Kaygan drew inspiration from Ahmet Kaleli's "low cedar" furniture from Turkish furniture culture and pointed to his design called "Tom armchair", which is similar to the Bauhaus current seat design (Kaygan, 2006;67). As a second example, he pointed to the modern interpreted design of Defne Koz on the traditional Turkish tea tray (Kaygan, 2006;67). Finally, he showed an example of the cutlery called "shah", which Can Yalman produced with a modern aesthetic design language, inspired by Seljuk architectural motifs (Kaygan, 2006;67-68). This study will be a very efficient study in researching luxury modern-

conservative decoration objects, which is the main subject of the thesis.

It would be productive to examine Gulen Cevik's work in 2002 on the exotic meaning of traditional Turkish furniture culture. As Cevik (2002) noted in her research, with the sixteenth century, imports of oriental works made by local artisans in Europe became very popular under the name of exotic design (Cevik, 2002;46). Especially Ottoman ceramics, textiles, fabrics and wood ornamentation have become very popular (Cevik, 2002;46). Looking at the Ottoman palaces in the eighteenth century, it is possible to see furniture with Baroque art effects and furniture typologies such as a sideboard, showcase, grandfather chair taken from France (Cevik, 2002;94). Especially in nineteenth-century America, it is possible to see the Turkish room concept (Cevik, 2002;47-50). In the nineteenth century, with industrialization, there were trends towards the emergence of the middle class and modernization. But at the same time, there have been influences from Turkish furniture culture such as *divan* or cedar in American Furniture culture (Cevik, 2002;96). According to the conclusion of Cevik's (2002) study, elements in Turkish culture can be said to be exotic, authentic and interesting by modern culture in the Western sense. As a result of this study, it can be concluded that local

craftsmanship and decorations in Turkish traditional culture have had an exotic and authentic meaning for modernism in decoration for centuries.

Konoplina (2019) made inferences about the traditional Turkish style in interior and architectural design. According to Konoplina's findings, architecturally arched, multi-layered and scalloped decorations and fountains stand out, while decorations with epigraphic patterns and decorative mother of pearl and Ivory inlay, wood carving and textile works are encountered (Konoplina, 2019;27-28). Features in the Turkish decor style also appear in combination with modern styles (Konoplina, 2019;28). The main goal here is to continue the reproduction of exotic interior styles (Konoplina, 2019;28). These styles as the Turkish style have also inspired European interior design (Konoplina, 2019;28).

Taygan (2007) worked on popular decoration magazines published in Turkey after 1980. The most frequently mentioned in the journals examined information general information about the products of the brand in the product, access locations, while visual features, at least not often mentioned in the product information, technical specifications, design solutions can be taken as safety and ergonomic features (Tanglay, 2007;63). From this study, data

that will be considered important for the dissertation was obtained. According to the frequency of keywords mentioned in magazines, the word elegant was mentioned by 11.90%, while luxury was mentioned by 1.50% (Tanglay, 2007;64). According to another data, the most frequently mentioned keyword numbers are quality, style, modern (starting from the most frequent) (Tanglay, 2007;64). The least frequently used keywords (towards the least frequently used) are creative, ergonomic and luxurious (Tanglay, 2007;64).

Tanglay's (2007) journals are quality home decoration magazines that appeal to the upper or middle class (Art + Décor, Maison Francaise, House Beautiful, etc.). Considering Tanglay's (2007) work, it is concluded that quality, elegance and modernity are preferred in the context of home decoration compared to ergonomics and luxury. Thus, the emphasis on elegance precedes the emphasis on luxury. This supports the hypothesis of the thesis. In furniture information in magazines, there are highlights that natural materials are used and handmade furniture is created in a privileged particular (Tanglay, 2007;70). In accessory products, the concept of " style " comes to the fore, as well as modern, classic, ethnic (especially emphasis on Indonesian, Japanese, Tibetan ethnicity) and rustic indicators come to the fore (Tanglay, 2007; 74). Design-related pages often feature hand-

made designs inspired by Seljuk and Ottoman (Tanglay, 2007; 74). In particular, there are references to crafts from the artisanal tradition, traditional ceramic elements and glass designs in Anatolia (Tanglay, 2007; 74). Because of these indicators, it has been observed that the boundaries of art and craftsmanship are intertwined and blurred in the harmony of accessories and design concepts (Tanglay, 2007; 74).

Because of these results, Tanglay's (2007) study supports that the current existence of conservative and elegant home decorative objects has a long history dating back to after 1980 due to their modern and traditional elements, which are the main subject of the thesis. Because most of the indicators found in Tanglay's (2007) research coincide with the characteristics of the products of the Hiref and Armaggan brands studied in the dissertation.

In her study, Demircan observed the change in the market value of works produced by applying handcrafts with a traditional focus. Demircan (2005) listed the general characteristics of craft objects and stated that the density of labor in the production of these objects is greater than the density of capital. In addition, she mentioned that the production of these products has a connection with traditional cultural codes with the aim of coming from the past and maintaining its timeliness. According to Demircan's (2005)

research, the artistic direction also prevails in traditional objects produced by artisans with manual craftsmanship (Demircan, 2005;52). According to Demircan's (2005) research, the artistic direction also prevails in traditional objects produced by artisans with manual craftsmanship (Demircan, 2005;52). The authenticity of a handcrafted object provides a concrete indicator of manual labor. Thus, the object mentioned shows an ethnic structure as well as a mystical one (Demircan, 2005;53). In the tourist sense, hand-made souvenirs are sold for low wages, while at the same time there are decorative objects produced by handwork should for high wages. According to Demircan, many handcrafted objects are used as decorative objects in modern Turkish houses instead of their original functions (Demircan, 2005;87). As an example of this situation, Demircan (2005) drew inspiration from local cultural wealth and pointed to the Hiref brand, where there are special design products sold at high prices with handwork (Demircan, 2005;93). Based on the fact that the founder of the brand includes traditional-local images and production techniques in products, there is an opinion that buyers have an effect on belonging to products when they encounter products (Demircan, 2005;93). Demircan (2005) defines these products as expensive products found in high-quality and minimalist elite stores that

appeal to the upper class, somewhat aristocratic and bourgeois identity (Demircan, 2005;93-94). In general, Demircan mentions that design differs from machine production by making a design by taking into account traditional manual labor conditions alongside professional designers in the design of elite and expensive products produced by manual labor (Demircan, 2005;95-96). In this way, traditional production styles passed down from generation to generation come together with modern designers to create a modern and traditional product.

Gümüşer (2012) suggested that today's designers use traditional Turkish motifs in their product designs to differentiate themselves from stereotypical designers.

Gümüşer (2012) stated that today's designs often use motifs from Ottoman heritage (for example, three spots-Chintamani-, tiger line, Rumi, star, crescent and tulip).

Traditional Turkish motifs are used in everyday product designs such as decoration, ceramics, tiles, lighting, or glass (Gümüşer, 2012;225). Günay İnan is the owner of a company that produces high-quality lighting and home decorative objects produced by handwork (Gümüşer, 2012;225). İnan's company has home accessories that use traditional Turkish and Ottoman motifs (Gümüşer, 2012;225). Gümüşer (2012) also exemplified the designs of Deniz Tunç, who designed

the uniformity created by globalization using Ottoman and Seljuk motifs in order to add differences with traditional culture (Gümüşer, 2012;226). Gümüşer (2012) exemplified Aslı İngin Kıyak, one of the designers who combine contemporary design understanding with traditional motifs such as Deniz Tunç (Gümüşer, 2012;226). Aslı İngin Kıyak and Özlem Tuna's tulip motif decorative lighting objects, which are often inspired by traditional Turkish motifs in the form of designs, are shown as examples (Gümüşer, 2012;227). Gümüşer (2012) has finally shown examples of Paşabahçe and Hıref brands that use traditional Turkish motifs (Gümüşer, 2012; 227,228). Gümüşer (2012) stated that Hıref brand creates designs consisting of art and craft concepts along with indicators such as Seljuk, Ottoman (elements such as harem, kaftan) and Anatolian faith (Gümüşer, 2012;228). As a result, Gümüşer (2012) mentioned that the minimalist design created by the West creates differentiation in design with traditional motifs and creates an original design understanding. Gümüşer (2012) mentioned that when traditional motifs are used in designs such as home decorative objects, they give these products an artistic quality. This work is enlightening in finding the reason behind the production of decorative objects, the high-quality design of traditional motifs.

Thanks to the articles examined, modern, conservative, luxury home decorative/daily objects were identified in the luxury consumer product group of Turkey. It has been determined that the products mentioned are currently consumed and are included in the luxury decoration product market. Although the above research examines modern conservative luxury consumption habits in Turkey, modern conservative luxury decoration objects have not been studied theoretically. Although the general nature of conservative, luxury home decorative/daily objects and the motivation for their purchase have been studied, this has not been associated with a theoretical background. For all these reasons, the above-mentioned situation has been studied through Veblen's (2007) theories of *The Leisure Class* and Bourdieu's (1968) theories of *Distinction*. Within the scope of this review, a theoretical infrastructure has been established among the luxury decoration objects mentioned by the logical argument method. In the next part, the theoretical infrastructure discussed will be examined in detail.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIES OF VEBLEN AND BOURDIEU ON CONSUMPTION

3.1. Veblen and Conspicuous Consumption

3.1.1. Luxury Consumption According to Veblen

Thorstein Veblen has explained the conspicuous consumption theory in detail in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. In this chapter, conspicuous consumption is going to be explained. Is conspicuous consumption a form of luxury consumption or is it already a mode of luxury consumption? This chapter is going to discuss these questions and their possible answers in detail.

When the consumption patterns used in daily life are examined, it is very possible to encounter the luxury consumption pattern. The luxury consumption habit, which is an outcome of consumption, has evolved and changed over

time. Luxury consumption is a consumption pattern known as service or commodity consumption, and this consumption pattern is not common in all of the society. Luxury consumption becomes a matter of privilege as it is not accessible to all segments of society.

The famous sociologist Thorstein Veblen first described the fact that consumption has a conspicuous structure and leisure class relationship in his 1899 edition of his book *The Theory of The Leisure Class* (Veblen, 2007). The leisure class is discussed in the study through the concept of non-productive consumption instead of its common dictionary meaning (laziness or sluggishness). The role of the leisure class in consumption and the consumption motivation sources that distinguish it from other classes are going to be discussed in detail in later parts of this chapter.

Conspicuous consumption is the incarnation of an extravagant motivation away from production (Veblen, 2007). This consumption style provides prestige and honor through prodigality rather than productivity in the industrial sense (Veblen, 2007;60-69). In the luxury consumption literature, Veblen classifies this style as *conspicuous consumption* (Veblen, 2007;49). Mass production and fast consumption have emerged as a direct result of the industrial revolution which brings up the industry-centered

transformation of the production paradigms around the World. Industrialization has created differences in consumption patterns alongside affecting the other aspects of the world. The sense of privilege and feeling special has begun to be defined mostly through consumption patterns and brands consumed.

Based on social status, being respected in a hierarchical sense was scaled by Veblen has based on the amount and quality of the spendthrift of the commodity in conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 2007). While Veblen defines waste as an act done without a sense of social utility, he also mentioned that wasting leisure time/effort that is not socially beneficial is a waste (Veblen, 2007). When considered on the basis of social hierarchy, the lifestyle that prevails in the upper stratum in each of the social strata is seen as ideal for the lower social strata. However, the position in the upper class must also be maintained and sustained. Therefore, consumption habits and lifestyles ensure the preservation and maintenance of social status. In this sense, it can be said that conspicuous consumption activities are based on showing off and displaying the consumption characteristics of individuals. According to this view, objects and life style of conspicuous consumption will be discussed in the following pages. Veblen exemplifies

conspicuous consumption products and services as non-compulsory and waste-oriented consumption. Carpets and tapestries, silver dinner sets, maid services, silk hats, starched sheets, many jewelry, and clothing fall into this category (Veblen, 2007;69). In order to have a clearer view, we need to consider the consumption understanding of Veblen's time period. When examining the conspicuous consumption object of today, it is clearly seen that the understanding of consumption logic continues to be the same way while object contents change. Therefore, I believe there is benefit in having a comparative approach to contemporary perspective while analyzing The Theory of Leisure Class. It is necessary to apply the waste-based consumption understanding in the period mentioned by Veblen to the current context. This application is going to be in chapter four of this thesis. The consumption understanding mentioned by Veblen continues to be the same while the consumption objects and their content have changed in the modern/postmodern world.

Veblen Uses a candle as an example of this consumption habit (Veblen, 2007;104). Before electricity was invented, candle light was mainly used for illumination, Following the invention of electricity and the light bulb, Candle was considered inefficient and not practical. It still exists as a decorative object in the modern world but the core reason for

its existence has been subject to change (Veblen, 2007;104).

As it is cleared in this example, the candle has become a useless and expensive object to use for the aforementioned period (Veblen, 2007;107).

Consequently, it can be said that as the pragmatic use-value decreases, the pecuniary value increases in direct proportion. Another indicator of prestige is the production procedure of goods, in comparison, hand-made products require craftsmanship, more time and effort and personal labor while the mass-produced goods won't require all these and so they lose value in this aspect (Veblen, 2007;106). The workmanship flaws in the products due to the handmade production process give these products the meaning of prestige and respect. Machine-made flawless and uniform objects appear to be less prestigious due to these properties. An object that can be produced by machines is less prestigious than a handmade object because it is obtained with the logic of "mass production in a short time", due to less waste of time and labor. Thus, workmanship flaws on a handmade object are understood as evidence of the waste of time and labor. Veblen lists outstanding products, old-style font, and a book with unshaved edges (Veblen, 2007;108-109). The motivation for the purchase of this book would be its conspicuous value rather than its effective content.

(Veblen, 2007;108-109). Veblen states that even in daily home life, drinking something on an expensive tablecloth with handcrafted porcelain makes one feel more prestigious (Veblen, 2007;103-104). As in this example, it can be said that handcrafted objects or household objects such as hand-woven fabrics are products of prestige that are sold at a high price due to the challenging process of production. This example clearly shows that we humans use conspicuous consumption to satisfy the need for prestige not only towards the environment but also to our inner desires (Veblen, 2007;103-104). Finally, I would like to discuss the example provided by Veblen regarding domestic animals. According to conspicuous consumption theory, domesticized animals may not provide any benefits to their owners and rather have a financial load on them and interestingly, as the animal provides less benefit, the expenses go higher (Veblen, 2007, 93-94). For instance, a cat that can indeed help in the household (catching the rats, etc.) requires a lower expenditure in comparison to some rare bird species that are a lot more costly and provide no service. (Veblen, 2007;94). Eventually; as the productivity of goods, objects, or pets decreases, their expenditure increases and so does the possibility of giving prestige to the household in the sense of social status (Veblen, 2007). The prestige provided by the

beauty of a good or service is not evaluated regardless of the labor, time, expenses and indeed the waste that is required. Thus, the motivation behind a purchase can not only be the beauty norm of the apriori principle of aesthetic beauty.

As a result, prestige is formed both by having particular objects and the particular consumption of objects via producing symbolic meaning. As, when encountering objects of aesthetic taste and incentive element, They become important as a whole. Veblen focuses on more expensive clothing and home furniture in the formation of distinction based on aesthetic taste in *The Theory of Leisure Class* book (Veblen, 2007). The concept called fashion brings along a distinction amongst the social classes. While old clothes, which are out of fashion, have the feature of being more expensive compared to mass-produced clothes due to the “vintage” concept, outdated old objects or clothes are sold at high prices within the scope of the antique concept. The main motivation of this purchase can be interpreted as being out of fashion and so not being mass-produced and not being available for mass consumption (Veblen, 2019;118-119). From this point of view, it becomes quite difficult to classify the demand of an object solely in terms of a purely universal aesthetic beauty norm. Thus, the functional value of the goods, merged with the unnecessary expenses of the goods,

combined with the incentive consumption style, will put the goods in a more prestigious position (Veblen, 2007). To generalize, Veblen stated that the desire of purchasing expensive goods instead of the cheaper alternatives instinctively seeps into the consumption of all individuals - even in private consumption areas that do not implicate show off- and the demand for more or less amount of extravagance (Veblen, 2007).

3.1.2. Veblen's Consumption Idea- The Fundamental Temperaments and Instinct Concept

Veblen historically analyzed the basic temperaments of human beings for understanding the fundamental motivations of consumption (Veblen, 2007;18-19). Humankind has continued its existence with various consumption methods since the beginning of its existence. Throughout history, human beings have continued their lives both by hunting and gathering and agriculture with the desire to survive life. Veblen classified the nature of human temperament as primitive-peaceful, semi-peaceful, and

warrior (Veblen, 2007;142). The primitive period in which human beings acted peacefully by working for the benefit of society (Veblen, 2007;147). On the other hand, Veblen has stated that in the warrior period, people acted in a way to gain high pecuniary profit and to gain private property by working less (Veblen, 2007;146-147). The motivation behind consumption is the main factor that determines this classification. The aforementioned motivation was that the behavior of individuals was towards collective efficiency and benefit to society since private property was not yet developed in primitive society (Veblen, 2007;147). The semi-peaceful phase emerges as a transitional phase (Veblen, 2007;155). According to the linear historical perspective, it is possible to say that with the transition of societies to the industrialization stage, the transition from peaceful lifestyle to warrior lifestyle emerged. In this transition phase, with the situations such as wars and struggling with famines, society has passed to the warrior and predatory phase. Especially with the victories in wars and the booties gained, people felt stronger than nature thanks to weapons, thus the warrior and predatory qualities have emerged in the society (Veblen, 2007;16-17). At the warrior stage, plundering behavior, which is the main motivation for this stage, has become a basic valid behavior, as it has been perceived as a form of

behavior accepted by society (Veblen, 2007). Thus, while the perception of value prevailing in the society was peaceful life and collectiveness in the previous stage, it has come into prominence to be at the forefront in the competitive environment with the booties gained in wars (Veblen, 2007;16-19). A life form based on competition rather than collective life and an individual life form with the demand for private property rise to prominence as a result of industrialization (Veblen, 2007;23). Thanks to industrialization, technical knowledge has created a distinction and diversity in the production process and product types (Veblen, 2007;18-19). While collective organizations were more prominent due to the lack of technical knowledge and equipment before industrialization, competition and individuality became much more important after industrialization. As a result of a society based on competition, the quantity and quality of private property have become a symbol of honor (Veblen, 2007;23-24). In addition, the inheritance, which is earned without active work, has become more valuable (Veblen, 2007;24-25). It is the accepted values of that period that determined the social status. In this period when warrior qualities increased and barbarian features were noticed, the characteristics that determined the quality of social status are being honorable

and being prestigious. According to different societies and periods, value judgments that fill social status patterns and add meaning to them can undergo changes in time. So, processes that continue linearly as peaceful period, semi-peaceful period and warrior period do not have a rigid and unidirectional progression. In short, although the modern-industrial period begins in the continuation of the historical process, the primitive temperament characteristics can be preserved. The primitive temperament traits preserved in the modern-industrial period will be examined in detail (Veblen, 2007;158-160).

Veblen has described the insatiable desire situation that occurs with competition in society (Veblen, 2007;25-26). The individual desires to exceed their current standard position by comparing themselves to those around them (Veblen, 2007;25-26). According to Veblen, this situation causes the emergence of chronic dissatisfaction (Veblen, 2007;25-26). The state of being in constant competition, the desire to exceed every established new standard, the desire to overstep the existing position of one, resembles the growth of circles formed around a stone thrown into the water (Veblen, 2007;25-26).

Veblen underlines the instinct in production and consumption motivation. The most important of these is the

workmanship instinct that brings the concept of competition to the forefront (Veblen, 2007). Workmanship instinct adds a competitive/comparative dimension to productivity depending on the differentiation in production created by technical knowledge (Veblen, 2007;16). However, the characteristics of the layout which result from this comparison or competition depending on the temperaments of the group (peaceful or barbarian) (Veblen, 2007;16). As mentioned in the previous part, competition emerges with different parameters in societies with primitive and barbarian motivations. According to the "invidious competition" approach, which is the main output of the workmanship instinct, the reputation obtained with less labor and inefficiency is regarded as a virtue (Veblen, 2007;71-72). In social identities dominated by barbarian or warrior characteristics, competition is defined as an invidious quality (Veblen, 2007;71-72). According to Veblen, the form of prestige determined by the invidious understanding of competition is dominant in the leisure class (Veblen, 2007;75-76). The leisure class; is a form of class that owns the property but lives with a focus on consumption rather than participating in industrial production in the economic process (Veblen, 2007;75-76). Veblen used the term "leisure" in the context of class-based non-productive consumption

instead of using it as laziness or lethargy. However, in societies with primitive characteristics, which are not in an invidious competition, socially industrial productivity, is perceived by the society as a visible success (Veblen, 2007;15-17). So, in social identities where primitive or peaceful characteristics are preserved, industrial productivity adds an honorable quality (Veblen, 2007;15-17). The competition mentioned has an understanding based on social utility rather than being invidious.

The perspective of the leisure class society or other class communities to modern economic institutions will be explained in this part. According to Veblen, modern economic establishments consist of two groups as pecuniary and industrial (Veblen, 2007;150). According to mental tendencies, the pecuniary category is more concerned with qualitative relations and the status parameters; in contrast, the industrial category is more concerned with non-individual, quantitative relationships and parameters related to utility and benefit (Veblen, 2007;157). Consumption motivations of both categories will be examined to see the way current distinction has emerged in this stage. Occupations in the pecuniary category are associated with private property and pecuniary gain; on the other hand, the industrial category is related to the non-invidious competition of the production

(Veblen, 2007;150-152). While the leisure class maintains the barbaric temperament characteristics that are more dependent on the output of the invidious competition of workmanship instinct, it also tends towards professions in more pecuniary categories (Veblen, 2007;150). According to Veblen, the pecuniary category's professions mainly relate to politics, religion, and the army (Veblen, 2007;152). Professions belonging to the pecuniary category have a higher level of honor compared to professions that require less labor. On the other hand, occupations in the industrial category mostly base on production, work, and social benefits (Veblen, 2007;150). However, there is an important point to be underlined at this stage. Veblen does not establish this distinction as very strict and intransitive. Thus, the fact that the interests of the working class are tied to both categories but are more related to the industrial category is an indication that both groups do not have sharp distinctions within themselves. Within a group that is predominantly more involved in pecuniary economic institutions and professions, the existence of people belonging to the industrial category is more probable. The significant point is the differentiation of the fundamental motivations in capital acquisition and consumption in each category. In that case, there is no rule that someone who has an invidious competition and someone who has one non-

invidious competition cannot strictly switch to replace each other. One of the most important pieces of evidence of this, as Veblen said, it is possible to be included in the leisure class and have professions in both categories (Veblen, 2007;150). While Veblen establishes the mentioned distinction, he does not indicate that the leisure class belongs only to professions and tendencies in the pecuniary category. Because the invidious understanding of competition created by the workmanship instinct is open to evolution and change. Even if it is said that the leisure class is more included in the pecuniary category, it would not be accurate to say that the pecuniary category directly and solely defines the leisure class.

Veblen wrote a chapter called the survival of the *non-invidious interest* in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Veblen, 2007;216-235). According to Veblen, the more an individual has a social benefit-based competition and interest, the more peaceful he/she returns to his/her primitive temperaments (Veblen, 2007;219-220). Veblen's statement indicates that the individual and the community's interests would be differentiated from each other in modern industrial societies' monetary culture. The evolution of primitive and barbarian traits is subject to a moving process. The barbaric or warrior-like behavior (such as burning, destroying, and

plundering), which is more common in the leisure class's tendencies, later evolved into astute and fraudulent behavior praxis (Veblen, 2007;155). The mechanism of working, who has a peaceful period temperament, to earn a work-oriented gain for the benefit of the community, has been replaced by match-fixing and cunning in the semi-peaceful period (Veblen, 2007;155). In this context, the terms of astute and fraudulent behavior praxis can be explained as earning a lot with less labor and gaining wealth through inheritance. However, in the linear temporality, when the pecuniary culture passes to the peaceful stage, the leisure class' money earning logic becomes the logic of "easily earning a lot of money." Thus, the methods of earning money and owning property in the modern industrial world do not depend solely on warrior and predatory temperament, which is in the barbarian period. Parallel to industrial and social progress, some people return to the primitive temperament of the peaceful period in the pecuniary category. (Veblen, 2007;218). Social development and change processes have a dynamic structure. The understanding of competition between the leisure class and the remaining classes of society exists even though it depends on different value patterns (Veblen, 2007). Assuming that there is an interest-based competition, a question of the placement of non-invidious

interests has emerged. Veblen establishes a linear temporality in his theory. However, the linear temporality can contain returning to primitive (peaceful) temperament. In the last phase of the developmental culture of the leisure class (modern industrial era), the leisure class has made themselves more neutral to the invidious interests (Veblen, 2007;218). In addition, the demand of maintaining its presence in the leisure class and sustaining the status quo has led a few members of the leisure class to a decrease in predatory characteristics due to modern industrialization (Veblen, 2007;228). Thus, we can say that the decrease in predatory characteristics happens in the final phase of the institution of the Leisure Class (Veblen, 2007;218-219). The salient characteristics of the predatory process were mentioned as exemption from the industrial process and inheriting the wealth instead (Veblen, 2007). Industrial exemption and predatory qualities affirm the prestigious understanding of the leisure class (Veblen, 2007;219). Due to this affirmation, those who want to give up predatory behaviors in the leisure class have difficulty (Veblen, 2007;219). However, this situation should not be observed as a complete transition from predatory life to primitive life. Some of the leisure class members begin to see the results of the predatory movement negatively; thus, they tend to move towards the primitive

period (Veblen, 2007;234). Hence, the non-invidious temperament becomes evident in the leisure class (Veblen, 2007;218-220). Veblen gives an example of this situation; he mentioned the pecuniary culture members who do not work in the industrial process themselves and have employees (Veblen, 2007;226-227). These members of the leisure class focus on the success of the business and the social benefit of the company apart from the industrial self-interest and profit (Veblen, 2007;226-227). In addition to the reintroduction of non-invidious interest at this point, Veblen also cited examples that distinguish this interest from a pure non-invidious interest. In this context, Veblen gives an example of charity organizations that serve the public; (opening a school, hospital, orphanages, etc.) (Veblen, 2007;226). However, there are examples of this kind of voluntary charity organization in which there is not much motivation for social benefit, which is a feature of the primitive temperament (Veblen, 2007;226). For example, it is possible to say that the person who founds a building for the sake of public service has constructed buildings with fancy ornaments and varied design elements with an incompatible eclectic language by making high expenditures to increase his/her prestige (Veblen, 2007;226-227). Thus, although the purpose of this building is a feature of primitive temperaments, such as

helping people, in the example above, the massive prodigality in this construction proves that there are barbaric and plundering temperaments involved (Veblen, 2007;226-227).

As a result, it is possible to say that there is a return to the peaceful temperament in the primitive culture within the leisure class. Veblen has not made an explanation for the complete disappearance of the workmanship instinct in this process. While the understanding of the invidious workmanship competition instinct continues with all its effects, the non-invidious interest tries to dominate the individual's interest. As a result, the understanding of competition in the modern period generates different consumption motivations in a heterogeneous structure within the competition scope that is both invidious and non-invidious.

3.1.3. The Leisure Class and Conservatism

Thought structures, ideologies and concepts are subject to a change in an active life routine. This changing process can be both positive or negative. Changing life conditions requires adaptation to the newly emerging

circumstances. Those who could not adapt to new conditions are forced to withdraw from being active members of the system. According to Veblen's statement in the book *Theory of Leisure Class*, those who cannot adapt to innovation, consider it as a negative pattern because they have a fear of losing their current position (Veblen, 2007;132). Veblen states that communities in the top and bottom class of the society in terms of capital, enter into conservative psychology because they do not think about tomorrow (Veblen, 2007;131-132). While the highest class wants to maintain their position, the lowest class has no more power for innovation and change due to the current working conditions and the struggles for survival (Veblen, 2007;134-135).

According to Veblen, every new innovation starts to be old as soon as it emerges and thus, is forced to adapting to the new circumstances (Veblen,2007;127). Any traditional or old structure is well known and therefore is considered successful because it has secured the position of the upper class in the past (Veblen, 2007). The leisure class demands to either advance or preserve their current position in social changes. They do not want to leave their conformist lifestyle. Thus, when the upper or leisure class realizes that they cannot rise in the phase of change and transformation, they will prefer to preserve the current situation. In this context, conservatism

can be explained as an attitude that opposes the change of all traditional social and economic institutions, rather than just a kind of opposition to the change of only conventional culture. The leisure class does not demand industrial change and transformation to change their living habits precisely because they are not a natural component of industrial society. Thus, conservatism has gained a prestigious, honorary, and decorative value as it is a feature of the relatively wealthier classes. The leisure class, which is exempt from working in industrial terms or performs work to the minimum extent, makes sure that their social standings and ideological positions are not damaged (Veblen, 2007;151-152).

According to Veblen's statement, the leisure class has conservative qualities (Veblen, 2007;131). The leisure class exhibits an attitude towards delaying social developments so that their class position is not affected (Veblen, 200;131).

Veblen has determined the conservative stance of the leisure class against innovation as the term social inertia (Veblen, 2007;127). In the current context, this concept is examined under the name of protecting the existing system based on inactivity and excluding the innovation. The leisure class, which put themselves in be exempt from industrial processes, adopt an attitude to the cohesion of the past in order not to unsettle their current position in every new situation. Veblen

has established a theoretical system by conditioning the formation of classes using the quantity and quality of consumption habits. Thus, the laws of position and reputation of classes are classified based on some semiotic and symbolic meanings. For instance, the conservatism characteristic of the upper class has become a proper and reputable quality and thus, it has been the desired feature for other classes (Veblen, 2007;132-133). So, while tradition is intertwined with the concept of reputation, innovation has gained a bad image (Veblen, 2007;132). It is acceptable that conservatism has ignored the concept of progress from a revolutionary and destructive perception and incorporated the progression into an evolutionary viewpoint. The leisure class is a class that occupies a higher position in terms of ranking and has stayed out of the economic struggles of daily life. The leisure class refuses to adopt the innovation', for the sake of maintaining their settled position (Veblen, 2007;134). This attitude of the leisure class comes from a conformist understanding. Consequently, the leisure class progresses to maintain the habits of thought, institutions, and ideological infrastructure of the past with the traditional framework conservatively. The leisure class maintains its fixed class position thanks to the unequal distribution of capital within its conspicuous waste-based consumption framework, which provides prestige

(Veblen, 2007;136). In short, the leisure class prefers evolutionary development for maintaining the unequal distribution of evolutionary and available pecuniary resources rather than spiritual and destructive growth (Veblen, 2007;140). The capitals are unequally distributed in capitalist societies. Thus, the dominant power in capitalist societies prefers social, behavioral practices that do not damage their current class position to sustain this inequality. As a result, the conservatism tendency is used as a tool to sustain the dominant status. The conservatism concept aims to maintain tradition, the current socio-economic order, and the common thought system. Consequently, the leisure class prefers to return to the old traditional layout that constitutes vested rights rather than worrying about the loss of vested interests (Veblen, 2007).

3.2. Bourdieu and Luxury Consumption

The concept of the judgment of taste takes us to Bourdieu's work named *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Bourdieu (1984), looking at furniture and

clothing preferences in order to observe the concrete state of social relations that unconsciously occur within habitus will give clues about the lifestyle of societies (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, it can be concluded that habitus members' furniture or clothing preferences are their taste judgments formed by the embodiment of cultural and economic imperatives (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu investigates the different structures of capital, luxury consumption, and the concept of *habitus* that plays an important role in the literature of sociology in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Bourdieu's sociological theory, there is a dominant class in the society (Bourdieu, 2015;17) to which all the other classes are considered subordinate. (Bourdieu, 1984). Although while establishing the relations between dominant and subordinate classes, Bourdieu has been influenced by the Marxist theory, he has not constructed his theory based upon classical Marxist philosophy (Swartz, 2018;62). In the Marxist concept of superstructure and substructure, a substructure is primarily responsible for the structure of the society as an essential unit of production forces, (Swartz, 2018;62-63). Bourdieu accepts Marx's idea of false consciousness as mediating in maintaining social inequality (Swartz, 2018;61). False consciousness is responsible for the sustaining of social

inequality by misrepresenting power itself (Swartz, 2018;61). However, Bourdieu analyzed Marx's distinction between superstructure (culture, art, etc.) and substructure (forces of production) in a holistic perspective by taking it through the concept of *field* (Swartz, 2018;63). Whereas Bourdieu formulates the concept with the help of different types of capitals (Bourdieu, 1984). Substructure creates economic capital while superstructure forms cultural capital. However, the types of capital that the social systems are based upon are not only limited to the economy and culture, in addition to these two, there are also educational and symbolic capitals with substantial importance. Bourdieu, states that economic and cultural capitals cannot be completely separated, and underlines the concept of space where these two capitals collide (Swartz, 2018;63). The concept of space functions as a mediator between cultural and economic capitals, ensuring that there is no hierarchy in the Marxian sense between these two spheres. According to Bourdieu, there is not only the motivation of material interest in the actions of people but there is also a symbolic interest accompanying the behavioral practices of people (Swartz, 2018;61). An individual with a high level of economic capital cannot rise in the social hierarchy unless he/she takes his/her own symbolic interests in consumption habits into account. However, interests do not

have to be made consciously visible in society. At this point, Bourdieu mentioned that personal interests may also go unnoticed by misrepresenting them (Swartz, 2018;61). This false state of consciousness in the capital is denied by society to serve symbolic power (Swartz, 2018;61). Because class interest is legitimized under the name of disinterest, the sustain of the existing unequal platforms (Swartz, 2018;94). As a result, the concept of interest in practical acts is found in both Veblen's theory and Bourdieu's theory, but Bourdieu also mentioned unconscious interest at this stage. According to Bourdieu, for the dominant class to exist and to dominate, there needs to be a subordinate class (Bourdieu, 1984). Social Practices emerge within the framework of the power symbolically produced by the dominant class in society. Thus, those who want to rise in status among members of the lower class continue their behavioral practices by imitating the practices of the dominant group. On the other hand, those who are satisfied with the position of their class status can sustain by continuing their current behavioral practices.

3.2.1. Capital Types

According to Bourdieu, there are basically five types of capital; economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, educational capital and symbolic capital (Swartz, 2018;110). Economic capital is based directly on pecuniary resources. While the source of cultural capital is considered to be family heritage and, the source of educational capital is the institutions such as schools, where the ideology of the dominant class is reproduced and transferred between generations. In consumption practices, economic capital and cultural capital are found on two different edges (Swartz, 2018;194). While economic capital constitutes the dominant domain of practices via pecuniary/monetary resources, cultural capital appears in areas dominated by cultures such as verbal skills, cultural awareness, scientific knowledge, and aesthetic choices (Swartz, 2018;192). It should not be forgotten that behavioral practices and consumptions are shaped by different motivations due to capital distribution proportion. In this thesis, the reflection difference in taste distinction resulting from the unequal distribution of economic and cultural capital on behavioral practices will be examined with an aesthetic theoretical language. As a result

of the unequal distribution of the capitals, the taste distinction is embodied in the daily life practices of individuals. Cultural capital is compounded by three types (Swartz, 2018;111). Firstly; It exists in areas that express the judgment of taste internalized by the individual such as knowledge of artworks, musical knowledge, and intellectual knowledge (Swartz, 2018;111). Secondly, cultural capital exists in concrete objects such as books and artworks (Swartz, 2018;112). Finally, it becomes institutionalized and exists in the form of the education system and educational institutions. According to Bourdieu, although cultural capital generates a power domain like economic capital, ultimately the economic capital has more transformative power than cultural capital (Swartz, 2018;112). Capitals can also be converted into each other, however, transforming cultural capital into economic capital is more difficult than converting economic capital into cultural capital (Swartz, 2018;118).

Bourdieu examined the class distinction through the concept of taste that occurs in line with the unequal distribution of capital in the *Distinction* book (Bourdieu, 1984). Class distinction theory is basically conceptualized in the judgment of taste. While the dominant class holds the norm of legitimate taste, the subordinate communities imitate the legitimate taste or simply continue their own judgments

of taste (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu respectively has referred to three basic classes (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020). The first class would be the Bourgeoisie or the dominant class which consists mainly of industrial and commercial bosses and their tastes are considered legitimate (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;89). Legitimate taste norm means that the dominant class's taste dominates other classes, and it has become a reference to other classes (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;89). Another class is the petty bourgeoisie, in other words, the middle class (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;89). The middle class generally consists of craftsmen and trade patrons (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;89). The third class is categorized as the underclass/suppressed (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;89). The dominant class itself is divided into two categories (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020). The culturally dominant class (reclusive aristocrats, professors, journalists) and the rich with hedonistic consumption ethics (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;89). The rich segment in the hedonist consumption ethic is determined as trade or industry bosses and independent business people (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;90). While the dominant class with the highest cultural capital tend to take part in artistic activities such as visiting museums, the second dominant group with the tendency of joining into non-elitist hedonistic consumption grow a favor towards the hedonic

cultural practices (travel, art shopping, etc.) (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;89). In general, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are considered heterogeneous, while the underclass/suppressed class is called homogeneous (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;91). Middle-class members, intend to rise in terms of social status by taking bourgeois culture as a reference (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;90-91). Middle-class members are divided into two groups via the number of capital types they own. (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;90). Individuals in crafts and merchant professions have a higher economic capital than their cultural capital (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;90). On the other hand, teachers and individuals in civil servants' professions have a higher cultural capital than their economic capital. (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020;90). According to this description and the class distinction specified by Bourdieu; businessmen and intellectuals with a high level of economic capital in bourgeois society become different from each other because they have different amounts of cultural capital (Jourdain, Naulin, 2020). This part constitutes the main basis of the hypothesis that is intended to be proven in the thesis. Consequently, conflicts and contradictions have emerged within the dominant class due to the change in the amount of cultural capital.

3.2.2. Aesthetic Taste and Luxury Taste Judgment

According to Bourdieu, there are three basic types of social taste (Bourdieu, 1984;16). The first is the legitimate taste which increases with cultural degree and resides in the highest cultural level of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984;16). The other category is at a more intermediate degree than the high taste of the dominant class and it is also called middle-class taste (Bourdieu, 1984;16). The final category is called popular taste and it has lost high taste value due to wide accessibility and mass culture properties (Bourdieu, 1984;386). Thus, it can be concluded that products belonging to popular taste differ from elite products. Popular taste is relatively more common among the underclass/suppressed classes as the educational and cultural capital decreases (Bourdieu, 1984;16).

In that case, it is necessary to distinguish the type of luxury taste due to its rarity and low accessibility from the popular taste. The reason why popular taste objects cannot be luxurious is that these objects are widespread and accessible to all. Bourdieu has referred to these contexts with examples over the judgment of taste through sports and music genres

(Bourdieu, 1984). For instance, bodybuilding, which requires more bodily and physical energy, is relatively much attributed to the underclass whereas sports that focus more on mental work rather than physical energy, such as golf, are attributed to the higher class (Bourdieu, 1984;20). Practices such as sports and music are among the areas where luxury and class distinction are made highly remarkable. In its general meaning, luxury occurs as a concept belonging to decorative and ostentatious elements rather than practical and functional elements (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Bourdieu, fancy decorative objects, also referred to as incompatible decorative styles that decorate the halls have been symbolized as vulgar in the effort to reach the bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1984;77). As Veblen states, creating less effect with more cost serves more to the definition of luxury as opposed to creating more effect with less cost.

Descriptions such as stylish, elegant and distinguished are widely accepted in the society as the consumption characteristics of the aristocratic class, the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984). The imitation of taste in consumption by the subordinates in order to adapt to the dominant class is perceived as vulgar in the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1984). Lower class members intend to adapt to the dominant class by using their low-value substitutes for luxury

products (Bourdieu, 1984). Using imitation jewelry instead of original jewelry, reproductions instead of paintings, and using artificially aged objects instead of antiques are Bourdieu's examples of this situation (Bourdieu, 1984;287).

The judgment of taste emerges in habitus, a living space that is socially shaped by certain practices (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Bourdieu, the structure that enables the predetermination of social practices' predispositions them by naming certain social practices as predispositions i.e, the individual's birth into this set of predispositions is habitus (Bourdieu, 1984;169-170). Thus, it could be said that every habitus requires certain social practices and consumption habits due to the tendencies that hold the habitus as a whole. Considering Bourdieu's habitus concept, it is possible to say that luxury consumption has become an essential element of lifestyles inherited in habitus to maintain their class position in the upper classes who consume luxury (Bourdieu, 1984;376). At this point, Bourdieu's concept of habitus plays an important role as luxury consumption becomes a necessity created by the habitus for the upper classes (Bourdieu, 1984;376). It is quite possible that this requirement includes conspicuous luxury consumption practices as luxury consumption habits become an integral part of the social

capital of the class, i.e, the continuity of its reputation and social relations.

Bourdieu also has mentioned the consumption habits of the petty bourgeoisie while identifying the aristocratic qualities as distinguished, elitist, and elegant (Bourdieu, 1984). However, Bourdieu states that the new bourgeoisie which has been emerged in his period lost its ascetic puritan consumption habits and switched to an innovative and avant-garde consumption habit (Bourdieu, 1984;354-365). This new consumption understanding is based on a hedonic motivation rather than an ascetic motivation. The dilemma of a tendency towards hedonic consumption and a propensity to consume based on ascetic aristocratism has emerged within the middle class. While the members of ascetic aristocratism (e.g., teachers) prefer cost-effective and simple consumption, the members of bourgeois hedonism (e.g., self-employed people) prefer consumption typologies where they gain prestige through pecuniary consumption such as expensive cultural activities and luxury cars (Bourdieu, 1984;283). This differentiation of consumption understanding within the same class can be explained by the proportion in the distribution of economic capital and cultural capital. The acquisition of respect and prestige through luxury consumption is associated with the high amount of economic capital, while

ascetic-anti hedonic consumption away from showing off is related to the size of the high amount of the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984;283-287). As mentioned above, this type of consumption appears within the middle class. While one side tries to apply the dominant class's tastes in their own life through imitation, the other side continues their consumption habits in a strictly conservative and anti-hedonistic manner. However, the issue addressed in this thesis is the diversity in the bourgeoisie consumption habits. Because the unequal distribution between economic and cultural capital divides the stylization of consumption habits within this class into two paths. While the refined tastes of the elitist group owning high cultural capital continue, there is another bourgeoisie identity that continues its conspicuous and hedonist consumption habits (Bourdieu, 1984). A symbolic struggle is created due to the diversity in these consumption habits where ever they collide. Bourdieu mentions Alberti and Gombrich's view point in his book *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984;227). As mentioned in the previous sentence, Bourdieu notes that the taste quality of people with vulgar taste consists of objects made of gold and a simple and superficial pleasure results in quite a lot of ornaments (Bourdieu, 1984;227). Therefore, it can be said that the nature of the word vulgar in this sentence in line especially with the lack of cultural

capital. It would be appropriate to deduce that the side that treats vulgar and luxury consumption only on the basis of superficial and pleasure has more economic capital, but less cultural capital.

Before passing on to habitus, I will discuss the judgment of taste issue. The taste of necessity and the taste of freedom will be mentioned in this section. The choices made by people of this class are heavily affected by the dominant power and the decisions made when consuming are rather indirect in contradiction to direct choices. (Bourdieu, 1984). The taste of necessity is the basis of the consumption habits that determine the daily lifestyle in the lower classes where economic and cultural capital is insufficient (Bourdieu, 1984;376). Actually, the judgment of taste is a necessity in the form of virtue that guides the preferences of individuals and classes. Classes that are freed from economic obstacles shape their taste judgments in the way they want, while at the same time, they could make them a judgment of exclusivity and prestige. Contrary to this, taste judgment of the underclass is emerged by necessity and undergoes a proxy of the hegemony of the dominant class. Because classes with insufficient financial and cultural capitals cannot act in line with their own independent taste judgment. The judgment of freedom taste is based on welfare; thus, it contrasts to a

dependent choice. Due to the lack of capital, the taste judgment of the underclass is determined by concepts such as functional rather than ostentatious. The lower class or proletarian class are left with no other choice but to overcome their own livelihood, accommodation, and nutrition problems and due to their capital constraints, they often tend to consume the cheap and functional alternatives. (Bourdieu, 1984;378-379). In this case, cheap and functional objects are not considered luxury consumption objects because they do not contain rarity and uselessness. However, this appears differently in the rising/new petty bourgeoisie. The rising/new petty bourgeoisie consumption habits are usually an effort to duplicate the dominant class as for them being subordinate to the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984;339). However, emulating and imitation behaviors emerge due to insufficient capital. While the new petty-bourgeois strive to raise their class position, they view the taste habits of the dominant class as a necessity for judgment of taste (Bourdieu, 1984;339). The consumption habits of the dominant class are converted into the form of virtue; thus, these consumption habits seem like a necessary choice according to the social perspective (Bourdieu, 1984). However, emulating and imitations could not replace the original consumption habits of the dominant class (Bourdieu,

1984). As mentioned above, the choice of artificial and imitation products aiming to provide high effect with low cost appears as the choice of necessity in order to adapt to the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984;379-380). The desire to emulate the dominant class is considered an element of vulgarity due to the lack of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984;379-380). The new petty-bourgeois class, which strives for the purposes such as a continuous rise, increasing economic capital, and owning private property alongside conspicuous consuming is noticeable (Bourdieu, 1984;361-362). So, the new petty bourgeoisie consumes such imitation products and begins to imitate expensive products made of cheap materials. It should not be unnoticed that the petty-bourgeois mentioned is a class that tries to rise to the dominant class with hedonistic consumption (Bourdieu, 1984;362). Thus, instead of ascetic and duty-based consumption practices, pleasure and hedonic-based consumption practices emerged in the rising/new petite bourgeoisie class (Bourdieu, 1984;367). The rising petty bourgeoisie class does not want to sustain their position and consumption habits conservatively (Bourdieu, 1984;342-343). One of the main differences between luxury taste and compulsory taste; is the preference of compulsory taste in the dominance of primary and imperative needs (Bourdieu,

1984;184). Because the luxury consumption choice is distant from necessity and obligation (Bourdieu, 1984;184).

Acquiring compulsory and non-compulsory consumption habits makes a difference. This difference is mainly due to the unequal distribution of economic capital and cultural capital. Thus, a contrast emerges between the decorative and practicality of an object (Bourdieu, 1984;379-380). Objects that are non-practical and nonfunctional become decorative and luxurious compared to practical and functional objects.

As the scale of requirement served by both types of objects is scaled by different motivations such as necessity and dispensation. Bourdieu has stated at this stage that, living room decoration objects (trinkets, coasters, vases, etc.), the idea of hosting guests, and various table setting styles are beyond the requirement (Bourdieu, 1984;379-380). In other words, it can be concluded that the seeking for necessity in this example comes from showing off rather than practicality. Bourdieu emphasized that individuals express themselves in three basic ways; cultural spendings (sports, music, books, newspapers, etc.), nutrition spendings and beauty care, clothing, etc. (Bourdieu, 1984;184). The spendings make a difference between individuals according to the amount of capital they own. Thus, it can be said that the three spending

styles create a distinction and differentiation between individuals' choices.

3.2.3. Habitus and Class Act

The concept of habitus is one of the essential concepts that Bourdieu has added to the sociology literature, and it appears as a concept that helps to understand class-specific behavioral practices (Swartz, 2018). Habitus is a permanent, hardly changeable behavioral predisposition system specific to social structures (Swartz, 2018;144-145). The individual is born into a society, and this society has a typical scale of homogeneous actions passed down through generations (Bourdieu, 1984). It can be said that Habitus created a conservative image due to its homogeneous and self-enclosed characteristics. Every new situation or movement encountered in a specific habitus is accepted by adapting it to its own structure (Swartz, 2019, 153). The new situations or movements are accepted by being shaped according to the habitus instead of radically changing the habitus' basic building blocks (Swartz, 2019;153). Thus, it is possible to say

that the habitus structure progresses through an evolutionary process rather than a revolutionary process. This judgment shows that habitus is against radical changes and has a conservative system that preserves its base structure. A newborn person is born into these homogeneous predispositions system and consciously or rather unconsciously internalizes the behavioral codes and schemes inherited from his/her society (Bourdieu, 1984;172-173). The habitus of a class determines the behavioral typology of the individual belonging to that habitus. The habitus that has homogeneous structures of its own practices within itself in the arena of social life, is called, the sphere. This entitlement is based on the type of capital. The cultural unconsciousness formed by the Habitus serves in the field of psychology and the formation of one habitus-specific familiar taste judgment helps the field of aesthetics. The behavioral-predisposition system, which depends on the habitus, often appears in places where the judgment of taste is embodied, such as furniture, clothing, perfume and choosing which painting to purchase (Bourdieu, 1984;173). Habitus' predisposed behaviors are seen as a virtue that serves the habitus while they become the compulsory actions created by the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984;174-175). Thus, it can be said that the choices that determine the consumption behaviors that feed the habitus is

perceived as virtue indirectly. Behaviors serving the existing structure while maintaining the continuity of the habitus, at the same time, show that it is a necessary virtue for the individual to act within the ethos of the habitus (Swartz, 2019;150). Just as Veblen mentions, conspicuous waste-based consumption is seen as a necessity for the sustainability of the leisure class, as simple and functional consumption is seen as a necessity belonging to the lower classes. While Veblen points out this situation as a necessity of belonging to that class, Bourdieu has included the concept of the unconscious. According to Bourdieu, overconsumption of the bourgeoisie has become a necessary virtue to create and sustain its habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Therefore, different tastes and taste-related public fields are constantly forced to have a dialectical relationship of preferences and obligations because the capital has not been distributed equally for every class. Due to its rich sources of capital, the bourgeois class has the taste of prosperity as the dominant class while other classes are subject to the taste of necessity (Bourdieu, 1984). However, necessity preferences consist of preferences that are unconsciously accepted under domination rather than a conscious platform. Since habitus is a secured and socially constructed structure that requires the individuals' subordination in the class, it ensures that socially behavioral

practices are implemented according to the habitus' service without question. Social-behavioral practices of habitus are most often embodied in cultural practices (Bourdieu, 1984).

3.2.4. Domination Idea in Society

According to Bourdieu, for the existing habitus' sustainability, the dominant class must establish a system to dominate the subordinate class. The conservatism is usually a strategy implemented by the senior society prototype in the dominant class (Swartz, 2018;177). According to Bourdieu's classification, one of the other two field strategies, the one is which is the observation strategy of those who want to participate in the dominant position; the other is the defeat strategy made by those who have low expectations from the dominant groups (Swartz, 2018;177). The conservatism strategy, which aims to preserve the current structure of the higher class, will be discussed in the upcoming chapters of this thesis. A platform has been emerged by the dominant class to preserve the traditions in the habitus and any social movement in disregard to it is highly rejected. In other words,

change is possible in the forms of evolutionary progress rather than a revolutionary one. To accept domination, those in the subordinate class must agree to be subordinate to the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984;386). Domination usually appears in commodities such as clothing and furniture preferences that are bought by the aesthetic taste (Bourdieu, 1984). As stated by Bourdieu, the judgment of taste created by the predispositions of habitus determines people's social-behavioral practices (Swartz, 2019;154-155). The judgment of taste should not be perceived solely as an aesthetic tendency because this taste is highly affected by the socially constructed concept of aestheticism. The life practices (food preferences, social activities, clothing, home decoration preferences, etc.) of members of a particular habitus are given meaning with the habitus' specified values attributed to these social praxes. The aesthetic preferences in the praxis context are shaped by the qualities legitimately attributed to them in habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Within the scope of Habitus, the judgment of aesthetic taste determined by the dominant class grows into a judgment of taste based on freedom. In contrast, the subordinate class's judgment of taste becomes predetermined because the domination maintained by the dominant class is perchance most manifested in the aesthetic preferences arising from the judgment of taste. The necessity

mentioned above is not shown as apparently an imposition on the subordinate class. The judgment of taste created by the dominant class is legitimized by false consciousness (Bourdieu, 1984). This is done via showing this preference as a necessity for maintaining the building blocks of the society as well as presenting a good image of the choice. Therefore, the product purchased by an individual in any habitus should not be considered only as the output of a concrete universal taste judgment. The preferred concrete object is, in fact, a tool of domination. Consequently, the lower class, which lacks economic capital, also lacks cultural capital. The socio-economic order in educational institutions (paid colleges, high-paid textbooks, etc.) also creates inequality. Therefore, although a worker who lacks cultural and economic capital has a judgment in his mind that a famous piece of classical music is aesthetically pleasing, the lack of capital reveals himself in the language as "I like classical music, but I don't understand very much" (Bourdieu, 1984; 396). Because domination norms create a mass "false consciousness" and manifest their own domination, this taste of judgment spreads in all social and economic strata (Bourdieu, 1984). Like the worker comment mentioned above, the salient concrete examples of this reveal themselves in daily language. The emergence of proletarian consciousness in the Marxist sense

must be at the same time both related to economic and cultural capital. Instead of individual rebellions among the workers, collective power is imposed successfully.



CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY

In this chapter, the new luxury by traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative aesthetic elements is going to be investigated through home decorative objects.



This chapter will focus on the selected examples of the previously defined luxury and traditionally inspired modern objects. The aim of the chapter is to analyze these objects through their aesthetic elements. The main question will be whether merging the modern forms and traditional elements into one object reflects integrity? This question is merely aesthetical and discursive about their design rather than referring to facts about the design process. Hence the objects are randomly selected for the sake of the argument.

4.1 Reflections of Traditional Elements in Modern Object Design Language

The lexical meaning of conservatism is to progress with the rule of preserving the past by proceeding with evolutionary processes, rather than revolutionary processes (Serter, 2018). Conservatism, as an attitude, does not mean resisting or being opposed to progress. In the thesis, the word conservatism will be discussed in its lexical meaning. In terms of socio-cultural context, conservatism can be explained as being a supporter of an evolutionary change by preserving the existing order and traditions instead of radical changes. Concerning the objects based on conservative discourse, although the first thing that comes to mind is a conservative attitude that includes religious symbols, conservatism is not a term used only in the religious content. A conservative-based object can be defined with the terms of conservatism as an object which gives a place on it without ignoring the components of its traditional identity. In this context, the conservative product design language which is preserving traditionalism in terms of decorative objects can be examined under titles such as production technique, materials used and motif on the object. For instance, since

preferring traditional production instead of current technological methods in a conservative tendency, production of a decorative object with traditional methods instead of using modern technology is one of the indicators that it has a conservative quality. The use of materials that refer to traditional cultures instead of the materials currently used, or the decorative ornaments and motifs that symbolically address the past culture and traditions on the aforementioned object also adds a conservative quality to the object. As a result, the preservation of the tradition coming from the past in the changing life rhythm can be accepted as another definition of conservatism.

In the context of its word meaning, the definition of modern is contemporary³. Therefore the word modern can be defined as following the era in terms of the social, cultural, technological and economic fields. Modernity can be explained as modernization, capturing the spirit of the age. Modernity in Turkey mostly means Western modernism. One of the main reasons for this can be seen by looking at the historical past; the establishment of modernization on Western-based rationality starting from the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Western societies have entered the industrialization stage earlier than Turkey. After the Ottoman

³ <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>

Empire, the Western-oriented Republic of Turkey founded and recognized the ideology of the construction of a modern nation (Bozdoğan, 2002). During the early periods of the Republic, there is a modern effect of geometric forms and cubic designs, which contain the perfections of machine production prevailing in Western societies that have entered the industrialization stage can be seen (Bozdoğan, 2002).

Thus, as a result of the aforementioned periods, modern objects are still emerging as models that are simple, practical and have a Western contemporary design approach.

Consequently, a modernly designed object means an object that is perceived as contemporary in reference to Western society. However, a conservative object can also have a modern design language. The next section will be proving this hypothesis. Moreover, when the qualification of luxury is added to the unity of modern and traditional designed objects, their prices substantially increase. The most often encountered term is traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative luxury definition codes is the authenticity that brings the concepts of specificity and rarity along. Unlike the mass production objects that depend on standard design patterns, these objects can be sold at high prices due to the concepts of authenticity, originality and rarity.

The web address named Global Blue leads the concept of the tax-free shopping and contains important strategies for the development of tradesmen and merchants that are trading internationally provides information about many brands⁴. According to research made in 2012 by Global Blue, the five house-furnishing stores in Istanbul that have authentic features and are processing Turkish style are listed as follows; Paşabahçe, Haremlique, Chakra, Hiref, Dantell⁵. There is also information about the brands aforementioned on the website of Global Blue. According to these informative texts, some shared object codes have been analyzed and defined as frequently and collectively repeating of qualifications used when promoting the brands. Along with the authentic and exotic textures, it is emphasized that the objects are intertwined with Turkish tradition and modern perspective. It is stated that the objects are designed with a modern and minimalist form language style of the legacies of Ottoman-Turkish tradition. For Hiref, one of the cases examined in the thesis, there is an explanation as a brand on the modernly formed tradition that provides luxury and elegant handcraft objects containing Seljukian motifs⁶.

⁴ <https://www.globalblue.com/brands/>

⁵ <https://www.globalblue.com/destinations/turkey/the-five-most-authentic-turkish-style-home-accessories-stores-in-istanbul/>

⁶ <https://www.globalblue.com/destinations/turkey/the-five-most-authentic-turkish-style-home-accessories-stores-in-istanbul/>

Daily Sabah made a report in 2016 about the designer stores where tradition meets art, and the mentioned brands in the report are Armaggan, Haremlique, Hiç Contemporary Crafts and Hamm⁷. These listed brands have been examined in terms of their elaborately crafted objects that are formed with integrated traditional and modern lines. Armaggan, another brand discussed as a case study among these brands, is considered to be luxurious and prestigious in terms of home decor, carpet, leather and textile products and decor objects with high artistic value⁸. Furthermore, the objects in the collection offer customers a usage value extending to future generations in terms of their rarity, durability and uniqueness⁹. The products are of high quality and characterized as prestigious luxury products in terms of the process with limited numbers of producing by using traditional, authentic methods on contemporary designs¹⁰. The news on both websites given as examples emphasizes the authenticity of the mentioned home decorative objects and the careful and traditional methods of their designs. The unity of tradition and modernity results in the objects preserving

⁷ <https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2016/09/20/explore-istanbul-design-shops-where-traditions-and-art-meet>

⁸ <https://www.dailysabah.com/>

⁹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/>

¹⁰ <https://www.dailysabah.com/>

their authenticity in terms of traditional elements and structure in addition to the provided language of the modern.

In the thesis, inspired by Demircan's (2005) study, it was concluded that the reflection of tradition in decorative design objects can be observed in two categories. *The first* of these is the design based on the continuity of tradition and the second is the design that acquires a new look regarding the tradition. In the first category, it can be said that there is an analogical use of the traditional motif and its adaptation to the modern form. In *the second* category, there is a transformation (a metamorphosis) of the referenced traditional form into a modern form. Objects in both categories are traditionally inspired modern designed objects. In addition, the objects of *second* category gain an innovative value by transforming the traditional form in modern design jargon.

Therefore, it can be said that brands such as Hiref, Armaggan, Paşabahçe that reproduce the tradition with a contemporary interpretation and make it sustainable are included in the first group. (Demircan, 2005; 101-102). Within the context of *the first* category mentioned above, Deniz Tunç's designs combining traditional decorative arts with modern representations can be given as an example (Menek, 2009; 93). There are generally lighting designs with

the motifs of Rumi, Chintamani and geometric forms in Deniz Tunç's works (Menek, 2009; 93). While carrying out her works, Tunç stated that she designs her works similar to historical artworks by modernizing the familiar motifs of traditional culture (Menek, 2009; 93). She tends to destroy the monotony of mass production with the lightings produced by designing Seljuks and Ottoman cultural forms with silver and gold materials (Menek, 2009; 93). Tunç stated that disagreeing with modern designs formed by globalization and mass production that create alienation in culture, she is in search of carrying hand craftsmanship to the present day (Menek, 2009; 93). While using contemporary materials in her designs, she is inspired by Seljuk-Ottoman patterns (Menek, 2009; 93).



Figure1. *Ceiling Light from Seljuk Collection*



Figure2. *Wall Light from Neo-Ottoman Collection*

Particularly known for her unique lighting designs, Deniz Tunç also designs decorative objects that combine traditional Ottoman-Seljuk cultural codes with a modern design perspective¹¹



Figure3. *The screen of the Rumi Collection*

¹¹ <https://deniztunc.com/product-category/decorative-object/>

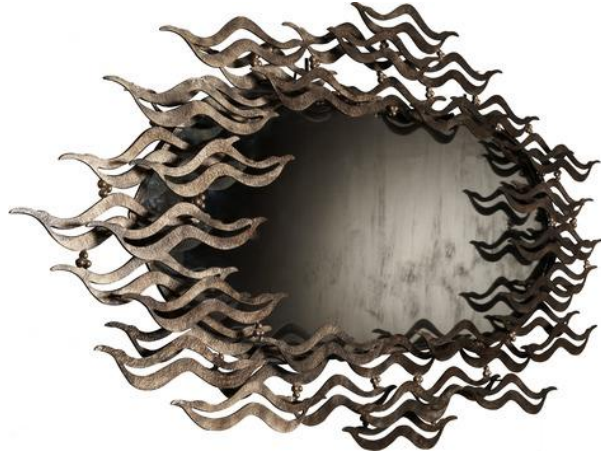


Figure4. *Chintamani Mirror (Neo Ottoman Collection)*

The designs of Aslı Kıyak İngin can also be shown as an example of the tradition-based design concept in the first category. Aslı Kıyak İngin is also a designer who produces designs that combine Turkish traditional motifs or traditional marbling art with a modern design approach nowadays. (Menek, 2009; 93-94). In one of the artist's design collections named ‘‘Night’’ inspired by the details in the Beyazıt Mosque design, the night effect that affects the monumental buildings in the city is planned to be maintained through her objects¹².

¹² <http://www.etsm.org.tr/etsm/index.php?r=collection/view&id=33>



Figure5. *Candle Holder of Istanbul Concept Night Collection*



Figure6. *Marbling Table Lamp Design*

Within the scope of the first category, collections containing traditional handcrafted objects produced by the Paşabahçe brand in limited numbers can be given as examples. Paşabahçe designs handmade glass accessories that are produced in limited numbers (Menek, 94; 2009). It is possible to come across especially tile motives and glass candlesticks embroidered with gilding among these objects, which are produced inspired by traditional handicrafts

(Menek, 94; 2009). However, according to Menek, it does not seem possible to make a clear statement about the accuracy of these patterns in a historical context (Menek, 94; 2009). The Paşabahçe brand, which has a great reputation in the market for home decorative objects, has collections that are limited-edition and handcrafted by being influenced by Anatolian Civilizations and Ottoman culture¹³. Since the objects in the collections are handcrafted and there is a limited number of objects available, the prices are above average. These collections can be named and considered as Anatolian Civilizations collection and Ottoman Empire influenced Çeşm-i Bülbül, Beykoz, Zevk-i Selim, Ottoman, İstanbul, Aşure and Mineli Camlar collections¹⁴.



Figure7. *Paşabahçe Collections*

Handcrafted Chintamani or *Çintemani* Kaftan Vase of Paşabahçe that were produced in limited numbers were

¹³ <https://www.pasabahcemagazalari.com/>

¹⁴ <https://www.pasabahcemagazalari.com/koleksiyonlar/kk-191>

inspired by Fatih Sultan Mehmet's Chintamani detailed caftan exhibited in the Topkapı Palace Museum¹⁵. This object can also be included in the object group in the first category of Demircan's prementioned study.



Figure8. *The Caftan of Fatih Sultan Mehmet*



Figure9. *Pasabahce Chintamani Caftan Vase*

When *the second category* is examined within the context of the categorization; several examples can also be given for designs that tradition is only inspirational while creating a completely new look. For the second group, traditionally-referenced designs such as Erdem Akan's tea

¹⁵ <https://www.pasabahcemagazalari.com/koleksiyonlar/istanbul/cintemani-kaftan-vazo/u-10019240-306-761>

glass design or Defne Koz's tea glass tray, which have completely changed the traditional form and style and have a new concept with a new look, can be given as examples. Filiz Ozel worked in one of her studies on niche design format where east and west meet with global and local design codes (Ozel, 2011). When the examples from this study that can be associated with the subject of the thesis are examined, Erdem Akan's designs are encountered. Ozel mentioned that the designs she referred to in her study are neither fully global nor fully local, so they are in a synthesized context (Ozel, 2011).

This design technique can be seen in many production cases as the main result of the fear of failing to protect Turkey's rich cultural heritage under a global identity. Erdem Akan (2009), one of the designers who made a balanced synthesis of the codes aforementioned, presented a contemporary interpretation of the traditional Turkish tea glass (in the form of a tulip) called eastmeetswest¹⁶. While referring to the traditional, the cup also has a contemporary interpretation with its design that does not burn fingers while holding it and keeps the tea warm for a long time¹⁷.

¹⁶ <http://www.erdemakan.com/accesories/eastmeetswest-teaglass.html>

¹⁷ op.cit



Figure10. *Traditional Turkish Tea Glass*



Figure11. *Eastmeetswest Gold Teaglass Design*

Akan's plate design named shish plate (2004) inspired by shish kebab, and his hat design called *fes*, cap red (2007), inspired by the traditional fest worn in the Ottoman Empire, are also among the products of the magnificent synthesis of a traditional and contemporary perspective¹⁸. The hat designed by Akan has created a brand-new design style while referring to traditional culture. Furthermore, the plate designed by Akan has been revised according to completely modern use, which is far from the traditional use of the concept of shish kebab-plate. The mentioned products are available under the

¹⁸ <http://www.erdemakan.com/accesories.html>

category of handmade design objects from Istanbul on the website of the designer¹⁹.



Figure12. *Shish Plate Design*



Figure13. *Red Fes Cap Design*

In addition to Erdem Akan's works mentioned above, it would be appropriate for this category to examine the designs of Defne Koz. It is possible to say that Defne Koz redesigned the traditional tea glass tray and brought a brand-new concept to this object (Demircan, 2005; 101-102). Koz was inspired by a traditional tray form used in coffee houses in Turkey (Demircan, 2005; 101-102). However, Koz redefined the product by developing the object she designed within the framework of a modern aesthetic understanding and completely changing the traditional concept of the product (Demircan, 2005; 101-102).

¹⁹ op.cit

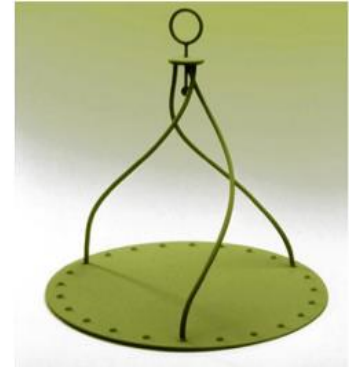


Figure14. *Traditional Coffee Shop Tea Tray* **Figure15.** *Tea Glass Tray Design*

Furthermore, Özlem Tuna's objects designed by blending the traditional evil eye bead object of the Central Asian nomadic Turkish society with a modern design approach can be cited as additional examples²⁰. This specific bowl below was handcrafted and sold for a high price of \$300.00²¹.



Figure16. *A Traditional Evil Eye Bead*



Figure17. *Bowl Design by Özlem Tuna*

²⁰ <https://ozlemtuna.com/product-detail/collections/credo-istanbul/sweet->

²¹ op.cit

Whether the object designs in the second category discussed here are both modern and conservative at the same time is not within the scope of this thesis. However, this issue appears to be a fruitful issue that can be discussed later.

Within the context of this thesis, decorative objects will be examined as modern conservative luxury decoration objects within the scope of the first category.

4.1.2. The Analysis of Home Decorative Objects of Hiref and Armaggan Brands

This chapter covers the decorative objects produced and promoted by brands, Hiref and Armaggan. As previously discussed and noted, Hiref and Armaggan are two pioneers in branding luxury decorative objects. The objects for analysis are selected according to very specific and highly genuine criteria: luxury objects that reflect traditionally inspired modern aesthetic and form. Nevertheless, before the analysis, it seems important to discuss why the thesis is concentrated on home decorative objects.

A home is not only a private space but also an instrument that enables individuals to introduce themselves to the outside world. It has an intermediary function for a

foreigner who is later included in this intimate area to get to know the landlord. The living room is the area that functions as a door to the outside world. Especially the decorative objects in the living room consist of indicators that show the cultural and economic capital, in short, the social status of the host. Thus, it can be said that decorative objects help to determine the social status position of their owner by creating a symbolic meaning. According to the Turkey-scale researches, it is said that the decorative objects that show the cultural and economic capital best can be found in the living rooms. Hence, in countries such as Turkey where guests have a significant social value of culture, decorative objects have a mission to introduce their owners to the outside world. The candle holders, vases, and showcases with many heirlooms and rare decorative objects in the living room appear as signs and introducing indicators. According to the living room culture, the objects in the living room are not used in daily life and are shown to the guests under the titles of *elegant* and *exclusive*. For instance, the semantic value of an elegant and exclusive dinnerware, candy dish, or candle prioritizes its usage value since the asset value of an elegant decorative object is based on being ostentatious rather than functional. An elegant decorative object is considered too worthy to use in daily life. The functional value of the mentioned object

comes from its semantic value. In the light of this information, decorative objects in which luxury consumption is embodied and used as a semeion can be seen as a very important case. Hiref and Armaggan, which produce unique handcrafted objects with high prices, are selected as the main two brands to be discussed in terms of the stated reasons. The brands Hiref and Armaggan produce authentic and exotic objects using traditional design techniques, materials of high quality and traditional motifs. These objects prove the desire to create a unique design with an artistic spirit. Among their high price and quality, these objects, which are status indicators in terms of their symbolic values, have the characteristics of being objects that luxury consumption can be discussed on. The objects examined in the object analysis section are generally objects for offering/presentation and decorative objects. Other categories such as candles, candleholders and vases are also objects with high semantic values, which are used mostly for special occasions and guest entertainment events instead of daily use.

The meaning of the names of the mentioned brands is as follows: Hiref's origin comes from the word *Ehl-i Hiref*, which is an Arabic word, is a combination of the words *ehl* and *hiref*²² *Ehil* means possessor, resident, virile and *Hiref* is

²² <https://circlelove.co/osmanlida-ehli-hiref-teskilati/>

the plural form of the word *hiref* that means art²³. *Erbab-ı hurfet* means craftsman, in another word of artisan, that is, connoisseur of art²⁴. In addition, the word Armaggan is a coinage word that is created with the inspiration of the Turkish word Armagan which means a gift or present²⁵.

Hiref was established in 2003 to design objects by historically using Anatolian and Ottoman culture and blending it with modernism and contemporary design language²⁶. Hiref not only approaches Anatolian and Ottoman culture as a content and design language in its objects but also uses the production techniques of these ancient cultures in the design of its modern objects²⁷. Hiref's designs focus on a point where the codes of the east and west meet and where global and local identities are intertwined. It is an important detail that Hiref has objects inspired by Seljuks art and design, as well as designs produced with the Ottoman period glass art technique Çeşmi Bülbül (Özel, 2011; 56-57). The names they give to their collections also show that they are concerned about this East-West synthesis²⁸.

²³ op.cit

²⁴ op.cit

²⁵ <https://www.armaggan.com/kurumsal/tr/hakkimizda>

²⁶ <https://www.hirefstore.com/hakkimizda>

²⁷ op.cit

²⁸ The names of the collections of Hiref are; Spirituals Series, Gift Sets, Crown Collection, Cintemani Collection, Feather Collection, Seljuk Collection, Beykoz Collection, Abdan Collection, Candle Collection, Turquoise Collection, Elegance

One of the qualities that include the Hiref brand in the luxury consumer segment is that its target audiences such as luxury hotels, luxury homes, shops and offices. Combining rich Anatolian and Ottoman culture with contemporary design codes, Hiref objects have also reached many luxury hotels, shops, offices and homes around the world²⁹. Hiref started with the understanding of designing the culture that it belongs to and designed decorative and functional accessories for many internationally famous luxury hotels in the year 2008³⁰. In addition, it offered its objects for sale in many locations where luxury stores are located and opened its own store in Nişantaşı, one of the most luxurious districts of Istanbul. The brand's views on expanding domestically and internationally attract notice. Armaggan, another main brand that is the subject of the thesis, has similar qualities to Hiref. For this reason, the objects of both brands have been examined together. Armaggan has also designed objects in a contemporary context by using the craft traditions existing in Anatolia that have begun to sink into oblivion³¹. Mass production, which has a structure to gain speed in production and to obtain more products, requires much less time and

Collection, Marble Collection, Kaftan Collection, Silver Collection, Motif Collection, Harem Collection, Moon Collection, Straw Collection, Copper Collection, Mirror Collection (<https://www.hirefstore.com/>).

²⁹ <https://www.hirefstore.com/hakkimizda>

³⁰ Bosphorus Swiss Hotel, Istanbul Hilton, Atik Pasa Four Seasons, St. Regis İstanbul, Radisson İstanbul, Dubai Rixos, Abu Dhabi Rixos, Shaza Medina, Hyatt Regency and many Kazakhstan Hotels

³¹ <https://www.armaggan.com/kurumsal/tr/hakkimizda>

effort than traditional artisan craftsmanship. However, as mentioned above, the designs of Hiref and Armaggan address from a point where fine craftsmanship and artisanry meet art. Armaggan aims to design timeless objects that will be passed on for generations as a brand and offers many artistic objects, jewelry, leather products, natural dyed textile products, etc.³². In an article published about the use of historical natural dyeing recipes of the Armaggan brand, it was stated that the brand aims to ensure the continuity of cultural heritage while producing a natural paint collection with clean content (Torgan, Karadağ, 2017). Armaggan also has outputs painted with its natural dye collection consists of clothing, home textiles, carpets/rugs that contain traditional traces such as 16th and 17th century Ottoman fabrics. (Torgan, Karadağ, 2017). In addition, the brand has also provided employment opportunities in hand-workmanship fields such as weaving for people who can still work in handcrafts in Anatolia (Torgan, Montenegro, 2017). Armaggan defines itself as a luxury design brand, with its own slogan *Unique by design*, producing unique designs in limited numbers in order to prioritize local employment and local materials³³.

Armaggan has opened a gallery called *Art&Design* to support young Turkish artists in its Nuruosmaniye branch,

³² op.cit

³³ op.cit

and at the same time, it has carried out a guesthouse project called Armaggan Bosphorus Suites in Ortaköy district of Istanbul in order to point out the current reflection of the mansion culture³⁴ The selling points of the Armaggann brand are located in Nuruosmaniye district, where the symbols and the buildings belonging to the authentic culture of Istanbul can be seen, and in the Nişantaşı district of Istanbul, where stores of luxury brands can be found³⁵. The collections of Armaggan are created by intertwining the tradition and cultural heritage with a contemporary perspective³⁶. As in the Hiref example, the motto of approaching the tradition with a modern perspective is at the forefront of the Armaggan brand's mission. Armaggan has directed its unique designs that unite the past and future to the luxury consumer group. Using original materials together with hand workmanship, the brand emphasizes the artistic appearance in its design.

This thesis is defined the luxury product category by Bourdieu and Veblen's luxury product conceptualization. The characteristics of the selected objects belonging to the luxury category are explained through the theories of Bourdieu and Veblen. In terms of the limitedness of their prices, sales

³⁴ op.cit

³⁵ Armaggan Nuruosmaniye Showroom and Armaggan Nisantasi Showroom
<https://www.armaggan.com/kurumsal/tr/hakkimizda>.

³⁶ Contemporary Collections, Anatolia Collections, Palace Collections, Designer Collections
<https://www.armaggan.com/collections/>.

locations and the amount of the products they produce, both Hiref and Armaggan have the characteristic of less accessibility as brands, and this lends countenance to the characteristic of the rareness of their products. The decoration objects of the Hiref and Armaggan brands are generally similar in terms of their motifs, construction techniques, form-functions and materials. Both of the brands design traditional motifs and themes in a modern way with a contemporary design approach. However, the traditional qualities of the objects do not disappear into modern design. On the contrary, in favor of the articulated motifs, the objects are intertwined with the traditional context. Since the objects in the mentioned brands are produced by hand workmanship, they involve a high level of labor and time loss in production compared to mass production. However, this situation gives the objects a luxurious quality. In addition, the prices of the objects are quite high due to the qualities such as the materials used, the fine workmanship in the construction techniques and the limited number of production. Traditional elements in the designs, on the other hand, add an authentic and exotic atmosphere to the objects. As a result of this atmosphere, the value of the objects increases more and more.

When the objects of both brands were examined, five main categories that could answer the hypothesis of the thesis were determined: Decorative boxes, daily objects, which is used for offering, (such as sugar bowls, Turkish delight bowls, cheese plates, etc.), candles-candle holders, office objects and vases/decorative objects. The reason why objects are classified into these categories is that it is convenient to examine luxury consumption over these categories.

Additionally, there is a remarkable number of objects in the categories mentioned. The reasons for choosing these categories will be explained in this section. In the thesis, the term daily object is used to describe daily objects using for the offering. First of all, objects such as daily objects, decorative objects such as candles and vases, and office objects are intermediary objects by which domestic life can be reflected in the outside world. It is possible to say that the decoration objects are used as symbolic objects that the home/office owners show their status to the guests invited to the house or the meetings held in the offices. Decorative objects are not products that the owners purchase merely to fulfill their individual pleasures but are also objects that determine their owners' status and position in the minds of others. In general, a high-quality vase or a special leather napkin box in a living room shows its owner's purchasing

power and cultural capital. Individuals approach their idealized personal identity, the person they desire to be from the purchased objects of desire. Preferences in consumption habits are shaped by the orientation of economic and cultural capital, as Bourdieu stated in *Distinction*. (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, a vase in the living room does not exist only as an aesthetic object. The decorative or daily object in the living room is also an instrument for proving the social, cultural and economic capital of the landlord. The fact that decorative objects such as daily objects, vases and candleholders in the house are considered as aesthetic pleasure elements creates a distinction in terms of social codes and status. According to Bourdieu, the socio-economic status of the individual consists of the principle of separation created by aesthetic pleasure (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Bourdieu, individuals' many consumption habits such as eating and drinking habits, furniture and household goods and clothing preferences reveal a distinction between them and other segments of the society (Bourdieu, 1984). This distinction based on aesthetic taste makes the social status of the person visible to society (Bourdieu, 1984). As prementioned, home decorative and service objects that objectified by aesthetic pleasure and distinction also carry a symbolic meaning. (Bourdieu, 1984). The objects in the living room where the

guests are hosted are the objects through which the host expresses his/her social status and aesthetic taste distinction. Therefore, the usage of luxury and ostentatious home decorative objects becomes frequent. Living rooms or office environments attract attention as places where guests are hosted. As a result, decorative boxes, service objects (such as sugar bowls, Turkish delight bowls, cheese plates, etc.), candles-candle holders, office objects and vases/decorative objects that are situated in the mentioned places to introduce the owner's aesthetic taste to the outside world are determined as research objects of this thesis. Another factor in determining these objects is their objectivization as concrete examples in terms of Veblen's conspicuous consumption concept (Veblen, 2007). First of all, daily objects, decorative objects, office objects and candle holders are objects that can make a person flaunt to *the other* since private areas such as houses/offices are the places where "the other" first encounters the objects mentioned and these objects appear as factors that determine the first impression of the house/office owner in the mind of *the other*. Hereby, it is possible to say that the mentioned objects have the opportunity to display performance. According to Veblen, as the industrial usefulness of a product decreases, it is possible to categorize it as luxury (Veblen, 2007). According to

Veblen, for consumption to be conspicuous, this specific consumption must be waste-based and far from social benefits (Veblen, 2007). Thus, decorative objects which are not considered essential need responders in daily life can be defined as non-useful products in terms of their functions due to their low functional value in daily use. While the mentioned daily or decorative objects are usually placed in the living rooms of the houses, they are often used only when guests come. Hence, it can be said that the mentioned products have become “waste” based consumption objects due to their low usage in daily life and lack of adding any functional/useful value to daily life. The greatest benefit of the product categories mentioned lies in the fact that they serve a conspicuous value rather than a social or functional advantage and this conspicuous value serves the social status and prestige of the owner. In short, the useful benefit of the object arises from its service of social status and prestige that results in the mediation of "the other". The benefit mentioned here will be elaborated through Veblen's exemplification of candles and waste. (Veblen, 2007; 104). One of the most frequently encountered product types in object review is candles and candle holders. Before the discovery of electricity, candles were used functionally for lighting. With the usage of electricity (except for a power outage), there is

no need to use candles in daily life. Therefore, it draws the image of waste instead of a necessary need to choose a candle that is less effective than a light bulb for the lighting requirement that is necessary to sustain today's life. Veblen exemplification this case with the usage of candles at dinner for their pleasant lights although they do not give an efficient light. (Veblen, 2007; 104). When the objects of both Hiref and Armaggan brands are examined, especially handcrafted candles made by original materials can be seen. Thus, the luxury object of the candle in the samples creates a decorative semantic value instead of its functional value and is included in the waste-based product group based on this value.



Figure18. *Evil Eye Beaded Silver Candle Holder, £480,00*

As another luxury product code, hand workmanship is preferred instead of machine consumption to categorize the product under the title of luxury products. Some inferences arise when the indicators of luxury consumption are

examined within the scope of the aforementioned objects.

These objects have the characteristics of luxury consumption products primarily because of the determination of features such as rarity, production by hand workmanship instead of machinery, waste instead of functional utility, expensiveness, hard-to-get effect.

In the 21st century, where mechanization and mass production are quite common, mass production of a product is much more accessible and cheaper than its handmade version. A lot of time and effort is spent during the handmade process of handicraft production. In contrast, mass production, in which the mentioned labor and time expenditure is minimized, has less waste. Handcrafted products considered more luxurious in comparison with products made by machines although machinery products demand less time and effort and avoid waste. In his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Veblen mentions that a handmade spoon is considered much more valuable than a machine-made spoon (Veblen, 2007; 93). The reason for this can be explained with the satisfaction of aesthetic pleasure that hand-made spoon provides while machine production stands out only in terms of its functionality during eating. (Veblen, 2007; 85-86). Although a machine-made product looks qualified and error-free in terms of its usefulness, a

handcrafted product is considered more valuable in terms of honor even if it is handmade and not flawless enough and has defects on it (Veblen, 2007; 86). The honorary value mentioned here is a sign of prestige. The products that cause high labor and time loss and that lead to waste are considered much more prestigious.

The decorative helmet of Armaggan above is manufactured with the rare tombac gilding handcrafting method, which is practiced by very few artisans nowadays. The object is created by gilding copper and mercury alloys through a gold-copper amalgam³⁷. Besides, Rumi and illumination patterns are used in the design of the object³⁸. Armaggan decorative helmet, like the other reference objects, has been produced in limited numbers.



Figure19. *Helmet*

³⁷ <https://www.armaggan.com/collections/tr/urunler/detay/migfer-baslik-co-do-00024-bakir>

³⁸ op.cit

As Bourdieu has stated, the concept of luxury is explained by the fact that the specific product is far from practical and functional in terms of its qualification (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu also stated that the simple and minimal clothing preferences that aim long and several usages in time is the opposite of luxury (Bourdieu, 1984; 376-378). As a result, for both Veblen and Bourdieu, situations that provide less benefit with a lot of effort are considered to be among the features of luxury consumption since they are considered a waste of time and effort. There is a mirror inspired by the Ottoman harem in the example below. However, it offers a useless feature since the structure of the motif and form on the mirror cannot fully provide the mirror's reflection function. The mirror cannot give the exact image it reflects due to its round-perforated structure and due to this reason, it can be said that instead of this mirror, a mirror with minimal detail on it is considered more functional in daily life, due to its functional value.



Figure20. *Harem Mirror*, £5.150,00

According to Veblen, if a product creates a case of waste, it can be considered as a conspicuous consumption object without being a completely useless product (Veblen, 2007; 69). However, the functionality rate of the product mentioned here should be less than its semantic value, to consider this product among the conspicuous consumption objects (Veblen, 2019; 69). The reason for choosing the objects for the hypothesis of the thesis is the unique value of these products in consequence of their limited production. These objects provide the characteristics of being expensive luxury objects due to their limited availability means that not everyone can easily buy. The production of these objects with traditional handcraft techniques which have been forgotten also adds an authentic atmosphere to the objects and these objects made with production techniques that have a

historical value has found a luxurious expression due to the nostalgic production techniques that are not used in the current sense and cannot be adapted to a fast production process. It can be said that objects out of fashion, with a limited place in current consumption, are not preferred to consume and, thus, they have become redundant choices. As an example of this case, the quality of being antique should be pointed as one of the indicators of being a luxury product. Popular products are objects with high access in the market due to the present wave. However, a product that is outdated and does not have many samples in the market becomes a luxury product due to its rarity and this rarity and difficult accessibility features support its luxury label. Although these products are seen useless as they do not serve the current trend, they are categorized as antique objects and sold at high prices due to their rarity and uniqueness. Among the products examined, there are products with historical indicative value instead of only functional value, as well as objects that are not currently used but have historical use-value. While these objects can be used on special occasions and celebrations, some of them have only decorative value in terms of visual aesthetics rather than functional value.

For example, *Alem* meaning flag or starboard that defines the border were found in the domes of architectural

works in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods³⁹. However, instead of their mentioned historical functional values, these objects are currently in use in the living rooms of the houses as decorative objects for the social status and prestige that comes to the fore from their semantic value.



Figure21. *Black Drop Alem*



Figure22. *Beige Marble Alem*

Cup holders can also be referred to in this context. Cup holders can be historically explained as the containers used in the past to put handleless coffee cups with high artistic value that does not have a functional value and use at present⁴⁰.

³⁹ <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/alem--sembol#2-mimari>

⁴⁰ <http://www.antikalar.com/osmanli-sarayi-hazinesiden-fincan-zarflar>



Figure 23. *Conic Cup Holder*



Figure 24. *Sphere Cup Holder*

Elite and refined taste outstands with its qualities such as being distinguished and elegant and this taste becomes more concrete in authentic and original objects. Expensive, gaudy and garish objects that lack elegance, on the other hand, are far from being exclusive and are vulgarly common luxury products. Since the artificial version of a product (eg artificial leather instead of original leather, gold paint instead of gold coating, etc.) cannot be original and unique, it cannot be included in the luxury category. For instance, instead of a reproduction of an expensive object, an antique statue of the original object can be included in the luxury category due to its originality and rarity (Bourdieu, 1984; 287). On the contrary, a newly produced object with its antique appearance with certain techniques instead of a real antique object is accepted as a vulgarly common product rather than a luxury one (Bourdieu, 1984; 287). Thus, objects with elegant ornaments that cannot be accessed by everyone are indicators

of a refined taste. In addition to its elegant, noble and refined taste; the expensiveness of the mentioned object is indicating that it is an object with high cultural capital. As Bourdieu stated, popular public taste is accessible (Bourdieu, 1984). However, having purchase power for products with the luxurious judgment of taste requires being privileged (Bourdieu, 1984). Although luxury consumption can be based on pleasure only in a superficial sense from time to time, the objects with fine and refined taste elements in Hiref and Armaggan brands cannot be considered as superficial luxury consumption objects since they also require high cultural capital. These objects which have the characteristics of refined pleasure instead of a superficial one have a high cultural capital value and also require high economic capital. Thus, rare objects with a certain socio-cultural code that has low functional value and high waste value can be examined under the quality luxury products. The authenticity of the object, its low reachability, and its popularity in a much smaller community make that object an exclusively luxurious product.

Another reason to include luxury consumption in the discussion is the high economic value of the materials used during the process of production. For instance, gold- or silver-plated objects are also considered as luxury due to the

high value of gold and silver materials. The matting helmet of Hiref as a decorative object is on sale at an expensive price of £4,750.00 since the object is silver plated. The use of original materials in the objects, the limited production with traditional techniques and the sale of the original culture in a distinguished language support the objects to be in the category of luxury. According to Bourdieu, low substitutes of luxury consumption objects can be included in the consumption styles of the common class. (Bourdieu, 1984; 287). The imitation or artificial version of any original painting or clothing material arises from the need of the common class to adapt to luxury consumption (Bourdieu, 1984; 287). In the light of this explanation, it can be said that the objects examined in the thesis support being a luxury consumption object by using original marbles from their origin and using original gold/silver plating.



Figure25. *Matting Designed Helmet, £4.750,00*

Most of the objects sold may not be used in daily life at homes due to their high economic and cultural status value. Therefore, the sale of the mentioned objects at high prices and the fact that their decorative prestige values override their functional values also contribute to their luxury feature. It is also a privileged situation to design object concepts with references to the traditional Turkish-Ottoman culture and with a contemporary perspective, such as Hiref's helmet plate above. This is because the objects are considered as authentic objects with traditional references while they also adopt a contemporary style and thereby the objects are prestigious. Moreover, the simplicity, refined authenticity, and elegance in the design language of production made the objects exclusive.

As stated above, the objects are made of original and expensive materials, handcrafted, and cannot be reached by every segment due to their limited production and these qualities are in line with the luxury consumption concepts of Veblen and Bourdieu. As Veblen mentioned, home furnishings and decorative objects can contain a high percentage of conspicuousness since the object can be seen as a tool for social prestige for its owner by introducing himself/herself to the outside world through it. (Veblen, 2007) As Bourdieu declared, daily life practices of people in

their habitus where people's tastes come into being as a practical disposition are very important (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, domestic life is seen as an area in which the judgment and distinction of taste in daily practices that innately belong to habitus occur the most. (Bourdieu, 1984). Furthermore, home decorative objects can be considered as one of the concrete indicators of the judgment of taste in daily domestic life. As a result, the luxury home decorative objects of Hiref and Armaggan were examined in the thesis.

The objects have been examined in detail under three main topics as motif, form-function and construction technique-material in terms of their designs.

4.1.2.1. Motif

The motif in the design of the object is generally placed on the block product by the articulation method. Motives often overshadow the value of the function as they offer high semantic value in terms of their meanings. With the motives and ornaments used in the objects, the semantic values of the objects such as prestige and social status have been brought to a high position. This issue will be discussed in detail under the form-function topic.

When the motives of the objects are examined, it can be seen that the motives are mainly related to the Seljuks and Ottoman culture. When the selected objects are categorized according to their motives, four basic motif segments rise to prominence. However, when the references to traditional cultural identity codes in the objects are generally categorized; they appear as Central Asian nomadic Turkish culture reference, Rumi figure reference, Seljuks culture reference and Ottoman culture reference. According to the first motif category; references are dating back to the pre-settled period of the Turks such as the horseshoe, evil eye bead, and the pomegranate figure, which is a symbol of fertility.



Figure26. *Evil Eye Beaded Turquoise Candle Holder*



Figure27. *Horseshoe Wall Hang And Cinnamon Scented Candle Set*

The horse, which is mentioned in many legends and epics in Turkish culture, was seen as a close friend of its owner, and horse forehead shields were seen as a symbol of wealth (Arisoy, 2018). For the Central Asian society, which has nomadic and warrior characteristics, the horse symbol has also become a symbol of victory and power due to its benefits in war (Arisoy, 2018; 29). The second category is the Rumi motif, which means belonging to Anatolia and which is frequently encountered in the motives of the objects; it is a flower or animal motif that does not intermingle or mixed but features a tangled and brisk pattern (Yavuz, 2008). Turkish motives, which has high importance as a high-status indicator during the Ottoman period, often manifested themselves on diplomatic gifts (Gümüşer, 2012). Rumi motives, on the other hand, are used in decorative arts such as tiles,

ornamentations, manuscripts and fabric decorations (Gümüşer, 2012).



Figure28. *Bone Handled Rumi Letter Opener*



Figure29. *Rumi Designed Open Candleholder*

The third category consists of geometric motives that have been used from the times before Islam to the Seljuks period and later on to the Ottoman Empire (Arisoy, 2018; 70-71). These geometric motives used in traditional Turkish decorative art are generally used to decorate materials such as tiles, walls, leather, wood, and paper (Kılıçkan, 2004; 57). The Turkish ornament art which was in a rising trend during the Seljuks and Ottoman periods gained a distinguished value by entering the academic field (Kılıçkan, 2004; 57). The eight-pointed Seljuk Star, which is one of the symbols of star systems, has been determined as the most frequently used

motif in objects. While the star symbols are used in many wooden and stone ornaments in Turkish architecture, they were used to wrap the door entrances. (Arısoy, 2018; 72). As can be seen, the star form, which is performed in many wood and stone decorations in Turkish architecture, was generally used on wood, leather, copper/silver coating and mostly marble objects among the analyzed objects.



Figure30. *Seljuk Cooper Office Set* **Figure31.** *Conic Octagonal Star Box*

Known as the Seljuk star, this specific star shape has six-pointed and eight-pointed forms (Soyupak, 2016; 236). The eight-pointed form of the star was frequently used as decoration in palaces and mansions in the architectural field during the Anatolian Seljuks period (Soyupak, 2016; 235). The eight-pointed star figure, which symbolizes the eight gates of heaven, was generally used in architectural works, starting with the Karahanli and continuing to be used in today's decorations along with the Seljuks (Dizel, Özkaya,

2019). The eight-pointed star is also said to be eight heavenly gates symbolizing eight heavens in religious sources (Arısoy, 2018).

Another motif used in the mentioned objects is the double-headed eagle symbol, dating back to the Central Asian nomadic Turkish and Seljuk culture. Thus, it can be said that the double-headed eagle is in both the first category and the second category in the object classification according to its motifs. The double-headed eagle figure, which takes its origin from the Central Asian and Shaman culture, often appears in the Anatolian Seljuks art and decoration culture (Özkul, 2019). The double-headed eagle, which has become a national symbol in Turkish culture and also means wisdom and luck, is the ruler of the skies according to the Central Asian Turkish culture (Arısoy, 2018; 25). This symbol can be found in the artworks, coins, palace tiles and architectures of castles and city walls, mosques and madrassas especially during the Seljuks period (Goksu, 2016).



Figure32. *Eagle Coaster Set*



Figure33. *Eagle Coaster Set*

In the fourth category, we come across objects that are determined as Ottoman referenced motifs. When a general examination is made within the scope of the motif analysis, the most common motif symbols were determined as the symbol of Chintamani, the crescent and star symbol and the Hamsa symbol (also known as Fatima's hand), which were frequently used in the Ottoman period. Among the motifs used, the Hamsa symbol known as the hand of Fatima is one of the symbols of Anatolian civilizations culture that has the meanings of wealth, abundance and good luck (Yılmaz, 2019).



Figure34. *Fatima's Hand Gold*



Figure35. *Alem Opalin Turquoise Gold*

The symbol of *Çintemani*, which consists of two intertwined crescents, offers the meaning of an eye with three circles and crescents from the outside to the inside⁴¹. The Chintamani or *Çintemani* symbol resembles a leopard spot due to its three-round shape or resembles a tiger eye due to its wavy line form and it is often used in Ottoman turbans (or Kavuk meaning quilted turban for men) and caftans, while it is also used in carpets, tiles and book covers (Hayırsever, 2020; 12). The symbol of Chintamani or *Çintemani* resembling the parts of powerful animals such as leopards or tigers symbolizes the power of the sultan (Cimilli, 2007; 188). For this reason, Chintamani motifs were embroidered on the furs around the throne of the sultan and the robes of the sultan (Cimilli, 2007; 188). As it is understood, since the symbol represents power and strength, it is used in sultan's

⁴¹ <https://www.hirefstore.com/HRF-CINTEMANI-BUZLUK-SIL249-981>

caftans, palace textile products and wall decorations during the Ottoman period (Bulut, 2018; 2975-2979).

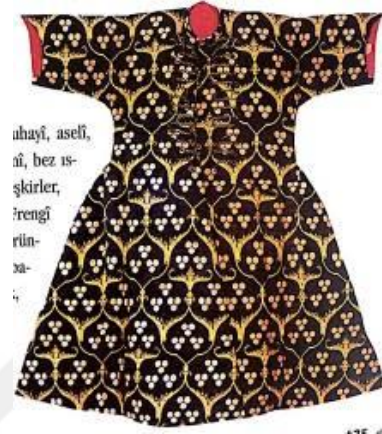


Figure36. *Chintamani patterned caftan sample 1*



Figure37. *Chintamani patterned caftan sample 2*

This motif, which is used as a symbol of power, has become an indicator that separates royal people living in the palace from the (Hayırsever, 2020; 11). This symbol, which is a cultural gain of Ottoman and Islamic art from Buddhism,

also represents good luck, fortune and protection (Bulut, 2018; 2975-2979). The Chintamani or *Çintemani* motif is embroidered on precious metals, fabrics and carpets to give the impression of the rising power of the Ottoman empire (Scollay, 2014; 5). While this symbol has the meaning of political power, it is also associated with luxury and palace culture (Scollay, 2014; 5-6). As a result, in the third category that includes objects referencing Ottoman culture, most of the objects come up with the moon form.



Figure38. *Crown Chintamani Detailed Whiskey Set*



Figure39. *Chintamani Triple Bowl*

Motives are usually processed as an extended modification on a modern designed object. The modern form of most of the objects that combined with tradition is provided by articulating a traditional motif to the plain-modern object. While traditional and geometric forms are intertwined in objects, both qualities have emerged as a composite object rather than being an alloy by melting into each other.

4.1.2.2. Crafting Techniques and Materials

While the objects of both Hiref and Armaggan are mostly hand-made, also the traditional production techniques have been preserved and applied. When the production techniques are categorized it can be said that Hiref generally uses three traditional techniques; Kastamonu and Maraş style of wood carving, tombac gilding technique and the *Çeşm-i Bülbül* technique. Armaggan brand, on the other hand, did not give any additional information in its production techniques but stated that it is using ancient traditional handcrafting like Hiref. Thus, it is concluded that both brands

produce objects with traditional handcrafting techniques. The first technique and relevant object group of Hiref are in its *Elegance* collection. The linden wooden handcrafted objects were made by Kastamonu's famous craftsmen on wood⁴². Secondly, the objects that are applied to traditional Maraş carving can be seen as a result of the traditional production techniques of Hiref.



Figure40. *Wooden Rose Patterned Round Bowl Produced by Craftsmen of Kastamonu*

The third technique that stands out among the production techniques of Hiref is the tombac gilding technique applied by very few craftsmen today. This technique is the name of the technique that is made by using the mixture of gold and silver with mercury on copper-mercury alloyed objects and gild them. (Bora, 2013; 18). The tombac gilding technique was applied in the Ottoman period

⁴² <https://www.hirefstore.com/zerafet-koleksiyonu-25>

by gilding many coppers and brass everyday objects, and military hardware objects such as armors, harnesses and helmets (Bora, 2013; 18).



Figure41. *Decorative Harness Object Produced with The Tombac Gilding Technique*

The fourth and final outstanding production technique of the Hiref brand, taking the Ottoman period glass art as a reference, appears as a traditional Beykoz glasswork technic. This technique named the traditional Beykoz method of glasswork was used during the Selim III period of the Ottoman Empire and performed in the ateliers established by the craftsmen who went to Venice for glasswork education⁴³. Beykoz's glasswork technique can be classified as crystals and colorless glasses, opal glasses, colored glasses and

⁴³ <https://www.hirefstore.com/Beykoz-Koleksiyonu-18>

Çesm-i Bülbül (Yazar, Aslan, 2013; 845). Beykoz glass art technique occupied an important position in the field of crafts especially with opaline and Çeşm-i Bülbül glasses in the Ottoman Empire and also in Europe⁴⁴. The Beykoz hand-cut collection is exclusively designed by traditional craftsmen for customers and the collection contains objects produced with the cesm-i bulbul technique. *Cesm-i Bülbül* technique, one of the main traditional Turkish glass art techniques, consists of cut and gold embroidered objects such as jugs, bowls, pitchers, Turkish delight bowls and laledans -tulip shaped- thin long vases- (Yazar, Aslan, 2013; 847-848).

Consequently, Hiref's production processes include many traditional production techniques employing hand workmanship such as traditional wooden hand carving technique, Beykoz glass technique from the Ottoman period.

Armaggan also produces its object with similar cultural and ancient handcrafting techniques that have been used from Seljuks to the Ottoman. The phrase "Unique by Design" can be seen in addition to the "Limited Edition" phrase can be seen at the brand's website prepared for its object collections. As it is understood, both brands have worked with master craftsmen who use the traditional style in their production techniques and brought this ancient style to

⁴⁴ op.cit

light. Both brands' productions are limited so that they provide rare limited-edition objects that supply objects for luxury object categories that do not belong to mass production. As a result, it can be said that both brands used traditional handicraft techniques that are not currently used by brands during their production process. These handcrafted objects which are regarded as indicators of luxury consumption have the quality of waste since they induce waste of time and labor by not using fabrication methods of mass production. As the waste and labor increase, it also pulls the intangible and material values of the mentioned objects up. These handmade objects, which are produced in limited numbers, have the characteristic of being rare objects that are not frequently encountered in the daily product market. The limited access to the mentioned objects in the market also supports the rarity feature, which is one of the indicators of luxury products.



Figure42. *Istanbul White Dove Produced By The Cesmibülbül Technique*



Figure43. *Beykoz Glass Work Crown Alem*

The colors used in the objects are divided into two categories. The first of these categories is the color turquoise, which symbolizes Turkishness.



Figure44. *Turquoise Tile Vase*



Figure45. *Turquoise Tile Vase Classic Teardrop*

The second category is the colors of gold and silver, which symbolize the Seljuk and Ottoman palace culture,

usually after settling down. Gold and silver plates symbolizing the Turkish palace culture attracted attention.



Figure46. *Gold Plated Sahan Plate*



Figure47. *Silver Mini Palace Bowl*

The materials used in the production of the objects are generally categorized according to their frequency of use. The most commonly used materials are brass, marble and copper; while medium-frequently used materials are wood, straw, leather, glass and silver- and gold-plated brass. Finally, less common materials can be sorted as porcelain and polyester materials. The objects are generally made of brass instead of gold or silver but are designed with gold or silver plating. While 925 Ct silver is generally used in the objects, the gold material is mostly used as gold brass plating. The fact that the materials of the objects are generally gold or silver plated has been one of the main factors that significantly increased the prices of the objects.



Figure48. *Anemon vase, brass gold plated*

In the material analysis of the objects, it is noteworthy to see that the organic state of the marble which is taken from its origin is protected during producing process. Authentic marbles, carefully purchased from their original places, have also been a feature that supports the price of the objects.

Armaggan's marble objects are mostly produced with the following marble varieties; Bilecik Marble, Afyon Grass Green Marble, Diabaz Marble, Afyon Tiger Skin Marble, Milas Marble, Manyas Marble, Diyarbakır Black Pearl Marble. Similarly, Hiref also stated in the information part of the objects that marbles they use were brought from the original source regions of Anatolia such as Afyon, Akşehir, Bursa, Silifke and Burdur. In short, the marbles used in the objects are designed by exclusively bringing from the original local sources.



Figure49. *Artuqid Dome Paper Weight made out of Diabaz Marble*



Figure50. *Onyx Marble Candle Holder of Hiref Brand Produced from Marbles Extracted from Afyon, Akşehir, Bursa, Silifke, Burdur Regions*

Leather is another material that can be encountered during object analysis. Armaggan stated in the information part of its leather products that the brand uses vegetal leather materials. Since vegetal leathers are produced without using chemicals, they do not harm human health and can be colored with natural dyes if desired⁴⁵. Vegetal leather, also called vegetable tanned leather, refers to the production method of a traditional tanning application of cowhide into the leather

⁴⁵ <https://tuzerderi.com/vegetal-vaketa-deri-nedir/>

using tannins from plants⁴⁶ Hiref, on the other hand, did not give information about the type of leather used in their objects.



Figure51. *Seljuk Leather Napkin Holder*



Figure52. *Vegetal Calfskin Leather Coaster Set*

The last production material that is examined is wood. Wooden objects are also designed and produced by hand workmanship.

⁴⁶ op.cit



Figure53. *Wooden Motif Candle Holder* **Figure54.** *Hand Carved Mirror*



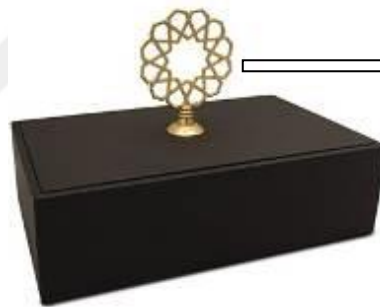
Figure55. *Decorative Wooden Box With Ottoman Gilding Motifs*



Figure56. *Wooden Bowl with Leather Lid*

4.1.2.3. Form-Function

When the objects are evaluated in terms of form; it can be said that traditional forms of objects are created by using mainly simple or plain geometric figures and the embroideries are attached to these figures as an element separate from the surface of the object.



Seljuk Star holder articulated on a leather box in a modern form.

Figure57. *Seljuk Brown Leather Box*



Traditional eight-pointed star holder articulated on a marble box in modern form.

Figure58. *Star Dome Box*

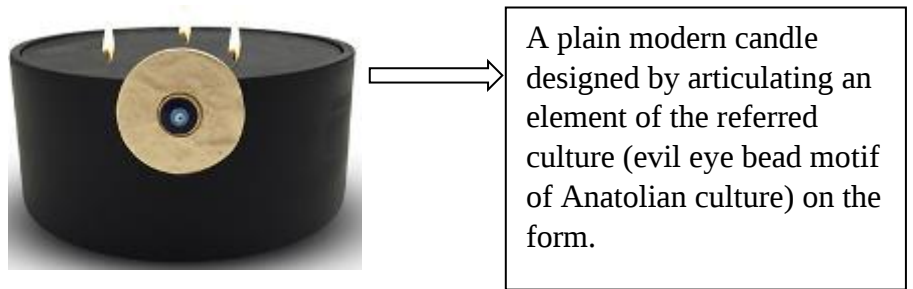


Figure59. *Black Candle Holder with Evil Eye Bead*

Although the ornament does not have an actual functional relationship with the referred culture, it is aimed to establish a relationship between the culture and the ornament by rarely processing the ornament onto the base geometric figure but mostly articulating it over the figure. Since this established form relationship does not exactly coincide with the functions the objects have in their original culture, it can be said that the ornamental and figural structures on them have been transformed and detached from their meaning. Objects that were never used in the attributed cultures such as Seljuks-inspired cheese plate and crown whiskey set with Chintamani details can be given as examples of this specific case.



Figure60. *Seljuk Cheese Plate*



Figure61. *Chintamani Detailed Crown Whiskey Set*



Figure62. *Chintamani Detailed Icebox*

There are also rare objects such Helmet Sugar Bowl that directly refers to the objects used during Seljuk and Ottoman times and these objects are close to establishing a healthy form relationship.



Figure63. *Helmet Sugar Bowl*

When the objects of Hiref and Armaggan are examined, the daily objects stand out in line with the hypothesis of the thesis while decorative objects also attract attention. As for the most significant inference, it can be said that the objects are designed much more focused on special occasions or guest entertainments rather than daily use. The motif factor is encountered in the process of combining the forms and functions of the objects and for most of the objects examined, it can be easily said that aesthetic elements take precedence over function. Due to the designs of the mentioned objects, sales are built on the marketing of the semantic values of the objects that affect the owner's prestige and status instead of their ergonomic structure in terms of function. For instance, the object of Hiref called Sems Service Plate is sold on a semantic value such as prestige rather than daily practical use. It can be deduced from the handle of the serving plate. As can be seen below, besides the

lack of practicability of the handle, it also makes it even more difficult to carry the plate. Moreover, The Rumeli serving plate has a height of three centimeters⁴⁷. Due to its height, the plate cannot be carried easily. In addition, as it is mentioned before, the handle is not ergonomically functional.



Figure64. *Rumeli Service Plate*

The current asset value of these objects is based on the meaning produced by their form and motifs rather than the enhancement of its usefulness by the handle. Armaggan's four cm. high delight plate design can also be shown as an example in this case.



Figure65. *Delight Plate*

⁴⁷ <https://www.armaggan.com/collections/tr/urunler/detay/rumeli-servis-tabagi-ma-pl-00103-siyah-altin>

There are examples of the case mentioned about the Sems Serving Plate and Delight Plate below.



Figure66. *Gold Seljuk Cheese Plate*



Figure67. *Beige Seljuk Cheese Plate*



Figure68. *Sems Service Plate*



Figure69. *Sun Service Plate*

Some box objects can also be given as examples of cases where functional value is ignored due to the intertwining of the motifs with the form. It is possible to say that the handles on the lids of the boxes are articulated to the figure as motifs, make it difficult to open the box and make the box non-functional due to their ergonomic structure.



Figure70. *Leather Box*



Figure71. *Silver Box*



Figure72. *Conic Star Box*



Figure73. *Amber Box*

In addition, most of the vases produced by both brands are designed only for their decorative value, rather than placing flowers in them due to their narrow structures.



Figure74. *Teardrop Shaped Tile Vase*



Figure75. *Turquoise Tile Vase*



Figure 76. *Flying Vase*



Figure 77. *Iznik Vase*

The last part of this subject will focus on the objects that have an indicative and semantic value instead of functional value. These objects, which are found in both brands, are objects that do not have any functional value and take their value only from the meanings of prestige and status they provide to their owner. While these objects consist only of forms and motifs, they lack functionality.



Figure 78. *Marble Spike*



Figure 79. *Gold Horseshoe*



Figure80. *Anemon Vase*



Figure81. *Shield Object*

The products are generally designed within the scopes of office supplies (pen holder, bookmark, letter opener), candles and candleholders (including candle stands), decorative objects and vases (for ornamental usage purposes) and daily objects (sugar bowls, delight bowls, cheese plates, whiskey and wine sets, cigar ashtrays). In the thesis, the term daily object was used to describe daily objects using for the offering. As mentioned above, many products are not used in terms of function in the culture referred to due to the motif used. For instance, the cigar ashtray, which refers to the traditional Turkish culture due to the material it is made of, and the cheese plate, which refers to the Turkish tradition due to the motif of the Seljuk star, are also not products used in the referenced culture in the historical context. As in the example below, although the whiskey glass set was not used in the Ottoman palaces, it has an authentic meaning in terms

of being an object that was produced with the Ottoman technique in a contemporary design concept.



Figure82. *Beykoz Glasswork Whiskey Glass and Coaster Set*

When the objects are analyzed in general, the traditional handcrafted production technique and a limited number of production techniques are seen. Since a limited number of handicraft objects are considered as rare and elegant as they contain additional non-fabricated labor value, the brands that apply the production techniques in question are named luxury brands. As for the motif of the objects, it is possible to say that traditional motives are redesigned from the perspective of the contemporary design context. Thus, it can be said that the themes and motives extending from the Seljuks to the Ottomans are blended with the contemporary design approach and create an exclusively designed object. Furthermore, in the production of the objects, the traditional

hand workmanship of the Ottoman period and the traditional hand workmanship production technique inherited from Anatolia are used. Usage of marble and silver or gold plating materials in the objects have also increased their financial value. Hiref provides information on the origin of the marbles and where they come from in the description section of the marble objects on its website. Therefore, by emphasizing that the raw material is specially brought from its origin, the exclusiveness of the object is underlined. Although the objects are designed with contemporary forms, they contain a conservative ethos that preserves traditional discourse because they include conventional design techniques and traditional motives. Therefore, since preserved culture and tradition are engaged with the design approach of the age during the objects' producing process, the design of these objects is labeled as traditionally inspired modern designed objects. In addition, the objects are handcrafted and produced in limited numbers along with the materials such as gold, silver and marble and due to this reason, they are classified as luxury goods. Moreover, when the object themes are analyzed, it can be said that themes of a historical flow from the Central Asian Turkish culture to the Seljuks and then to the Ottomans were used.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Changing luxury consumption codes depending on the socio-cultural developments have been analyzed within the scope of modest luxury concepts through home decorative and daily objects especially after the 2000s in Turkey. In this thesis, home decorative objects and the daily objects which are used in the offering were investigated. The luxury home decorative objects which are subject to this thesis were analyzed in terms of their designs. As a result of the design analysis of the objects, the existence of the new luxury traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative decorative objects has been determined. In this thesis, while traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative design language is investigated, home decorative and daily objects have been analyzed through objects of Hiref and Armaggan brands. The design codes in the products have been analyzed within the scope of an aesthetic theory using the methods and tools in Veblen (2007) and Bourdieu's (1984) theories. In this study, the theoretical background consists of two parts. Firstly, it was examined within the scope of non-invidious interest attributed to being in the upper class in Veblen's book called

The Theory of The Leisure Class (Veblen, 2007). Secondly, the aesthetic pleasure theory that emerged depending on the capital distribution in Bourdieu's book *Distinction* has been analyzed within object analysis. In parallel with the theoretical backgrounds, the design language that creates luxury magnificence within minimal ornaments and the simple and modern designs of the products has been determined. As a result of the studies, it has been determined that the objects have a modest luxury appearance in terms of motif, crafting techniques-materials, and form-function in addition to the plain language of modernism. The objects correspond to the luxury product category of Veblen and Bourdieu, in line with the analysis in the motif, crafting techniques-materials, and form-function categories. The analysis shows that the objects at the intersection of Bourdieu's aristocratic ascetic aestheticism and bourgeois hedonic aestheticism theories also correspond to the aesthetic understanding created by Veblen's non-invidious interest motivation. Veblen and Bourdieu attribute a conservative and protected character to the upper class because they establish domination via consumption practices. Finally, it is concluded that these objects, which appeal to the upper class, are a means of maintaining the domination and conservative

nature of the upper class due to their motif, production technique-material, and form-function characteristics.

In the literature scope, descriptive research about the existence of traditionally inspired modern and/or innovative luxury decorative objects was detected in Turkey. However, it was concluded that there is a theoretical study gap on this subject in literature. The primary purpose of this study is to contribute to the literature by analyzing the luxury and traditionally inspired modern decorative objects on a theoretical basis and filling this gap. As it is proved in this study, modern and conservative that preserving traditionalism aestheticism can be investigated in many consumption areas in future discussions. The unity of modern and conservative concepts, in other words, traditionally inspired modern aestheticism, does not only appear in the consumption of decorative objects. Consumption practices such as clothing and tourism seem to be a subject that could be investigated in future studies or discussions within the scope of the determined aesthetic theory. As a result, the study of “modest” luxury within the scope of other cultural consumption practices emerges as a fruitful subject in any future research. Some general analysis deduced from the case studies in conjunction with the theoretical framework will be discussed below.

5.1. The Theory of “Modest” Luxury Aestheticism in Turkey

Veblen and Bourdieu analyzed society in a multidimensional way in terms of consumer motivations, class structure and capital distribution effects on status. In this research, Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* were examined as main sources. Both sources were analyzed on what motivations the consumption is based on. When viewed from a general perspective, it can be seen that Veblen has an essentialist approach to human nature, while Bourdieu has mentioned habitus arising from human life practices and the predispositions formed by these practices, rather than an explanation of the nature or essence of the human. However, in general, a similarity can be established between Bourdieu and Veblen's theories. At the center of the thesis, a theory analysis was conducted through a case study with the idea that the similarities and theories determined in the theoretical structures of Bourdieu and Veblen support the existing hypothesis.

While talking about the leisure class, Veblen mentioned that this class is hierarchically upper class and that they are in a conservative movement in order to protect and

maintain their position in the current socio-economic order (Veblen, 2007;131). However, conservatism here is not related to religion. Conservatism means to provide sustainability for the current order with the necessary tools and strategies. On the other hand, Bourdieu talked about domination systems (Bourdieu, 1984). According to Bourdieu, the dominant class provides its own continuity and durability by dominating the subordinate class (Bourdieu, 1984). In this sense, it can be argued that this situation is conservative (Swartz, 2018;177). There should not be an obstacle to the domination that the dominant class applies in order to keep its existence and since the dominant class retains its power and maintains its continuity through this way, it can be argued that this class domination is also conservative. According to Bourdieu, one of the tools that the dominant class use to maintain its domination in cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 1984). Consumption patterns that shape social reputation such as consumption form, clothing consumption, or home decoration, also shape the social positions of individuals. At this point, domination offers clues that perhaps most manifest themselves in language and culture. For instance, displaying expensive and high-quality works of art, which is one of the consumption habits of the bourgeoisie, in their houses has embodied the domination of

the bourgeoisie by displaying the reproductions of these works in the houses of lower classes (Bourdieu, 1984;287). Since the judgment of taste of the upper class is shown as an ideal taste, the lower class use imitations resulting from a lack of capital. However, due to the lack of not only economic capital but also a cultural capital, when imitation of an object is used, it can be judged by the upper class as common and vulgar (Bourdieu, 1984).

The competition between people in social life is considered normal behavior for both Veblen and Bourdieu. However, the important point here is the nature of the basic motivation underlying this competition. As mentioned in the previous section, according to Veblen, there are two types of consumption motivation in the leisure class (Veblen, 2007). These two motivations can be listed as the primitive temperament that belongs to human nature and the barbaric temperament that occurs depending on the development of human and social structure (Veblen, 2007;142). Veblen made mention of the leisure class that occurs in developed industrial societies (Veblen, 2007). The leisure class consists of human groups who live in line with their individual envious interests instead of primitive human motivations that focus on social benefit (Veblen, 2007;75-76). The leisure class is keen on luxury and conspicuous consumption and

does not show itself in the field of industrial labor (Veblen, 2007;151-152). The class prefers a consumption-oriented life and makes the living with inheritances from the family (Veblen, 2007;24-25). The leisure class exempted itself from the industrial production process and tended towards consumption for ostentation purposes. Conspicuous consumption is a form of consumption in which the individual focuses on his/her own prestige symbolically with an envious attitude, regardless of the social benefit of consumption. Underlying this attitude is the mastery instinct that is not based on industrial utility. On the other hand, society acting with primitive motives attaches importance to social production and development. Individuals acting with primitive motives, act with a dimension of competition that is not invidious. The self-seeking and invidiously competitive life, which is an outcome of the barbaric temperament, is not the fate of the leisure class. According to Veblen, among the leisure class members who negatively interpret the results of barbarian motives, a non-invidious interest-oriented understanding of the competition for primitive temperament also emerges (Veblen, 2007;218-220). The non-invidious interest is far from an encouraging attitude towards the socio-economically inferior classes. However, individuals with an invidious interest attitude create their own social identities by

creating an encouraging effect in the eyes of the other. Thus, while the non-invidious interest arises from the perception of "self", the invidious interest comes through a dialectic established over the other. The point that needs to be underlined about this case is that the invidious and non-invidious competition systems appear in the same group, the leisure class, which also is the dominant class. The consumption patterns of the leisure class are encouraging and impressive for the lower classes. Since the lower classes try to emulate the luxury consumption habits of the upper classes as a role model, the emergence of imitations of some expensive ornamental objects can be associated with this situation. In fact, this attitude of the lower classes, who aim to advance their class, can be interpreted as an effort to reach the upper class by imitating the luxury consumption practices of the upper class or by experiencing those practices despite various difficulties. According to Veblen, the reflection of luxury consumption practices to lower classes can occur through two types of motivation (Bagwell, Bernheim, 1996). The first of these can be categorized as invidious attitude, while the second type is the attitude of envy or emulation (Bagwell, Bernheim, 1996). In the first category, the upper class adopts an invidious attitude towards the lower class depending on the luxury consumption style, while in the

second category, a lower-class member consumes by emulating the luxury consumption models of the upper class (Bagwell, Bernheim, 1996).

In this case, the upper class that consumes luxury objects comes to a dominant position in terms of the dominant consumption models. The domination of the upper class is also addressed by Bourdieu but in a different way. According to Bourdieu's concept of distinction, the upper class exerts dominance over the lower classes to ensure its sustainability (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, the upper-dominant class subordinates the lower classes to itself through this domination. However, there is no despotism in appearance. According to Bourdieu, the dominant class provides its domination through "false consciousness" (Swartz, 2018;61). The aforementioned dominant class establishes a sequence of interests that will be necessary for the lower classes, convincing the lower classes that they need these interests. In consequence, the consumption patterns of the lower classes in consumption become conscious in their opinion and become necessary for the continuity of their salvation. Bourdieu did not make a class categorization in the Marxist sense of one type, which goes from top to bottom in a hierarchical sense while establishing this system. According to Bourdieu, there is habitus, although habitus is very similar to class structure

(Bourdieu, 1984). However, it is not only the distribution according to the volume of economic capital that creates habitus, they cannot consider exactly as classes (Bourdieu, 1984). In addition to the economic capital created by the productive forces, there is also cultural capital. Cultural capital is a type of capital that comes mostly from the family and depends on the individual's cultural self-education.

However, these capitals are not equally distributed in every habitus. Habitus is a set of tendencies that arise from the behavioral tendencies in the actions and attitudes of the individuals within it, according to the distribution ratio of capitals (Bourdieu, 1984;174-175). It is highly likely that the individuals in a habitus have predispositions in the practices and attitudes of the family and community structure in which they grew up. Nevertheless, ultimately, the dominant class or habitus is depending on the distribution ratio of the capitals. Thus, the predispositions within the habitus are determined to the extent of the ethos created by the dominant class. In addition, although these tendencies are far from the conscious awareness of the individuals, they are attitudes that are reflected in the behavior practices of the individuals. In that case, when looking at both Veblen and Bourdieu's theories, it can be said that regardless of economic or cultural capital, those who hold the capital are dominant and affect other

classes or habitus in terms of behavioral practices. When it comes to behavioral practices, the activity of purchasing should be considered. Thus, it is possible to say that purchasing activity is actually a means of domination and has a symbolic value. For both sociologists, regardless of the motivation of domination and regardless of the type of capital, classes that can hold capital and that engage in luxury consumption activities benefit from this symbolization to ensure their continuity. As a general result, classes that consume luxury take advantage of the symbolic benefit of consumption in order to maintain their dominance and recreate themselves. Veblen stated that the leisure class is actually conservative (Veblen, 2007;131). The reason for this situation is the effort of the leisure class to maintain the established order in order not to give up its position (Veblen, 2007;134-135). According to Bourdieu, habitus contains certain action tendencies within themselves, so that the individual cannot get out of the hegemony of his/her habitus most of the time (Bourdieu, 1984;172-173). The reason for this is the individual's exposure to the behavior patterns of the habitus he/she grows up from his/her childhood. In this case, the dominant class that Bourdieu stated will not want their future to be on slippery ground. The dominant class will want to preserve the existing order while maintaining its

position by domination. The conservatism mentioned is not religious. While conservatism tries to maintain and protect continuity by preserving the old order, it has been regarded as having a meaning based on wanting to continue in evolutionary progress rather than a revolutionary dimension. Thus, it can be said for both sociologists that the dominant class behaves with messages that should set an example for the lower classes, especially in terms of consumption, in order to maintain its continuity.

Another important point is Veblen's theory on the continuation of the non-invidious interest. The non-invidious luxury consumption of the dominant class can be considered in terms of simplicity, politeness and modesty in the matter of the objects used. It can be said that the appearance of luxury consumption, even if it is invidious, is a modest conspicuous consumption. When we look at this case on Turkey-scale, it can be seen that there are many simple, plain and modest but also luxurious objects in terms of economic capital. These objects are exemplified in the case study section and examined in terms of design language. At this stage, an association will be made with Bourdieu's capital-based theory. According to Bourdieu, two types of lifestyles can be seen in the dominant class and Bourdieu studied both lifestyles within the scope of an aesthetic distinction theory

(Bourdieu, 1984). The first one is aristocratic asceticism and the second one is bourgeois hedonism (Bourdieu, 1984). As mentioned in the previous chapter, aristocratic asceticism appears in communities where cultural capital is high and economic capital is low (Bourdieu, 1984;283-287).

Bourgeois hedonism is seen in communities with high economic capital but low cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984;283-287). Since the distribution of capital affects consumption activities within the habitus, communities of aristocratic asceticism adopt a more humble, modest, simple lifestyle that does not involve instantaneous pleasures (Bourdieu, 1984;283). However, individuals belonging to bourgeois hedonism adopt a hedonistic lifestyle together with the ostentation and vanity that are mostly created by the support of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984;283). Both lifestyles appeal to a certain prestige pattern. The symbolic capital mentioned by Bourdieu shows itself mostly at this point, where the symbolic values of the objects outstrip their use-values. In this thesis, lifestyle parameters related to the mentioned capital distribution have been examined through reading the language of luxury object designs.

When it comes to the most crucial part of the thesis, the following hypothesis emerges; with the reading of Bourdieu's capital distribution theory and Veblen's theory of

non-invidious consumption motivation in the leisure class through object design language, can a concept called modest conspicuous object design be created? Can these two theories, on the other hand, be read over modest conspicuous objects? Home decorative objects discussed in the next section create a typology of an object consumed actively in Turkey in the 21st century. These objects fall under the category of luxury traditionally inspired modern objects by making traditional references to their plain, simple and modern attitude. Thus, it is concluded that the designs of these objects carry a modern identity as well as a conservative discourse that preserves traditional foundations. However, these objects are considered luxury consumption objects, mainly due to their high prices. Bourdieu studied aristocratic ascetic aesthetics and bourgeois hedonistic aesthetics, especially in terms of the distribution rate of cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). This type of examination can be read on the symbolic value of capital in luxury traditionally inspired modern home decorative objects. The objects examined in the case study chapter are neither exactly objects of ascetic aesthetics with high cultural capital, nor objects of bourgeois hedonist aesthetics with high economic capital. These objects reveal an aesthetic understanding with both high cultural and economic capital.

Moreover, as mentioned in the previous sections, Veblen's theory of the luxury objects consumed with the motivation of non-invidious interest in the dominant class is embodied in these objects. These objects create a modest conspicuous with their high prices in addition to their simple and modest design languages. Thus, a hybrid theory is formed through both Bourdieu's aesthetic theory based on the distribution of capital types and through aesthetic language created by Veblen's non-invidious interest of the leisure class theory. The hypothesis is located in the middle of Bourdieu's aristocratic ascetic aestheticism and the bourgeoisie hedonistic aestheticism and practical terms, it can be seen through the objects of luxury consumption that represent Veblen's non-invidious interest theory. Furthermore, the hypothesis is derived from the home decorative and serving objects that are produced and designed through the integration of luxury traditionally inspired modern aesthetic language in Turkey. Besides, conservative or preserving traditional decoration elements that objects have supports the strategy of preserving the existing capital inequality, which Veblen and Bourdieu attributed to the dominant class. It was be concluded within the theoretical foundation inherited from both theorists that, for the objects that are designed with luxury traditionally inspired modern aesthetic language and

currently on sale in Turkey corroborate the conservative strategy that makes the tradition of the dominant class sustainable.

5.2. “Modest” Aestheticism in Home Decorative-Daily Objects

Consumer products are means to mediate people's social identities in society. The concept of conspicuous consumption is full of intentions of showing off. Objects with show-off value are tools for individuals to introduce themselves to society. Thus, while analyzing these objects, the semantic value comes into prominence rather than the use-value. However, some objects are costly and out of everyone's reach, despite their plain and modest appearance. These objects have a “*modest*” and simultaneously conspicuous design language. According to analyzes, the design of these objects belongs to the traditionally inspired modern concept as a new luxury category. In this context, the mentioned hypothesis has been analyzed through the theories of Veblen and Bourdieu in the previous part.

These objects examined in terms of design language; have been analyzed as objects that refer to modern as well as traditional culture. As Veblen and Bourdieu mention, these objects were analyzed within the scope of home decorative objects embodying luxury. Home decorative and daily objects which are used as an offering, are tools by which individuals introduce themselves to the environment. The investigated objects are not produced through mass production but offer traditional handcrafting techniques and designs. All of these objects were produced in limited editions and were made with original materials within the scope of the unique theme. These objects, as mentioned earlier, are not subject to mass production and are produced in limited editions; thus, their recognition level and accessibility decrease. As a result of being handcrafted and limited production alongside high sales, value has provided these objects with a luxury meaning. In the case study chapter, these objects were examined through the concept of luxury stated by Veblen and Bourdieu, and so these objects are accepted and justified as luxury objects. These objects have an elite and unique aesthetic presence in terms of design and sales motivation. The fact that most of the materials used in these objects are taken from their original place, that the designs are nourished by the authentic spirit of Istanbul and

Anatolian culture, and that the objects are produced in limited editions and are handcrafted support this judgment.

With traditional cultural elements mostly modified in a modern form while designing objects mentioned in the case study chapter, these objects benefit from both a modern and conservative design. Placing traditional motives on a modern form by modification method creates the modern-traditional eclecticism of these objects. The existence of the elements of past culture on these objects has given the objects an authentic spirit. The authentic spirit is among the factors that add uniqueness to objects. Due to their high prices, these objects appear to be out of reach for the middle -class and of course the lower class.

It can be said that the modern and conservative cultural elements of these home decorative objects are the embodiment of Veblen's non-invidious interest definition in the upper class, also known as the leisure class, in terms of their simple and modest designs (Veblen, 2007). The design of these objects is elegant in terms of having simple and modest designs and at the same time a discourse that fits into a refined taste design language. As a result, these objects have a “*modest*” conspicuous design discourse in line with their price and design. As explained in the case study chapter,

these objects are valued in terms of their conspicuous features rather than their functional properties.

According to Bourdieu's theory and object design analysis mentioned above, some data and inferences were obtained. Considering Bourdieu's analysis, these products appear as objects that can appeal to the dominant class due to their high economic and cultural capital qualities (Bourdieu, 1984). There are two typologies that Bourdieu asserts in the taste of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984). The first one is bourgeois hedonism, which is based on comfort and pleasure; the other being the aristocratic asceticism that occurs when modesty, simplicity, and postponement of pleasures instead of instant pleasures are emerged (Bourdieu, 1984;283). Both of these distinction principles are different branches of taste judgment. The main reason for this bifurcation is the unequal distribution of cultural and economic capital. According to these objects analyzed, these objects contain neither all of the aesthetic elements of aristocratic asceticism nor all of the aesthetic aspects of bourgeois hedonism. While these objects contain aristocratic asceticism aesthetics in terms of their plain and modest language, they also adapt to bourgeois hedonism aestheticism because of their high prices in economic terms. The use of the simple language of modern design of these objects proves that these objects have a

refined design that is far from over ornamentation. Thus, it was concluded that these objects contain high cultural capital in terms of refined taste and high economic capital due to their high prices and remarkable semantic values (prestige, honor, esteem, etc.) instead of functionality. These objects were analyzed through Bourdieu's theory and have been investigated in the scope of the current home decoration market in Turkey. In the light of Bourdieu's theory and using his theoretical approach in his Discussion Book, the modern luxury conservative decorative objects (currently sold in Turkey) have been analyzed. In terms of the methodology of Bourdieu's theory of distinction, these objects address the intersection of bourgeois hedonism precisely, where economic capital is high, and aristocratic ascetic aestheticism, where cultural capital is high.

When Veblen's theory and concepts are used as a method, it would be appropriate to emplace these objects in the luxury products category introduced by Veblen's leisure class theory. As stated in the previous section, the objects are included in Veblen's luxury product conceptualization in terms of their qualities. The objects have been analyzed regarding them having a design language in the scope of the non-invidious interest of the leisure class due to their simple and modest designs. According to Veblen, non-invidious

interest arises within the leisure class, that is, the upper class (Veblen, 2007;218-220). Non-invidious interest is based on an emulating motivation rather than an enviable comparison (Bagwell, Bernheim, 1996). Thus, the modest design language in the objects differs from the over-ornamented design principle of the bourgeoisie. The modest design in the objects is based on an emulation rather than an enviable basis. Instead of high ornamental components, minimal-scale decorations add a modest atmosphere to the objects. In the design of these objects, there is simple and modest discourse instead of the pompous appearance of tradition. However, the high prices of the products reduce the accessibility of objects. Veblen's conceptualization of non-invidious interest of the leisure class fits into this analysis. While the objects have a seemingly modest and plain design language, they appear to belong to the upper-class society to which they appeal. The leisure class typology, which occurs in the final phase of the leisure class, lacking an enviable motivation and at the same time including some non-peaceful motives, can be proven through the analysis of the objects (Veblen, 2007;218-219). The “modest” luxury objects have an imitating and emulating aesthetic discourse rather than an enviable comparison. As a result, the objects with modest and also conspicuous

aesthetics are described through these objects analyzes, based on Bourdieu's and Veblen's theories.

According to another inference, the domination created by the non-envious elements of interest of the dominant class taken from Veblen and the high capital elements of the dominant class in Bourdieu has become a concrete element in designing these objects. "Modest" luxury designs consist of a language that is not enviable, includes traditional elements, and possesses a high level of cultural and economic capital. The concept of "modest" conspicuous arises from "modest" luxury aesthetics. According to Veblen's and Bourdieu's theories, the dominant class has a tendency not to change the system and sustain their positions. The use of traditional design elements on the objects attributes to the conservative identity of the objects. In addition to the traditional handicraft production of the objects, the emphasis on the materials being brought from the local places of Anatolia is among the evidence of referring to traditional culture. The design codes of objects, production techniques, and the emphasis on traditional culture on the official websites of the brands create a conservative identity. Thus, the appeal to the upper class due to the high prices of the objects and the emphasis on tradition in their designs is proof that the dominant class establishes domination over the

other classes via design. Semantic values of the objects have been generally determined as prestige, reputability, the value of owning high cultural and economic capital, and the indication of urbanity that protects the tradition. These semantic values generate an emulative situation for classes other than the upper class, as the upper class determines the dominant judgment of taste. Social identities are generally constructed through consumption objects. In this way, it is possible to say that these objects, which have semantic values such as prestige, present a social identity. During analyzing these objects produced in Turkey, it was concluded that traditional elements were articulated to modern forms via modification techniques by the designers. It has been inferred that the objects have an eclectic design language that modernism and tradition are intertwined but do not melt into each other.

Thus, an indication of urbanity in the context of a traditional identity has been presented in these objects. While these objects appeal to the upper class, having a conservative aesthetic judgment reinforces the domination of the upper class. Consequently, the sustainability of this domination is provided by using a conservative design aesthetic as a tool.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Interior-home decorative objects are revealed as an indicator of the home owner's economic capital, cultural capital, educational capital, etc. While the interior-home decorative contains privacy, it also plays a mediating role in introducing the individuals themselves to their guests. The objects that decorate the salons have not only use-value but also semantic values. In certain cases, the semantic values of some objects come into the forefront rather than their practical value.

In this thesis, change in consumer perception of luxury in Turkey, especially after the 2000s, was investigated over luxury home decorative objects. This change has occurred, depending on the socio-economic and political dynamics in Turkey. The output of this change has become highly concrete in consumption objects and consumption habits. Changes in the luxury consumption perception in Turkey were observed as part of the literature review and were examined under daily objects used for offering and home decorative objects in this thesis. The objects of Hiref and Armaggan brands found in the market of Turkey have

been investigated as a case study. These objects were analyzed in terms of their designs.

According to the literature review, luxury consumption habits have become visible in conservative classes as regard to their religious sensibilities as one direct consequence for Turkey attuning to the capitalist process. While consumption objects possess use-value; the symbolic values of products attribute to a social identity to consumers in the post-modern world (Güneş, 2016). Transition to the consumption society has brought about commodification and an increasing amount of consumption. With the transition to the consumption society and the expansion of capital, the enlargement of the middle class has affected the consumption habits of the conservative class. One of the most significant results for this transition was that as the welfare level increased in the conservative class, consumption habits changed (Karakaya, 2018). Especially with the rising liberal dimension in the 2000s, the distance between the consumption habits of the conservative class and the consumption habits of the secular class has been narrowed (Karakaya, 2018). Thus, a new modern and conservative middle class has emerged (Karakaya, 2018). As observed in the 2000s, the national values evolved within the scope of a universal modern conservative discourse in Turkey

(Akçaoğlu, 2018). This evolution in consumption style has resulted in the visibility of individualism and modern conservatism rather than collective and ascetic conservatism (Akçaoğlu, 2018). As a result of all these developments, an aestheticized conservative lifestyle has emerged within religious sensitivity (Yücebaş, 2012). As a fruit of the stylization of traditional forms in a modern context, a Neo-conservative judgment of taste has appeared (Yücebaş, 2012). In addition to the expansion of the middle class, the rising economic welfare of the modern conservative class and new consumption habits have gained visibility in the public sphere (Karakaya, 2018). Thus, a hybrid consumer group has emerged in the luxury product consumer group with modern and modern-conservative consumers due to high economic welfare.

In this thesis, the integration of traditional motives on modern forms with an eclectic design language has been analyzed as an efficient subject to examine through home decorative objects. With the rising new modern conservative bourgeoisie, designs emerging from the combination of modernism and tradition have come to the fore in consumption objects. Thus, modern design inspired by the traditional has emerged as a new luxury concept in home

decorative objects appealing to the middle and upper classes with a high economic infrastructure.

Since the early 2000s, furniture and decoration objects with Ottoman-Seljuk motives in modern designs and furniture under the influence of traditional cedar culture have been produced in Turkey (Kaygan, 2006). In the design scale, where modernist aestheticism is spreading, traditional Turkish design elements have been accepted as authentic and remarkable (Çevik, 2002). The abstract design language of modernism gains an authentic identity with traditional and national elements (Menek, 2009). According to Tanglay's research, elegant designs have emerged that combine modernity and conservatism, especially after the 1980s (Tanglay, 2007). Conventional handcraft methods and traditional authentic motives in design are used by a few luxury brands such as Hiref (Demircan, 2005). These objects are elegant objects that blend minimalist design with tradition and appeal to the upper class (Demircan, 2005). Brands that design elegant and decorative objects that combine traditional elements such as Paşabahçe and Hiref with a contemporary design approach can be purchased in today's Turkish market (Gümüşer, 2012).

Decorative objects with a combination of modern and traditional design have been analyzed in the scope of

literature. In this way, authentic home decorative objects have been designed with the addition of traditional elements to the atmosphere created by mass production and the abstract language of modernism. While these objects are usually handcrafted and sold at high prices, they also contain elements of authenticity and refined taste. However, the lack of a theoretical study about these objects mentioned in the literature review was determined. It was aimed to fill the theoretical gap in the literature via using Veblen and Bourdieu's theories in this thesis. Therefore, a hybrid aesthetic theory has been obtained by using Veblen's (2007) Theory of Leisure Class and Bourdieu's (1984) theory of Distinction in the thesis.

The products of Hiref and Armaggan brands, home decorative objects, and daily objects used for offering; have been analyzed under the categories of motif, crafting techniques-materials, and form-function relationship in the case study chapter. As a result of the articulation of the motives on these objects in the modern form, traditionalism is not only inspirational but also articulated to forms by one-to-one design. These objects have been applied by adapting with the analogous use of the traditional motif to the modern form.

In line with the analysis, some motives are often Chintamani, Rumi, Seljuk star, pomegranate, evil eye bead,

horse figure, and geometric shapes. The objects were generally produced in limited editions and were handcrafted with materials brought from local parts of Anatolia. According to these factors, these objects are placed in the luxury product category and sold at high prices due to the symbolization of uniqueness and authenticity. Motives on the objects are usually modified as a handhold on the main form. However, the handholds used did not add convenience to the function of the objects and created a phase of impracticality in some products. Thus, the articulated motives serve the semantic value rather than the use-value according to the form-function relationship because the motives articulated in designs do not focus on easing the use of the objects. The motives and ornamentations get ahead of the functionality. Thus, the presence of motif in these objects preceded the form. According to the traditional design of these objects, they have been determined to have semantic values, which are urbanity with preserving tradition, prestige, status, and modern conservatism. These objects should not be considered only as an entity because their semantic values come to the fore. These objects decorate homes with their existence. They should be examined as to their existence, as they offer a social identity with their conspicuous value. In short, those who consume these objects also buy social identities such as

prestige. In the case study chapter, these objects have been analyzed in detail under the luxury product concept of Veblen's and Bourdieu's theory due to their production techniques (traditional hand-workmanship and limited-edition production), high prices, and low accessibility.

Veblen stated that the discourse of non-invidious interest continues to exist in the upper class (Veblen, 2007;218-220). According to the outcome from the case study chapter, the rhetoric of non-invidious interest continues to exist via plain and modest design. These objects, designed with plain and minimal ornaments, appeal to an emulating motivation and implicit hedonism instead of the envious motivation and hedonic objects used by the bourgeoisie aestheticism. According to Bourdieu's inference based on capital types, while the bourgeoisie hedonist aestheticism tends towards high-fancy products, aristocratic ascetic aestheticism tends towards plain and modest products (Bourdieu, 1984;283). The main reason for this is that the bourgeoisie hedonist aestheticism contains high economic capital, while aristocratic ascetic aestheticism contains high cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984;283-287). These objects have modest designs and are sold at high prices, indicating that both cultural and economic capitals are high in these objects. According to the conclusion, these objects are

located at the intersection of both these aesthetics attitudes, and they have a hybrid aestheticism. The aesthetic theory created has been conceptualized under the name of “modest” conspicuous aesthetic in this thesis. "Modest" conspicuous objects emerged as the new luxury traditionally inspired modern in-home decorative object scale. The fact that the objects are designed with modest ornaments and sold at high prices and appeal to the upper class indicates their “modest” conspicuous aestheticism. Veblen has stated that the upper class constitutes the conservative class and spreads an emulating effect on the lower classes through consumption practices (Veblen, 2007; 131). Bourdieu has stated that the upper class was the dominant class and maintained the existing capital inequality through domination (Bourdieu, 1984;386). According to Bourdieu, the upper class establishes domination over the other classes by determining the dominant judgment of taste (Bourdieu, 1984;386). Thus, it was concluded that these objects, which appeal to the upper class, apply the domination with an emulating attitude rather than an envy one, due to their traditionally inspired designs and traditional techniques. The design and product process of the traditionally inspired home decorative objects support the idea that these objects are produced with a conservative strategy. As Veblen and Bourdieu stated, conservatism is a

strategy of domination by the upper class; this hypothesis indicates that these objects exist in a conservative context for feeding the domination of the upper class. Conservatism emerges as a preservation strategy by revealing a new luxury context in a traditionally inspired modern dimension of tradition in these objects. According to the general conclusion of this thesis, in domination continuation, it has been determined that the design has functioned as a tool. According to this conclusion in the thesis, could this new luxury product scale be a marketing technique that emerged from an orientalist perspective, or could this product scale be a newly born luxury consumption trend? According to Bozdoğan, the second national architectural renaissance has tended towards simple and modest designs in line with the factors of the Turkish character of the Ottoman culture and Seljuk adornment, instead of the excessive ornaments of the Arabic and Persian aesthetics (Bozdoğan, 2002;269). Whether the aforementioned objects of Hiref and Armaggan brands have a heritage from the motivation of the second national architectural renaissance or the idea of establishing a similarity with the second architectural renaissance could be another subject of discussion.

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