READING MATERIAL CULTURE:

AN ANALYSIS OF DESIGN AS CULTURAL FORM

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF

GRAPHIC DESIGN

AND THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS

OF BİLKENT UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ART, DESIGN AND ARCHITECTURE

By

Şebnem Timur

March, 2001

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in Art Design and Architecture.

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Mahmut Mutman (Principal Advisor)

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in Art Design and Architecture.

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Nezih Erdoğan

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in Art Design and Architecture.

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülay Hasdoğan

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in Art Design and Architecture.

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. İrem Balkır

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in Art Design and Architecture.

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Halil Nalçaoğlu

Approved by the Institute of Fine Arts

_____
Prof. Dr. Bülent Özgüç,
Director of the Institute of Fine Arts

ABSTRACT

READING MATERIAL CULTURE:

AN ANALYSIS OF DESIGN AS CULTURAL FORM

Şebnem Timur

Ph.D in Graphical Arts

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Mahmut Mutman

March, 2001

The aim of this study is to explore the possibilities of how the product form conveys meaning, and then how this meaning can be the bearer of any kind of cultural information or inscription upon the object. The reading of the object is discussed within the framework that can be named as the 'material culture of the everyday.' Situating and defining design as a product of modernity, specific categories of objects and related theories about the possibility of the modern subject and his subjective relation with the world of objects is discussed. Last of all, following the route of identity, the Turkish tea-pot set and water-pipe is chosen for a deeper analysis for demonstrating the mechanisms or forces that shape these objects of cultural rituals within the dynamics of tradition and modernity.

Keywords: Design, Material Culture, Objects, Tradition, Modernity, Identity, Turkish Teapot Set, Water Pipe.

ÖZET

ÖZDEKSEL KÜLTÜRÜ OKUMAK:
KÜLTÜREL BİR BİÇİM OLARAK TASARIM ANALİZİ

Şebnem Timur

Grafik Tasarım Bölümü

Doktora

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mahmut Mutman

Mart, 2001

Bu çalışmanın amacı, ürün biçiminin nasıl anlam taşıdığı ve de bu anlamın nasıl bir kültürel bilgi veya iz olarak nesneye yansıdığını ve yansıyabileceğini araştırmaktır. Nesnenin okunması 'günlük hayatın özdeksel kültürü' olarak isimlendirilebilecek bir çerçevede gerçekleşmektedir. Tasarımı modernitenin bir ürünü olarak konumlandırıp tanımlayarak, çeşitli ürün kategorileriyle, bunlara bağlı olarak, bir olasılık olarak modern özne ve onun nesneler dünyasıyla olan bireysel ilişkisi tartışılmaktadır. Son olarak, bu son ulaşılan kimlik kavramından hareketle, Türk çaydanlık seti ve nargile, modernite ve geleneğin dinamikleri içinde, kültürel ritüelleri şekillendiren mekanizmaları ve kuvvetleri sergilemeleri açısından daha derin bir analizin konusu olarak seçilmişlerdir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Tasarım, Özdeksel Kültür, Nesneler, Gelenek, Modernite, Kimlik, Türk Çaydanlık Seti, Nargile.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER 2

LIST OF FIGURES

READING MATERIAL CULTURE: AN ANALYSIS OF DESIGN AS CULTURAL FORM

"...herhangi bir nesne alacağım. ...gündelik olanın içinden alınan bu nesneyi inceleyeceğim, onun dökümünü yapacağım; ele aldığım şey bir maşrapa, bir portakal, bir sinek olabilir. Neden şu camdan süzülen su damlası olmasın? Bu damla üzerine bir sayfa, on sayfa yazabilirim. Bu damla benim için, gündelikliği bir kenara atarak gündelik hayatı temsil edecek, zamanı ve mekanı ya da zaman içindeki mekanı gösterecek, yok olmakta olan bir damla olarak aynı zamanda dünyanın ta kendisini temsil edecektir (Lefebvre 1968,14)."

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION: OBJECT AS FORM AND MEANING

The main aim of this study is to explore and analyze the subject-object relationship within the dualities of the producer as consumer, and consumer as producer; and the fabricated form as the outcome of culture, and culture as a production of fabricated forms.

First of all, the basic argument depends on the assumption that an object in its material finality is a visual statement and therefore requires a certain reading both on the level of its functional properties and within its cultural context. So, if we are to make an analysis of a particular object within a system of signification, and define it as a visual statement, this path leads us to the proposition that objects carry certain codes, or objects themselves are codes to be deciphered along different but intersecting or overlapping frameworks. This is the first point to be emphasized, how could the relationship between objects and a language based analysis, such as semantics or semiotics be constructed in a way that a superficial analysis of the formal

qualities of an object is avoided. This question situates semiotic studies within a broader field of theoretical inquiry that of material culture. This could be thought of the 'archaeology of the everyday,' exploring the signifying possibilities of the items that we use without paying too much attention in our daily lives.

This takes us to a third point that in order to be able to talk about the positioning and activation of a system of objects within the signifying practices of both production and consumption, it is crucial to have a look at the development of consumer culture and its relationship to the modern subject. Concepts such as

Figure 1

desire, identity and subjectivity come along with this axis of inquiry. The modern object and its meaning for the modern subject is tried to be elaborated. An important question is whether subjectivity is possible in this system with its predetermined dynamics of production and consumption. I will also discuss if certain

categories of objects such as anonymous artifacts or kitsch can open up possibilities for different perceptions in our modern lives.

The last part consists of the analysis of two objects that are the tea-pot set and *nargile*; as both being items of everyday life at the border between tradition and modernity. They are analyzed by referring to their formal, functional and cultural significances.

A conceptual schema of the path that is followed throughout this study would be helpful in demonstrating the flow of the thesis. There are three basic paths:

I. product form ⟶ Meaning ⟶ cultural information

II. design ⟶ Modernity ⟶ **Subjectivity**

III.   ⟱

                              <u>**Identity**</u>

                    individual   **social**

                         ↓   ↓

                      kitsch   tea-pot
                                    and water-pipe
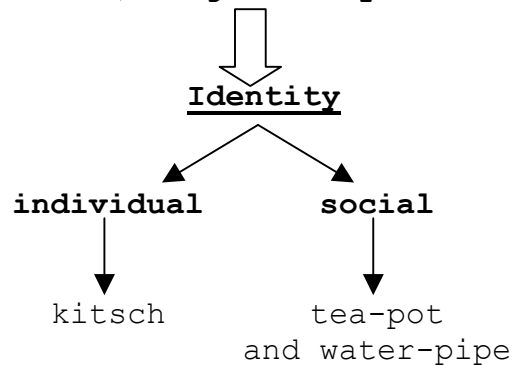
Figure 2

The first chapter puts forward the links among the product form, meaning and cultural information. The ways

in which a certain product can convey any kind of cultural information is tried to be defined. This basis enables us to speak through the terms of culture, objects and semiotics.

The second chapter puts up the relationship between objets and self construction. The concept of subjectivity is elaborated by three different approaches that are; the significance of the object in ontogenesis; subjectivity as an act of choice and experience; Baudrillard's subjective discourse, the concept of collection and Lacan in theorizing whether the object is complete or the self is lacking linked with the concept of fetishism.

The third chapter, taking design as a product of modernity situates the modern subject as the consumer and consumption as an act of production. This production is both in the sense of a cultural production and the production of a new kind of subjectivity determined by the mechanisms of consumer culture. Pointing to the differences between an object and a designed product; the argument is focused on the importance of everyday life. The kitsch object as an everyday item of festivity is discussed exploring the possibilities it could offer for the individual.

The fourth chapter tends to open up a space in the Western modernity project and carries the argument to an alternative path, exploring the potential of cultural difference in experiencing modern consumerism.

The fifth chapter aims to analyze two everyday items that are the Turkish teapot set and the water pipe, with particular reference to their importance in forming a social identity within the dynamics of tradition and modernity.

1.1 *Things* as Cultural Forms and *Objects* as Visual Statements

As Miller states:

> Perhaps the major shortcoming of many theories of the concept of culture is that they identify culture with a set of objects, such as the arts in themselves, rather than seeing it as an evaluation of the relationship through which objects are constituted as social forms...Culture...is always a process and is never reducible to either its object or its subject form. For this reason, evaluation should always be of dynamic relationship, never of mere things (1987, 11).

This dynamic relationship is possible through the communicative capabilities of the object as a cultural form. Any kind of cultural analysis, in this case, the cultural productions and re-productions of the object is

maintained through its symbolic character as a visual statement, within the larger group of cultural forms of things.

How could objects be studied as forms of cultural production? Joseph J. Corn tries to answer this question in his essay "Object Lessons/Object Myths?: What Historians of Technology Learn from Things?" Firstly, after surveying all the articles in the *Technology and Culture*, the quarterly publication of SHOT (Society for the Historians of Technology), he points out to the fact that "more than half of the authors publishing in T&C did not write about objects at all (Corn 1996, 36)." Secondly, he says that "slightly more than 70 percent relied exclusively on traditional written or published sources (37)." Thirdly and most importantly "less than 15 percent of the authors publishing in T&C employed *any* material evidence." Furthermore he identifies 5 different methods or approaches used by scholars in their learning from things:

1- ordinary things

2- technical analysis

3- simulation

4- testing through use

5- archeological science.

He deals with historical artifacts, whose contextual and physical factors that caused that particular object to become has seized and the only evidence left to be interpreted is the object itself. That is why they prefer to make simulations, or in order to be able to test it through use, they rebuild or produce the items that can be damaged or may be out of order originally. The aim of this study on the other hand is to explore the ways in which what I would term an archaeology of the everyday objects could be made.

So, a second difficult question emerges; which objects could be chosen for analysis. Literally all objects can naturally be the subject of such a study, as Prown describes: "Material Culture is the study of material, raw or processed, transformed by human action as expressions of culture." In his essay "Material/Culture", he points out to the distinction between the hard and soft material cultures; one focusing on...

> ...the reality of the object itself, its material, configuration, articulation all the way down to the molecular level, color, and texture, and then proceeds to a primary level of abstraction by not only absorbing but also producing information in the form of words and numbers... The soft material culturist reads the artifact as part of a language through which culture speaks its mind. The quest is not to gather information about the object itself and the activities and practices of the society that produced it, but rather to discover the underlying cultural beliefs (Prown 1996, 21).

Although this distinction seem to be a matter of concentration and highlighting of different aspects of the problem, the pathway that would lead this study will be on specific objects that are chosen for their characteristic of negotiating the two extremes.

Objects are both witnesses of the period that they are a part of, and they are the indexical evidences of the social, economic or ideological circumstances. *The Nakden Tarih* Exhibition, which aimed at demonstrating the transformations of money in its 160 years time in Turkey, since its first usage from the Ottoman Empire is a good example for demonstrating the relationship of the daily objects and the cultural context that they were a part of. The exhibition was designed such that it was not like a mere display of money, put side by side. The design of the exhibition as a whole aimed at building up the links among the objects, ideologies and contexts in a three dimensional construct in the gallery space. There were exhibition stands, with the enlarged images of the money of each ten year period, along with the glass shelves on which the objects were displayed.

The concept was to give the differences of the designs of the graphics on the money, by supporting or contextualizing it among images of the time, the

photographs of famous figures and important incidents. Along with the textual information on the walls, every ten-year period was represented by the accompanying music, all different for each stand. The most significant element of the exhibition that was displayed along with the powerful images, the graphics of the money, the text and the music was the objects. The postcards designed for each ten year period served the function of brochures and also by being provided freely for the viewers, they were souvenirs for the exhibition as well (Önel 1999).

On the three chosen postcards designed as the brochures of the exhibition; 50's are represented by the image of Brigitte Bardot and a metallic hairdryer with a wooden handle; 60's with the Demirel couple, with a stereoscope; most interestingly 90's with the wedding of Bülent Ersoy and a sporting equipment called abdominizer (Figure 3). The hairdryer reminds one of the Raymond Loewy type approach to metal and objects, implying the changing emphasis on the design and style of products along with the developing industrial design profession. The stereoscope could be said to be important in reflecting the increasing use of plastics and pointing to the growing emphasis in the field of vision and visuality at the those times. Lastly the abdominizer, as a body shaper

Figure 3

is significant to build up the links among body, artificiality and the changing values of the society.

Of course, these interpretations could be enlarged and expanded, but they help us to understand and construct the basis for the reading of material culture through the filter of cultural, social and economic values that enabled their existence.

1.2 Material Culture, Language and Objects

> The artifact is direct an expression, as true to the mind, as
> dear to the soul, as language, and, what is more, it bodies
> forth feelings, thoughts, and experiences elusive to language
> (Glassie 1991, 255).

Glassie argues the importance of the study of the material opposed to a merely textual study. He takes a structuralist position and says; "All objects are simultaneously sets of parts and parts of sets" (Glassie 1991, 256). His analysis requires a two-fold mechanism such that if the object is a set of parts, then it can be broken down into its elements. Similarly, if the object is a part of sets, it should be in a context. He goes on to elaborate the contextual dimension and points out three sub-categories:

a. Personal: This context comes out from our reading of the given object at hand sometimes mistakenly through our own cultural filter, such as putting a statue in a museum and assigning it an art historical meaning.

b. Conceptual: This is the context concerning the maker of the object. Most of the time, it can not be seen or knowable. It can also be called cultural, referring to the way of thinking of the creator.

c. Physical: This one refers to the physicality of the object that can be perceived by the senses.

He points out to the shift of the researcher's interest towards the user from the maker in time and he ties the reason of this to the mass-production techniques that isolate man from hand-crafts. His basic argument is not to neglect the hand production while studying material culture. Hand-made carpets made in Turkey are given as an example of being "neither a memory nor a marginal pleasure: it is central to modern life" (Glassie 1991, 261). By offering this kind of approach, he suggests that material culture is not only produced by mass-production techniques, but includes everything that is produced by human labour.

In the preface of his book, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Daniel Miller writes:

> …my perspective evolved during the course of lecturing within the framework of 'Material Culture Studies'. This category may have had a coherent focus in the nineteenth century, under the influence of evolutionary studies in anthropology, but it has since become something of a residual box, housing otherwise 'homeless' interests such as the links between archaeology and social anthropology, or cross-cultural studies in the arts and technology. This lack of clear disciplinary allegiance has, however, afforded me the perhaps rare freedom to range over several disciplines in my discussion and to draw together threads which might otherwise have remained unconnected (1987).

As he defines and by nature, the field of material culture studies form a hybrid theoretical area of inquiry. It helps to build up the links between the material forms of everyday life and the ideological, social or historical motives behind them. The shapes of things are not just the shapes of the technique, but also they are formed by invisible forces constructing the visible forms of culture. In return, these visible forms are used to re-construct or re-present any culture, as it is in the case of tourism. This means that, if the background forces that have formed a specific object were altered or disappeared in time, the object can be seen as the representative of that particular time period. It gains a function of evidence, and the label of authenticity, which implies that particular object, has witnessed that time and was the natural outcome of those specific circumstances. Therefore, to understand an object means to understand it along with its context.

A good example of this kind of object analysis, merging the design of the artifact and the ideological or contextual circumstances ruling its existence and evolution is provided by Judy Attfield. In her article "Design as a Practice of Modernity: A Case Study for the Study of the Coffee Table in the Mid-Century Domestic Interior" she makes an analysis of the transformation of

the 'occasional table,' to the more stylish coffee table in the British household decoration (1997). She associates first modernism with mass-production and industrialization, then modern design practice as the conveyor of the modern ideal. She criticizes the 'good design' category that is praised by the modernist discourse that leaves some objects out in the writing of design history. So, she justifies her choice of the study of the seemingly trivial coffee table to discuss the issues out of the virtually constructed sphere of 'good design' and therefore supply a base for the study of 'culture'. What she drew out of the story of the coffee table entering the mid-century British domestic space that was decorated under the influence of traditional reproduction and rustic furniture was its being a tool to have a modern home with a designed item among traditional furniture. This is important in the British context, because they were afraid of the stylish and exaggerated designs that were considered to be a threat to the British identity. Therefore the 'good design' was promoted not only for the sake of a modern ideal, but also for a kind of national conservation. The victory of the coffee table was, it both seemed to be a modern design item so that the government could promote it, and also it was a tool for leisure that means it is not

specifically only functional, but also a luxury, but there is more to the issue:

> …along with the change of emphasis from production to consumption that followed post-war austerity, the definition of leisure changed from being regarded as a luxury to a necessity. Leisure was no longer only available to the 'leisured class', and was replaced by an informality that removed the boundaries set by the rule that established patterns of room use and introduced the open plan (Attfield 1997, 278).

The significance of the coffee table therefore resides in its convertion from a trivial object into a designed item. Being the marker of a social change, it is largely accepted by the British consumer, unlike the objects that are mentioned in the 'good design' books of modernism that are not 'really' used by the members of the society.

1.3 Towards an Analysis of the Relationship between Language and Objecthood

The main reason for an investigation between language and design lies in the fact that the object in one or another way expresses itself to its user/receiver. This means it has a capacity to communicate some sort of message to the recipient. Language is used to communicate, so the inference that the object is a tool for communication seems not a very false argument in the first place. But,

is it really the case? The aim here is to supply a base for understanding the discursive possibilities of the object, by putting its relationship to language.

The object could be said to be an index of the conceptual state of mind and the technology in which it has come into being. Limitations, as well as intentions and capacities; both in terms of material and production capabilities shape the object. An object is the materialized form of an idea. If there is a communication supposed to occur between the object and somebody encountering it, this is a reflexive action. It is reflexive, because the limit of the act of communication or the effect of it is determined by the limits of the beholder of the look. In terms of the maker, it is also reflexive, because the idea is being reflected upon a medium of materiality, which is different from a linguistic expression that is purely abstract. The problem arises at this point that just like a text that is being read, an object can only speak what has been encoded for the sake of any signification. The basic difference of the text from an object is that, its functional properties overlaps or in a way blinds any textual or linguistic communication. This is the main reason the object is taken for granted in terms of communication. It is already there, whether it is being

used or not. The linguistic approaches to decipher or control the symbolic properties of the object are the outcome of the desire to make the object speak its function properly. This is the side of the designer. He is not there when the object is being used, just like there is no author, while the text is being read.

The analogies of the design-text and designer-author, both works and does not work at the same time, because the text by virtue of the fact opens itself to multiple readings; whereas a design should have an attitude towards one way of use, or at least it has to have a primary suggestion. The user accepts it and obeys, only if he understands the aim; or choose to go to a different path. In this sense, designed object is also open to multiple readings although seemingly to impose one. This is the freedom of the user in the course of everyday life, but the reader of the text is somehow already doing a conscious act of reading.

This difference takes us to a very delicate point that although in our everyday experiences, there is not a conscious reading of the environment like reading a text; we are all accustomed to act within a world of sign systems which control our physical flow in a physical setting. This physical setting is determined and acted

out by a logic of informational re-presentation that is the field of graphic design in general, but what is being referred here concerns the spatial organization of the built environment, covering and including all aspects of contemporary design studies shaping the physical world out there.

All these practices form a rational organization of space. The modern man has to live according to the pre-determined set of actions to be conveyed on definite grid-lines of the city. An example to this kind of spatial reading can be the way people park their cars in the parking lots, or obey the traffic lights. These are ways of reading the environment and acting accordingly. As city dwellers, we have learned to live corresponding to a logic of collectivity. This collectivity requires a meta-understanding of the visible in terms of the logic of the system. The system communicates with us through its tools of informational re-presentation. All forms of design are a part of this system. This is the crucial point where design itself becomes the bearer of an information that is re-presented. Going forward on the example of the parking lots, the metal rods fixed on the ground, parallel to the side way, indicates the position the car will be parked and regulates the distance between the cars; their spatial organization. In these terms, the

simple metal rods, as icon-objects, become the bearers of an informational representation.

If big gross-markets are taken as examples, the whole setting can be resembled to a well-organized, modernist city made up of architectural shelves and display systems. All of which contributes to form street-like passages with names written on top; Sanitaries, Meat, Pasta, Chocolates, Biscuits, Electronics, Lighting, etc. By and through this metaphorically; but not unmotivatedly metaphoric urban setting, the objects are displayed on architectural indexes. This concept of index here is similar to that of the dictionary or an encyclopedia. Its function is to classify not knowledge, but something physical as in a library. Modern man has to find his way by reading the environment like he is used to do in a library. The relationship of vision, language and the material world reaches its peak point at the mall.

The kind of relationship that will be put through the course of the study is one that assumes all kinds of designed elements as representatives of some other concepts apart from their physicality. In fact, the approach will be two-fold; covering two aspects at the same time. The object, one and at the same time, demands two kinds of analysis simultaneously. The structural

analysis of the object within itself and the analysis of the object within a broader context, that of culture, signification, and consumption.

What could be contributed into the field of design through structural analysis? In the first place, accepted as it is that there are two axes of the signification process that are the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic dimensions, then every object has to have two different axis of syntagm and paradigm within two different contexts. According to Saussure, language is a system of differences. Meaning occurs within the relational differences. Binary oppositions are the basis of this system. Saussure's theory of language is important, because he, for the first time took language as an entity, or a system within itself and made an analysis of how meaning is created or conveyed, unlike the common understanding of taking language as a stage of an evolution. The articulated nature of the language refers to the syntagmatic axis of it. According to this logic, a sentence is composed of elements that can not be uttered at the same time, and one element takes its meaning from the one which proceeds and succeeds it. This is the syntagmatic level of language. The paradigmatic level, on the other hand refers to the set of other elements that could be associated with a certain element in a syntagm.

It would be helpful to quote Barthes' table showing the difference of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic layers of meaning in different areas of signification (1993, 55).

	Paradigm	Syntagm
Clothes	The elements that could not be at the same time, at the same place of the body and whose replacement would cause a change in the meaning of the dressing: skullcap/beret/hat, etc.	The different elements' being together in the same dressing: dress, blouse, jacket.
Food	The kinds of starters, main dishes or deserts	The actual chain of chosen dishes: This is the menu.
	The menu in the restaurant satisfies both axis. For example, the horizontal reading of the starters refers to the paradigm; whereas the vertical reading of the menu refers to the syntagm.	
Furniture	The group that is formed by the style differences of the same furniture: a bed	The combination of different furniture within the same space: bed, wardrobe, table, etc.
Architecture	The possible different styles of one of the elements of a building: different forms of roof tops, balconies, entrances, etc.	The combination of the details within the whole of the building.

Figure 4

If we are to focus on the object and its structural components, then a similar kind of analysis could be applied. The aim of this study actually is not to make a structural analysis of the object, but by pointing out the structural components I will attempt to put the relation of objects with language. Just like the linguistic signifier, as seen in the previous table, visual constructs such as architectural forms are

perceived in a relation of difference form the larger vocabulary of architectural styles and forms. For our purposes, the object could be analyzed in detail as follows:

Object	1. In context	
	Chair	Table
		Coffee-table
	Sofa	Puff
	Rolling	TV
	Stool	
	paradigm	syntagm

2. In itself (Chair)	
Wooden legs	Leather-cushioned
Metal legs	Back-seated
Roller legs	Armed
Four legs	Without arms
paradigm	syntagm
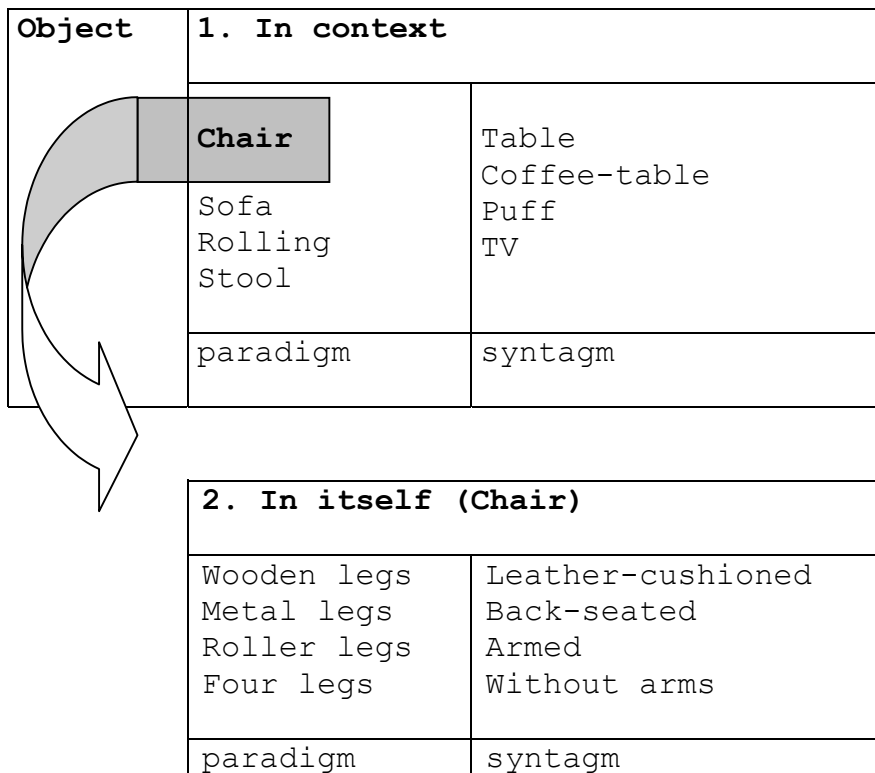
Figure 5

In the first schema, the determination of the meaning of an object in a space in which there is a certain relation between the object and the other objects surrounding it, is tried to be emphasized. This is related to the physical existence of the object within a spacial setting by and through their overall organization, interaction and use patterns.

The context of meaning is constructed by the object's existence among others. In the paradigmatic level, the chair can be substituted by the sofa, the rolling chair or the stool. On the syntagmatic level, the items on the columns can be matched with each other, such as a chair could be used with a table, a coffee table or a sofa could be used for watching TV, etc.

The second scheme helps to understand the 'choices' of the maker through the structure of the chair. In the paradigmatic level, it could be said that the legs of the chair can be made out of wood, metal or it might have four legs, or the shape of the legs could be such that the chair would be a rolling one. Within the syntagmatic level, the chair can be leather cushioned, back-seated or armed. This means that the different parts forming the whole of the object refers to the syntagmatic relations within the structure of the chair. Every detail tells something about the whole, to which it belongs and contributes. Sometimes the syntax is not a homogeneous one, but the weight shifts to certain paradigmatic elements that form the sequence.

These two layers of analysis have one thing in common; that is, they both lead us to the result that an object

is always perceived through the complex relations of difference, comparison and measurement.

The control or the effect of the designer lies mostly in the second scheme, that is to say, on the object per se. Certain design constructs, mostly system designs, requires a mode of thinking that covers other complementary items within the individuality of the object as a whole. This makes the influence of the control expanded.

On the other hand, in the first schema, the designer can have no effect or control. Surely, he has a certain pre-supposition of the contextual construct. He acts according to a pre-assumed or analysed set of facts, but at this stage, the object enters into a state of sociality as the Other; an artifact that has a life of its own, and is simultaneously constructed by the user. The chair in the figure clearly demonstrates the kind of transformation that an object can go through. The picture in Figure 6 is taken in Ulus, Ankara; at the entrance of a building. The defined need of sitting at that

Figure 6

particular place and setting has transformed the object in such a way that it is in a sense castrated and can not have a life other than that stairway. The chair has been specified for that special purpose and context. This redefinition occurs both in a physical and also on a meaning level. Meaning, in this sense resides, lives, develops and alters on the opposition or relation of the personal-social dichotomy. That is why meaning is always slippery, unstable and due to change. The most stunning fact is the firmness of the object's physicality against this slippery base of meaning.

Having been investigated the role of the designer within the structural analysis of objects, the aim of this thesis is not to explain meaning formation from a structural point of view. On the contrary, the main purpose is to look at or investigate the relationship between the object and its transformations. The chair is a good example to that kind of transformation. As a category, or a generic group of object, the transformation of a chair could only be perceived within a meaning framework of a "normal" chair. So, if we are to look at the social transformations, it is crucial to form the basis of the meaning formation. As will be seen in detail in the teapot analysis, the relational differences

are important in forming different visual sentences by
and through the details of objects, but it should be
noted that structural analysis is provided here only to
form a basis to be able to talk about objectual
expression.

CHAPTER 2

2. OBJECTS AND SELF CONSTRUCTION

2.1 Significance of the Object in Ontogenesis

Some of the psychological approaches to the construction of the self concentrates on the importance of the role of objects in childhood. So, if we are to examine the relationship between identity and objects, then it would be useful firstly to have a brief look from that perspective. Secondly, the ways in which objects could be used to create personal identities will be exemplified through two different empirical researches.

Daniel Miller points out the importance of the object in what he calls ontogenesis (individual development) or development of the self (1987). He makes use of works of Jean Piaget and Melanie Klein. The reason for his choice depends on a common aspect of the two. They both claim that "…it is only through the intrinsically dynamic relationship between the infant and his environment that the subject is able to become itself (Miller 1987, 87)."

Piaget separates the stages of cognitive development that has to be succeeded. The first stage that is 0-2 years named as the Sensorimotor Period...

> ...is characterized by a lack of fully developed object permanence. Object permanence refers to the ability to represent an object, whether or not it is present. Piaget believed that object permanence is necessary before problem solving or thinking can be carried out internally, that is, by using mental symbols or images (Davidoff 1987, 346).

The most important aspect of this concept of object permanence is that it puts language development and acquisition to a later stage. This means that only after a child can construct the mental picture of an object he has been shown, he can refer to it either as a linguistic symbol or as an entity and look for it when it disappears. "Out of sight, out of mind" phrase also implies that thought processes are initiated by the formation of object permanence. As seen in Figure 7, when the child confronts an object, he/she gets interested and looks at it, but when it is hidden (even without changing its place as it is, in the photograph) he/she immediately forgets about it. Later, in the preoperational stage (2-7

Figure 7

years) the infant "begins thinking to itself by using internal representations of objects (object permanence) it becomes aware that it has a self" (Davidoff 1987, 347).

As described by Miller, Klein's analysis depends on the first encounter with the object that is the mother's breast; the source of both gratification and frustration. She divides the formation of the self into two stages. The first one being the 'Paranoid-Schizoid Position'; in which the infant is concerned with only part-objects, like the breast instead of the mother. The contradictory feelings that the child feels towards the part-object is sometimes introjected as a good property of the self and sometimes projected outwards. The split between the good and bad object forms part of the ego. At the latter stage, called 'Depressive Position', the child can handle the whole-object; the mother instead of the breast this time. "In the depressive position, the infant can no longer rely on seeing the good and the bad objects as entirely separate, but has to recognize their simultaneous presence in the form of the mother as whole-object (Miller 1987, 92)."

A third approach by Winnicott, mentioned in Miller (the first being Piaget's and the second Klein's) concerns the

'transitional objects,' which "appear to the infant as not fully part of the external world, and therefore not entirely separate from the child's own body (1987, 95)."

So, it could be said that objects play an important role in the infant's self perception according to the developmental approach in psychology. This role is about perceiving an object helping to build an understanding of self as a separate entity, and also it is about forming the first steps in building a relationship between the child and the world outside.

2.2 Constructing Identities by Objects: Subjectivity as an Act of Choice and Experience

The aforementioned three theories are used to demonstrate the importance of the object relations in the formation of the self in child development. Now, if we come to the identity formation by objects in adults, Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton say that "Despite the fact that so many objects are mass produced today, it is still possible to achieve some unique expression by careful selection and combination of items (1981, 94)." This view is actually contrary to the next discussion of the loss of individuality under the forces of culture industry. As

will be argued that the more the dominant system produces identical, standard and pre-defined sets of commodities to masses, the more individuality becomes pseudo or fake itself. Or as Debord says: "...the more he (the spectator) contemplates, the less he lives; the more readily he recognizes his own needs in the images of need proposed by the dominant system, the less he understands his own existence and his own desires (1995)." Within this true, but nevertheless pessimistic theoretical picture, my main position will be, if it is possible, to examine the ways that I would like to call cultural re-productions in which the consumer is able to form an individual identity through his sets or clusters of objects.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton in their book *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self*, demonstrate the results of a research done in urban America (1981). 82 families were interviewed and they were asked about the special objects in their houses and the reasons for their being important for them. The most frequently mentioned objects of the inquiry by the respondents were; furniture, visual art, photographs, books, stereo, musical instruments, TV, sculpture, plants, and plates.

The meaning associations showed differences mainly under the influence of changes in gender and age. For example the most favourite objects referred at least once by respondents were; children mentioned mostly about the stereos, parents about furniture, whereas grandparents about photos. The researchers explain this phenomenon by referring to a distinction between "action objects and contemplation objects" derived from the classification of Hanna Arendt: "the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa.* The first refers to the development of self-control through unique acts; the second to an achievement of selfhood based on conscious reflection (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981, 96)."

> A photo is completed as an object; it can take on new meanings only in contemplation, as the owner compares those present in the photo with a current situation. But a stereo can take on new meanings with each record played, because its function is to serve as a medium for music (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981, 96).

As seen, while the children enjoy objects of action, grand parents prefer objects of contemplation. Parents are indistinguishable by being in the middle of the two generations, both using all objects of action, but also close to the objects of contemplation. The gender distinction is similar; "males emphasize action and self in contrast to women who value contemplation and relationship with others (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-

Halton 1981, 96)." So, although the same objects are preferred by the different age or gender groups, it should be noted that the reasons for the choice is distinctive for the user in his/her relation with that particular item. This difference, in turn serves the way the subject constructs his/her symbolic identity by the result of that specific choice.

Figure 8

A different project named *Household Choices* was conveyed by the Victoria and Albert Museum and Middlesex Polytechnique (Putnam and Newton 1990). The *Household Choices* project is rather different than the previous *Meaning of Things* discussion, although both deal with meaning construction in a domestic environment. The *Household Choices* project was conveyed by going to

people's houses, taking photographs and having interviews with the owners. This was done to understand how people reflected their personality and constructed their houses as themselves. The discourse of the work implies the difference between a house and a home. Home is defined as somewhere constructing the owner of it, despite the fact that it is been constructed by him/her. Accompanied with an exhibition and a edited book of different essays highlighting different aspects of the matter, this project had mainly two motives behind it. The first one depended on the premise that the "material dealing directly with the choice, reception, understanding, use or effect of product innovation seemed not to be available" especially for the students of design history. "In order to make such material available in the future, and, perhaps even more important to alert students to a way of thinking about the subject," they "decided to begin a project to photograph some domestic interiors and interview the people who had put them together (Murdoch 1990, 5). The second motive was to make:

> ...a study of contemporary product design focused not on authorial intention but on reception, on identifying the absence of control over the significance of an object as it discovers, so to speak, its metaphorical power within specific social structures (Murdoch 1990, 5).

The two researches and approaches do highlight different aspects of the relation between objects and people who

choose, use and live with them. Objects as visual statements are used and appropriated for different reasons, but in both cases constituted or formed in different layers of meaning.

2.3 Baudrillard's Subjective Discourse or the Non-Functional System of Objects

In *The System of Objects*, Baudrillard makes a classification of the ever growing objects as if they are a species and defines four general groups (1996):

a-) The functional system, or objective discourse

b-) The non-functional system, or the subjective discourse

c-) The metafunctional and dysfunctional system: gadgets and robots

d-) The socio-ideological system of objects and their consumption.

For our purposes in exploring the links between subjectivity, identity and objects, the second class which is the "non-functional system" as an area of representation of a subjective discourse will be tried to be elaborated. The main argument in his classification

centers around the issue of functionality. He defines that "a whole category of objects seems to fall outside the [functional] system...: rare, quaint, folkloric, exotic or antique objects (Baudrillard 1990, 35)" He uses the term the "marginal object" or "the bygone object" for those kind of articles, that usually end up within a "marginal system" of "collection" (Baudrillard 1990).

> Thus every object has two functions: one of being practical, the other of being possessed. The former belongs to the domain of the subject's practical totalisation of the world, whereas the latter belongs to the subject's attempt at abstract totalisation of himself outside the world. These two functions are inversely proportional to one another. At one extreme, the strictly practical object takes on the social status of a machine. At the other extreme, the pure object – devoid of function, or abstracted of its use – has a strictly subjective status: it becomes the object of collection (Baudrillard 1990, 44)"

Thus, the act of possession becomes the function of the means of constructing an identity, or reassurance of the self through a cyclical process. Collecting as a repetitive activity is fed by the absence of the certain items in a series. The lack of a specific object within a collection drives the desire to find and put the missing part within the picture. But what is more interesting in his analysis is that:

> ...the object is that by which we mourn ourselves - in the sense that it represents our own death, but transcended (symbolically) because we possess it, because it is by introjecting it in the work of the mourning, which is to say by integrating it into a series which 'works' at constantly re-enacting this cycle of absence and re-emergence from absence, that we resolve the agonising event of real absence

> and death... And if the function of dreams is to preserve the continuity of sleep, then it is through a similar sort of compromise that objects preserve the continuity of life (Baudrillard1990,52).

Objects, by the capacity they provide in manipulation, help to open up a space for the subject to overcome his fear of death.

2.4 The Complete Object or the Lacking Self?

The psychoanalytic approaches to the formation of an "I" mostly depends on the concept of lack. In Freudian terms, this lack corresponds to the woman's lack, related to the man's fear of castration. By this lack, woman becomes a threat for man. This anxiety is overcome by the fetishistic substitution of any kind of object or image, sometimes the woman's body with this lack. According to its dictionary definition and as a psychological term fetishism is "a form of sexual deviance involving erotic attachment to an inanimate object or an ordinarily asexual part of the human body. The term fetishism was actually borrowed from anthropological writings in which "fetish" (also spelled fetich) referred to a charm thought to contain magical or spiritual powers."

The Marxian use of the term, is slightly different. Related with the separation of production and consumption by the capitalistic economy, "...the manufactured object appear, not as the work of the people, but as an alien form confronting them only as a commodity purchased by them (Miller 1987, 205)." The concepts of alienation, fetishism and reification are closely linked with each other, all deriving from the worker's separation from his product. This separation, situates the fetish object in a vast array providing it with the possibilities of signification and representation. The fetish object enables its possessor to gain a set of meanings for him to get rid of his anxiety, but this capacity of signification results with an attribution of what that specific object lacks, paradoxically to compensate the lack of the subject.

As Miller argues:

> ...there is commonly a close relationship between possession, the construction of identity and the adherence to certain social values.... Such close articulation between social group and object possession is encouraged by advertising and design, one of whose aims is to create unprecedented desires (Miller 1987, 205).

This desire creating mechanism is often explained by Lacan's theory of the mirror-phase. The mirror-phase is about the moment the child sees itself for the first time in the mirror. At first, the child can not dissociate

himself from its surrounding. He is like "an unformed 'homelette' (as Lacan calls it): flowing in all directions, as it were, he is neither physically co-ordinated nor able to perceive himself (Williamson 1978, 61)." As he does not have the sense of his boundaries, he lives in a wold of sameness. He does not know the difference between him and his mother. But when he sees himself in the mirror, he first recognizes himself. This is the first time he experiences a sense of completeness. The image in the mirror supplies him the complete unity which he lacks at that moment. He enjoys this, but at the same time, by the same reason this causes an aggression, because he is not the one in the mirror. He realizes this difference.

> To summarise: the child's relation to his mirror-image involves two contradictory perceptions. One is that he and the image is the same; on the level of the Imaginary the barrier of the mirror is broken and there is a flow of identity between the child's self, and its representation, the image of the self. This imaginary unity is the *Ideal-Ego*. But paradoxically, for the image to represent the 'unified' self, it must be split from the self; because a sign must *signify* something, and for the image to 'mean' him, it inevitably cannot *be* him. So two areas are constituted: that in which *sameness* exits, the Imaginary; and that in which *difference* exists that of the Symbolic (Williamson 1978, 62).

Williamson emphasizes that the child's access to the Symbolic is possible with the recognition of sexual difference, which is the formation of the 'social-I'. Once the 'social-I' is formed, that means once the child gets into the realm of language, that is the Symbolic,

then there is no turning back. The child has learned the meaning of the mirror image, so he can not assume that the image and him are the same, but Williamson says that he is always haunted by this ghost of the Ideal-Ego, where the image and its referent are ideally united. "Lacan calls this the Ego-Ideal, which implies the restoration of a previous unity but with the paradoxical aim of keeping the new, social identity and that former unity (Williamson 1978, 63)."

> For Lacan says that the ego is constituted, in its forms and energy, when the subject 'fastens himself to an image which alienates him from himself' so that the ego is 'forever irreducible to his lived identity.' Clearly this is very similar to the process of advertising, which offers us an image of ourselves that we may aspire to but never achieve (Williamson 1978, 64).

So, if we tie the argument to the desire creating mechanisms of consumer culture, then we can say that the whole production and consumption of commodities are dictated by the consumer culture. This is not a mere system of associating the use value and exchange value which means we are not only buying commodities that we need, but as part of the advertising system we buy, because this is the way we are building up new identities within the symbolic structures afforded by the media, advertising and images.

CHAPTER 3

3. MODERNITY, DESIGN AND IDENTITY

3.1 Consumer Culture, Modernity and the Creation of

  Commodities

It has been stated earlier that in order to be able to talk about the positioning and activation of a system of objects within the signifying practices of both production and consumption, it is crucial to have a look at the development of consumer culture and its relationship to the modern subject.

> Any study of consumption must inevitably begin with a recognition of the fact that, whatever it may represent to us in contemporary society, the consumption of mass-produced commodities constitutes a vital dimension of the modern capitalist economy. Consumption is the final link in a chain of economic activity in which capital, existing in the form of money, is transformed through a process of material production into commodity capital. It is the exchange and consumption of commodities which allows for the realisation of profits, which, when returned back to the money-form can be reinvested into further production and so begin the circulation of capital again. This process represents the primary characteristic of capitalistic enterprise, and it is from the basic process that a vast social environment begins to take on its distinctive character (Lee 1993, 3).

In order to understand the distinctive character of modern capital economy, it is crucial to have a look at the pre-capitalist societies in which "goods were made

mostly for immediate consumption or use or to be exchanged for other goods" (Storey 1996, 113). As Joy and Wallendorf summerize in their account of the development of the First World consumer culture, the central issue motivating the basic changes was "the movement of production out of the home. The separation of work and play, public and private, production and consumption produced a social cleavage that was represented in physical and social structures, daily activities, and social relations (1996, 107)". To be able to watch the changes in the relationship between home and production, their summary could be visualized as:

Middle Ages	Homes were not divided into specialized function rooms and life was lived with little privacy. Life was centered around self-sufficiency or a collectivistic way of living.
15th Century	Craft production was carried out in the home, but was conducted beyond the needs of the household. Trade emerged between urban households based on this division and specialization of labour. Home began to be separated into different areas as craft & exchange activities and more private family activites.
16th Century	Specialized rooms and furniture were developed and used to mark out this separation between work and home, to divide the realms of production and consumption.
17th Century	Kitchens were separated from the rest of the house and fulfilled specialized home production functions.
Later developments	The realm of production shifted from house into the shop, later to be developed into the factory or office. Male world was identified with the realm of production which is out of the house, in contrast with the female who is charged with the act of consumption.

Figure 9

There were other historical events that prepared the grounds for these shifts to happen, but for the most part, the common question that is asked in the debates concerning the emergence of consumer culture derives from Weber.

> Weber's thesis about capitalism and the Protestant Ethic (Weber, 1976) emphasized how the asceticism of Calvinism aided the development of a specific type of capitalism-rational, bourgeois, non-violent or peaceable, capitalism (see Book 1 (Hall and Gieben, 1992) Chapter 5). This analysis is problematic, however. Even assuming it does help to explain, and to make sense of, the rise of modern, rational capitalism by providing an explanation of how the early generations of capitalists were encouraged to work hard, invest and build up businesses, but not to consume the surplus profits they generated, a major gap in the argument remains. How can we understand and explain the subsequent breakdown the asceticism of the first rational capitalists into an ethic which encouraged consumption? (Bocock 1992, 122)

The answer lies partly in the difficulty of the concept of needs. The effort of differentiating between the natural or biological needs and other luxurious items form a very problematic ground, because consumption is not only about satisfying biological needs. Therefore, although Wedgwood or Cadbury were among the early protestant manufacturers, they produced 'elegant' dining plates or tea sets and chocolate, of which could be counted easily among luxurious items (Bocock 1992). The remaining part of the answer resides in the fact that Puritanism was not the only dominant philosophy of life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore

"'consumption' became detached from the satisfaction of biological needs and entered into the processes surrounding the construction of social identities (Bocock 1992)."

Another inner contradiction centers around this concept of identity in relation to consumerism. As Campbell writes in his "The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism," he "traces 'elective affinities' (social and psychological links) between the Romantic Movement in literature, painting, music and popular culture, and modern consumption (Bocock 1992, 123)."

> ...The essential activity of consumption is thus not the actual selection, purchase or use of products, but the imaginative pleasure-seeking to which the product-image lends itself, 'real' consumption being largely a resultant of this 'mentalistic' hedonism (Campbell 1987, qtd. in Bocock 1992, 124).

This definition starts an echoe from Marcuse's "true and false needs" (1964), and Debord's "total commodity" (1995) to Baudrillard's "sign-value" of commodities (1981), and Lacan's conceptions of "desire" (1981), and Adorno and Horkheimer's "culture industry" (1991) or more to be counted.

As Bennet beautifully suggests:

> But if what we are consuming is (as Debord suggests) not so much an object as an image of the object, one which is in turn an image of ourselves as consuming subjects, this closing of the gap between object and subject simultaneously opens up a gap within the subject. The subject of consumption can never be self-identical; there is always *différance* or slippage in consumption. The desire to consume (the consuming desire) is predicated on lack: precisely a lack of the subject-identity of which the commodity is an image. Without such difference and deferral, commodity consumption would come to an end (1990, 32).

3.2 The Modern Subject and the Problem of Identity

Georg Simmel who is cited as the first sociologist of modernity, in his essay on "The Metropolis and Mental Life," says that:

> The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of the overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life (Simmel 1903a, p187)." Sociology must seek to solve "the equation which structures like the metropolis set up between the individual and the super-individual contents of life" and inquire "how the personality accommodates itself in the adjustments of external forces." This is predicated upon the assumption that "the person resists being levelled down and worn out by a social-technological mechanism" such as the metropolis (Frisby 1985, 57).

The person resists being levelled down and worn out by the social-technological mechanisms dictated by the metropolis, but this resistance of course causes a subjective strain on the individual. The city dweller has to be a different kind of person who is able to cope with the abstract concept of money, technology and the subjectivity that is dominated by this production-

consumption dynamics. The concept of money is important, because it prepares the conditions of the acceptance and normalization of exchangeability. The idea of everything can be replaced can sometimes be unbearable, leaving no room for any kind of solid ground for the individual, at last like the snake biting its own tail, the person realizes that he is in a system, that his replacement could be inevitable. This kind of psychic mood leads to feelings of insecurity and despair spreading to every level of existence.

As Adorno describes the human subject in - what he calls - his "damaged life" (1997). "Technology is making gestures precise and brutal, and with them men.... The new human type cannot be properly understood without awareness of what he is continuously exposed to from the world of things about him, even in his most secret innervations (Adorno 1951, 40)." He describes the new types of relations that the new objects of the city life demands in detail. For example he takes the tradition of closing a door slowly and silently with the striking act of closing a car's door or a refrigerator. Similarly, he mentions about the doors opening and closing on their own. He says this kind of self-operation makes the person who is entering irresponsible or even irrespectful into where he is accepted. He relates these kind of gestural

relations (or let us say indifferences) of the subject with the surrounding objects, to the drying of life. The form that objects take by being under the law of pure functionality, reduces the contact to a mere act of operating and does not let any surplus that would not be consumed in the moment of action and continue its existence at the seed of life. No surplus is left behind, neither in the liberty of the movement of people nor in the autonomy of objects (Adorno 1997).

3.3 Consumption as Production

It is important at this point to emphasize the production side of the story that could be considered as the other side of the coin. Material culture studies cover both aspects of the phenomenon, the consumption as well as production. In fact, recent theory has shifted towards consumption assuming it as production. Baudrillard argues that what is right is not "the needs' being the fruit of production", but "The system of needs' being the fruit of the system of production" (1997, 82). "In the course of the history of industrialization, this genealogy of consumption might be followed.

49

1. The order of production produces machine/producer power. It produces the technical system that is radically different from the traditional tool.

2. The order of production produces capital/rationalized producer power. It produces the system of rational investment and exchange that is radically different from the previous forms of barter, before the "affluence".

3. The order of production produces systematized abstract production power that is radically different from concrete labour and traditional "work".

4. Therefore, the order of production produces needs, the system of needs, the demand/producer power to complement the whole started by the previous three stages.

The contemporary status of the object in relation to needs, and the concept of consumption, then, is redefined by Baudrillard. In this analysis, he focuses on the use and sign-values of the object (Baudrillard 1981). In terms of its use-value, the object is irreplaceable, full with its denotative meaning, but on the other hand, in the area of connotation in which it gains its sign-value, the object becomes perpetually interchangeable with other

objects (Baudrillard 1997). And he defines the area of consumption as this second domain, that of signs.

So, if we go back to our paradigmatic and syntagmatic analysis of the object, a third axis of inquiry occurs. That is, the object becomes something totally replaceable and made into a paradigm in relation to a particular sign system. Baudrillard's example was that the washing machine is used as a kitchen appliance and acts as an element of prestige or comfort. In the logic of consumption, the washing machine could be replaced by any other object that maintains that order of signification. That is why there is no end to the desire to acquire objects and there is no rational answer to the problematic of needs and satisfaction, like "I need to clean my clothes, so let me go and buy a washing machine." Baudrillard says that this phenomenon resembles to the difference between an organic disease and a hysteric or psychosomatic one. The approach to an organic disease corresponds to the relation between the object and its function. It can be cured by this direct interrelation, but the symptoms of a psychosomatic conversion can occur causing very different consequences. If it is tried to be cured like an organic disease, then the symptom might come up in various other forms. As a conclusion, he says that the need is never the need for a

particular object, but it is the need for difference (the desire for a social meaning) (Baudrillard 1997).

It is important to reserve the point that Baudrillard's argument presupposes the distinction between the object with its function and object within the system of consumption. The two states of the object are carefully distinguished in his theory. The domain of consumption is ruled by its own language whereas the object with its function falls prey to this logic of signification. The system of consumption consumes the object's physical finality and works as a system of language in a layer of signification.

> Yet the greatest success of the bourgeoisie (or capitalism) may in fact have been that instead of fulfilling or even reiterating needs, people's dreams, wishes, etc., it (re)constructed them (Askegaard and Fýrat 1997, 114).

Accepting all these as true, there still remains a problem concerning the function of the designer. As discussed by David Chaney, "although goods in all cultures have always had a design, in the sense that there is recognisable shape or form or pattern which clothes the functional structure, design as a self-conscious enterprise is one of the characteristics of modernity (1996,149)." Therefore design has become a tool

of the industrial production within a system of creating any kind of surplus value to be sold.

Chaney summarizes this arguing that "a profes-sionalisation of design has;

• facilitated a rationalisation of production for mass markets;

• provided material for a classification of 'looks' and eras that has become the common sense of a widely-shared practical cultural competence.

• facilitated processes of market differentiation and new rhetorics of desire and personal involvement (Chaney 1996, 151-152)."

If everything is produced, including the consumer, then what is the designer doing? Giving shape to the dominant ideology within an illusion of communication? Adam Richardson, in his article "The Death of the Designer", with an explicit reference to Roland Barthes, discusses the current status of the industrial designer (1993). He argues that the designer is dead for two times, first by the form and second by the function as he can have control in neither of the stages. The death by form means is due to what has been discussed earlier that a certain

object is open to multiple readings. The product semantics approach's fallacy, therefore, is to assume a one to one correspondence in the communication of the product's function to the user. Trying to form a proper object language is the desire of the designer for communication, but as Barthes says "the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the author" (1977). The death by function occurs in the wide range of culture, whereas form was between the designer and the user. Richardson defines three cultural responses to a particular function that are;

a. meanings come to be associated with the function of the object;
b. the socio-cultural impact of the product changes over time;
c. functions are not static, they are related to technology (1993).

These cultural factors are not in the control of the designer, so he is dead once more. If the designer is dead, then design itself should become a myth. The design profession from the very start of it was mythical. The designer was somebody who could unite art and technology. The reason for its being a myth resides in the fact that what the designer is doing in fact is incommensurable,

like artistic creation. Drawing the line very carefully between engineering, design profession constructed itself at the delicate point of the human interface. The modern ideals following the industrialization, caused the designed product to emerge, consequently the design history made a list of the mythological designs and designers into dictionaries and directories. This was an exclusion of certain 'designed' items for their what I would like to call mythical properties. Terence Conran's foreword to the *Conran Directory of Design* is meaningful in respect to its definition of good design:

> Everything that man makes is designed, but not everything is well designed. Good design only comes about when things are made with attention both to their functional and their aesthetic qualities. Designers are necessarily concerned with the ordinary, everyday things that we use, but design is by no means a purely utilitarian discipline. Quite the opposite; good design starts from the premise that living is more than just a matter of existing, and that everyday things which are both effective and attractive can raise the quality of life (Bayley 1985, 6).

A couple of lines further he defines the aim of the directory. He says "…, but its purpose is precise: to promulgate the idea of 'good' design" (Bayley 1985). The significance of the word promulgate, and also the idea of 'good' design should not be missed, because 'good' design can only be demonstrated through several objects that are supposed to convey that idea. Accepting the fact that there are bad designs as well as good ones that we face everyday, but making the history out of the selected good

ones may cause to skip some other valuable information which, in fact, could be analyzed and integrated for the very same design purposes. That is why, object culture is a far more wide area of inquiry than the 'good' design history. Furthermore, people do live in the context of objects, everything they use or buy are not necessarily among the set of the elitist designer items.

3.4 The Object versus the Designed Product: Reflecting on the Contradictions

Adorno and Horkheimer, in their essay "Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" define the term culture industry briefly as the system that determines, produces, distributes and controls different forms of cultural products along with their consumers. This system depends on certain parameters such as production of a wide range of products which are carefully classified and standardized to be consumed by certain pre-defined groups of people. The system creates mass-produced products that have differences in minute details for the artificial needs of the pseudo individuals. These products cover a wide range, from films, pieces of popular music to TV shows including the celebrities and of course products and commodities. In fact everything has turned into a

commodity in this system, especially culture itself. Design is used as a tool to increase the variety of objects of pseudo differences that can be defined as pseudo-products at the end.

For example, one of the television-set producers in Turkey, takes the inner tube from the outside markets and dresses it with a plastic coating that is designed according to create slight, but not too much of a 'difference' in the visual construct of the object. Apart from their production for the local market carrying the company's brand name, not all of the ending products are named as the same. Some of them become Roadstar to be marketed in U.K., others gain different names according to the places to be sold or promoted. Especially for the foreign markets, the designers in the firm have to be careful about not creating a common, strong product identity, because the consumer facing Roadstar in London, should not be able to recognize the similarity of the other sets of the same company in any other part of the world. The product differentiation, therefore is a pseudo one, creating pseudo products with artificial and minute formalistic differences.

The object that I prefer to put against this designed product refers partly to a more idealistic form of

production, even an "authentic" one, if there is any. The other part of the term can be found in theories of consumption as a symbolic activity, such as Bourdieu (1984), Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), Appadurai (1988), and many more. If the closed circuit of the culture industry creates pseudo-products, then the consumer or the buying or acquiring subject who constructs himself through his surrounding, partly or thoroughly under the influence of the same system, turns this pseudo-product into a real-object, by transforming it into an utterance. To put it in another way, the dynamics of the two extreme and contrasting views of social theory worth examining in order to be able to understand the changing nature and definitions of design as a profession and a tool in creating cultural forms.

> The authenticity of artefacts as culture derives, not from their relationship to some historical style or manufacturing process – in other words, there is no truth or falsity immanent in them – but rather from their active participation in a process of social self-creation (Chaney 1996, 148).

Self-creation or identity formation is one path that could be followed in the analysis of objects. Another path could be, as Chaney (1996) mentions, the new dynamics or rhetorics of desire in a market dominated by 'designed' products supported by 'designed' identities, presented through the mechanisms of advertising, media and other imageries. Another is; preserving our

distinction between the object and the designed product;
analysis of the object as an outcome of a cultural
inhabitance, an eyewitness that is shaped by the context
it is a part of.

> Sometimes, when making some purchase or other, one experiences something both strange and delightful at the same time: all the advisers who otherwise whisper preferences and desires into our ears – be they advertisements, friends, colleagues, neighbours, or the independent consumer magazines – seem to fall silent for some inexplicable reason, and one has the exciting sensation of being left to oneself to make one's decision here and now. Is the acquisition of this particular object worth – to me – the price the dealer is asking? Is this object meant for me? One feels the adrenalin flowing as the pulse-rate quickens. It is an adventure, perhaps the last the consumer society has to offer. The world seems shut out at this moment – a lonely moment just between me and the object of my desire (Krautter, 1999, 99).

The kind of desire that is depicted here is a bit
different from the desire created by the consumer
culture, or the culture industry. This desire although
fed by the advertisements or any other desire creating
mechanisms of the culture industry, is a subjective
relationship at the last stance. The person and the
object, a one to one encounter lasting with decision of
purchase or just liking and passing, or any other kind of
behaviour being a result of this close encounter. The
person is faced with an anonymous object (whether it be a
brand item, remember the TV set example; the unidentified
design object) which he in a sense 'subjectivises'
through the act of his buying or incorporating.

> Kubler wanted to present a study which went beyond the history of the culture of material things, setting it against the history of material culture, knowing, incorporating and analysing in it the intricate and vast system of forms, which he defined as the "History of Things." This new "History of Things" as Kubler termed it was "meant to reunite ideas and things under the category of visual form, including under this classification all manufactured goods, regardless whether they be works of art, copies and imitations, one-offs, implements, and other forms of expression, in short all things which have been shaped by human hand, inspired by ideas which have been shaped and developed during the course of the years. All this together contributes to reveal a shape of time, providing a visible picture of the collective identity, whether it be tribal, class-structured or national (Bosoni and Nulli 1996, 118).

According to Bosoni and Nulli, anonymous objects, mainly their designers are unknown are "treated as utensils which have come to being in time, due to a collective process of refinement. Many daily objects, which are familiar to us, because we use them all the time, and which are a comforting presence in our lives, fall under this category. Among such objects, we can recognise a great array of classical archetypes such as the umbrella, the bookstand, the deskchair, the comb, and so on (Bosoni and Nulli 1996)." Anonymity puts forward the function of the object as recognizable form (Castiglioni 1996). The other sub-headings that is put under anonymous design do deserve a quotation as well:

• **Spontaneous design**, which alludes to the absolute lack of a single designer, recalling in this way the continuous process of refinement in time;

- **Ethnic design**, which is governed by geo-cultural singularity;

- **Re-design**, which mainly covers the author's research on archetypes of models;

- **Archetype; minimal object; obvious object; quintessential object;** and other similar terms, conditioned by diverse cultural influences, applied in discussing the substantial exemplariness of an original model (Bosoni and Nulli 1996, emphasis and bulleting added).

Jasper Morrison, as a contemporary designer and a creator of artifacts points out to the new character of the objects of the industrial revolution. "These objects had a new kind of anonymity, not because people held no interest but because they were no longer handmade or unique in anyway. Free to multiply, these new objects quickly threw off any nostalgic attachment to their ancestors, and in doing so invested themselves with a mysterious power: the power of identical repetition. With this power the object inhabited it's own world, liberated from man's imperfections and inefficiencies, in which it

developed 'objectality' almost as distinct as 'personality' (Morrison 1996, 56)" He asks whether a science of the objects is possible or not. He coins this term "objectality" (*nesne-olup)*; meaning "evaluating how a thing looks and how useful it is to us" in investigating the relationship that is constructed between the users and the artifacts (Morrison 1996, 56). He mentions about making a psychoanalysis of the objects. What he tries to emphasize specifically is that the story of an object does not end when it takes place in a *Domus* magazine. The real success of the 'designed' object lies in its entire life or the "post-production life", after it gets into interaction with other objects and people. He also points out the characters of the objects. He says that when you look at an item in the market, you decide whether you want to live with that object or not, in the rest of your life (Picchi 2000). He responds to a question related to his opinion about beauty in an object as follows:

> It has to be more than just shape, it has to include idea and it has to include treatment of materials, and then it has to include some kind of understanding of what it's like to use the object. It definitely does not have to mean "Form follows Function." For example, this breadboard is a block of wood with a wonderful shape. It is not what anybody would normally say is a beautiful object. It would not be put into any exhibition about beauty, but it is a beautiful object in another sense. It is clear in its expression of what it does, of giving you a feeling that it is a good object to live with and to use (Picchi 2000, 102).

The interesting point in Morrison's argument is that he firstly makes a distinction between the mass produced item and the object produced by the artisanal. The ways in which the author-object relations constructed through the two different modes of production is quite diverse. The artisan takes his name from the kind of production he does, for example "a wheel maker might have been known locally for exceptional wheels but the wheel itself was just a good wheel (Morrison 1996)." Secondly, he defines an independent mode of being in objects. This autonomy is closely

Figure 10

related with the liberation from man's inefficiencies, a new kind of personality is inscribed on the object through the new technique. At the end, Morrison defines the beautiful object through its expression. An expression of being clear about its function combined with a modest but strong feeling of reliability for the task it is expected to perform, related with its material, visual or formal qualities. Speaking with these

last terms, the industrial or the artisanal object may share a lot in common, despite their differences.

3.5 The Significance of the Everyday Item

Now it is time to tie the argument to the significance of these everyday objects in a system that is dominated by the capitalist mode of production and the culture it forms.

Arthur Asa Berger in his amusing and interesting book *Bloom's Morning: Coffee, Comforters and the Secret Meaning of Everyday Life*, "...attempts to interpret the social, psychological, and cultural significance of the various objects one encounters in a typical day. Actually, because there is so much material," he deals "not with an entire day ... but instead the morning of our hero." He has "called him in deference to Joyce, Leopold Bloom... (Berger 1997, ix)" Among the objects taken for analysis are digital clock radios, king-sized beds, (designer) sheets, gel toothpaste, pajamas, electric hair dryers and toothbrushes, the refrigerator, the morning newspaper, etc., can be counted. He refers to Braudel (1992), Lefebvre (1992) and De Certeau (1984) in

explaining the definitions, structures and meanings of the everyday life and its objects.

> Everyday life consists of the little things one hardly notices in time and space. The more we reduce our focus of vision, the more likely we are to find ourselves in the environment of material life: the broad sweep usually corresponds to History with a capital letter, to distant trade routes, and the networks of national or urban economies. If we reduce the length of the time observed, we either have the event or the everyday happening. The event is, or is taken to be, unique; the everyday happening is repeated, and the more often it is repeated the more likely it is to become a generality or rather a structure. It pervades society at all levels, and characterizes ways of being and behaving which are perpetuated through endless ages (Braudel 1992, 29).

"De Certau," on the other hand, "sees ordinary people leading their everyday lives as being able to subvert the power of governmental agencies, consumer culture, whatever you will, and resist domination and control (Asa Berger 1997)." He names them as tactics. This little tactics, conveyed in the everyday life, for example, a secretary's writing a love letter, as if she is working is a practice that is known in France as *la perruque* which means the wig (Asa Berger 1997)." The theory of De Certau points to the possibility of a personal space for the individual within whatever domination he/she is under.

Lefebvre's definition of culture is interesting at this point, because it beautifully illustrates the significance of cultural production in a capitalist society. He takes the basic Marxist theory of the society

acted on and through three levels of actualization which can be schematized as follows:
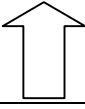
	SOCIETY	
Everyday Life – as the social place of Feedback)	Super-structure ⬆	covers the judicial formations, laws, government and ideologies
	Structure ⬆	is the social relations that structures and is structured at the same time, that are determined by the base.
	Economic Base	refers to producing labour, division of labour and the organization of work.

Figure 11

The view that sees the super-structure only as a reflection of the base is named as dogmatic materialism. Lefebvre's critique depends on the premise that "culture is a praxis. It is a way to distribute the sources of the society, and consequently it is a way to lead production. It is a sort of production in the broadest sense of the term. It is the source of acts and activities that are ideologically motivated... If we are to place this active role of the ideologies in the Marxian schema, the concept of production acquires its actual meaning: man's production of his own life (Lefebvre 1996, 38. Quotation trans. by Þebnem Timur).

66

Lefebvre's conception is extremely important in understanding the significance of everyday life as a product of modernity and consequently the capitalist mode of production and consumption relations. According to him, everyday life is important, because it is what is left behind after all kinds of social activities and also it is the product of the social whole (1996). His basic point is that everyday life can neither be reduced to the dynamics of the visible and invisible forces of the society demonstrated in the schema; nor it is totally apart or separated from them. Lefebvre says that everyday life is a place of equilibrium. The significance of the everyday item, for our purposes, is related with the mechanisms of this balance that escapes from the predetermined structures and their reflections on objects that could give us the traces of a collective unconscious that enables the everyday.

3.6 The Category of "Kitsch" Objects as the Staging of Desire, Identity and Fascination

If the idea of "consumerism being the motor of modernity" is accepted then design should be admitted as a very significant element of industrial production. If design supplies the rational separation of form and function,

then there would always be irrational applications through the system of production, because it depends on profit and design increases the expenses. So, in terms of modernity, there rises the concept of "kitsch." The point that will be stated in the case of kitsch depends on the irrational (in the sense that there is not a direct, rational relation between the form, function and the meaning of a particular object), but on the other hand what I would like to call 'spontaneous' production of objects as commodities. This spontaneity is much more related to being the result of the dynamic of the system that it is a part of.

> Modernity and kitsch-the notions might seem mutually exclusive, at least insofar as modernity implies antitraditional presentness, experiment, newness of Pound's "Make it New," commitment to change, while kitsch-for all its diversity-suggests repetition, banality, triteness. But in fact it is difficult to realize that kitsch, technologically as well as aesthetically, is one of the products of modernity....one may take the presence of kitsch in countries of the "Second" or "Third" world as an unmistakable sign of "modernization" (Calinescu 1987, 226).

As Calinescu states: "...the whole concept of kitsch clearly centers around such questions as imitation, forgery, counterfeit and what we may call the aesthetics of deception and self-deception (1987, 229)."

What kitsch is faking, could be found in Greenberg's analysis. He says with the industrial revolution and urbanization;

> ...the peasants who settled in the cities as proletariat and petty bourgeois... but they did not win the leisure and comfort necessary for the enjoyment of the city's traditional culture. Losing, nevertheless, their taste for the folk culture whose background was the countryside, and discovering a new capacity for boredom at the same time, the new urban masses set up a pressure on society to provide them with a kind of culture fit for their own consumption. To fill the demand of the new market a new commodity was devised: ersatz culture, kitsch destined for those who, insensible to the values of genuine culture, are hungry nevertheless for the diversion that only culture of some sort can provide (Greenberg 1967, 153).

Greenberg's statement provides us with important keywords such as; city's traditional culture; folk culture; urban masses; boredom; new market; new commodity; ersatz culture; genuine culture. Among them 'boredom' will be elaborated in further discussions with its essential relation with the phenomenon of kitsch. But still, the dualities of real-fake; low culture-high culture; the countryside-the city implies that kitsch is a category arising from controversies or immanent contradictions. Where design could be seen as the immaculate ideal of modernity, kitsch is the damned child of it. The more the fakeness of kitsch is to be made-believe, the more the truth it seems to be concealing is sustained and in a sense over valued under the generic names of tradition or origin.

The links between lying and kitsch are too close. Similarly, "a sign is everything which can be taken as

significantly substituting for something else. This something else does not necessarily have to exist or to actually be somewhere at the moment in which a sign stands in for it.... If something can not be used to tell a lie, conversely it can not be used to tell the truth: it can not in fact be used 'to tell' at all (Eco 1976, 7)." Olalquiaga puts forward this relationship of kitsch with signification beautifully and may be a bit sadly in her essay: "The Pandemoniac Junk Shop of Solitude: Kitsch and Death."

> Kitsch begins in emptiness: a hollow, suspended silence extending without horizons suddenly occupied by an implacable rush of images....
>
> "Deathjoy in repetition." Kitsch compulsively accumulates signs until it produces an overkill of signification, covering every surface, invoking all possible textures....
>
> Fragmentary, kitsch creates metonymic associations, using parts instead of wholes, establishing meaning by syntagmatic continuity instead of paradigmatic reference (Olalquiaga 1993, 164).

First of all it should be noted that every object could be read as a sign if there is such a reception. Secondly kitsch objects can be read as signs, because they already use the common codes shared by the society, such as common codes of certain styles or periods. The producers of kitsch act generously in using and applying all the different codes on top of each other on the same object without looking whether they are synthesized or integrated. So it is a free arena to play with meaning,

connotation and surplus values. The manner of the
production is done in such a short and clear-cut way that
it goes beyond being sharp, it turns out to be the free
medium of cut and paste. The kitsch object becomes a
collage of meaning and signification. In such a play with
objectual symbolism, the issue can be interpreted as the
cultural unconscious coming out to the surface through
material production.

> An analysis of the artefact must begin with its most obvious
> characteristic, which is that it exits as a physically
> concrete form independent of any individual's mental image of
> it. This factor may provide the key to understanding its power
> and significance in cultural construction. The importance of
> this physicality of the artefact derives from its ability
> thereby to act as a bridge, not only between the mental and
> the physical worlds, but also, quite unexpectedly, between
> consciousness and unconscious (Miller 1987, 99).

Miller's conception of the consciousness and the
unconscious is slightly different from Lacan's
understanding of the relationship between language and
the unconscious. He says "...as language strengthens its
hold on consciousness and, through writing, on the
explicit world of knowledge, objects may retain their
place in the ordering of the unconscious world (Miller
1987, 99)." He means that in the stage of passing to the
realm of the symbolic world of language, objects play an
important role, acting as a bridge between the world and
its mental image of it. By being physical and concrete,
unlike language they become the agents of the ordering of

the unconscious. This carries the discussion into a quite problematic circle. As theoretically inseparable categories, this argument forces us to differentiate between the signifier and the mental image of it, as belonging to the conscious or the unconscious. This is a very difficult, may be an impossible task to accomplish. It could be tied to the visibility of the signifier, in this case, the object as a visual image, like any other image belonging to the imaginary. Objects provide a linguistic capacity of signification, that is clear, but nevertheless a question resides whether they borrow this capacity from language itself or not. Going back to the Lacanian conception, it can be argued that language enables us to use objects as part of any signification activity. Miller's point is that there are "...qualities of the object that language cannot share (1987, 98)."

This phenomenon can be summarized as the relation between form and its meaning. If there are certain qualities of the object that language can not share, then it arises from the discrepancies or the impossibility of the reciprocity of a form and its meaning. That is why objects can or should be studied, because they stand at the threshold of the signifier and signified; of form and the meaning; of the physical and the abstract; of the conscious and the unconscious. As a free arena of

signifiers, it would make things easier to study objects of kitsch, to demonstrate the interrelations between the formerly counted dualities.

There could be various axis of inquiry in studying kitsch. As being a very problematic category, both covering the cheap and the most expensive artifacts; from the most trivial to the essential, kitsch defines a wide range of objects. For example display, and the desire for upward mobility is also immanent to kitsch, because it copies whatever is already valuable, so the displayer of the item speaks of this desire through his/her choices. This is the first advantage of the kitsch object. It allows the user on a metonymical level, an easy way to express himself. This is not to say that other objects do not provide this kind of capacity. The convenience of kitsch derives from its vulgar use of resemblance.

An example would be illuminating at this point to build up the links specifically among unconscious, kitsch and identity. The example chosen is a plastic soap dispenser (Figure 12). In fact its name is "*De Luxe Woman Hand Soap Dish,*" and is produced by Burçak Plastik A.Þ.As written on the cover the design is registered. The object is like a woman's hand that is holding the soap without actually touching it. There is a magnet underneath and a round

Figure 12

metal piece embedded in the soap is attracted by the magnet, so that the soap seems to be magically floating under the elegant hand of the lady. The long red nails and the ring which is an accessory of beauty reinforces the gender message of the object.

So this object, with its intense gender encoding could be said to be matching the gender categories of the user of this specific product within the level of unconscious. As a cheap, plastic object, this soap dish might be said to target lower income families, as potential consumers.

The object opens up a fantasy space by demanding an active reciprocity between itself and the user. This is a gestural reciprocity. The object pretends to give a hand

and the user have to respond in order to take the soap. The magical floating increases the effect of the fantastic or even erotic atmosphere created by the object. Another function of the floating is to provide the untouchableness of the hand. The object cause of desire can not be attained, as it should be, to be able to remain as an object of desire. The product is like an actress on stage and a quite successful one playing with the notions of desire and gender. It is a mass produced and design registered fantasy object with the adhesive tube included in the package made to be hanged on the metal rods in quantities in the market.

Very briefly, tying the argument to the previous part concerning the theories about the everyday, I would like to ask the question if the kitsch object is a way out of the system of the culture industry as being a "spontaneous" cultural production; or is this one of the dynamics of the system itself creating the illusion that it can be altered? The question brings various other ones such as if it would be relevant to argue that the culture industry or any other mechanism of the market economy depending on creating and selling difference is not fully successful in doing so. May be people are more standardized than they were before, but may be they are not as much as intended. Similarly, it becomes more

difficult to reduce cultural production as well as consumption easily to a servant of the same system. There are objects which "break" the norms of the pseudo-product which is without any spirit. So the family of the kitsch objects (with a notion of play) and the kind of objects that Lukas (1997) defines as "inconspicuous consumption" become more and more attractive to the metropolitan city-dwellers who experience the "loveless disregard to things (Adorno 1997, 41)."

There could be various responses. Firstly, following De Certau, these objects and the users of them could be argued to act their 'tactics' over the 'designed' products that carry the codes of 'being designed.' The kitsch object could be seen as a reaction to the dominant system of objects with all the plasticity and non-durability as being their common character. These characteristics can also be shared by the family of kitsch objects as well. What else then, does kitsch offer as a personal space for the consumer as the subject who chooses?

At this point, an introduction of a new concept will be helpful complementary to the everyday life theory put forward formerly by Lefebvre. It is the concept of

'festival.' As Asa Berger explains the significance of festival in relation or within everyday life:

```
EVERYDAY LIFE      FESTIVAL
Routine            Special
Work               Leisure, play, holidays
boredom            Excitement
uniformity         Difference
continual          Sporadic
travel             Tourism
```

Figure 13

Everyday life is the realm of the routine, whereas Festival represents an interruption of this routine in the name of celebration and excitement. In everyday life we spend most of our time at work, while Festival, in its modern manifestations, is devoted to leisure, play and fun. Festival opposes the excitement of special moments (whether during something like Carnival in Rio or New Orleans) to the relatively boring and unexciting aspects of everyday life.
....
In the modern world, leisure has lost its festivity and has been absorbed, so to speak, by our consumer culture; leisure has become what Lefebvre calls "a generalized display: television, cinema, tourism" (Asa Berger 1996, 24-25).

Then how could the kitsch object be evaluated as an item of festivity and an arena of subjectivity for the modern individual. In order to escape the boredom or the routine of everyday life, there should be a break. The kitsch object enables this break to happen through playfulness, resemblance and motion. The referred set of objects are a specific group. Not all kitsch can supply these. The kind of objects that have been the subject of this analysis generally can be gathered under the name of 'designed kitsch.' Examples could be seen in the Figure 14. The three designs do have certain common characteristics that

are they all are made of plastics and designed to fulfill a specific function. The crucial point here is that, the way they are made to fulfill that specific function is in accordance with the associated kind of motion from the animal that is taken as the model. Under the beak of the pelican, a fluorescent light bulb is placed, and when you raise the beak it becomes a table light. Similarly, the orange frog opens its mouth to get the trash in. And the bird leans forward as if eating seeds, but this time takes the tooth pick from the container and waits readily for you to take it from its beak, like a well dressed waiter. The good use of colour for all of the three designs have enhanced their formal resemblance that they were intended to achieve. On the other hand, the transformation of the motion to the object could be said to have an indexical tone that is successful both in

Figure 14

providing a match with the animal's motion and the object's; but also the reference points for the motion is perceivable and emphasized through the object language. Although they can be called kitsch, they are well-designed. Is this a paradox? That could be another question, but their most important characteristic is that they open up a space in the boredom of everyday, a space similar to the function of funfair. A mechanical replica of the living things. The form-function duality here gains another meaning, that is formally, i.e.; when they are not working, they do not reveal their functions. It was not the case in the anonymous objects. The form and function were in a sense united in those. Here, even when the light is on, the lamp pretends to be a pretty pelican, etc.

Although they are toy-like, they still need their users, or wait to be used unlike the noisy, cheerful and self-operating relatives that demonstrate their one-man shows on the streets. For example, the soldier crawling on the ground with his rifle and shooting regularly; or the seal turning on his nose constantly with the colorful ball attached to it. Everyday, the city dwellers while walking on the street, going to their work or going home pass through the small funfairs created by the objects of festivity. Either we buy them or not, the atmosphere

79

suggested by those objects, do create a break (paradoxically the break also helps to ensure the routine and enables the cycle to continue), a sense of stopping of time and reference to space, that are resulted by the fascination for the mechanical wisdom and loud theatricality demonstrated by those artifacts.

CHAPTER 4

4. DIFFERENT CULTURAL FORMS OF MODERNITY

4.1 Different Experiences of Modernity: An Alter/Native Modernities Perspective

The previous chapter is devoted to the explanation of the modernity by and through the rise of industrial capitalism; the creation of commodities; the consumer culture; its desire creating mechanisms and the modern subject with his problematic sense of identity in this world construct. This social and historical view demonstrates the Western causes and consequences of the matter. In this chapter, the theory of alternative modernities will be discussed as one of the non-Western views of the modern experience.

"'Alternative modernities,'" is "a term coined in the mid-1980's by Arjun Appadurai to conceptualize the Asian, African, and Latin modern...(Gaonkar 1999)" One issue of the journal, Public Culture, is devoted to the discussion of alter/native modernities.

The play of word refers to the emphasis on different experiences of modernity determined by native differences, which can be said to be space, time and culture bound characteristics. By this title of alternativity, at the first glance, one might think that this is a theory that is alternative to modernity, working against it; but actually the whole area of investigation under the name of alternative modernities refers to the societal modernization with its cognitive and social transformations, along with the cultural modernity that is posed against this orderly bourgeois world (Gaonkar 1999).

If we are to schematize Gaonkar's summary of Daniel Bell, we would have a more clear vision of the concept of societal modernization which involves a set of cognitive and social transformations (Gaonkar 1999, 2):

SOCIETAL MODERNIZATION
Cognitive Transformations
a) the growth of scientific consciousness b) the development of a secular outlook c) the doctrine of progress d) the primacy of instrumental rationality e) the fact-value split f) individualistic understandings of the self g) contractualistic understandings of society, etc...

```
Social Transformations
```
a) emergence and institutionalization of market-driven industrial economies

b) bureaucratically administered states

c) modes of popular government

d) rule of law

e) mass-media

f) increased mobility, literacy and urbanization, etc...

Figure 15

As Gaonkar argues, "against this bourgeois order and orderliness, the other modernity-the cultural modernity rose in opposition (1999, 2)."

> It first appeared in the aesthetic realm led by different, sometimes competing, groups of avant-garde writers and artists starting with the Romantics in the eighteenth century and was gradually absorbed and carried forward (with its critical edge dulled) by the popular medias of news, entertainment and commercial arts and advertising. Thus cultural modernity came to permeate everyday life. (Gaonkar 1999, 2).

```
CULTURAL MODERNITY
```
a) the cultivation and care of the self

b) self-exploration and self-realization

c) spontaneous expression, authentic expression and unfettered gratification of one's creative and carnal urges

d) no aesthetic limits to be transgressed

e) no moral norms that could not be subverted

f) experience anything...that would spur the imagination, quicken sensibilities, and deepen feelings

g) imagination as an ally, reason as an obstacle

Figure 16

This distinction between societal modernization and cultural modernity is essential according to Gaonkar in order to understand and realize the dilemmas of modernity. So, how can a system with inner contradictions, be applied or appropriated by different societies with cultural differences? This is one of the questions that the theory of alternative modernities is trying to tackle.

In his article "Two Theories of Modernity," Charles Taylor points out to the difference between two understandings that are the "cultural" and "acultural" theories of modernity (1999, 153). The cultural theory of modernity, tends to view the difference between the civilizations as cultural distinctions that can not be easily converted or translated to each other. Each culture has to be analyzed and dealt within its own terms. The acultural theory of modernity, on the other hand sees the change in the society as a "'development'-as the demise of a traditional society and the rise of the modern (Taylor 1999)."

> ...acultural theory describes these transformations in terms of some culture-neutral operation. By this, I mean an operation that is not defined in terms of the specific cultures it carries us from and to, but is rather seen as of a type any traditional culture could undergo. An example of an acultural type of theory, indeed a paradigm case, would be one that conceives of modernity as the growth of reason, defined in various ways: for example, as the growth of scientific consciousness, or the development of a secular outlook, or the rise of instrumental rationality, or even an ever-clearer

distinction between fact-finding and evaluation. Or else modernity might be accounted for in terms of social, as well as intellectual changes: Transformations, including intellectual ones, are seen as coming about as a result of increased mobility, concentration of populations, industrialization, or the like. In all these cases, modernity is conceived as a set of transformations which any and every culture can go through -and which all will probably be forced to undergo (Taylor 1999, 154).

As Gaonkar states there are two basic errors in this acultural conception of modernity; first he says "it fails to see that Western modernity is itself a culture..."; second, "it imposes a false uniformity on the diverse and multiple encounters of non-Western cultures..." "In short" he says "an acultural theory is a theory of convergence: The inexorable march of modernity will end up making all cultures look alike(Gaonkar 1999, 14)." An alternative modernities perspective, on the other hand, is closer to the cultural theory of modernity.

Under the impact of modernity, all societies will undergo certain changes in both outlook and institutional arrangements. Some of those changes may be similar, but that does not amount to convergence. Different starting points ensure that new differences will emerge in response to relatively similar changes. A cultural theory directs one to examine how 'the pull of sameness and the forces making for difference' interact in specific ways under the exigencies of history and politics to produce alternative modernities at different and cultural sites. In short, modernity is not one, but many (Gaonkar 1999, 15-16).

Although it refers to a problematization of the appropriation of modernity in non-Western societies, the perspective that alternative modernities offer become rather complicated by the introduction of the concepts of

"convergence", "divergence" and "creative adaptation".
Creative adaptation is an important keyword for the
different appropriation of modernity mostly refering to a
"site where a people 'make' themselves modern, as opposed
to being 'made' modern by alien and impersonal voices,
and where they give themselves an identity and destiny
(Gaonkar 1999, 16)." It is not always a positive term, in
the sense of accepting easily all that is offered by the
modern paradigm. It also refers to certain moves,
hesitations or maneuvers towards different forms.

> Thus, just as societal modernization (the prime source of
> convergence theories) produces difference through creative
> adaptation or unintended consequences, so also cultural
> modernity (the prime source of divergence theories) produces
> similarities on its own borders. This double relationship
> between convergence and divergence, with their
> counterintuitive dialectic between similarity and difference,
> makes the site of alternative modernities also the site of
> double negotiations-between societal modernization and
> cultural modernity and between hidden capacities for the
> production of similarity and difference. Thus, alternative
> modernities produce combinations and recombinations that are
> endlessly surprising (Gaonkar 1999, 18).

4.2 A Non-Western Story of Modernity

> **Alternative Modernities • Alter/Native • Alterity • Alter/Modernity •** This sequence focuses on a relation, a condition, and an intervention: overlaps and permutations with neither a lack, a lag, nor a copy, instead an alter position that is split-the alter/native. This eruption changes the modern through mimesis, motion, and migration. The interruption of the alternative reminds us that alter is both a call to action and a position: to alter, to act upon, thereby converting and transforming the original, the center. This is relation of similarity and difference. A relation of two (or more) things: that which may be chosen instead-the other (or the remaining) course of action. To the extent that the alternative represents a form of modernity, there may be only one at a time. A choice gets made. An alternative also conceptually contains or implies another possibility. It posits neither the pristine nor the privileged domain of a Euro-American original. As modernity is now simultaneously everywhere, interactively everywhere, so is the alter/native-clarifying and transforming. Its remainder is the alter/modern, the refusal of the sameness. These are not polythetic overlaps, with the beginning unrelated to the end. Here the beginning (alternative modernities) shaped by the split animates the end: alter/modernity (Breckenridge 1999).

This quote is taken from the first pages of the journal of Public Culture on Alternative Modernities. To form a more developed understanding, I would like to discuss an article from that special issue. It would be useful both to demonstrate the analysis of difference in a non-Western culture, but also it would be a smooth passage to be able to talk about the culture-specific objects shaped, used, transformed and appropriated in the Turkish society as being a newly industrialized country with its specific ongoing project of modernity.

Dipesh Chakrabarty in his article, entitled; "*Adda*, Calcutta: Dwelling in Modernity" explains the importance and the significance of the concept and the practice of *Adda* for The Bengali. "*Adda* (pronounced uddah)... roughly speaking, is the practice of friends getting together for long, informal, and unrigorous conversation (Chakrabarty 1999, 110)." It is important for the writer by both being a social practice of forming a national Bengali identity and also by being a cultural response to the question "how to be at home in a globalized capitalism now (Chakrabarty 1999, 145)." He constructs the argument mainly on this axis of nostalgia and anxiety. He says: "...the apparent nostalgia for adda today occupies the place of another-and unarticulated- anxiety: How does one sing to the ever-changing tunes of capitalist modernization and at the same time retain a comfortable sense of being at home in it (Chakrabarty 1999, 113)?"

It is difficult to give the whole meaning of *adda*, as being an outsider, but let me highlight the opposite responses to it to give a more specific insight. First of all, the subject of the analysis covers the first part of the twentieth century. Chaudri who is a Bengali critic, takes an opposite position to the practice of adda (according to Chakrabarty this is the echo of the

colonial-Victorian prejudices) and he justifies this claim by three prepositions:

a. adda is idleness itself

b. it reveals a lack of individuality

c. it signified an absence of a controlled sociality.

> Clearly, what Chaudri's critique both values and finds missing from the lives of his contemporaries in Calcutta is the familliar trichotomous bourgeois grid of home-work-leisure by which many textbooks in the discipline of sociology attempt to explain modernity (Chakrabarty 1999, 115)."

While being found "gregarious" by the same critic, adda gained a more respectful position after 1930's, because it afforded the special social atmosphere to exchange ideas and discuss literary texts. It served to the production of an urban space as well, by being transformed from an activity that is conveyed in people's houses towards the tea and coffeeshops that were significant by being European forms of sociality. To grasp the idea or the motive behind the adda, let us give place to a description of the nature of this special conversation:

> That there should be tension between the ideals of the adda and the modern civil society is understandable. They are mutually antithetical organizations of time and place. The civil society, in its ideal construction, builds into the very idea of human activity the telos of a result-a product and a purpose-and structures its use of time and place on that developmentalist and utilitarian logic (even when that logic is not simply linear). Conversations in adda, on the other hand, are by definition opposed to the idea of achieving any definite outcome. To enjoy an adda is to enjoy a sense of time

and space that is not subject to the gravitational pull of any explicit purpose. The introduction of a purpose that could make the conversation "instrumental" to the achievement of some object other than the social life of an adda itself, kills, it is claimed, the very spirit and the principle of adda (Chakrabarty 1999, 135).

Apart from anything else, this idea of a space opened up in the modern instrumental means to an end circuit, in a sense is broken or cracked by the existence and practice of adda. As an everyday activity it can even could be called a tactic, in that sense. A tactic towards modernity itself, operating through and against its powerful rationality by the weaker colonial figure of the "lazy native." Chakrabarty's conclusion is illuminating at this point not to fall into the traps of reductionism and come to the conclusion that adda is a political and social sphere of resistance to the forces of modernity:

> The modern and hybrid space of Bengali adda thus does not in any way resolve the tensions brought about by the discourses of modernity and capitalism. The adda, thematically, is a site where several of the classic and endless debates of modernity are played out-discipline versus laziness, women's confinement in the domestic sphere versus their participation in the public sphere, separation of male and female domains versus a shared public life for both groups, leisure classes versus the laboring classes, an openness to the world versus the responsibilities of domestic life and other related issues... the idea of adda now evokes in Bengali writings sentiments of mourning and nostalgia at the passing away of a familiar world. It is possible that the world mourned today was never real. The cultural location of adda perhaps has more to do with a history in which the institution came to symbolize - in problematic and contested ways - a particular dwelling in modernity, almost a zone of comfort in capitalism (Chakrabarty 1999, 144).

It is not only a sustained traditional practice to form a resistance, but it is an activity that is shaped and continued by the "modern" Bengali people in their everyday lives. The existence and the nostalgia for the adda might be due to its "changed" nature; for example it had a male dominant space, later transformed by the introduction of women to the sphere; and it gained political or literary, even educative importance by its insertion to the fashionable coffehouses (that were seen as imitating the European originals), teashops or restaurants which are 'modern' forms of public spaces of the city life. Although transforming and changing, what is important about this living tradition remains the same: being "a zone of comfort in capitalism," by its resistant nature to the modern understanding of time, space, sociality, instrumentality and rationality.

Why explain this much about adda, might be a question that could be raised. The reason is that by being a social practice, adda, the historical transformations in the significance and applications is important in exemplifying the societal definition of identity, unlike the kind of identity relations with a more subjective tone related with object possession that is tried to be put up in the previous discussions. Adda is a good example to demonstrate the necessity of cultural

practices in forming the psychological, imaginative and social borders of identity. What will be opened up to discussion in the next chapter is issues about these borders, that are defined, not only by cultural practices, but also by particular objects that *mark* these occasions. For example, by suggesting a similar sense of time and place, the act of smoking *nargile* will be elaborated. Similarly, the transformations of the Turkish teapot set will be analyzed with particular reference to its ritualistic aspects. Taking the objects to the center, the values, associated with them and their significance along with the possibilities for creating difference as alternative ways of practicing modernity, will be explored.

CHAPTER 5

5. TRADITION, MODERNITY AND IDENTITY

> John Naisbitt, the author of *Megatrends* put it like this: "The
> more we integrate the world, the more we differentiate our
> experiences." Freud also noted this phenomenon . He called it
> the "narcissism of the minor difference." (Aldersey-Williams
> 1998, 2)

In this chapter, the rituals of tea drinking and smoking

nargile will be elaborated with specific reference to

their significance in Turkish culture and the values,

practices, the kinds of objects and customs associated

with these events. The reason to focus specifically on

these two objects and their historical, cultural and

physical contexts is that they could be said to be

standing at the cutting edge of tradition, modernity and

identity, in different ways. The common property of the

two traditions are their ritualistic aspects. They both

are part of "ceremonies or customary acts which are often

repeated in the same form (Procter 1978, 959)."

> Rituals are often repetitive, both in their internal structure
> and within the calendrical cycle; which further enhances the
> feeling that they never change. The rhythmic patterning helps
> confirm their natural state as an integral part of society. It
> is the formality and repetitiousness that give much of the
> power to ritual and generate a sense of belonging, a sense of
> order and a sense of continuity between the individual and the
> group, and between the group, the larger world and its past
> (Jarman 1997, 9).

They are repeated acts reinforcing the sense of identity for the individual in a society building up the links with a shared past. The problematic centering around the these concepts of tradition and identity is their positioning in the modern world. The ways in which these traditions have been transformed, shaped and reinvented will be the subject of the further discussion.

5.1 The Transformations of the Turkish Teapot: A Formal and Conceptual Analysis

Figure 17
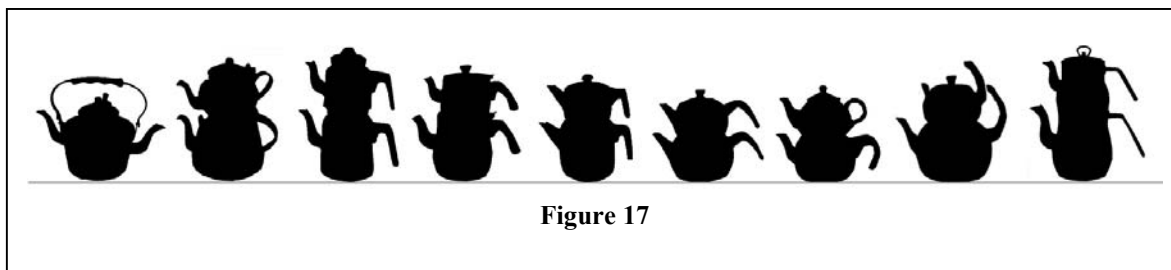
Cohen, in *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, mainly emphasizes certain points; the possibilities of the symbolic representation and its relationship to the border marking the identity of a group of people; and the significance of the ritual practices both in terms of a practice of community and the ways in which those practices are conveyed by the members at the borderline of their symbolic union (1985). His basic assumption about the concept of representation is that the symbol does not merely stand for something else, rather it enables its user to gain some of its meaning. He says that symbols provide a capacity to create meaning, rather than to convey it (Cohen 1985). Every member of the society does have an idea of certain symbols of that community, but it does not mean that every member's ideas about that particular symbol is the same and it does not have to be. The shared thing is the symbol, not its

meaning says Cohen. Due to the ever-changing nature of the meaning of the symbol, the community should be kept alive by the constant manipulation of the symbol of the community (Cohen 1985). The main aim of this part is to discuss the transformations and the different meaning reflections on tea drinking as a ritual and its objects as symbolic constructions of the community that has produced, adopted, shaped or transformed them.

As Reimertz describes although tea has been consumed about 5000 years, it has become the part of daily life fairly late (1998). At first it functioned as a fluid for medicine and ritual. At first Chinese, and then Japanese people who have taken tea from them at the end of the 6th century, developed a tradition of drinking tea that is suitable for their religious rituals and ever-being ceremonial dining styles (Reimertz 1998, 7).

As Adshead explains, tea as a rumour from China, came to Europe in the mid-sixteenth century and it "first appeared in Holland in 1610 and in 1637.... Dutch physicians ... began recommending tea as a tonic, especially for women. From Holland, tea passed to England and France. In 1657, an enterprising cafe proprietor, Thomas Garraway, opened the first teashop in London (1997, 59)."

> Tea, along with such other exotic and novel imports from the Orient as fragile porcelains, lustrous silks, and painted wallpapers, had captured European imagination. Though the beverage was served in public pleasure gardens as well as coffeehouses during the early 1700s in England, social tea-drinking in the home was gradually coming into favor. The coffeehouses continued as centers of political, social, and literary influence as well as of commercial life into the first half of the nineteenth century, for apparently Englishmen preferred to drink their coffee in public rather than in private houses and among male rather than mixed company. This was in contrast to tea, which was drunk in the home with breakfast or as a morning beverage and socially at afternoon gathering of both sexes. As tea-drinking in the home became fashionable, both host and hostess took pride in a well-appointed tea table, for a teapot of silver or fragile blue-and-white Oriental porcelain with matching cups and saucers and other equipage added prestige as well as elegance to the teatime ritual (Roth 1988, 440).

This depiction reminds one of Baudrillard's "tactic of the pot and its saucer," where he says: "The table is covered with a table cloth which itself is protected by a plastic table cloth. Drapes and double drapes are at the windows. We have carpets, slipcovers, coasters, wainscoting, lampshades. Each trinket sits on a doily, each flower in its pot, and each pot in its saucer. Everything is protected and surrounded. Even in the garden each cluster is encircled with wirenetting, each path is outlined by bricks, mosaics or flagstones. This could be analyzed as an anxious compulsion to sequestration, as an obsessional symbolism: the obsession of the cottage owner and small capitalist is not merely possess, but to underline what he possesses two or three times (1981; 42)."

It can be argued that tea-drinking in Europe and America has formed its own rituals and gained certain social meanings along with its entering of daily life. Combined with the sense of belonging, sign of social class and wealth, tea-drinking is often associated with aristocracy. As Reimertz mentions, tea has always taken advantage of the phenomenon of social imitation of upper classes and it has become the public's beverage in the nineteenth century (1998).

> Porcelain was initially produced as an adjunct to court life; consequently, the emphasis in design was on artistic quality and exquisite craftsmanship, irrespective of cost.... The newly acquired tastes for tea, coffee and cocoa among the growing middle classes led to an extension of the use of porcelain, and a change in emphasis in design from artistic exclusivity to commercial acceptability. Some manufactories also became heavily involved in export markets, Meissen for example, coming to dominate the Turkish trade in handleless coffee cups. The expansion was generally met by an extension of craft methods, and the artistic quality of work inevitably deteriorated under the pressures of large-scale production (Heskett 1980, 12-13).

It can be said that the habit of tea drinking to a certain extent has effected the industrial design profession, because Wedgwood, as a producer of porcelain "realized that a large potential market existed for good, inexpensive tableware (Heskett 1980, 17)" The combination of two techniques one, being the maintaining of the whiteness of the porcelain and the other, the large-scale production by casting liquid clay in moulds that were united by Wedgwood, enabled the bourgeois objects

affordable by large amounts of people, towards the end of
the eighteenth century (Heskett 1980).

Reimertz says that the expansion of a beverage relies
much to its image than its taste; so that in 1773, one
week before the new year celebrations, Boston people
poured three ships of tea to the sea, in order to claim
their separation from the state of the tea-addicts
(1998). After this incident, Reimertz adds that Americans
became republican coffee-addicts. There has always been a
relationship between democracy and coffee, and however it
is prepared, tea is viewed as the mark of aristocracy
(Reimertz 1998, 31).

This was the case in England and America, if we are to
search the traces of tea consumption in Turkey, there are
various views and histories:

> Outside China and its satellites, tea consumption first
> appeared in eastern Islamdom: the Three Turkestans,
> Afghanistan and Persia. There is in fact an interesting line
> across Islamdom dividing tea drinkers and coffee drinkers. It
> corresponds roughly to the line between Persians and ex-
> Persians, and Arabs, with the Turks in Central Asia and
> Anatolia being divided by the line (Adshead 1997, 59).

Trying to find the origins of tea and the objects used in
the tea preparing process, the first question to be
traced was since when tea consumption has begun in
Anatolia. The answers are not clear, yet there are

certain theories as Manchester, (without referring to an evidence) says: "The Turks were bartering for tea on the Mongolian border of China as early as 475 (1996, 49)." On the other hand, Faroqhi says Evliya Çelebi referred to the earliest documents regarding tea consumption in Anatolia and he adds that tea definitely has come from China over Russia or Southeast Asia and Hijâz (1995, 233-234).

Tea has become the national beverage of Turks, after it has been produced in Turkey after 1930's, it has been accepted as an exotic plant in the last years of the Ottoman Empire (Faroqhi 1995, 289). On the other hand, Kýnaylý says there were teahouses in the reign of II. Sultan Abdulhamid (1965). The teahouses as he explains were different from the coffeehouses, because unlike coffeehouses there were no card games or backgammon played, but newspapers and magazines were read by people who come to sit there willing to talk and chat (Kýnaylý 1965).

Tea has become a tradition in Turkey, after it has been decided to be planted and produced by a government plan. After an extensive research period, supported by the guarantee of purchase of the production by the government through law, people were persuaded to plant tea in the

Rize region, and finally in 1947 the tea factory has been established and activated. Both cultivation and production has been started as a state policy. At first, there were many oppositions to this decision, and the results were often being criticized.

> Though many are aware of the basic weaknesses..., most Turks are proud of their tea. I would suggest that it has helped to foster among Turks everywhere (including migrant workers in West Germany and Saudi Arabia as well as the regional cultures of Anatolia, including the Laz) the sense of belonging to a democratic national society (Hann 1990, 79)

It is one of the most interesting aspects of the story of tea in Turkey, that is it is not associated with aristocracy, or a sense of social stratification, in the first place and fairly today as well. Tea is a new phenomenon in Turkey, with a history of approximately fifty years and it has become the national beverage that is commonly accepted by the members of the society of all classes.

> ... the almost universal dissemination of the new drink can be taken as a most appropriate symbol of the new society that emerged in Turkey in the second half of the twentieth century. Tea did *not* become a mark of class or status, as it certainly might have done if a variety of brands had been imported from other countries (Hann 1990, 54).

Another point of inquiry forms the second axis of this investigation. First was how long we have been drinking tea on these lands; the second by which means, in terms of tools or methods we have been preparing the brew our way and what are the significance of the tools associated

with the ritual, in the whole process of making, serving and drinking.

Carole Manchester describes the way Turks brew tea as follows: "Their tea is made in two nested pots, called a *cay danlik*. The bottom part boils the water while the top one is used for brewing. Strong black tea is kept hot all day in Turkish homes and the brew is diluted with water as desired. Glasses are filled to the quarter mark with tea from a silver teapot into which hot water has been added. Proper tea making, *demlikacay*, is so crucial in a Turkish home that a mother will take particular notice of the brewing capacities of her son's intended bride. Nut-filled sweets traditionally accompany tea in Turkey (1996, 49)." There are several points to be discussed in this quotation. Firstly, if this piece of information depends on her own experience of tea drinking in Turkey as a tourist, that might explain why she has been served with a silver teapot, because silver is not a common material for the pot that is used in the brewing process. Secondly, it is important for her to have mentioned about the social significance of a good quality brew within the family. Tea, as it is in Europe or America belongs to the home and the domain of the feminine in Turkey, apart from its unshakable status in the late coffee houses, due to its lower price and ease of drinking compared to coffee.

So, it is necessary to differentiate between the household and the public consumption of tea, as the two domains form rather different meaning layers both in terms of their different rituals, but also being different markers of identity and social relations.

> Where tea, whether in silver pot or iron samovar, was feminine, coffee initially was masculine, as befitted its Islamic and clerical origins.... Where tea belonged to the home, coffee belonged to the street....Coffeehouses, better than taverns, provided facilities for business. They were a sign of the growing importance of brokers in business and the primacy of information in the market. Where tea provided gossip over the table, coffee provided news round it (Adshead 1997, 65).

The method and tools used in the tea brewing process can be considered as a mixture of styles adapted from different regions. For example, the two parted teapot could be said to have come from Russia, the samovar being the origin of it. As Alp explains in his essay concerning the heating of the old Ýstanbul houses, samovar was used to boil water for the household usage (Alp 1992). Whether or not tea was a part of the samovar at those times, it was definitely used and adapted as a device for heating water.

The word samovar comes from Russian; *sam,* meaning by itself and *varit*, which means to boil. It is basically a large metal container, usually made up of copper or brass, having a tubular smoke hole in the middle in which coal is burned on a grate under the tube. Around this

funnel there is water that is being heated by the coal in the middle. There is a tap beneath the container for water outlet. Its working principle is the same as the locomotives. On top, the teapot is placed, usually a porcelain one. After the water is boiled, then the tea is brewed in the porcelain teapot and placed again on its place. It boils all the time and forms a meeting, heating and conversation point inside the home.

So, the basic difference of the Turkish teapot is that, in English there is one word for the device to brew the tea, that is teapot, but when you say *çaydanlýk*, which is again translated as teapot as well, a two pieced object comes to mind. It is often used as a teapot set. Transformed from samovar, this could be thought of as two pots on top of each other. The big container underneath is to boil the water and the smaller one on top is for brewing.

Figure 18

Unlike the preparation and serving of English tea, Turkish tea is brewed and served from the same pot and the teapot is not included in the process of serving. *Çaydanlýk* belongs to the kitchen, or wherever the stove is. It is not a part of the service. Unlike the American or English tea utensils, *çaydanlýk* does not appear on the stage. It stays silent and warm over a slightly burning flame. The actors of the service stage are usually the *ince belli* glasses of crystal, and silver saucers, along with sugar dish and tongs, tea spoons and lemon servings over embellished trays. Even though they do not appear as part of the service, teapots form the most important component of brewing. The way they are designed differ according to various criteria, such as cost, function, material suitability or technology used. The user choice is determined by all of these and also the appeal of the teapot on the market, although it is not a part of display.

Apart from the mentioned tea-pot sets, there are colourful porcelain or ceramic tea-pots with ceramic stands that are used to keep the pot warm with the help of tea-lights burned underneath. These objects are displayed in different parts of the stores, usually in gift sections, far from the tea-pot sets that belong to the kitchen.

Figure 19
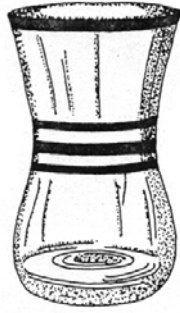
Figure 21

The *ince belli* glass is known as "*istikanah;* a tea cup measuring in height about 8 cm," in the United Arab Emirates (Kanafani 1983, 39-40). *Ýnce belli* can be translated as thin waisted and together with its form, the name reinforces the feminine connotations. It would be interesting to mention that most of the tea leaves are collected and carried by women in Karadeniz region. As well as being drunk within a feminine cup, tea is also the product of women's labour in Turkey. There is a larger and modern version of *ince belli* (produced by Paþabahçe) that is called *Ajda,* a famous singer whose name is associated with being 'modern and Western.'

Figure 20

Figure 22

There are different interpretations of the 'traditional' ince belli glasses as well. *Kapalicarsi,* in Ýstanbul provides a good place to observe the rich

108

paradigm of tea glasses. Two of them worth mentioning here, because of their hybrid qualities. The first (Figure 21) is the one with a handle. The addition of the handle to the glass could be interpreted as a sign of a more 'contemporary' approach, as there are handles in the European teacups, but it seems to be a rather eclectic approach as well, because the form of the glass affords a good grasp and an even cozy relationship with a warm hold. The second (Figure 22) is the one out of porcelain. This new version is loyal both to the contours and the golden horizontal stripes of the ince belli glass only with a change in the material. The two examples are rather interesting for providing different forms to be able to watch the alternative designs in the whole set of glass teacups.

If we have a look at the tea packages, how the different meanings of the objects are used to create the desired image for certain brands can be read on the covers (Figure 23). The brand *Selen* (with an English caption: Turkish Breakfast Tea) can be said to have a more modern look (maybe to attract foreign customers) than the other two, comparing the kinds of glasses and accessories used. The other two brands, *Çaykur* and *Doðuþ* seem to be addressing Turkish consumers. All brands preferred transparent glasses to show the colour of the tea that is

good if it is like 'rabbit's blood'(*tavþan kaný*, implying
the strength of the brew.)

Figure 23

Not all tea drinking is done by the ince belli glasses.
They are usually used in coffee houses, women's tea
parties, government offices, etc. Although it can be seen
anywhere tea is consumed, maybe because of the amount
that it can take, it is seen as part of a convention. It
is assigned to a traditional way of tea drinking, unlike
the mugs, the regular water glasses or porcelain cups
with saucers. Just like the colorful mugs that are
associated with a 'modern' way of life, bringing along
the need to drink from a larger volume cup, to save time
from refilling in shorter sequences and also to stay
awake to 'work.' Another reason could be, with the *ince*
belli you touch a fine glass, transferring the heat to
the hand; and also the form provides the grasping of the
object. The relationship that is established between the
object and the user is different from holding a mug at a

safer distance from the hand with a handle. Serving different functions and physical or psychological needs, all these objects are used simultaneously by almost all of the members of the society. The transformations are not linear or diachronic; they occur synchronically according to the changing needs. For example, at most places you can see the kind of object in the figure to supply tea or coffee for large amounts of people (Figure 24). The cups are then plastic or paper, of course changing the whole taste and experience of tea drinking.

Figure 24

The interesting point about teapot designs are, as tea has become a tradition, or is thought to be a tradition in Turkey, teapot might be said to be a traditional or archaic device, in the sense of the ways of brewing and preparing has been an outcome of years' experience. The teapot could be said to have gone through certain

transformations due to the changing technology, ways of life, new needs, products and functions. What is kept stable is the basic functional structure of the object that is water is boiled in the pot that is underneath the one in which brewing is done. The top part, whether of porcelain or metal is heated by the boiling steam applied from under. This is crucial and is an essential part of the brewing process, because the better chemical reaction for the best brew can only occur in a pre-heated pot, otherwise the heat of the boiling water would be cooled down within a cold pot.

Another function of the water-brew duality is that it enables a control over the strength of the cup of tea that is poured. The strong brew is diluted with water to a desired taste and colour. This is also similar to the Russian way of the whole process of tea drinking, preparation and ritual. As a German writer Reimertz does not like the taste of Russian tea, and he says that "facing the showy, polished and ornamented samovar, one does not think about how the brew is like. The beverage that is made with the help of that steam engine-like technical construction can only taste like a bitter tea boiled with water. The last piece of taste is demolished with the lemon juice of this recently ruined taste of the Russian tea. The only bearable part of this weird liquid

is the unbleached sugar (1998, 118)." As it is perfectly clear from his expression, the writer not only tells his subjective personal opinion, he also reflects the way the samovar tea is viewed by a Western tea-lover. The teapot and the way tea is prepared is very important for the final taste. Unlike Reimertz, Turkish people seems to like or have liked the Russian way of tea drinking that they adopted and transformed it into a unique object along preserving its function.

Another function of the two piece teapot is related to the extended boiling time. First of all, tea drinking, like coffee is not something fast, it demands time, especially if you are seated next to a samovar. It is important to understand the idea of boiling on its own,

Figure 25

113

and it is crucial to relate the process of steeping to the act of boiling. This simultaneous and more importantly autonomous process demands one's time, attention, concentration, a special atmosphere and a state of mind. It could even be argued that certain philosophies are embedded in these devices in the sense of forming a cosmic dimension. Fire, water, air and soil; these four basic elements could be said to form the basis of these philosophies. Both nargile and samovar contain and activate by and through the laws of these four elements. This might be the reason why they form a perfect couple. The kind of objectual use, care and process they demand are similar. Their pace and the kind of relationship they construct with the flow of life is similar. Of course, modern life is not at the speed of these objects of wisdom, but people do not give up smoking or drinking tea, so the objects are transformed into modern versions, as long as the needs survive, the function is conveyed through the more appropriate or possible versions of the older tradition. Nevertheless, as will be argued in the discussion of nargile, these objects (the traditional nargile and samovar) form nodes of resistance to the modern sensibility, by the demand of their own space and time, in their own specific ways.

Tiryaki (Addict) is a model that is launched only for the local market by Arçelik, one of the biggest firms producing home appliances. It is basically a kettle, with a glass teapot placed over it. It is designed to brew tea with the water boiled in the kettle in especially an office environment. It is a good product that has responded well to the

Figure 26

changing needs of the user. The tea bags or water soluble coffee does not replace the need for a good brewed tea in an office, but most of the people who are used to drink tea with its full ritual in the traditional *çaydanlýk* could not be said to have got used to those alternatives. The niche for a new product was successfully determined by the designers and the decision makers within the company. In terms of its formal qualities, *Tiryaki* is pleasing with its flowing lines forming a unity between and along the two parts. It carries the codes of being 'designed,' for a specific user and market, but preserving the traditional function and way of brewing. It is a complete transformation in terms of the adaptation of the traditional that is unchanging and given, to the technological and social changes. The need

and the way it is fullfilled is stable, but the material, technology and lifestyle attached to the structure of the process is reinterpreted under the light of this new context.

If we are to speak by the terms suggested by the alternative modernities perspective that was discussed in the previous part, then we can say that it is an object of "creative adaptation." It can be called as such, in the sense that while responding to the dynamics of societal modernization, the traditional habit and ritual of tea drinking is adapted in a hybrid form, combining the technological paradigm with the traditional structure. If *Tiryaki* is to be read on the axis of divergence and convergence, then it could be said that it is a cultural response by being a hybrid object of divergence, within the convergent and dominant lifestyles dictated by the societal modernization.

The traditional samovar working with coal, also could not escape from the call of modernity and transformed its power supply by electricity during the course of time. This adaptation is an invisible one, so we could say an 'invisible creative adaptation' is 'applied' to the object preserving its visual qualities by the insertion of an electrical supply inside the body. As the system

was not made to work with electricity, the problems of insulation and other design related problems arise.

Another example to the transformation of *çaydanlýk* is the new product of Tefal: The Spirit of Tea (that is translated and used as a slogan in the advertisements as *Keyif Çayý)*. The product is designed and produced in France. Unlike *Tiryaki*, The Spirit of Tea is not designed by a Turkish designer, so it gains importance to analyze the way a European interpretation for the Turkish way of brewing tea. It should be noted that the product is not produced to be distributed only in Turkey, but the product discourse in Turkey is: the perfect tasting traditional Turkish tea at your desired strength. Similarly, the TV commercial for the product depicts two families drinking tea. One prefers the classical Turkish teapot set and the housewife brings it to the breakfast table which, according to the husband, causes the tea to get cold. On the other hand, the 'modern' family drinking their tea from the Spirit of Tea are happier, because according to the claim; the product keeps the tea warm and it is the ideal set to serve tea everywhere.

In Tefal's design solution, there is also an electrical kettle to boil the water and a glass teapot to brew the tea, but what differs is their layout. The kettle and the teapot are placed on a plastic tray. They are treated as two different objects that could be united by the aid of an extra element; that is the tray. This could be read in

Figure 27

different ways. One reading takes us to view the issue from a design management perspective making its emphasis on the market factor. This product will be launched not only for the Turkish market, but in other countries as well. So, it would be misleading to think of this product as a Turkish teapot set, but depending on the product discourse suggested by the advertisements, it could be said that the Turkish consumers are tried to be attracted

by the object's potential for being an alternative to the traditional set.

In terms of product typology, if we compare *Tiryaki* and Spirit of Tea at this point, Tiryaki could be argued to form a new typology by its hybrid nature. Spirit of Tea also puts forward a combination, but it seems to be weak in turning this combination into a new product typology, on the other hand it should be noted that it does not seem to be the aim. So, the design team in France had to keep the products with their recognized typologies the same, while making up a new sentence out of the combination, to be recognized and accepted in the global scale. The theory of convergence is successful in this sense, but not completely. Sameness is transferred into difference by the new setup. While it could be seen as divergence in the global market, as the marketing of a different product; it is convergent in the local market by turning the already different, culture-specific teapot set into a combination of the Western typologies of objects on top of a tray.

At the beginning, the concept of "the symbolic construction of community" has been discussed briefly (Cohen 1985). The cultivation and production of tea are recent phenomenon in Turkey, as said before. *Çaydanlýk*

and the accessories, especially the *ince belli* glasses and saucers could be said to be the icons of the Turkish society. These objects could be argued to form the symbols for marking the boundaries of the society by their formal, visual and functional characteristics that the majority of the community share and experience. They are icons, symbols of a common past and a conveyed project that was part of an unexperienced future.

> In traditional cultures, the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations. Tradition is a mode of integrating the reflexive monitoring of action with the time-space organization of the community. It is a means of handling time and space, which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present, and future, these in turn being structured by recurrent social practices. Tradition is not wholly static, because it has to be reinvented by each new generation as it takes over its cultural inheritance from those preceding it (Giddens 1990, 37).

As Giddens says: "Inherent in the idea of modernity is a contrast with tradition (1990, 36) and he continues as: "It is often said that modernity is often marked by an appetite for the new... (1990, 39)." Taking these premises as starting points, different forms of teapots can be analyzed.

Figure 28

For example, the red teapot with spherical containers, with teflon covering inside and in terms of colour, do mark a different place among the others in the market. The most important characteristic of this particular teapot is its handles. As if stating or underlining the break from the traditional, the handles have been reversed, joined upside down. Again, the basic structural property being kept unchanged, the reversed handles form a very powerful statement in terms of making it a 'modern' *çaydanlýk*.

Another example for the transformative power of the handles is the steel teapot with golden plated handles. The kind of joint that has been used in combining the handles to the body, seems similar to the riveted joints in the stainless steel kitchen utensils. The pure and minimal approach with the contrast of silver and golden material effects, do create a different

Figure 29

perception on the consumer. The person looking at the different teapots displayed side by side on the shelves, at the first instant is attracted by the non-plasticity of the handles, but afterwards the inevitable question comes to mind: Would it burn my hands? It is a dilemma for the person who is making the decision. Will he go for the plastic one or prefer the one having a prestigious look, with the play of gold and silver. "Modernist appetite for the new" once again is displayed and reenacted in the dilemma of modern burning hands or safer plastic handles (Giddens 1990).

In the case of teapots, although being a part of a tradition, every design is like a reinvention, reaffirmation and reformation of the idea of a teapot, its function along with its tradition. Regardless of its being modern, in essence, every teapot becomes the icon of this society's tradition by the functional bond uniting the formal differences. These formal differences enables the individualistic differences and constructions of identities over the continuing and shared practices of tradition.

The aim of this study is not to try to find the most authentic object of any sort, or make a genealogy or a truly historical analysis. Mainly, the basic argument

tried to be emphasized is that, every object in its being defines what it is, every time it is reproduced under a certain generic group of objects that it belongs to. For example every teapot re-defines what a teapot is, in its own material reality, structure, resistance or obedience or social, cultural or whatever context it belongs, creates or reconstructs, or being constructed upon. It opens up new possibilities for future significations and life forms. Every teapot is a new teapot. This could be seen as the textual versus the material, but not necessarily being in a relation of opposition. When an object gains a material reality, it also gets into the realm of the textual and it becomes part of the family of the generic set of objects. It becomes part of the cultural vocabulary of the culture it is born from and consequently it becomes the agent of a cultural sentence for the user. The teapot is an icon, by being both a functional

Figure 30

object and a visual element, it is part of a
discourse of belonging and tradition.

If we draw a straight line dividing the set of
teapots in the previous image (Figure 30),
from the middle, we could observe in detail,
how the different styles of spouts or
similarly handles form a paradigm as parts of
the object; and similarly how the rich
vocabulary of these differences form a
syntagm when they are represented together. It
would be important to note here that the
differences are ruled under the influence of
many factors, but this analysis aimed to point
at their culture or meaning specific
characteristics. There are economic
constraints related to production and other
marketing considerations, etc., but all those
are already indexically evident within the
objects and their possible future
transformations.

Rather than analysing cultural or (national) identities
one by one and then, subsequently (as an optional move)
thinking about how they are related to each other
(through relations of opposition, domination and
subordination), we must grasp how those 'identities',
in Sausurrean terms, are only constituted in and
through their relations to one another.... Thus
difference is constitutive of identity (Morley and
Robins 1995, 45).

Figure 31

So, if we think of difference in terms of identity, firstly each choice is made meaningful within the set of objects that it belongs; for example within the whole set of teapots, the certain choice of the consumer is a part of his personal repertoire of objects, among the shared value attributions of the society it belongs to. Similarly, as the second axis of identity concerning teapots, as a culture specific object, with its own archetype is a 'different from' object within the global-local distinction, connection or let us say interrelation.

> If modernity created an abstract and universal sense of self, then postmodernity will be about a sense of identity rooted in the particularity of place.... Globalisation is, in fact, also associated with new dynamics of *re*-localisation. It is about the achievement of a global-local nexus, about new and intricate relations between global space and local space. Globalisation is like putting together a jigsaw puzzle: it is a matter of inserting a multiplicity of localities into the overall picture of a new global system (Morley and Robins 1995, 116).

So, following this premise of a new definition of identity, (also relating it with the previous discussion of alternative modernities pointing to an emphasis on different experiences of modernity ruled by cultural difference); we can say that while the transformations of the teapot sets serve to an identity formation on a personal level; the object as a culturally defined entity (including all its accessories and family of artifacts it

conjures) function as a mark of a locality tied up with the sense of a national identity.

The Turkish teapot set and its flexibility, in terms of being open to change in form, enables it to be analyzed as transformation. As an "invented tradition," in the sense that the whole story of cultivation, production and consumption of tea in Turkey has been organized under the forces of the nation-state as discussed before (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983); tea has been largely accepted and appropriated by all the segments of society. More interestingly it is seen and assumed to be a tradition, definitely as a 'natural' one (if it can be called), as opposed to an invented one. As a living and widely accepted tradition, the story of tea and the changes it is going or will go through seem to continue its journey powerfully and fearlessly; marking and transforming the 'traditional' with the 'new'.

5.2 *Nargile*: The Eastern Way of Timekeeping

Figure 32

Nargile (also called as hookah, shisha, hubble-bubble, or water pipe) is a tobacco pipe whose smoke is drawn through water by a long tube before reaching the mouth (Procter 1978). The special tobacco that is smoken by nargile is called *tömbeki*. As Evren describes, having been used in India under the name of *narçýl* which is a coconut shell with a stick in it. Nargile has taken its name from this container.

During the reign of IV. Murad (1623-1640) nargile was started to be smoken in Ýstanbul (Evren 1999). It consists of several parts that are; *lüle, ser, marpuç* and *gövde*. *Lüle* is the upper part made up usually of clay (in the example in Figure 32, it is out of metal) in which the tobacco is burned by coal. *Gövde* which is the body usually of glass, metal, or crystal in Ottoman versions,

127

contains the water. *Marpuç* is the flexible hose-like pipe that is used to take the smoke in. *Ser* is the metal part that combines the lüle and the body; also the marpuç is connected to the body through a junction on it.

Every piece is produced by different craftsmen and the places that the production takes place formed different markets at certain districts of the town (Bozyiðit 1993). The working principle of nargile is to inhale the burned tobacco, by passing it through the coldness of water, usually believed to filter the smoke.

Every object demands a certain use through its function. Nargile smoking demands certain environmental and social conditions as part of its ritual. Firstly, "it takes about an hour to smoke a pipeful of fruit tobacco, two hours for the stronger stuff (Kinzer 1997)." It is not an activity of speed, on the contrary, it demands time and a certain state of mind or being. There is a saying for an ideal experience of nargile, that is; *maþa, meþe, köþe, ayþe* that could be translated (without the rhyme) as; tongs, oak, corner and a female name. Tongs refer to the adjustment of the fire on the tobacco; oak refers to the kind of coal to be used to get the best efficiency; corner implies that the one who smokes nargile prefers somewhere out of the way, or peaceful; *Ayþe* symbolizes

Figure 33

the ability and rapidness of the one who serves (Evren 1999).

Kinzer depicts the Erzurum Nargile Salon in Ýstanbul in his essay: "Inhale the Pleasure of an Unhurried Ottoman Past:"

> There is not much noise inside. Conversation is only occasional, and always soft. The sound of dominoes being played or backgammon tokens being moved is often all that competes with the soft gurgle of bubbling water. Some patrons work absently on crossword puzzles and others seem lost in contemplation (Kinzer 1997).

As Bozyiðit describes, nargile was an inevitable element of the old Ýstanbul coffee houses (1993). Coffee houses are significant in understanding the environment and social atmosphere suitable for the whole act of nargile smoking. They were the commercial places, firstly activated in 16th century; building up the communication among the different public spaces in Ýstanbul; fullfilling the needs of passing the spare time, amusement and other secular necessities of people; as well as producing and diffusing different kinds of cultural traditions (Iþýn 1993). As well as coffee drinking, nargile was among the other traditions that was carried on by the social atmosphere created by the coffee

houses. As Iþýn explains, the coffee houses that were opened in districts of the town importantly serve the daily life in Ýstanbul from a socio-cultural point of view (1993). First, in the scale of neighbourhood, by the advent of the coffee houses, the traditional and introvert lives of people, passing between the dwelling and the religious places (mosque) were started to be transformed into an extrovert cultural configuration. Second important function of the coffee houses is that,

Figure 34

they soon became the center of administrative decision making centers. Previously located around the religious places where the *imam* was in charge, in time this center shifted to the coffee houses enabling increase in common

participation and development of an even cultural sharing. People, sharing the same culture, but belonging to different social classes came together in these coffee houses and formed the first community structures of the traditional city life in which they organize their common activities (Iþýn 1993).

The meaning and social significance of coffee houses together with the activities conveyed have gone through certain changes in time. It can be said that still the coffee houses are meeting points for certain groups of people, especially, the ones that can be called as the neighbourhood or district coffee shops (*mahalle kahveleri*). Apart from this social phenomenon, nargile has always been the symbol of the orient. Having a quick look at some of the paintings in the 19th century, it is easy to observe Western people dressed in Eastern costumes and depicted smoking nargile resting in sedirs; or harem women often daydreaming in full furnished rooms with lots of carpets and draperies of curtains.

The reasons for the choice of nargile as a symbol for the oriental experience could be various. First of all, it is an object of mystery in the sense of combining the ephemerality of smoke with the water, often assigned to the unconscious, by its containing effect, like the

iceberg is located in the sea, and that it is the water that keeps the secrets or the depths of what lies beneath. The smoke on the other hand, is also something not physical in a sense, it can be associated with the spiritual that its positive existence can not be frozen as it comes out and dissolves in air. It is, therefore the main aim of this part, to look at nargile as the object of the Eastern conception and discuss the ways in which the existence and sustainability of a particular object is determined or dictated by its use and ever changing or fixed levels of meaning. If we go back to the ritual of nargile within the context of coffee houses determining the leisure activities of a community of people, it can be said that the unchanging nature of nargile smoking behaviour and the related leisure can be analysed around the concept of time.

Lewis Mumford, in *Technics and Civilization* says that:

> The clock, not the steam-engine, is the key machine of the modern industrial age. For every phase of its development the clock is both the outstanding fact and the typical symbol of the machine: even today no other machine is so ubiquitous. Here, at the very beginning of modern technics, appeared prophetically the accurate automatic machine which, only after centuries of further effort, was also to prove the final consummation of this technics in every department of industrial activity. There had been power-machines, such as the water-mill, before the clock; and there had also been various kinds of automata.... But here was a new kind of power-machine, in which the source of power and the transmission were such a nature as to ensure the even flow of energy throughout the works and to make possible regular production and a standardized product. In its relationship to determinable quantities of energy, to standardization, to automatic action, and finally to its own special product, accurate timing, the clock has been the foremost machine in

> modern technics: and at each period it has remained in the
> lead: it marks a perfection toward which other machines aspire
> (Mumford 1963, 14-15).

Therefore, he says that the clock is the ultimate machine that gave way to the production of other machines, both in the sense of introducing rationality, standardization that even lead to the division of labour, by the division of time to identical components. He differentiates between the mechanical and organic time. He says that the clock has created a mechanical sense of time that is different from the organic that could be associated with the growing of hair, the time between sowing and harvest, or birth to death. By putting these two terms in contrast, he enables to differentiate the abstract conception of time that is manipulatable against the organic that is linear and cumulative in its effects (Mumford 1963).

> The clock, moreover, is a piece of power-machinery whose
> "product" is seconds and minutes: by its essential nature it
> dissociated time from human events and helped create the
> belief in an independent world of mathematically measurable
> sequences: the special world of science. There is relatively
> little foundation for this belief in common human experience:
> throughout the year the days are of uneven duration, and not
> merely does the relation between day and night steadily
> change, but a slight journey from East to West alters
> astronomical time by a certain number of minutes (Mumford
> 1963, 15).

One of the oldest and most sophisticated clock is constructed in 11th century, in China. It can be said to be a calender rather than a mere clock, because it worked with water-power and it functioned to display and

134

represent the astronomical time. It was also a source of power that it was believed that the dynasty could be in danger if scientists who could interpret the signs of the stars could cause the collapse of the political authority (Gimpel 1976).

Going back to Kinzer's observations of the Erzurum Nargile Salon:

> "Smoking a nargile is nothing like smoking a cigarette," a 71 year old pensioner named Ýsmet Ertep said as he looked up from his pipe. "Cigarettes are for nervous people, people on the run," he said. "When you smoke a nargile you have time to think. It teaches you patience and tolerance, and gives you an appreciation of good company. Nargile smokers have a much more balanced approach to life than cigarette smokers." (Kinzer 1997).

After the Marmara earthquake that shattered and collapsed cities and caused thousands of people to pass away, there has been a quite deal of issues discussed exploring the reasons for such a catastrophe to happen. Bozkurt Güvenç, in a newspaper article has analysed the issue from a different point of view. In his article, he compared the Eastern way of making buildings to the Western. He was talking specifically about the Japanese architecture and conception emphasizing the importance of harmony between man and nature. He said that Japanese architecture, through time has developed a certain construction style using wooden structures that had the ability to move with the activities of the ground and layers of fault. This

was the result of the Japanese conception of not acting *against* nature, but acting in harmony *with* it. By time, he says, Japanese people seemed to have forgotten this tradition and started to make buildings the Western way, with stable foundations that could not cope with the forces of nature. They were defeated by the same forces, so they remembered, and they built the flexible foundations that could sway with the ground. Tying the argument to time, it could be said that in order to understand the slow act of smoking nargile and sitting in the coffee houses for hours, one should first understand and feel the concept of time and the daily life experiences that are intermingled in the fabric of the culture in question. This implies that this is not to say that East is the Other, that is defined as 'the different *from*', but to suggest the cultural forms are and can be seen and read as the outcomes of particular mental conceptions, that can not be put in a hierarchical order or in relationship of superiority or inferiority.

> The sensous involvement natural to cultures in which literacy is not the ruling form of experience is sometimes indicated in travel guides, as in this item from a guide to Greece: "You will notice that many Greek men seem to spend a lot of time counting the beads of what appear to be amber rosaries. But these have no religious significance. They are *komboloia* or 'worry beads,' a legacy from the Turks, and Greeks click them on land, on the sea, in the air to ward off that insupportable silence which threatens to reign whenever conversation lags (McLuhan 1964, 78)."

As a similar gesture to nargile smoking, as McLuhan quotes, clicking the worry beads, suggests a same kind of duration in relation to positioning to the outer world. Not only belonging to the Muslim tradition, rosaries are also "a Roman Catholic religious practice that consists of saying the set of prayers that are counted in this way, while thinking holy thoughts (Procter 1978, 965)." As Evren describes, this function is similar and could be seen in Far-Eastern religions, as well as Orthodox, Protestant or Jewish traditions. The basic difference of the Eastern rosaries is that they not only have a religious significance, but also they have become a companion, especially for men, in daily life (Evren 1999).

The clicking of the beads, as an everyday activity, demands a gesture depending on repetition. The repetitive movement of clicking could be read as the accompanying of the passing of time, but not rushing, counting or fighting against the passing. It is the peaceful and obedient company with the flow of time. Nargile then could be said to be the instrument of the Eastern way of consuming time, or time keeping. It is like an instrument that is played, with the act of inhalation of *time* through water and then giving it back to the world through the ever changing density of the smoke.

Inevitability of existence is justified and repeated, in every click and breath.

Today, the nargile salon that Kinzer has visited is still there, under the Fýndýklý Mosque, at Tophane, there are a series of salons, side by side. People of different age groups, tourists, youngsters with jeans, artists with their books, retired men with thick, brown eyeglasses, boys and girls, they all sit there and drink their tea and draw the filtered tobacco smoke as well as the atmosphere that is created by the stone walls of the neighbouring mosque and the diversity of the community that they are a part of. The interesting part of the scenery is that, on the same line with the salons, there are shops selling Donna Karan t-shirts, Versace jeans, Timberland shoes and boots, all original with full prices, under the glowing illumination of the shiny brands of fluorescent lights. The *Back to the Future* generation, that is well aware of the motto of 'time is money' seems to be enjoying the unhurried experience of this particular environment, without any contradiction. Unlike the "staged authenticity" of the luxurious hotels' salons of nargile or any other 'Turkishness' under the name of special nights or occasions, this place is like the evidence of a real existence. This existence or any reality about it, is not unproblematic, but may be it is,

because if some form of object can live or continue, then the supply and demand duality seems to be working. Those people who wear, maybe not the original, but the fake Versace jeans can or do go to the nargile salon to slow their spirits down, within the pace of the economy of their daily lives.

This place provides a hybrid combination in terms of the space-time duality of societal modernization. It can be called eclectic more than hybrid, by the spatial articulation of two lived and experienced modalities of time; one is the imagined and obedient time of nargile; the other is the shops selling sign-values of famous brands. This place, by being next to the capitalist formations of modernity, becomes a space of resistance. A resistance which is stubborn with the unchanged, historical and even authentic use of the object nargile. When we were analyzing the modern versions of teapots, we could trace the different versions, interpretations of teapots according to the changing values and lifestyles; but what is specific about nargile is that there are no new versions or designs. The archetypal object with its complicated silhouette and basic working principle is accepted as it is. Furthermore, the more the object reminds us of a historical entity, with references to the orientalist or Islamic contours and lines, the more it

gets closer to an idea of preservation of an essence about it. This objectual resistance to change also becomes the symbol of resistance to modernity itself. It becomes an aesthetic as well as a cultural response. It defines its own space, time and habitus with its rituals and positionings towards life, with its own distinctive style, whose traces are visible on the object itself. The object is stable, and it requires a similar gesture from the user. The subject of nargile is the fixed, unmoving, staying and waiting person, unlike the wandering *flaneur*. This act of stopping (how paradoxical it may sound) most of the time is accompanied by an act of looking, watching and sometimes reading. It should be noted that this is not a spare time activity. If the example of *adda* is remembered, similar to that, there is no expected rational or instrumental outcome of the whole experience of nargile. It is the anchor of the human body, within the rushing, competing, alienating forces of modernity. An anchor, in the sense that it ties the body to a mainland of a different space and time, or just to the possibility of it.

In Ankara, there are several places to smoke nargile. First one is inside Gençlik Parký which is in Ulus. Gençlik Parký is an interesting part of the capital, centered around an artificial lake, there are lots of *çay*

bahçesi (tea houses), a wedding salon and a fun fair. The people coming to Gençlik Parký belong to the middle or low income part of the city and soldiers on their free time. There is a clear cut division in most of the salons in the park with the family and single sections. These are named usually as *aile çay bahçeleri* (family tea gardens). The basic layout is like that; there are tables and chairs, and television sets outside or inside. One of the most interesting aspect of these places are they are like open air cinemas. As well as football matches at specific times with big crowds, Turkish films are constantly being watched by the male viewers at all times of the day. So, the sound of the television with the loud hysterical crying, suffering, shouting, loving or singing men or women characters of melodrama is an inseparable part of these places. This is a quite different experience of nargile smoking, because when the football match begins and it gets dark, the Bally (a kind of adhesive) inhaling boys gather around to watch the match, with the sitting crowd. At the cutting line of the garden wall, the audience, some of them smoking their nargiles, and behind the wall, the children inhaling inside the plastic bags hidden in their jackets.

The other place is up on the Castle. It is a very small, but highly touristic place. In the entrance mannequins

dressed with folkloric costumes is continued inside with an over-decorated courtyard. Every single object is chosen for the place to look more authentic, but the multiplicity of the images, objects and their combination testifies that everything is a setting. It is as if you have come there to experience that place is providing you to do and it is so. You are there to smoke nargile with those objects and furniture around you, this is the main reason for your existence at that specific time and space, so you do it. It is quite different from the family tea garden at Gençlik Parký, because the superficial character of the place reinforces the idea that nargile smoking is an extinct cultural behaviour and this setting provides the right combination for you to experience it. It is quite probable that tourists would feel the same way as well.

In contrast to this feeling, at the family tea garden, although being under the surreal sound of Turkish melodramas, the place is a living one with the families, university students, businessmen, young men, old men, middle aged men, the Bally inhaling kids, and the social bonds that unite these people, most important and powerful of them being the football matches.

Combined with the concept of time, nargile smoking is a bodily experience. It is an activity situating the body in space and time in an act of remaining in the stillness of the stay.

> Concerned only with a static movement, the mathematician deals with a world that 'dies at every instant' (Bergson 1913:23). Duration, on the other hand, 'is unceasingly being done' (Bergson 1950a:120) Linear thinking consists in putting oneself, as an observer, outside duration (Bergson 1913:327). To think of a body occupying points in space is to do so from a perspective outside the body, not from the perspective of the moving body. To be *in* the body is to be in time (Game 1991, 95)[1].

Inhaling time with the body, that is the kind of bodily experience that nargile offers. It is also visual, the movement is actualised in the movement of the water, indicating that something invisible is passing through. It demands a certain slowness against the mechanically accelerated pace of life.

"...what he says is a deceptively simple example of duration: sugar melting in water. 'I must wait until the sugar melts.' There is my duration, and that of the sugar melting; and a waiting (Bergson (1913:10). Duration is a waiting, a deferral, and a mixing of systems, for which we could read intertextuality (Game 1991, 99)." Here, we could talk about the burning of the coal; the stillness

---

[1] The referred books of Bergson are:
Bergson, H. (1950a) [1889] *Time and Free Will* (trans. F.L. Pogson) London, George Allen & Unwin
Bergson, H. (1913) [1907] *Creative Evolution* (trans. A. Mitchell), London, Macmillan.

Figure 35

of the water, and the permeability of it as a medium for the air to go through; the yielding smoke and finally the sitting body operating, controlling and acting with the whole system. Acting; but what is delicate is that it is an act of waiting. Waiting with time, not against, rushing, competing or trying to count it.

It is an experience, and "being a member of a culture is having at hand the conventions of performance framing particular and characteristic ways of using objects and environments... (Chaney 1996, 147)" The particular ways of using the objects and environments are in the case of nargile smoking, could be tied to a concept such that the experience is shared in the act. As Jarman quotes "...it is the active participation in ritual events that is the significant means of encoding social memory into the individual body (1997, 8)." Therefore, being a part of the ritual and experiencing it, is actually rather different from the knowledge of it. The fact that talking with the mobile phone while smoking does not change the fact that the person is wired –with the *marpuç*– to the historical, cultural and any other motive that shaped or created the circumstances, customs or traditions of a shared past. It is like the metaphor of an actual bond both to the object itself and also to all of the values it represents or that it is thought to be a part of.

Besides the providing a particular use within a particular environment, nargile in its entirety, is a specific object. Unlike the transforming teapot set, nargile is repeated in terms of its visual qualities. This is not to say that it has not undergone any changes. Of course a historical study of the changes of nargile through time would show these differences, but in terms of a visual expression it looks as is it belongs to a historical cross-section that is mimicked for the sake of preserving a sense of origin or essence about it. This imaginary essentialism is what makes nargile more static and resistant to change. The more it gets similar to an imaginary model, the better it becomes in tying the links to another space and time that we want or imagine to be a part of or experience.

CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was basically to tie up the links between culture and objects. This was tried to be done through investigating the culture that is shaping the objects; and also looking at the clusters of artifacts that could be said to be forming a material culture to be read to reveal the hints of the invisible background forces represented by these objectual evidence.

The first chapter aimed to form the basis to enable us to speak of objects, language and the material culture analysis carried out through the terms of semiotics as the tool for deciphering of cultural or any other representative codes. This was dealt as the form and its relation to meaning.

The second chapter aimed at building the basis of the relationship between objects and identity. Starting with the basic development theories of Piaget, the first encounter of objects with the child, the argument is expanded towards the ongoing process of self construction by the manipulation of objects.

The third chapter situates the argument within the context of the capitalist mode of commodity production and its relation to the consumer culture that emerged consequently, positioning the consumer as the producer in the sense of producing himself and also reinforcing the act of consumption while this self-construction. Commodity was conceptualized as a 'designed product' and differentiated from the broader category of the 'object' that is standing a bit outside, but also being a part of this mode of production. The idea of the user's everyday life being at the center of the argument, the objects that opened up a possibility to a free area to the individual in a predetermined circle of production and the mechanisms of desire production is discussed through the phenomenon of kitsch. Similarly, playing with the notions of use and functionality, anonymous artifacts were mentioned to demonstrate the autonomy of the category of objects - if there is any - just like the subject's autonomy within a system that acts upon him.

The fourth chapter is to put forward the possibilities that is opened up by the different receptions and experiences of the Western rooted modernity and its related practices, institutions, norms and cultural forms in non-Western, but again 'modern' societies.

The last chapter takes two 'traditional' artifacts that are the Turkish teapot set and the water pipe. The two objects are important, because as well as being traditional items, they both are used to mark a social territory and identity, more than an individual one, in our modern lives.

The starting point basically is to divide the two points of view in looking at the modern subject and the material world surrounding him. The first view is suggested by the important figures like Adorno, Debord or Baudrillard who depict a rather pessimistic scenario for the individuality. I would like to put Lefebvre and De Certeau (and may be Braudel, but not as opposite, as he is an historian) at the other side, lighting hopes of light in the dark narratives of the previous. Accepting all as true in their own contexts, and realizing that the design profession being an important actor in this "culture industry," this thesis is about the ways and which certain "tactics" is displayed and enacted in the everyday life of the individual.

Metaphorically speaking, this thesis is about the yellow hexagonal Stabilo pens with black corners that are used by the devoted walkman listeners to rewind their

cassettes by placing the pen that fits perfectly inside the hole for turning; it is about the plastic boxes at the groceries' being the same size with the LP's, and used for storing the vinyls instead of oranges at home; it is about every kind of glass jars or durable containers being used for different purposes, like making toys for the children or storing different things; it is about the cut legs of the chair at the stairway (Figure 6); it is about staring at the black girl on the cover of the rectangular *Mabel* chewing gum; it is about catching the start of a film when you open the TV set... It is about all kinds of small, but emotional and exciting, even creative relationships that are constructed between objects and people.

Barthes says that the city center, acting as a running water - may be similar to Deleuze and Guattari's "flow (1983)" - is a place for shopping and confrontation (1994). It is a confrontation both with other people and objects as well. We are platonically attached to lots of objects that we are confronting everyday at the mall. Benjamin is right when saying: "The delight of the urban poet is love – not at first sight; but at last sight. It is a farewell forever which coincides in the poem with the moment of enchantment (1955)." He refers to the man in a Baudelaire poem, passing by a beautiful woman

walking in the crowd of the city. It is a confrontation that lasts with the moment of finding and losing at the same time. This finding and losing could be said to be similar to our confrontations of the objects at the crowd of the mall. The objects of desire could be achieved not on the shiny shelves, but at the periphery. The perfect metaphor is the "untidy child (Benjamin 1979)" and his world of objects:

> Each stone he finds, each flower he picks and each butterfly caught is already the start of a collection, and every single thing he owns makes up one great collection. In him this passion shows its true face, the stern Indian expression which lingers on, but with a dimmed and manic glow, in antiquarians, researchers, bibliomaniacs.... He hunts the spirits whose trace he scents in things.... "To tidy up" would be to demolish an edifice full of prickly chestnuts that are spiky clubs, tinfoil that is hoarded silver, bricks that are coffins, cacti that are totem-poles and copper pennies that are shields (Benjamin 1979, 59).

While the found and lost loves of the city dwellers could be said to be the designed products, the objects are like the appropriated supply of the untidy child, in a world where "warmth is ebbing from things.... We must compensate for their coldness with our warmth if they are not to freeze us to death... (Benjamin 1979)." The one way of warming might be said to be maintained through the act of repetition of the everyday rituals like the habit of tea drinking or smoking *nargile*. Justifying that there is a purpose of every kind of existence by equipping the

objects with meaning that is acted out in the repetitive act of signification. These ritualistic acts inoculate us against the consumer culture, its coldness and mechanic nature, and false desires it tries to evoke. Despite the fact that nothing could escape from the cogs of consumer culture or culture industry, (like the water pipes manufactured in the form of skulls or cartoon characters that are sold in the internet); the "untidy child" can find the spirit that he is looking for, in certain artifacts. This thesis is to argue that being aware of the fact as it is, meaning; despite all the distortions of the values, ideas and specialties that are attached to or aroused from the consumer culture; certain 'objects' with spirits are still out there for the naughty children of consumerism that play with the designed kitsch or pass through the street funfairs; drink tea and smoke, during the course of their everyday lives.

REFERENCES

Adorno, Theodor and Max Horkheimer. 1989. "The Culture Industry:
        Enlightenment as Mass Deception." *Dialectic Of
        Enlightenment*. London: Verso.

Adorno, Theodor. 1991. "Culture Industry Reconsidered." in *The
        Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*.
        London: Routledge.

---. 1997. *Minima Moralia: Sakatlanmýþ Yaþamdan Yansýmalar*. Trans.
        Orhan Koçak and Ahmet Doðukan. Ýstanbul: Metis
        Yayýnlarý.

Adshead, S.A.M., 1997. *Material Culture in Europe and China, 1400-
        1800: The Rise of Consumerism*. London: Macmillan Press
        Ltd.

Aldersey-Williams, Hugh. 1998. unpublished lecture paper. 4.
        Ýstanbul Tasarým Buluþmalarý '98 Seminerleri: Yeni
        Endüstrileþen Ülkelerde Küresel Tasarým Anlayýþý
        Karþýsýnda Yerel Tasarým Kimliði Sorunsalý

Alp, Münevver. 1992. "Eski Ýstanbul Evlerinde Isýtma." *Eski
        Ýstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*. Ed. Ý.Gündað Kayaoðlu and
        Ersu Pekin. Ýstanbul Büyükþehir Belediyesi Kültür Ýþleri
        Daire Baþkanlýðý Yayýnlarý 7. Ýstanbul: Ýstanbul
        Büyükþehir Belediyesi Kültür Ýþleri Daire Baþkanlýðý

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. 1988. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Asa Berger, Arthur. 1997. *Bloom's Morning: Coffee, Comforters and the Secret Meaning of Everyday Life*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Barthes, Roland. 1993. "Göstergebilim Ýlkeleri. *Göstergebilimsel Serüven*. Trans. Mehmet Rifat and Sema Rifat. Ýstanbul: Yapý Kredi Yayýnlarý.

Baudrillard, Jean. 1981. *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. NY: Telos Press.

---. 1990. *Revenge of the Crystal: Selected Writings on the Modern Object and its Destiny, 1968-1983*. Ed. and trans. by Paul Foss and Julian Pefanis. London, Sterling: Pluto Press .

---. 1996. *The System of Objects*. Trans by James Benedict. London, New York: Verso.

Bennet, David. 1990. "Wrapping up Postmodernism: The Subject of Consumption versus the Subject of Cognition." in *Postmodern Conditions*. Eds. Andrew Milner, Philip Thomson and Chris Worth. NY, Oxford, Munich: BERG.

Benjamin, Walter. 1955. "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire." *Illuminations*. Ed. Hannah Arendt. Trans. Harry Zorn. London: Pimlico. 152-196.

---. 1979. *One Way Street*. London: NLB

Bocock, Robert. 1992. "Consumption and Lifestyles." *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity*. Eds. Bocock, Robert and Kenneth Thompson. London: Polity Press in Association with the Open University.

Bosoni, G. and Andrea Nulli. 1996. "The Invisible Chain: Anonymous Design and its Diverse Manifestations." *Ottagono: Industrial Design Quarterly*. Volume: 118. Milano: Italy.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bozyiðit, Ali Esat. 1993. "Nargile." *Dünden Bugüne Ýstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. Vol:6. Eds. N. Akbayar et.al. Ýstanbul: Kültür Bakanlýðý, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfý. 45-46.

Breckenridge, Carol A. 1999. "Foreword". *Public Culture: Society for Transnational Cultural Studies*. Millenial Quartet, Volume I: Alter/Native Modernities. Guest Ed. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar. Duke University Press.

Campbell, Colin. 1987. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford: Blacwell.

Calinescu, Matei. 1987. *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Castiglioni, Achille. 1996. "Function as Form." *Ottagono: Industrial Design Quarterly*. Volume: 118. Milano: Italy.

Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly and Eugene Rochberg-Halton. 1981. *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 1999. "*Adda*, Calcutta: Dwelling in Modernity." *Public Culture: Society for Transnational Cultural Studies*. Millenial Quartet, Volume I: Alter/Native Modernities. Guest Ed. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar. Duke University Press.

Chaney, David. 1996. *Lifestyles*. London, NY: Routledge.

Cohen, Anthony P. 1985. *Topluluðun Simgesel Kuruluþu*. Ankara: Dost.

Davidoff, Linda L. 1987. *Introduction to Psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Debord, Guy. 1995. *The Society of the Spectacle*. Trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith. NY: Zone Books.

Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. 1983*. Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Eco, Umberto. 1967. *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomigton: Indiana University Press.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. 1995. *Osmanlý Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaþam: Ortaçað'dan Yirminci Yüzyýla*. Çev. Elif Kýlýç. Tarih

Vakfý Yurt Yayýnlarý 48. Ýstanbul: Tarih Vakfý Yurt
        Yayýnlarý.

Frisby, David. 1985. "George Simmel: First Sociologist of
        Modernity." *Theory, Culture & Society*. Vol 2, No 3.

Game, Ann. 1991. *Undoing the Social: Towards a Deconstructive
        Sociology*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar. 1999. "On Alternative Modernities."
        Public Culture: Society for Transnational Cultural Studies.
        Millenial Quartet, Volume I: Alter/Native Modernities.
        Guest Ed. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar. Duke University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge:
        Polity Press.

Gimpel, Jean. 1976. *Ortaçaðda Endüstri Devrimi*. Ankara: Tübitak.

Glassie, Henry. 1991. "Studying Material Culture Today." *Living in a
        Material World: Canadian and American approaches to
        Material Culture*. Ed. Gerald L. Pocius. Newfoundland:
        Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Greenberg, Clement. 1967. "Avant-Garde and Kitsch." *Modern Culture
        and the Arts*. Eds. James B. Hall and Barry Ulanov. New
        York: Mac-Graw-Hill, Inc.

Hann, C.M., 1990. *Tea and the Domestication of the Turkish State*.
        Modern Turkish Studies Programme, SOAS (School of
        Oriental and African Studies), Occasional Papers 1.
        Huntingdon: Eothen Press.

Heskett, John. 1980. *Industrial Design*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Hobsbawm E. and Ranger T. Eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iþýn, Ekrem. 1993. "Kahvehaneler." *Dünden Bugüne Ýstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. Vol:4. Eds. N. Akbayar et.al. Ýstanbul: Kültür Bakanlýðý, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfý. 386-392.

Jarman, Neil. 1997. *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland*. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Joy, Annamma and Melanie Wallendorf. 1996. "The Development of Consumer Culture in the Third World." *Consumption and Marketing: Macro Dimensions*. Eds. Belk, Russel W., Nikhilesh Dholakia, and Alladi Venkatesh. Cincinnati, Ohio: South-Western Publishing.

Kanafani, Aida S. 1983. *Aesthetics and Ritual in the United Arab Emirates: The Anthropology of Food and Personal Adornment among Arabian Women*. Beirut, Lebanon: American University of Beirut.

Kýnaylý, Hüsnü. 1965. "Çayhaneler." *Ýstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. Ed. Reþad Ekrem Koçu ve Mehmet Akbay. Volume: 7. Ýstanbul: Ý. Ans. ve Neþriyat Kollektif Þirketi. s:3796.

Kinzer, Stephen. 1997. "Inhale the Pleasure of an Unhurried Ottoman Past." *New York Times*. June 10.

Krautter, Martin. 1999. "We are all Duchamps." *Domus: Arhitecture,*
        Design, Art, Communication. Volume: 811. Milano: Italy.

Lacan, Jacques. 1977. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of*
        Psychoanalysis. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York, London:
        W. W. Norton & Company Ltd.

Lukas, Paul. 1997. *Inconspicous Consumption: An Obsessive look at*
        the Stuff We Take for Granted, from the Everyday to the
        Obscure. NY: Three Rivers Press.

Lee, Martyn J. 1993. *Consumer Culture Reborn: The Cultural Politics*
        of Consumption. London, New York: Routledge.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1996. *Modern Dünyada Gündelik Hayat*. Trans. Iþýn
        Gürbüz. Ýstanbul: Metis.

Manchester, Carole. 1996. *Tea in the East*. New York: Hearst Books.

Marcuse, Herbert. 1964. *One Dimensional Man*. London: Routledge.

McLuhan, Marshall. 1964. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*.
        London: Routledge.

Miller, Daniel. 1987. *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford,
        Cambridge: Blackwell.

Morley, David and Kevin Robins. 1995. *Spaces of Identity: Global*
        Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries.
        London, New York: Routledge.

Mumford, Lewis. 1963. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt
    Brace Jovanovich Inc.

Murdoch, John. 1990. "Foreword." *Household Choices*. Eds. Charles
    Newton and Tim Putnam. London: Futures Publications.

Olalquiaga, Celeste. 1993. "The Pandemoniac Junk Shop of Solitude:
    Kitsch and Death." *The Abject, America*. Usitania: A
    Journal of Reflection and Oceanography. Volume I, Number
    4. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Wickersham Printing Company,
    Inc.

Önel, Emine. 1999. "Nakden Tarih: Osmanlýdan Günümüze Kaðýt Para
    Sergisi." *Arredamento Mimarlýk: Tasarým Kültürü Dergisi*.
    Ocak 1999. Ýstanbul: Boyut Yayýncýlýk.

Picchi, Francesca. 2000. "Jasper Morrison: Nesnelerin Bilimi
    Olabilir mi?" *Domus m,: Architecture, Design, Art,
    Communication*. June-July. Istanbul: Boyut Yayýn Grubu.
    150-157.

Procter, Paul. Ed. 1978. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*.
    London: The Pitnam Press.

Prown, Jules D. 1996. "Material/Culture: Can the farmer and the
    Cowman Still be Friends?" *Learning from Things: Method
    and Theory of Material Culture Studies*. Ed. W. David
    Kingery. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution
    Press.

Putnam, Tim and Charles Newton. Eds. *Household Choices*. London:
    Futures Publicuations.

Reimertz, Stephan. 1998. *Çayýn Kültür Tarihi*. Trans. Mustafa Tüzel.
    Ankara: Dost.

Roth, Rodris. 1988. "Tea-Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its
    Etiquette and Equipage." *Material Life in America, 1600-
    1860*. Ed. Robert Blair St. George. Boston: Northeastern
    University Press. 439-462.

Storey, John. 1996. *Cultural Studies & The Study of Popular Culture:
    Theories and Methods*. Athens, Georgia: University of
    Georgia Press.

Taylor, Charles. 1999. "Two Theories of Modernity." *Public Culture:
    Society for Transnational Cultural Studies*. Millenial
    Quartet, Volume I: Alter/Native Modernities. Guest Ed.
    Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar. Duke University Press.

Veblen, T. 1953. "Conspicuous Consumption." *The Theory of the
    Leisure Class*. NY: Mentor.

Williamson, Judith. 1978. *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and
    Meaning in Advertisements*. London, New York: Marion
    Boyars.