

DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS OF MIDDLE CLASS TURKISH FAMILIES
REPRODUCED THROUGH HOME FURNISHING CONSUMPTION
PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS OF MIDDLE CLASS TURKISH FAMILIES REPRODUCED THROUGH HOME FURNISHING CONSUMPTION PRACTICES

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The purpose of this research is to understand home furnishing consumption practices of middle class Turkish families and the domestic arrangements of objects and participants reproduced through these practices. I utilized practice theory as the theoretical approach in order to discern the complexities and particularities of this context through the lens of practices. Moreover the bundling property of practices and arrangements in literature fits my purpose properly based on the inseparable relation between home furnishing consumption practices and domestic arrangements. This research is conducted on middle-class families in Çankaya region of Ankara/Turkey whose selection is rooted in an interest of theoretically grounded and empirically informed understanding of that context. The analysis based on three main dimensions as (1) practice (2) coexistence and (3) social order of people and things will illuminate the landscape of sociality experienced within informants' homes and families. I utilized qualitative research methods namely in-depth interviews and participant observation for data collection purposes. The findings highlight practices employed by informants and peculiarities of domestic arrangements of their homes and families. Moreover their interactions with the market will be illuminated through practice theory viewpoints.

Keywords: Practice Theory, Family, Home Furnishing Consumption, Domestic Arrangement

ÖZ

ORTA SINIF TÜRK AİLELERİNDE EVSEL DÜZENİN EV DEKORASYON TÜKETİMİ BAĞLAMINDA OLUŞUMU

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Bu çalışma ailelerin pratik teorisi üzerinden ev dekorasyon tüketimini ve bu tüketim pratikleri ile oluşturulan nesne ve öznelere evsel düzenini açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Pratik teorisini, bu bağlamdaki mevcut hususiyetleri pratikler aracılığı ile görmek amacıyla kullandım. Ayrıca literatürdeki pratik-düzen ortaklığı araştırma amacıma, ev dekorasyon tüketimi ile evsel düzenin ayrılmaz bütünlüğü düzleminde hizmet etmektedir. Bu çalışma Türkiye’de Ankara ili Çankaya ilçesindeki orta sınıf aileler üzerinde teorik bazlı ve empirik destekli ilgi ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Amaç doğrultusunda (1) pratikler (2) beraber yaşama (3) insanların ve eşyaların düzeni, ev dekorasyon tüketimi düzleminde incelenecektir. Metod olarak derinlemesine mülakat ve gözlem gibi niteliksel yöntemler kullanılmıştır. Bulgularım ailelerin ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratiklerine ve oluşturulan evsel düzene ışık tutmaktadır. Ayrıca ailelerin pratik teorisi kapsamında pazar ile iletişimleri yorumlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pratik Teorisi, Aile, Ev Dekorasyon Tüketimi, Evsel Düzen

To My Sons and Mom

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Is home (a) place(s), (a) space(s), feeling(s), practices, and/or an active state of state of being in the world?” Mallett 2004

Like Mallett questions, my interest to know more on homes, lead me to uncover its particularities through this study. It is a study that enters the door pointed by Domosh “home is a rich territory indeed for understanding the social and the spatial. It’s just that we’ve barely begun to open the door and look inside” (1998; 276,281).

By pushing that door, I aim to understand home furnishing consumption practices of middle class Turkish families and the domestic arrangements of objects and participants reproduced through these practices. Then studying three interrelated entities as family, home and home furnishing practices, I will be contributing on how understanding material culture makes culture material (McCracken 1989).

In consumer research, family as a consumption unit has been a neglected topic to date and mostly is subject to narrow conceptualizations and several limitations (Commuri and Gentry 2000, Epp and Price 2008). Limitations mainly stem from the individualistic look dominating in current research. In my conception, utilization of practice theory as the theoretical foundation will help to overcome this deficiency. For this purpose, practice theory especially the account of Schatzki (1996) will be utilized to uncover the workings of individuality and sociality within the nexus of practices. And home furnishing as a fertile context will supply all the necessary input for my study due to its richness in detail and embodiment in family life.

Family as a consumption unit; has been prone to narrow conceptualizations and limitations due to mainly focusing on decision outcomes of individuals rather than decision processes of collectivities (Commuri and Gentry 2000). This deficiency which

is the narrow focus on individuals within collectivities not only inhibits us to fully understand family as a whole but may also lead to misunderstandings.

In my conception practice theory as a bridge between individuality and sociality has the potential to overcome that main deficiency. Its strength comes from directing the focus to practices which enables us to uncover the sociality within. Then shifting the lens from individuals to practices opens a field of “arranging-contextualizing coexistence established in practices” (Schatzki 1996, 172). Practices in effect have the potential to reveal the complexities and particularities of families.

Home furnishing as a fertile context is especially meaningful in that “arranging-contextualizing” property. Vast number of home furnishing practices applicable to domestic life of families helps to the establishment of a rich nexus of practices. Moreover the weaving of home furnishing practices into other practices in relation ensures its potential to function as a fertile context. Such that the arrangements reproduced through home furnishing practices become contexts for further practices as well, like the daily activities of family.

In the same line of reasoning, people and settings together experience a change by entering the practice, affected by not only the starting conditions but also the sociality taking place within it. Each practice alters both the participants and the setting. And this is the point which I concentrate on to uncover how the practices bundle with the arrangements, these arrangements of participants and objects. My analysis based on three main dimensions as (1) practice (2) coexistence and (3) order will illuminate the landscape of sociality experienced within our homes and families, home furnishing establishing the context. In particular (1) practice analysis will be decomposing home furnishing consumption practices into several classes in order to understand their nature and frequency in family life. Then (2) coexistence analysis divided into several forms will enable to uncover the workings of sociality within the nexus of home furnishing practices analyzed. And finally (3) order analysis which acts as both a result and starting point of practices and coexistences within will be looked at for people and objects. Order will be regarded as “the arrangement of lives that characterizes a

coexistence of them” (Schatzki 1996, 195). So, differential locations of people and objects will be uncovered.

This research is distinct in adopting a multilayered and multifaceted approach to analyze families in their home furnishing consumption practices. By so, it results in a thorough understanding of families through their sociality and ordering dimensions within that context. It is hoped that this research will contribute to the evaporation of narrowness and limitedness both in scope and approach of family consumer research like the prevailing focus on person to person relations (Foxman, Tansuhaj, and Ekstrom 1989), person to brand relations (Fournier 1998) or storage habit to brand relations (Coupland 2005). Through my research I believe that by virtue of practice based analysis interdependence of individuals within collectivities will better be understood and consumption in family will better be uncovered.

I utilized qualitative research methods for data collection and analysis purposes. In order to capture a comprehensive account of middle class families residing in Çankaya region of Ankara/Turkey in that specific context, I supplemented in-depth interviews with participant observation techniques. My data set enabled me to uncover the dimensions of practice, coexistence and order within these families. While handling these data set I was alert that personal and interpersonal “meanings and intentions do not exist separately from the intricate network of socio-historic meanings that have been established by the various sources of cultural knowledge and socialization” (Thompson, Pollio and Locander 1994, 433). For this purpose this study was enriched by looking at the historical development of home furnishing in Turkey. Moreover by applying the “formulaic creativity” construct for home furnishing consumption I was able to locate how resistive-creative were the informants’ consumption patterns. These projections were invaluable for contributing to the existing literature on emerging markets. As this study unfolded domestic spaces, domestic value creation and domestic masculinity were among the notions I had a word to say for that context.

My findings highlighted the particular practices employed by participants in order to reach and sustain order within their families. The interrelation of practice and arrangement bundles is uncovered through the sociality dimension of the nexus of

practices. By so, the circular nature of order within families and settings is highlighted. All in all this practice ontological review enabled to better understand Turkish middle class families in their home furnishing consumption practices and so I would like to underline that the alignment of objects with the flow of life in homes and families can be understood by a deeper understanding of the alignment of coexistences within participants.

For this purpose, the study is organized, in addition to that introduction chapter, by inclusion of an extensive review of literature covering both home furnishing consumption and several practice theory accounts. Based on the account of Schatzki (1996), I introduce a framework distinguishing the dimensions of my analysis as practice/coexistence/order. Literature review chapter is followed by methodology chapter detailing on the application of the method and context. Authenticity and trustworthiness features of the study are covered through that chapter. Findings are then presented in line with the framework introduced through families which is finalized by discussion and further research chapters.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

As I outlined in the introduction section, in order to understand how the domestic arrangements of homes are reproduced through home furnishing consumption practices of middle class families, this literature section will be covering studies on social collectivities, domestic spaces and domesticity, contextual background and practice theory subsections.

2.1 Social Collectivities

In his 1997 paper, Holt proposes a poststructuralist approach for lifestyle analysis of social collectivities as an alternative to personality/values lifestyle and object signification research methods to highlight nuances in consumption. In home furnishing context he argues the advantage of practice-based view of the poststructuralist approach based on its ability to grasp the details of consumption in a single category. His pointing of the superiority of practice analysis over object analysis is in line with my reasoning for practice based analysis of home furnishing consumption. Only such a view point will enable us to uncover “the particular ways in which people understand, evaluate, use, and appreciate consumption objects across different contexts” (Holt 1997, 335). By analyzing families as units, I follow his emphasis on the requirement of a shift in the unit of analysis from individual to collectivities in order to plumb successfully the social patterning of consumption (Holt 1997). Moreover I share that trying to understand consumption patterns through consumption practices will underscore the importance of a collective level analysis.

Margaret Gilbert (1992), “On Social Facts” argues that “our concept of a collectivity is the concept of a plural subject of action, belief, attitude, or other such attribute. Such subjects exist when people do things together” (17). She discusses the details of “what it is for people to do things together or to share in an action” (Gilbert 1992, 17). She

concludes that for “sharing in an action, it is necessary that the participants express to each other willingness to be part of a plural subject of a certain goal” (Gilbert 1992, 17). For my case the goal will be home furnishing for the members of informant families. Especially the organization of home furnishing practices encompasses the shared goals. Their sharing however is not limited to goals but extends to the material environments as in Belk (2010)’s research.

In “Sharing” article Belk (2010) traces the boundaries of sharing, gift giving and commodity exchange. While doing so he applies an approach based on the familial resemblance of each to its prototype and the two key prototypes suggested by Belk (2007) for sharing are “mothering and the pooling and allocation of resources within the family” (717). In that respect everything we possess in our homes are objects of sharing so home furnishing items in my research context should be analyzed from that sharing perspective. I will engage in not only the sharing of the objects and their implications in domestic consumption but also the sharing of the organization of domestic consumption practice in its affect to the order in our homes. Belk (2010) furthers his work by appropriating sharing with extended self at his remark as “family is held to be the most immediate layer of extended self after the individual, it is also where the greatest amount of sharing takes place” (724). He points that “A family is most apt to use distinct family possessions to define a family self for its members. The key consumption object in this case is the home_ both the dwelling and its furnishings” (Belk 1988, 152). The conceptual distinction between sharing out and sharing in (Belk 2010, 726) clarifies how sharing in is a result of the enlargement of the boundaries of extended self and linked to collaborative consumption. What I understand from these concepts will be materialized in informant homes and shape their sharing possibilities. These possibilities not only define how the settings are established through practices but also how the tensions among participants are negotiated. For instance Belk (2010)’s point on the sharing of food and money within home as two categories where there is extensive research will be treated with consequences as shaping our daily domestic consumption practices.

"Family identity: a framework of identity interplay in consumption practices" by Epp and Price (2008) features the individual, relational and family identity interplay mediated through communication forms and symbolic marketplace resources. Their tool to understand the collectivity shifts the "primary unit of analysis, moving from the individual or household to the interplay of identity bundles in action" (Epp and Price 2008, 60). Besides its advantage in the classification of communication forms, symbolic marketplace resources and moderators of family identity practices, I find the search of sociality and order within the site of practices more tempting. This decision is mainly rooted in the extensive engagement of the framework with identity interplay leaving less room for the practice-setting interplay.

As an expansive application of practice theory for the collectivities in their case, brand communities, I see Schau et al.'s (2009) work illuminating due to "anatomy" and "physiology" of practices uncovered. Their use of (1) procedures; (2) understandings; and (3) engagements for the anatomical analysis of practices is in parallel with my Schatzki based practice organization set-up. In my case the "anatomy" of practices is analyzed through (1) understandings (2) rules and (3) teleoaffective structure which is another facet of the same meaning. By "physiology" they concentrate on the gear-like interaction of the practices. And their aim is to uncover the ways value within communities is created. And it is at this level that my study diverges from their inter-practice network. I aim to uncover the settings established through practices by focusing through interaction of the practices, coexistence and order dimensions which are in a sense "gear-like" interaction. So my detailed focus on the sociality and setting dimensions adds more to the understanding of collectivities which is done through practice dimension only in their study.

2.2 Domestic Spaces and Domesticity

Another practice theory application, this time related to the domestic consumption of individuals has been Arsel and Bean's (2013) research as "Taste regimes and market-mediated practice." They define the taste regime which is later equated to the teleoaffective structure as "a discursively constructed normative system that orchestrates practice" (Arsel and Bean 2013, 900). In order to understand how that

regime orchestrates practice; their approach to part the integrative practice of domestic consumption into three dispersed practices has been an effective method which I applied at earlier stages of my practice analysis. By so I was able to see the practices of my informant families' from a different angle. However their individualistic look at the performance of that taste regime can be questioned when we consider domestic consumption as a collective endeavor. I believe we have to extend their study to see that collectivist approach which will hopefully be uncovered by my research.

As an analytical insight what I have included as practice theory-collectivity (Schau et al. 2009) and practice theory-domestic consumption (Arsel and Bean 2013) dyads up until now, I will add Martin, Shove and Southerton (2007) research as a good example of practice theory-domestic space dyad. Their motive behind that research is the fact that practices and material objects co-constitute each other. So they focus on the domestic organization of kitchens and bathrooms in UK. Their starting point has been the influence of technology and spatial pressures on the usage of domestic spaces. I find their study as a very clear application of practice-arrangement bundles which in their words “reflect context-specific arrangements related to temporal and ideological structuring of domestic practices” (Martin, Shove and Southerton 2007, 668). I guess this feature notwithstanding the limitation of the spaces as kitchen and bathroom only, helps in understanding the materiality of social practice. This brings in the argument of context selection as detailed by Askegaard and Linnet (2011). They mention about the tendency in consumer research to focus on the agency of consumers and their identity projects (Askegaard and Linnet 2011, 391). In addition to that trend, they call the necessity of focusing on the material layouts and related practices as proper contexts to understand consumer culture. We hear the same call from Sandikci and Ger (2009) as they point to “the importance of materiality of objects for understanding consumption” (33). So at this respect I would like to, while acknowledging the theoretical positioning of my context selection, take a look at various studies on domestic spaces.

Coupland (2005) refers to the paradox in the case that the invisible brands carrying meaning in the household storage system rather than consumers put meaning on them which is an example of spaces determining consumption habits. Or I see her attaching

the meaning and singularization of objects in home to the wider context of providing for family in stark contrast to what Kopytoff (1986) conceptualizes for singularization. I regard Epp and Price's (2010) research on the storied life of singularized objects positioning somewhere at crossroads of subject and object agencies. In their words "objects, spaces, and identity practices displace one another and peacefully coexist as part of the network" (832). This positioning of their research is evident in their attitude to bind "practices and things to family members as markers of identity" (Epp and Price 2008, 834).

The examination of "discourses and practices of storage and clutter in relation to the social construction of the home in contemporary Britain" by Cwerner and Metcalfe (2003, 229) gives ideas about the "spatio-temporal ordering of home and identity" in its own spatio-temporality. Despite the study's boundaries defined by storage and clutter only, one prominent parallelism with my research is the classification of consumption practices as acquisition, use and disposal. Clutter, starting its definition as a disorder manifestation in their study turns to be accepted as an alternative form of home design based on contingent flow of life through it. This new way of looking at clutter leads me to the "homeyness" phenomenon where "a relative clutter is enjoined" (McCracken 1989). I take this phenomenon as very descriptive of physical, symbolic and pragmatic properties of domestic spaces as fully detailed by McCracken (1989) and will compare and contrast my findings based on their clutter and homeyness notions.

Among that "clutter", Wallendorf and Arnould's (1988) search for "Favorite Things" frequently ends up in the living room of their American informants which is no surprise due to its public face that acts as the best place to manage impression. Living rooms in my research too were the most potent places to uncover the forms of coexistence experienced in domestic consumption practices.

Curasi, Price and Arnould (2004) focusing on individuals' cherished possessions becoming families' inalienable wealth for the American middle class families find out the importance of these heirlooms and keepsakes for the extension of familial values into the future which is not confirming Belk (1990). My analysis on the arrangement of domestic spaces of Turkish middle class families will give a chance to see how

committed my informants are in carrying those wealth. Moreover I will be able to further analyze whether any gender based differences exist on how they handle that issue which is not particularly taken into consideration by Curasi, Price and Arnould (2004).

Gender and class based viewpoints on domesticity are enriched by Moisio, Arnould and Gentry (2013) by their study on productive consumption particularly DIY home improvements serving as the context. They infer two different identity projects as suburban-craftsmen and family-handyman crafted by their cultural capital as high and low respectively. It shows “the value of analyzing home as a masculine arena where men’s family identities intersect with men’s identities outside the home” (Moisio, Arnould and Gentry 2013, 311). In line with this intersection, sociality among wife and husband in domestic consumption of my informant families will contribute to the understanding of domestic masculinities constructed. So the total landscape of practices executed and sociality exercised will tell about the domestic masculinity as a co-construction rather than a class based endeavor only as taken by Moisio, Arnould and Gentry (2013). Moreover their choice of DIY is only one of the productive consumption activities that may be linked to domestic masculinity. Some other activities may be more applicable in understanding how domestic masculinity is shaped in other contexts so a review of domestic spaces and consumption of Turkish families is instructive to be taken into account.

2.3 Contextual Background

My context defined as home furnishing among Turkish middle class families has contextual overlapping fields with the work of Üstüner and Holt (2010) in which they lean their efforts “Toward a Theory of Status Consumption in Less Industrialized Countries”. Toward that aim they define the social class factions based on high cultural capital and low cultural capital to analyze their status consumption strategies respectively. Compared to my interest area, I see them cover not only interior décor but also clothing, home, vacations and shopping to grasp a complete picture of their status consumption. By doing so; they define three peculiarities of less industrialized countries’ status consumption motives as western lifestyle myth, transcending habitus

and indigenizing the global consumption field in contrast to Bourdieu's status consumption theory. Despite the resemblance on the selection of context, my research is quite concentrated on the workings of practices, socialities and domestic arrangements interwork. So at the end my research will contribute in understanding the landscape of consumption field in a LIC from practice based view than status consumption.

A similar study in home furnishing consumption in Turkey is Gürel's (2009) "Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey". Her point as "embodied in the material qualities of home furnishings is distinction" (Gürel 2009, 48) traces Turkish middle class home furnishing modernization process from late nineteenth century through to 1960s. What they uncover from that historical look is the not very straight line of transformation from traditional to modern way of furnishing. In line with that I uncover the dynamics of my contemporary homes as a fusion of modern and classical preferences which are still in effect such that some of the homes exhibit "coldness of a clinic" or "lifelessness of a museum" at extremes. In that respect, it is interesting to locate how traditionalism is persistent in contemporary Turkish homes, in which locales this is transparent and how it is handled by the informants' domestic arrangement choices through their practices.

When it comes to the theoretical justification of my context, it is rooted in the projection of "competently ordinary: new middle class consumers in the emerging markets" (Kravets and Sandikci 2014). So the importance of that context selection will not be based only on the growing number of middle classes as pointed by Myers and Kent (2004) where they see "for the first time, there is a sizeable community of people outside the long-rich countries who have clambered up the ladder into the middle classes and are enjoying a measure of affluence." but mainly on the inherent heterogeneity of the NMCs (new middle classes). Kravets and Sandikci (2004, 129) highlight "The research focus shifts from boundaries of that class to the center of this new social formation." Indeed this fact is evident in the heterogeneous generational and occupational profile of my informants as depicted in Table 1. Moreover by studying home furnishing consumption as my empirical context, I will be able to look at the

middle class sensibilities and further analyze Kravets and Sandikci (2004)'s "formulaic creativity" construct in yet another context as called upon in their further research.

At this point I have to acknowledge that middle class families acting like "communities of practice" where identities and meanings are articulated fashion the socially constructed resources for the self like life narratives with limited capacity to improve structural/positional sources of the self like class position (Elliot 2004). The emphasis on class distinctions in consumption by Bourdieu (1984) is documented in Holt's 1998 paper as "the habitus is an abstracted, transposable system of schema that both classifies the world and structures action. Bourdieu emphasizes that the contents of the habitus are largely presuppositional rather than discursive and that the habitus structures actions through a process of creative typification to particular situations. In Bourdieu's theory resources like cultural capital that are valued in fields of consumption, are naturalized and mystified in the habitus as tastes and consumption practices" (3-4). Another study already mentioned in the preceding lines is the conceptualization of a taste regime "as a discursively constructed normative system that orchestrates practice in an aesthetically oriented culture of consumption" by Arsel and Bean (2013, 900). Their use of practice theoretical approach for capturing the dynamics of taste regime workings helps to see the reflexive engagement of individuals with the regime. Similarly my practice theoretical approach in domestic consumption of families further explores the workings of both individual and collective reflexivity intertwined to each other not only drawn on mediated but also lived experiences.

Ayata (2002) in his research on the suburbs of Ankara deals with the new middle class and its sensibilities pointing on their highly gendered role differentiation. Despite his acceptance of home as a feminine world, he notes association of home and its goods with men's success. So "masculine domesticity involves various negotiations, compromises and conflicts with women in home" (Ayata 2002, 32). As examples of masculine domesticity in the suburbs he mentions about man's corner in the living-room or football in addition to house maintenance and some do-it-yourself activities. As a characteristic of domestic spaces, his notes on the increasing importance and public usage of kitchen shows a consistency with Martin, Shove and Southerton (2007)

research in UK. My research on new middle classes with more urban geographical positioning will give a chance to compare and contrast his findings. Especially his distinguishing two different matching inclinations of women regarding home decoration as unity derived from purchase of a set in contrast to the unity derived from items purchased here and there, will be further analyzed in my research in order to understand whether and in which conditions does “formulaic creativity” construct is applicable for my informants (Kravets and Sandikci 2014). In addition Ayata (2002) points to the “increased privatization of space and time” which leads to a separation of private to family life. My view is that understanding the separation of private to family life through the lens of practice-arrangement bundles gives a deeper understanding than by attributing it to privatization only.

2.4 Practice Theory

I think it is meaningful to start practice theory review by locating its positioning in social and cultural theory with respect to its possible alternatives. For this reason, I will look at Reckwitz’s (2002) classification of practice theory as a cultural theory in comparison with the three other forms which are cultural mentalism, textualism and intersubjectivism. The commonality they share as cultural theories is the way they understand action and social order compared to the two other classical social theories: homo economicus and homo sociologicus. Their respectively purpose-oriented and norm-oriented models of action are not followed by cultural theories in general. Despite that cultural theories focus on “explaining and understanding actions by reconstructing the symbolic structures of knowledge which enable and constrain the agents to interpret the world according to certain forms” in order to understand both action and social order (Reckwitz 2002, 245). Within the borders of this commonality in the understanding of action and order, the main difference among different types of cultural theories lies on the place of the social and the smallest unit of social analysis.

In cultural mentalism, social is located in human mind and the smallest unit of social analysis is mental structures whereas cultural textualism locates the social in chains of signs, in symbols, discourse, communication or texts. Cultural intersubjectivism on the

other hand locates the social in interactions. And finally practice theory places the social in ‘practices’ and treats practices as the smallest unit of social analysis (Reckwitz 2002).

Warde (2005), in order to overcome the potential difficulties of the application of practice theory to empirical grounds “presents an abridged account of the basic precepts of a theory of practice and extracts some broad principles for its application to the analysis of final consumption” (131). In his abridgement he follows Bourdieu (1990), Schatzki (1996), Giddens (1984), and the already outlined practice theoretical mapping of Reckwitz (2002). As a result he conceptualizes consumption as a ‘moment in any practice’ (Warde 2005, 137). By this definition he infers that people consume at any moment in their everyday practices like eating, driving or sleeping. In his work a look at practices outside the borders of practice and an inescapable mode of individualistic perspective is evident. He claims that practice theoretical “view, while minimizing the analytic importance of individuality, does not prohibit the description and characterization of the consumption behaviour of a single individual. An individual’s pattern of consumption is the sum of the moments of consumption which occur in the totality of his or her practices” (Warde 2005, 144). Holt (1997) while reinforcing the collective nature of lifestyles to be composed of patterns of consumption practices likewise underlines the need to understand consumption in “how people understand, evaluate, appreciate, and use consumption objects” (345) through their everyday practices similar to Warde (2005).

Before detailing the particular knowledge of practicing “practice theory”, I will mention convergent and divergent elements among prominent theorists of the field in their conceptualizations of practice theory.

2.4.1 Convergent Elements

Theodore R. Schatzki (2012) summarizes three main commonalities concerning practice theory among thinkers like Bourdieu (1977), Anthony Giddens (1979), Dreyfus (1991), Charles Taylor (1985), Reckwitz (2002), Shove, Pantzar & Watson (2012), and Schatzki (2002). As he classifies (2012, 13), the first common tenet is the description of practice as an organized constellation of different people’s activities. The second

commonality is the idea that important features of human life must be understood as rooted in not the activity of individuals, but in practices, that is, in the organized activities of multiple people. And final commonality is the acceptance of human activity resting on non-propositional something as called know-how by Ryle, skills by Dreyfus, habitus by Bourdieu and practical consciousness by Giddens. As Bourdieu states “the homology of the habitus of actors who grow up and live amidst the same practice established objective conditions also ensures that the actions they individually perform add up to regular, unified, and systematic social practices” (Bourdieu 1990, 59). And Giddens characterizes practical consciousness, the understanding of rules, as a “generalized capacity to respond to and influence an indeterminate range of social circumstances” (Giddens 1984, 21).

In his ‘a primer’ on practices Schatzki (2012) explains the commonalities mentioned above by the commonality of background philosophies of Heidegger and Wittgenstein. Returning to Reckwitz (2002, 250), I see replication of that thought such that, he attaches everything seemingly original in practice theory to Wittgenstein’s late works and Heidegger’s early philosophy. Along with this point, I think an overview of main social-theoretical key terms will be illuminating to understand practice theory in general. For this purpose; Reckwitz (2002) supplies a helpful summary of body, mind, things, knowledge, discourse/language, structure/process and the agent/individual. Reckwitz by defining practices as “routinized bodily activities” reinforces the central role of body in the theory (2002, 251). Moreover these practices embody mental activities connected to those bodily activities. Thus practices are made up of mental and bodily performances. In addition to these two components objects are components of many practices as well. So “When particular ‘things’ are necessary elements of certain practices, then, contrary to a classical sociological argument, subject–subject relations cannot claim any priority over subject–object relations, as far as the production and reproductions of social order(liness) is concerned” (Reckwitz 2002, 253). I guess Warde’s definition of consumption as moments in every practice is based on this understanding of practice theory however for some practices unrelated to objects; he keeps the solidarity of his definition by including consumption of services in addition to objects (Warde 2005, 145). In practice theory based look at knowledge, similar to mind

component we see a non-subjective engagement. This knowledge he states “embraces ways of understanding, knowing how, ways of wanting and of feeling that are linked to each other within a practice” (Reckwitz 2002, 253) and so is collective. Practice theory’s approach to discourse / language is within the frames of discursive practices and does not present a special position. So discursive practices are taken as only a type of practice with their own body, mind, thing and knowledge attributes. Practice theory understands structure by the routinization property of practices such that “social fields and institutionalized complexes – from economic organizations to the sphere of intimacy – are ‘structured’ by the routines of social practices” (Reckwitz 2002, 255). I guess this way of looking to structure rather than a more rigid reality enables practice theory in analyzing social change because of the temporality of this understanding. Again this routinization property of practices enables to understand social order as social reproduction through that social change. And finally agents in practice theory are “body/minds who ‘carry’ and ‘carry out’ social practices” (Reckwitz 2002, 256). However individual is located at the crossing point of a multitude of practices so it is the point where agent turns to be individual. Altogether these social-theoretical terms are located within practice theory forming its common body among theorists and practitioners. And in line with the common practice of citing from Reckwitz (2002, 250), “a practice is thus a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood”.

2.4.2 Divergent Elements

In order to uncover the complete picture of practice theory and pinpoint the rationale behind my particular way of using it, I will delineate some of the divergent ideas among prominent theorists.

Schatzki defines social order as “arrangements of people and of the artifacts, organisms, and things through which they coexist, in which these entities relate and possess identity and meaning” (Schatzki 2001, 61). By this definition, he locates the establishment of order in practices so the arrangements; such that their relations, identities and meanings are determined there. Based on these thoughts he infers, that “practices and arrangements form bundles through five types of relation: causality, prefiguration,

constitution, intentionality, and intelligibility” (Schatzki 2012, 16). He compares his inference with other theorists’ thoughts stating “the conviction that some amalgam of activity and materiality is ontologically and dynamically fundamental to human life is not shared by all practice theorists, for example, Giddens. It is upheld, however, by other practice theorists such as Bourdieu” (Schatzki 2012, 16). Giddens’ unsatisfactory treatment of materiality is found mainly in his position excluding artefacts and materials from structural resources of his practice theory account (Nicolini 2012). This divergence among Schatzki and Giddens regarding how they handle materiality is significant for my research given that I will trace how the arrangements and practices of home furnishing consumption form a bundle and function mutually.

In continuation with the comparison of theorists, I would like to include this quote “Practice as spatiotemporal manifold and practice as do-ing are two aspects of one and the same reality of human praxis. Activity and performance are unified by a single order, consequently, that governs actions at the same time that it organizes practices. In Bourdieu, this order is a system of oppositions, which structures both a practice's space-time organization and the selection of actions by its participants' habitus. In Giddens, the rules and resources actors draw on when interacting within a practice also are the medium through which the practice extends itself over time and space. In my account, finally, the common order is composed of understandings, rules, and teleoaffectivities (Schatzki 1996, 149)” as an example of evident divergences even in unifying convergences of their accounts. Based on the difference among Schatzki and particularly Bourdieu in the way they handle practice organization I find Schatzki’s understandings, rules and teleoaffectivities triad more helpful to capture the interrelatedness of participants than Bourdieu’s construct habitus. Habitus is defined by Bourdieu (1977) as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” which is a product of structures of an environment, generating and structuring practices. By this definition and his subsequent notes on the organization of practices, it is understood that Bourdieu excludes rules, goals and ends from the practice organization leaving understanding alone compared to Schatzki.

Building on the comparison, Laclau and Mouffe conceptualize discourses as totalities of systematically and interrelatedly meaningful actions, words, and things (1985). Based on that definition Schatzki relates discourse to order as “a discourse is thus a structured totality of systematically related, being articulated positions, something highly similar to a social order” (2001, 52) or in other words as “Discourse, is being, while practice is the becoming from which discourses result and to which they eventually succumb” (Schatzki 2001, 53). This seemingly different conceptualization of discourse, order and practice is in full accord with the continuously evolving nature of order through practices.

For Taylor (1985), however practices are not only becoming but also a context, where activities take place. In his thoughts language is an essential constitutive dimension of practices and social orders pronounced by his semantic spaces. All in all because of the better fit of practice-arrangement bundles and practice organization set-up to analyze my data set and research question leads me to the account of Schatzki. So as a practitioner my inspiration to analyze family and its domestic arrangements through their home furnishing consumption from a social practice lens was based on Schatzki's Wittgenstein inspired practice theory.

2.4.3 Schatzki's Account

Schatzki (1996,89) defines practices as temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings formed through three main linkages: 1) Understandings; 2) Rules, principles; 3) Ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions, and moods or shortly “teleoaffective structures” as called by him. He warrants that “For the interrelatedness of participants in a practice is secured merely by the fact that the understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structure organizing the practice govern actions of all participants” (Schatzki 1996, 168). This property of practices opens fields of sociality and social order which will further be delineated below. At this point I would like to clarify the three main linkages in practices by exemplification. For this purpose imagine a person participating in a practice with others whose behavior is governed with a subset of components as understandings, rules or teleoaffective structures just like hers. These subsets may comfortably be depending on the context,

the understanding of ordering, the rule "respect your elders," the project of educating children, and the end of upholding public image in let's say a child rearing practice.

In Schatzki's terminology "The understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structure that organize a practice specify how actions ought to be carried out, understood, prompted, and responded to; what specifically and unequivocally should be done or said; and which ends should be pursued, which projects, tasks, and actions carried out for that end, and which emotions possessed" (1996, 101) when one engages in the practice. So we have to analyze practices as manifolds of actions constituted by any sunset of understandings, rules and teleoaffective structure, namely the practice organization.

Schatzki claims that "practices are the site where human coexistence is established and ordered: All dimensions of human coexistence ultimately refer to practices" (1996, 172). This claim by itself brings the necessity to explicate the meanings of coexistence and order for his practice theoretical account. Schatzki building on the description of coexistence to hanging-together of human lives designated the context constituting coexistence in human life to sociality. So according to him an account of sociality is an account of coexistence simultaneously. He further designates "social order as an arrangement of individuals and objects in which each has place and is positioned with respect to the others" (1996, 171-172). So we can say that there is an ontological relation between sociality and social order.

According to Schatzki (1996, 180) "sociality is not merely a hanging together of lives through mind/action and setting, but such a hanging together as established by and otherwise transpiring within practices. Sociality is essentially an interrelating of lives within practices". Or in other words "sociality does not amount simply to the existence of groups but it also encompasses immersion in practices. For instance, people's lives hang together through reciprocal actions, they also hang together through either common participation in the same practice(s) or interconnected participation in different ones" (Schatzki 1996, 185). As an example take the reciprocal actions of a driver and a pedestrian in which driver stops as the pedestrian steps on the road which consists of both common practice of journeying and interconnected practices of driving and walking.

This way of looking at sociality marks a sharp distinction from prevalent individualistic perspectives. I encounter Blumer (1969) referenced by Schatzki (1996) as an exceptional figure extending individualistic look by his thought as “This world is the actual group life of human beings. It consists of what they experience and do, individually and collectively, as they engage in their respective forms of living; it covers the large complexes of interlaced activities that grow up as the actions of some spread out to affect the actions of others, and it embodies the large variety of relations between the participants” (Blumer 1969). Moreover Epp and Price (2008) refer to Blumer while defining family identity as co-constructed in action to reinforce its anti-individualistic perspective. Despite the closeness of his thought to sociality through practices, we cannot equate them due to his thoughts’ mainly mind and action based nature.

At this point, I urge the need to deepen my analysis of sociality through practices following Schatzki (1996). He classifies sociality into four main forms while disclaiming its potential to grasp all possibilities within life. “A first form of coexistence is the interpersonal structuring of understandings, rules, and teleoaffective orders. This dimension of sociality has two basic forms: commonality and orchestration. Participants’ lives hang together through sameness and difference. A second general form of sociality within practices is one person being the object of another’s life conditions. A third general medium of sociality is settings of action and the spaces established there. When participants act within the respective setting, their lives hang together via the setup of objects in that setting and the common space of places opened there by the organization of the practice involved. The fourth and final form of sociality within a practice to be discussed is chains of action” (1996, 186-191). I will take teaching practice as an example to go over these four forms of sociality to understand its way of working. In teaching practices, lives of teachers and students hang together via the non-independent structuring of the organization of practice like that while teachers’ project of educating children will coexist with students’ end project of having a diploma. As the second form implies, the sociality of teachers and students is facilitated through let’s say the way of understanding teachers have regarding students’ abilities. Third form in turn reinforces the potency of settings like classrooms set-up

where the actions of teaching practice can correctly take place. And finally chains of actions is an omnipresent feature of any practice where the links are governed by practice organization like teacher asking a question, students asking for permission to answer and then teacher selecting one of them all of which defining the way sociality takes place in the spatio-temporality of that teaching practice.

I think all these four forms of coexistence and so sociality within practices should be analyzed deeply for the understanding of order in families and homes through their home furnishing consumption practices in light of the foregoing comments of Schatzki (1996, 195) as “All states of sociality embrace a social order (ing). Whereas sociality is the hanging-together of human lives, social order is the arrangement of lives that characterizes a coexistence of them”. So my aim in understanding how families practice home furnishing consumption, in particular unravelling the domestic arrangement of homes reproduced through these practices can best be addressed by focusing on the sociality within practices. I guess these four forms among participants through home furnishing consumption practices will help to understand the dynamics in reaching and sustaining their domestic arrangements.

In order to issue a full account of Schatzki in practice theory, it is necessary to state about the distinction made by Schatzki (1996) as dispersed and integrative among practices. “Integrative practices” are complex practices which are constitutive of particular fields of social life while dispersed practices are narrower in scale. For instance teaching practice is an integrative one while describing, questioning, or reporting are dispersed ones that can be located and also “dispersed” in any integrative practice. He (1996, 99) points on the importance of “not thinking of integrative practices as assemblages of dispersed practices, which are added together to form integrative ones.” Most importantly he distinguishes them by their governance such that dispersed practices are governed by understandings only however integrative ones governed by understandings, explicit rules, and teleoaffective structure” (Schatzki 1996, 103). This distinction although I did not follow strictly, helped at certain stages of my analysis which I will delineate in detail through my theoretical framework illustration.

Our way through practices, their accompanying sociality and resulting social order leads us to looking at social formations as consisting “a particular intermeshing of particular practices that encompasses a specific, sometimes open set of individuals; and the practices concerned intermesh per states of affairs that have to do with, and for the most part arise from, the carrying-on of the practices involved at certain times and places” (Schatzki 1996, 200). In my case family as a social formation exhibits an intermeshing of particular practices like cooking, child rearing, cleaning, or furnishing practices executed by mostly biologically related households while their practices being governed by states of sociality arising from these practices related to the social positions of members.

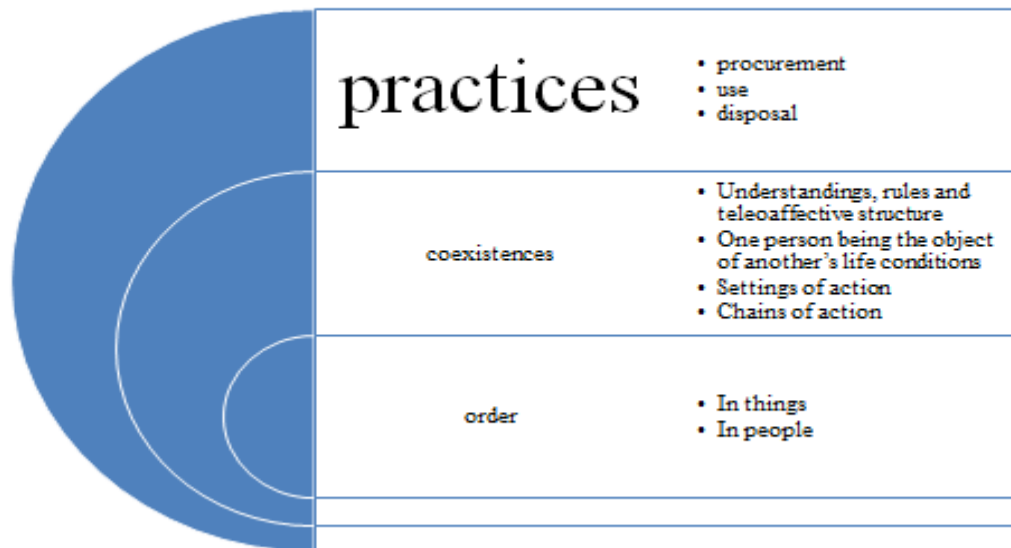
And the last word inspiring my research is from Heidegger (1928) as “Practice is the house of being”. It is no different from Schatzki’s emphasis on the circular nature of subject positions which leads us to look at the becoming property of practices. It is that becoming property that makes “being” possible at any particular time and place.

2.4.4 Theoretical Framework

All in all, my framework will be based on the thought as “timespace is a feature of each activity. It is, however, a social feature of individual activities. It is social because the timespaces of different people’s activities interweave under the aegis of social practices and the material arrangements with which practices are bundled” (Schatzki 2012, 20). I plan to put this thought into work through this theoretical framework, in order to understand the way practices and arrangements form bundles. By then, I will have a chance to make inferences regarding my informant families, their homes and their home furnishing consumption practices.

This will be based on a cross analysis of families through three layers. My roadmap through that analysis will have three main layers, which are practice analysis, coexistence analysis and order analysis (Schatzki 1996). And finally all layers will again merge to one to give a whole picture of family as a social formation and its home furnishing consumption. As a representation I think of a blue print paper with three leaves as a metaphor to describe practice, sociality and order interwork.

Table 1 Practice-Coexistence-Order Layers



As of practice analysis; at earlier stages of my practice analysis, I followed Arsel and Bean's (2013) framework to analyze practices exercised by my informants. However I was cautious while using their framework since I observed several judgments and modifications made onto the practice theory application. First of all while using Schatzki's (1996) dispersed and integrative practices as their framework's building stone, at the same time they made use of a different practice definition which could distort our understanding. They while using Schatzki's dispersed and integrative practices, at the same time utilized Magaudda's (2011) circuit of practice simultaneously. When we think of Schatzki's definition of practice as doings and sayings which are governed by the organization of the particular practice made up of understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures, then this mix/match of the concepts, in my understanding, may lead to mismatches. For instance the ritualization as a dispersed practice which is defined as a link between the objects and doings of the circuit of practice of Magaudda does not give any account of how to link that dispersed practice to the understandings of the practice. I am not confident whether meanings used in problematization phase is sufficient to capture all the required organizational components of practices given the regime defined as the teleoaffective structure alone.

Moreover the ritualization as a dispersed practice is not able to cover all the doings related to objects. I see that most of the doings on the objects are done far from being ritualized but enables the setting to be established for ritualized doings. For instance building a landing strip is a practice onto itself that leads to other ritualized practices.

Under the heading of domestic consumption defined as an integrative practice, I try to illuminate acquisition, consumption, possession and disposition of home furnishing items within my informant families. Taking practice as an “organized constellation of different people’s activities” (Schatzki 2012, 13), I prefer to classify them to see certain trends. I will classify the activities into three groups. First one is the activities done on and about objects until they enter home territory. Second one is the activities conducted as they are at home. And finally third one is the activities done in order to enable their leave from our homes.

For the coexistence analysis; I borrowed the term “coexistence” from Schatzki (1996, 14) which is a hanging-together of human lives that forms a context in which each proceeds individually.

First of all I will be exploring the commonality and orchestration of understandings, rules and teleoaffective structure within my informant families. I think that understandings, rules and teleoaffective structure in families are easy to comprehend notions despite the possible flexibility of the boundaries of family membership.

Secondly I will be looking for one person being the object of another’s life condition as a measure of coexistence. I think power based relations and influences on one another are topics that could be analyzed at that point.

As noted by Schatzki (1996), a third medium of sociality is settings of action and the spaces established there. In order to reinforce the extra importance of that medium for my context, I would like to elaborate on its theoretical standing. By defining setting as a particular configuration of objects that institutes a common space of places Schatzki (1996) makes references to two different dimensions. First one is the potential of settings to enable certain practices to occur and second one is the potential to establish spaces of places where practices can correctly and acceptably performed. I think this

second type of potential is where the coexistence of participants takes place. As my empirical data is on home furnishing it is affecting the settings by its very existence so I analyze my settings in findings part through a detailed procedure to uncover these two potentials. I will look for both the commonality and orchestration dimensions of that sort of sociality.

And finally I will be seeing the functioning of chain of actions to stimulate and affect coexistence. At this point I pay attention to make clear that chains of action may either be within practices or among them weaving them into nexuses. Chains of actions are applicable to not only integrative but also dispersed practices.

Through order analysis; as Schatzki (1996) states, social order is regarded to be the arrangement of lives that characterizes a hanging together of them. Participants in a practice are clearly not equal within the webs of coexistence opened there. For example at this point I can think of roles like mother, wife, husband that can be analyzed in family life. Or more generally I can restate, Schatzki's identification of a person's identity as the collection of subject positions she assumes in participating in a range of practices.

And I will be building and finalizing my analysis by reaching in fact showing how social order is established in our families and their homes, following the definition of social order as the arrangements people and things through which they coexist, in which they relate and possess identity and meaning through practices (Schatzki 1996).

Finally it may be necessary to restate the central role of practice-arrangement bundles for my research such that practices would not exist without material arrangements (including people) just as arrangements would not exist without relevant practices. This is no different to the already outlined three layers where practice-arrangement bundles are treated through practice-coexistence-order dimensions. And a closing saying for the theoretical part is from Schatzki (2012) as "that practices effect, use, give meaning to, and are inseparable from arrangements while arrangements channel, prefigure, facilitate, and are essential to practices" (16) which is starting point for us to find out the "how" of that bundling.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This methodology part will be scaling the research along several dimensions which expediently will give way to authentic and trustworthy findings and conclusions. These dimensions are based on McCracken (1988) highlighting areas of controversy within qualitative methodology.

Qualitative methods are best suited for studies in which the emphasis is on analysis and description of qualities and meanings of entities and processes (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). By taking qualities and meanings together, I take the very distinctive nature of qualitative inquiry which focuses on differences in qualities that make differences in meanings.

In a similar line of reasoning, when the aim is to elaborate on and gain a better understanding of how social reality is constructed and social order achieved in everyday discursive practices within an existing cultural and institutional structure as highlighted by Moisander and Valtonen (2006), then qualitative research will reveal meaningful results.

In the light of those remarks; the reason for the utilization of qualitative techniques in my research is no surprise rooted in my research aim. My interest in understanding how families practice home furnishing consumption and produce domestic arrangements can only be uncovered through the related cultural talk to be generated and interpreted. As Moisander and Valtonen (2006) point ‘cultural talk that is generated through interviews and focus groups is rather taken as a complex cultural, socio-psychological product, constructed in particular, context-specific ways to carry out relationships and to constitute what is real, true and good in a particular community’ (69). For these purposes in mind I utilized multiple methods without adhering strictly to any particular tradition of qualitative research.

My analysis based on three main dimensions as (1) practice (2) coexistence and (3) order, asks for the study of cultural practices and meaning production which can only be achieved through qualitative research. By so, I can capture the emic accounts and experiences of my informants. Moreover the practice-arrangement bundles in my research, ask for the naturalistic nature of the setting observed in order to understand informants use of space. Apart from the practice-arrangement bundles, the sociality dimension of my research necessitates a “thick description” of the practices employed by informants and peculiarities of domestic arrangements of their homes. So the context-specific and rich nature of data needed and knowledge produced purports qualitative research.

3.1 Context

My context as middle class families in Turkey needs to be contextualized properly in order to address its peculiarities. Turkey is a fertile ground as Keyder (1997) points for the theoretical understanding of peripheral development due to its historical trajectory. For a broad look at that trajectory we have to note the social relations at class level. Due to the absence of a landed class when the Ottoman Empire dissolved the “coexistence/conflict” between the bourgeois class and bureaucratic class was in favor of latter which constructed a new-nation state (Keyder 1997). This newly constructed Turkish Republic was dominated by statism during the inter-war period. However the post-war era brought about liberalism under US hegemony with a strengthening of bourgeoisie. So we see an emergence of a class out of national development and import-substitution during the 1960s and 1970s. This closed mode of economy opened up as the neo-liberalism took the lead in 1980s and resulted in dramatic changes both in economic and cultural spheres. The economic changes were the strengthening of capital owners and working class which shaped the composition of new middle classes together with cultural expositions based on globalization and modernization. This overview will give us clues regarding the subjectivity of our context based on its historical trajectory underlying the possible differences from Western middle classes.

Specifically, Gürel (2009) gives us a chance to look at the historical traces of home furnishing in Turkey. Her standing point as “Consumption of Modern Furniture as a

Strategy of Distinction in Turkey” looks at the westernization of furniture choices revolutionized by Republican reforms. This movement was followed by the influence of US culture in the aftermath of war context. However modern look was not inherited by all, such that "classical style” was still a preference for some upper middle class citizens.

The same NMC (new middle class) has been the subject of Ayata (2002) in his “The new middle class and the joys of suburbia” research where he notes that “in middle class houses, both in the suburb and the city, not only the parlour, as was the case in the past, but the whole house, both as a place of beauty and physical welfare, has been an object of consumption and is on display” (35). In dialogue with that study I will be able to uncover the effects of modernization, and gender roles on the establishment of ‘new’ consumption practices of those ‘new’ middle classes.

3.2 Research Sample

I followed ‘less is more’ principle as stated by McCracken (1988) so to work longer with less people in order to capture emerging cultural categories within my research confines. My approach to sampling has been an iterative one, such that I started data analysis as soon as the first piece of data has been generated. Thanks to that approach I was able to evaluate the emerging interpretations in the preliminary phases of the research which lit my way to my further purposeful sampling decisions. As of the end of the research if I have to name my sampling strategy it has been a selection of confirming and disconfirming cases as classified by Patton (1990). Then my sampling frame entailed families with variation across age, profession and life stage. This strategy was helpful to reach richer and deeper understanding of the phenomenon while increasing the credibility of my study at the same time.

I interviewed 5 middle-class families living in Çankaya region of Ankara. These are families with dual bread winners who are professionals, academicians or business owners. They have incomes to afford a house in an urban gated community and inform this place to be their best places they lived in echoing this to be a personal achievement of a middle class family. These families were selected among direct and indirect social

ties of the researcher by the techniques mentioned above within the borders of that gated community. This selection definitely brought about both some weakness and strengths to the sample. The convenience based on time and effort is added to the ability to control various factors by limiting the selection within this mostly secular oriented community. Moreover the researcher as an insider in the community acted both as a strength and weakness which was utilized properly by extracting its advantages as a participant. The sample finally turned out to be families with diverse backgrounds and professions apart from their seemingly close economic resources (Table 2). Peculiar to my research study taking family as the unit of consumption, there were varying numbers of individuals interviewed in each of the five families depending on the circumstances of the interview. Together with that reasoning the relatively small number of the sample was not a problem at all since the research was justifiable from trustworthiness and authenticity standpoints based on the methods used in data generation and interpretation which will further be addressed in detail later on. We have to remember that in qualitative research the focus is not to show whether the cultural practices are widespread but rather to uncover how these practices are produced culturally. Generalizability is not a problem of qualitative research since it aims to understand the taken for granted but poorly understood cultural practices (Moisander and Anu Valtonen 2006, 28).

Table 2 Informant Profiles

		wife	husband
Family 1	occupation	academician	academician
	parent	stay-at-home	some college
	parent	health officer	civil engineer
Family 2	occupation	civil engineer	civil engineer
	parent	stay-at-home	teacher
	parent	teacher	teacher
Family 3	occupation	lawyer	business owner
	parent	stay-at-home	teacher
	parent	Business owner	business owner
Family 4	occupation	logistics specialist	civil engineer
	parent	tailor	lawyer
	parent	officer	chemical engineer
Family 5	occupation	pharmacist	eye doctor
	parent	tailor	stay-at-home
	parent	foreman	foreman

3.3 Data Collection Methods

My data collection methods mainly have been ethnographic interviewing and participant observation (field notes and photographing). My rationale for the selection of the particular data collection methods was based on the peculiarities and limitations of my research study. I used ethnographic interviewing and participant observation to discern sociality experienced in consumption practices of informant families. Since my consumption sphere was selected as home furnishing, the field turned out to be the stage and mean of the study. The in-depth interviews and observations conducted in the informant's homes helped us to grasp an in-depth interpretation of practice-arrangement bundles (Schatzki 2012, 16). Following the first feature of ethnographic research explained by Arnould and Wallendorf (1994) as sociocultural patterns of action are resistant to transfer to other research settings, this research based its data collection in natural settings, the homes.

3.3.1 In-depth Interviews

The interviews were conducted by me lasting about sixty minutes on average. They were audio recorded and fully transcribed. Number of transcribed pages reached to a total of 100.

Following the in-depth interviewing conventions, I selected a passive attitude by only initiating general questions and probing when needed. I was well aware of my subjectivity in the interviewing process so I tried to follow a reflexive approach as much as possible. As Moisander and Valtonen (2006) note reflexivity referring to the constitutive role of the researcher in the production and explanation of knowledge, I took data collection and writing as tools for the incorporation of this approach such that fieldnotes taken after interviews were analyzed through his understanding. All the ethical requirements were followed as I asked permission for the recording and photographing as well. Informants were informed that their names will not be used in the research document. All interviews were done in informant's homes occasionally performing preliminary and group interviews.

As a result of the unstructured nature of the interviews I did not strictly follow the interview guide (Appendix A) rather relaxed the rules of the interview to open up way for the informants to express themselves as fully as possible. For instance open-ended questions regarding the informants' selection and arrangement of objects within their homes while routing the interview simultaneously increased the richness of the data collected. However the general questions and all probing were aimed to capture the dynamics of sociality experienced while re-routing the interview of any possible unrelated directions. All in all the interviews were designed and executed to elicit the emic accounts of informants together with their possible overgeneralizations, metaphoric glosses and claims of idiosyncrasy (Arnould and Wallendorf 1994).

Due to the flexibility introduced to the interview set-up by audio recording the researcher felt free to master her observational goals during the interview period.

3.3.2 Participant Observation

Observation was a serious integral part of my data collection process by the very fact that understanding the meaning of the setting, home, is crucial for my research aim. The home of the informants where all the interviews took place was the natural setting of the informants with no doubt and enabled me as a researcher to observe what they mentioned about during the interviews. Moreover the observant families being neighbors to me added too much to the “thickness” of my observation just like a participant (Geertz, 1973). It was so notable that even months after my interviews I was able to follow their home furnishing consumption practices either by conversations on or visits to their homes. Their decisions to purchase a new item, change a newly purchased one or a change in the layout were instances I shared with my informant families which I then incorporated to my analysis.

Artifacts of my observations were either in field note or still photography form. These were the forms both suitable and available taken the characteristics of the setting and the research. Both of the forms were intended to record the otherwise unrecognizable details of the data as naturalistic as possible. For these purposes I took field notes and included them to my transcribed interview data for each interview comprising my feelings and early interpretations about the observation. A total of 50 still photographs were taken at different points of informant homes to supplement my overall data.

My triangulation effort by using multiple methods should be accepted as a strategy that ‘adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to the inquiry’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:8) than a way to reach the ‘single truth’. This motivation is in line with Arnould and Wallendorf (1994)’s motivation to use multiple methods to reach disjunctures which are differences between perspectives from different data sources. In the light of that awareness I recorded my observations which are done at the field (informant homes) during the interviews in field notes and visually in photographs. My extensive observation in the field helped me to see people’s behaviors, their use of objects and interactions with others. Photographs were used to add detail and nuance to field notes. Together with the interview data, using multiple methods enabled me to develop etic interpretations from emic perspectives.

3.4 Data Analysis

In my perception data analysis is more than just a step to reach interpretations. It is there even at the very moment I decide on the research question. In other words, analysis of data starts as the research question begins to unfold in our imagination. Then anything done to reach interpretations and theories will constitute analysis of data.

Before going on the details of my data analysis, I note that theory in my understanding has been shaped by Bourdieu's (1977) notion as referring to a system of ideas or statements explaining some phenomenon. In addition to that I followed Alvesson and Kärreman's (2011) advocacy of using existing theory to build new theory in this research study. By so I was able to fuse practice theoretical viewpoints into consumption practices of families with the empirical material generated in my research.

Data collected in the form of interview data, field notes and visual data (Collier J., Collier 1986) are put in dialogue with the theory to give way to a complete and rigorous analysis and interpretation. I took advantage of hermeneutical circle as a methodological process for interpretation of my data set (Thompson, Pollio, and Locander 1994). For that purposes I began with a careful reading of already transcribed verbatim texts in order to familiarize myself with the data followed by coding of meaningful units of data. The codes generated were initially stemming from the "raw" data following the conventions of grounded theory (Glaser 1998). However in the subsequent iterations of coding process new codes were added from various sources like researcher's experience, prior literature or the cultural text itself. My coding of the thematic units which had a very wide range spanning from assumptions, metaphors, repetition of words, actions and relations to cultural themes like social relationships enabled me to see categories and patterns in the data set. As the patterns started to unfold I tried to attach meanings to these patterns in order to reach interpretations and possibly new theoretical contributions. For instance through my analysis I come up with different strategies employed by my informants in order to handle the tensions among themselves as participants of home furnishing practices. The way I was able to reach the patterns like inclusion of extended family members in furnishing practices or limiting the inclusion of other participant to be the last chain of action were based on comparing

and contrasting the strategies across informants. In order to uncover the piecewise and holistic features of my research on the domestic arrangements reproduced through home furnishing practices of families I took advantage of Schatzki (1996) based framework introduced in literature section. This framework on the analysis of practices, coexistences and orders within families and homes was utilized as a methodological tool for the establishment of link between theory and data together with its feeding to the better understanding of the patterns. By so I was able to see the whole picture of family as a social formation through home furnishing consumption practices. In the following lines I will delineate that form through the procedure detailed below.

At this point I will introduce my procedure to analyze the physical properties of settings and their potential for enabling further practices. As defined by Schatzki (1996) “practices as spatiotemporal manifold and practice as doing are two aspects of one and the same reality of human praxis” (148). In line with this disclosure, I will find applicable combinations of practice-setting-time factors which turned out to be eight out of possible range. The table below summarizes all the eight alternatives as follows:

Table 3 Practice-Setting-Time Factors

Alt No	Practice	Setting	Time
1	Same	Same	Different
2	Same	Same	Same
3	Same	Different	Same
4	Different	Same	Same
5	Different	Different	Different
6	Different	Different	Same
7	Different	Same	Different
8	Same	Different	Different

In a need to verbalize alternative 1 we have to understand it as the same practice like reading a book is exercised in the same setting let's say the family room at different times of the day. In a similar fashion, alternative 8 is the same practice as reading being done at different settings this time like study and family room at different times of the day. I have to note that these alternatives already imply more than one person and accompanying coexistence. I am interested in the way these alternatives are furnished by domestic consumption practices of my informant families. When analyzing these alternatives I have to be dealing with the alternative in considering that 2 of the 3 factors are the limiting factors. For example in alternative 4 the participants need to practice different practices at the same time and this alternative points on the option of doing it at the same setting compared to different settings. Due to the balance in the physical conditions of observant families' homes, I will take setting as an option rather than a limitation.

During my analysis I was alert not only to what is in text but also what is missing since I took these missing lines as clues of particular culture's assumptions. Moreover the repetition of idea circles was informational for me through my interpretations.

Whenever needed, I included quotes from interviews as exemplars of descriptive pieces of my interpretations. Categorizations named by the informants were handled carefully in order to uncover the related meanings attached to them since I took categorization as a fundamental rhetoric strategy. By so I was alert to their strategies in order to manage impression and resolve conflicts.

From the very start of analysis I was cautious to non-negligible pre-understandings so I tried to de-familiarize myself from the phenomenon as much as possible. Not only coding and all the following steps but also writing itself was utilized as an analytical tool by itself to interpret the data.

My attitude to interpretation has been to accept it as a mean rather than a target. I therefore appreciate that any data is subject to multiple interpretations and each one of them are new ways of unfolding reality. Moreover they enable to diversify marketing strategies based on ethnographic understanding gained through interpretations.

3.5 Trustworthiness

Wallendorf and Belk (1989) build their work “assessing trustworthiness in naturalistic consumer research” on the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985) by extending their criteria. Their work not only includes integrity to credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability set of criteria set by Lincoln and Guba (1985) but also suggests several techniques for assessing fit with all these criteria. Among their suggested research techniques I will evaluate the ones applicable to my research. First of those is prolonged engagement and persistent observation (Wallendorf and Belk 1989, 71). Since the context I study is within my home culture I was empowered to delimit engagement time. However, this advantage was handled carefully in order not to fall the trap of too familiarity. So both the in-depth interviews and participant observations were designed based on that purpose. These data collection methods mutually secure the triangulation efforts across methods which contribute to the trustworthiness of the research. Triangulation effort in my research is further ensured across sources by interviewing all the members of the families in most of the cases. The third type of technique utilized extensively during my research was debriefing by the supervisor. It, no doubt added too much to the credibility of my interpretations. And finally the interviewing techniques such as probing, reframing, self-revelation were all employed in the naturalistic setting of informants to reach integrity as much as possible.

Returning to my starting commitment; I would like to comment that the positioning of researcher, data and respondent within qualitative research designates the objectivity of the research in the following dimensions as clarified by McCracken (1988); (1) the intimacy of the researcher to the culture studied may provide both insight and blindness (2) the data generated may swing between thickness to messiness (3) the respondent may oscillate between dependence to independence.

I think an effective application of field research and documented ethnographic decision making notions will respectively lead to the elimination of both validity and reliability problems as inferred by Kirk and Miller (1986).

3.6 Limitations

This study while aiming to understand families and their homes through home furnishing consumption practices relied on the spouses as the main participants of so called practices. The exclusion of children from the analysis for the sake of simplicity, at certain instances, may have served as a limitation which should be noted. Plus, given the contemporary shifts in household formations, family as a domestic unit may not represent all such formations.

While acknowledging that the sample size of the study could be enlarged in order to increase variation across the informants and simultaneously add to the richness of the data, through my extensive engagement with data collection and analysis phases I was able to maintain the thickness of my data. However given the limited confines of a master's thesis this should be taken as a consequence of a preliminary study subject to enrichment. For instance longitudinal study of home furnishing consumption practices of families could be a research design that could be applied and could end in a deeper understanding of the phenomena however the limits of this study do not allow this to be an option.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Bounded by my research question to uncover the domestic arrangements of middle class Turkish families reproduced through home furnishing consumption practices, my findings are informative of their practices and arrangements while their coexistences acting as the dynamics of that process. In other words while the domestic arrangements are the realities of those families at a particular time and space, they are in motion through the practices while their coexistences defining the direction of that motion. So in this section, I will trace the patterns in my dataset by the help of the theoretical framework I already introduced. Then inferences regarding my informant families and their homes through home furnishing consumption practices will be made to reach truthful accounts on how these practices are negotiated among the participants, what is the role of tradition in their practices, what is the extend of multiplicity and multi functionality in their arrangements and how creative are our families in their practices. The three layers in the framework as practice, coexistence and order will help to uncover these findings as we move from one to another of these metaphorical blueprint paper leaves.

4.1 Home Furnishing as a Negotiated Staking

Home furnishing practices through my analysis turned out to show some negotiations taking place between the participants, namely husband and wife of the family. As Belk (1988) points the key consumption objects to be shared among family members is “the home_ both the dwelling and its furnishings” (152). Together with them food and money as noted by him are major shared items as well. Then in line with my commitment to uncover the sharing possibilities I prefer to attach that tension to staking. Staking as taken one of the community engagement practices in Schau et al.’s (2009) study defines the borders of member’s engagement with the related practices

based on their stakes. Since husband and wife are not located at the same point in their order within family it is expected that they will have specific domains of participation. Moreover I see second form of coexistence which is one person being the object of another's life conditions as classified by Schatzki (1996, 189) to be "most experientially significant and obvious forms of sociality" in full effect shaping these negotiations among my informant families. Now I will comment on the patterns of activities taken in response to these not always overlapping domains and life conditions.

4.1.1 Inclusion of Extended Family Members

As an example to that pattern; husband of Family 1 defines himself as a person 'not interested in shopping at all' and that positioning of the husband puts his wife in a condition responsible for almost all the shopping activities and mostly leads her replace husband's absence in that practices by her sister:

Interviewee: we purchased this living room furniture together but normally my husband hates to do shopping so I usually go shopping with my sister or I go by myself, he rarely accompanies me, he does not prefer to spend time in shopping at all.

In addition to the above quote wife mentions about several occurrences for inclusion of the sister of wife in most home furnishing practices as "we went to carpet store which my sister knows well with her", "we go with my sister, my husband rarely comes in order to carry the stuff" or "I do not remember where but we purchased the kitchen table with my sister." Likewise in Family 5 case, a reflection of the salient feature of everyday life as 2nd form of coexistence implies, takes place in their home furnishing practices. Wife of Family 5 not only takes all responsibility and load of the practices due to her husband's lesser time and interest in home furnishing but also mostly asks help from her daughter who does not live in the home where furnishing is done. So I felt from the interview data that wife has never been confident about what her daughter advices but still used it as a replacement of his husband's limited engagement in the practices:

Interviewee: this fabric was delivered in one month, it has a different texture, I especially was interested in a color a little darker than this, salmon pink. My sister helped me as usual. She said give up that color mom it is not good so I

listened her but now I think it would be better match with my curtains if I purchased the salmon one

Interviewer: then she changed your mind at that instance

Interviewee: ya mom she said this color is nicer it is nice but I think it did not match with the other pieces.

Or:

Interviewee: this style is a reproduction of my daughter's sofa. She advised me to ask help from Zeki Usta. Then he custom made this entire sofa set based on my daughter's sofa model. I purchased the upholstery from Epenge, it is a chic one you see it turned to be nice but still I miss my older ones.

In relation to these quotes I would infer that the settings should best be shaped by the inhabitants. For instance in the Family 5 case the daughter who does not live there anymore may help her mother however her help may in some instances hinder their further practices since she is not a participant of those practices. This idea is another way of saying that practices and arrangements bundle. I think home furnishing seems to have some peculiarities like the size of investment or the longer duration of usage that we prefer to share with others in any case.

4.1.2 Market as Remedy

In Family 2, wife knowing her husband's distance to spending time in stores eliminates most of the alternatives beforehand by the help of internet or personal visits to stores. She accommodates the absence of her husband in those prior visits by working on the items with the sales staff closely:

Interviewer: what about your shopping visits to stores?

Interviewee: do you know what, first I go alone, my husband is not interested too much, I do the preliminary search either online or by visiting stores then at the final phase we go together to purchase.

So in Family 2 case their main "other" in home furnishing consumption has been market especially the salespeople:

Interviewee: for us sales people are important, for instance in Lazzoni we liked the sales person such that she influenced our decisions a lot, we had a good contact and purchased so many items from that particular store. She showed all feasible alternatives by a quick grasp of our taste and even gave advices when I asked for like color choices and mostly we followed her advices.

Or:

Interviewee: it is like that, in Lazzoni let's say she is shopping for cushions and all of sudden she decides on a weird color for the small ones

Interviewer: to make a chance

Interviewee: then you think it is not appropriate but thanks god the saleswoman warns her that this color won't go nice you see sometimes they do a big job.

Just like inclusion of extended family members, I find market acting as a remedy to be an alternative to the best possible solution which could be reached within the dynamics of sociality in between the husband and wife. As a negative case to market as remedy but a positive case to my point is Family 4:

Interviewee: it is like we never purchased from a furniture store only when we shopped for our first furniture by then we never go and buy from showrooms we ourselves decide on the color of pieces, their ergonomics and everything else we have them custom made.

At this point I would like to point to the difference on which grounds you search for customization in marketplace. It could be the mutual product of two parties as in the previous quote or merely for a "uniform/consistent" piece search:

Interviewer: you then do not buy the pieces as they are in the showroom and ask for small modifications

Interviewee: yes yes especially the fabric, we asked changes for fabric, for the legs of sofa set, we wanted to match them with the dining set, the same form and the same material.

4.1.3 Last Chain of Action

The 4th form of coexistence being the chains of action enabled me to see the details of interactions among family members within home furnishing consumption practices. An example for a clear chain of actions in the domestic consumption of Family 2 has been wife initiating the process, husband including at the final stage and advising as any changes in wife's perception occurs. Or in Family 3 case, chains of action as a coexistence form has been husband starting the market search individually and informing his wife whenever he finds a suitable alternative. At this point wife gets a chance to see that particular alternative and share her ideas. And then a so called "common" decision can be given:

Interviewee: there is a small café in the furniture mall named Anse, we wait there with my son while my husband visits the furniture stores and calls me whenever he finds something he likes. By then I go and see the particular items since it is not possible to go every store with my son, he does not let us to shop comfortably.

A similar chain to Family 2 is experienced in Family 4 as wife initiates a home furnishing purchase idea followed by her search of the market, then husband joins the search team when a suitable item has been found and finally they together decide on the further phases of the process. More or less a similar chain in Family 5 has been as wife starts her extensive market search mostly accompanied by her daughter and any decision is only then shared with the husband to get his final approval:

Interviewee: I searched a lot by myself and made my decision with my elder daughter which is usually the case since we live in the same city

Interviewer: your husband

Interviewee: at the final point he shared his idea as well, I never do decide alone but fabric selection for upholstery all belonged to me taking approval of my daughter, my husband was not there since he works whole day. However, big items are always purchased after his confirmation.

These chains of action of my informant families in their home furnishing consumption practices give clues regarding how they negotiate the staking in those practices. As it was barely evident in the 4th form of coexistence layer analysis among my informants, last chain of action mostly where husbands are included in the home furnishing practices functioned as a way of negotiation. By the help of that action not only the sharing of money was mutually exercised but also the organization of practice commonality among members was generated.

4.2 Tradition as a Negotiated Practice (in living room set-up)

Following Schatzki (1996) in his thoughts on tradition as “Participation in practices and immersion in language and tradition in fact amount to the same if tradition is understood as the continuation of past practices into the present (the continuing presence of the same practices) (183), I like to treat the past to present usage of living rooms in Turkish families as a negotiated practice. As Gürel (2009) points in her historical analysis of Turkish home furnishing, traditional roots keep their existence together with the modernization process of the country. These traditional roots may

either be in the form of objects or the settings. For instance she mentions about “dead rooms” in houses quoted from Orhan Pamuk’s Istanbul novel where they were “set up as little museums for visitors – some of which were imaginary – whose arrival time was uncertain, rather than as comfortable spaces where the inhabitants could pass time in peace, such was the concern for westernization” (52). So in the following lines I will trace these roots, how they are negotiated and what are the implications for the participants and spaces.

4.2.1 No Usage

Family 1 prefers to keep their living room set-up for guests or in their words:

Interviewer: where does your living room stand in relation to your daily activities? How do you use it?

Interviewee: we do not use too often because of our occupations, as academicians we do study at nights as well. So my husband has a study room for himself after dinner he studies there we prepare for the next day or grade the papers and I study mostly in the family room I put all my stuff on the sofa and study there. So since we always study we do not come and spend time in the living room.

Interviewer: then you do not share that space

Interviewee: we study at separate places, occasionally come together in the family room to drink something or watch a film on TV so our living room turn out to be a place for guests only because of our occupations.

Even though they attribute the minimal usage of the living room to their occupational time and space needs still we are faced with a room as the only newly furnished room awaiting its guests just like in the novel.

Through my analysis of the first form of coexistence which together establishes the organization of the practice Family 1’s above quote exhibits an interesting example for the commonality of the so-called organization of domestic consumption. The wife and the husband together act for the decoration of their living room for the end project of hosting guests in a newly furnished environment with a common taste that is stated as ‘simple and calm’:

Interviewee: yes, our previous furniture were worn out, when purchased this apartment we decided to furnish the living room with new furniture and transferred old sofa set to the family room after upholstering

Interviewer: ok

Interviewee: ye we purchased all new furniture for that room with my husband, new dining set from Koleksiyon and new sofa set from an Italian store

Interviewer: Casa

Interviewee: yes casa, we decided on to have nice and modern designs, not too much classic furniture we agreed on, you see everything around is nice and simple.

The quote, while representing how a commonality in the organization of the practice through participants is articulated within the practice, also gives a chance to make inferences regarding this commonality. As underlined by Wallendorf and Arnould (1988) living rooms exhibit two characteristics which are its public face and gender neutrality seems to be in effect in that practice for the impression management and expression of social identity.

4.2.2 Partial Usage

A different type of setting and usage of living room was observed in Family 4 and Family 5 where they partitioned the space into formal and informal sections. I take this way of usage as a standing in between the past and present practices. There is still an appreciation of traditional ways renewed to adapt present. What needs to note at this outcome has been the demand for that particular arrangement to be originating from husband in both families. So it is as well indicative of the way how domestic masculinity is exercised through the proper usage of a setting based on the empirical context of this study as home furnishing in arranging settings. It turns to be another picture of domestic masculinity construction in Moisio et al. (2013) reinforcing the role of context to extend prior theory in a different dimension. In the following quote from Family 4 we can see that it would be the case as in Family 1 given that husband does not involve in the practice:

Interviewee: we did not prefer to set the most spacious room for guests only. You remember it was like there was a room spared for guests cleaned time to time while waiting for guests locked for the inhabitants of home. It was almost forbidden to enter there

Interviewer: it was something good for the woman of home in case somebody comes unexpectedly

Interviewee: I think the largest part of the house should be utilized properly. People should live there I shared my idea with my wife then she accepted so we always live in our living rooms we are at the living room where there is a guest or not

Interviewer: was it possible that it would be the other way in case your husband does not ask for this arrangement

Interviewee: ya it was a high possibility it was like that in my mom and my husband's mom home we were raised like that.

Whereas the above quote is informative of how Family 4 comes up with such a practice via an orchestration of practice organization I would like to include the following quote based on the articulation of a commonality of practice organization.

In the case of Family 5, the commonality of the organization of practice was evident in their shared understanding and plan that the family should not establish a separate family room instead use a portion of the living room for their daily activities:

Interviewee: my husband asks to use every especially the nicest spaces of the house. He is fully right, nowhere should be kept for guests only, so we want to use every square foot available

Interviewer: then you agree with him

Interviewee: yes I think the same way; I have to use my living room for myself not for guests only.

The preceding quotes in conjunction with the past-present-future dimensionality of practice intelligibility show that while the commonalities and orchestrations of practice organization limit the possibilities to be practiced, it is the collaborative performance of collectives that defines whether to continue or break the ties of the dimensionalities of tradition.

4.2.3 Unintentional Usage

A third type of setting usage can be named as unintentional usage. In Family 2 and Family 3 cases they set up their living rooms without any prior decision on usage. They furnish the rooms with mostly market-determined pieces. In Family 2's husband's words, "We won't buy such pieces anymore at that time when we married we thought that it is a must to buy them however as we live within we understood that we do not need them" the point is so evident.

This brings me to the importance of thinking objects that are combined into settings which facilitate the practices that you intend for. Similarly a living room set up with modern pieces in purchase and planned to be used in the traditional way turns out to function as a family room according to the practices of family members where they need to make temporal adjustments in which nobody is happy and satisfied with:

Interviewee: I would prefer to use that place as a guest room however my son turned out to watch the TV in that room he spoils the room my husband does not spoil that much he wants to eat something while watching or he wants to do his homework here then the rooms turns to be messy and I do not like it

Interviewer: any modifications you did after that new way of usage

Interviewee: yes this cover on the sofa which my husband hated or we relocated the coffee table it was at the corner but now my son leans his back against it while watching in fact I want to use it in the middle of the room when the guests come since my son may scratch it I feel nervous if I do not let him lean it then he prefers to eat on the sofa which is worse.

I will handle these spatial and temporal adjustments in depth for the settings established by my informants in the following multi functionality and multiplicity subsection while acknowledging for this subsection that tradition is always somewhere in our minds however how much of it is practiced depends on the circumstances defined by practices.

4.3 Multifunctionality or multiplicity

The third form of coexistence where the “settings of action and the spaces of places established there” (Schatzki 1996, 189) has been subject to my extensive analysis. The reason is the two folded relevance of practice-arrangement relation in my particular context. As delineated in the literature section the practices and arrangements (in this case settings particularly) form bundles and have thick relations based on causality, prefiguration, constitution, intentionality, and intelligibility. In a need to point on the difference of arrangement and setting I have to take note that setting is a particular configuration of objects whereas arrangement includes humans in the configuration in addition to objects. In my study this relation is so remarkable since my informants’ purpose in performing domestic consumption practices is to establish spaces literally. So it gives a better chance to make inferences regarding their domestic consumption practices based on the practice-arrangement relations.

With a twist in my analysis to the family based frequency of the exercise of the previously detailed alternatives of the procedure in the literature section and moreover for the sake of simplicity and logical reasoning, my focus has been on the potential of the observed homes to enable the practicing of same and different practices at the same time either in same or different settings.

For Family 1, I observed setting of spaces to enable practicing same activities at the same time at different settings. For instance their furnishing a separate study room for the husband and a study like family room for the wife is an example of that case. For the exercise of different practices at the same time I saw limited availability in the family room only. In Family 2 the settings were established for the enabling of the same practices at the same time at the same setting. For this purpose as an example there was only one TV in the house located in the living room. However the potential to exercise different practices at the same time at the same setting was limited like that there was a children table present in the living room to enable playing practices while the toys are put on the dining table. Family 3 was more or less straightforward in their furnishing spaces to enable same practices at the same places and different practices at different places. So when they happened to practice different practices at the same setting they had to move objects within the setting. Family 4 was an example for the setting of places to enable both the execution of same practice at different setting and different practice at the same setting. For instance they have TV both in kitchen and living room in case they prefer to watch different programs. At the same time they have set up their living room to be used for both formal and informal purposes. In Family 5 there was more or less a similar setting of the place as in Family 4 case.

As Moisander and Valtonen (2006) note “visible objects and spatial arrangements are all studied as forms of visibility that can be examined to gain an understanding of the wider cultural structures and practices that produce them” (87). In my study I looked at spatial arrangements rather than objects in isolation. In order to maintain commonality in their comparative analysis I have limited my photographic analysis to the living room photographs of the five families. However it is necessary to note that my look at those photographs is limited to see the link to my setting based analysis as Pink (2001) has

pointed out, visuals “may be combined with textual, historical, narrative, statistical or a whole range of other research practices which may intertwine and overlap or link conceptually as the research proceeds” (4).

Each family’s living room has been photographed from several angles. Family 1’s living room pictures exhibits a mix of furnished and unfurnished parcels together with unfinished projects and unintended usage of certain objects and some signs of improper place assignments for some accessories.



Figure 1

Family 1 Living Room

Figure 1 shows a section of Family 1’s living room. In this section there is a light colored oriental rug which is surrounded by objects with different styles. One of these objects is a console table in modern style. There are several pieces of small and fragile home accents placed on top of that console which you would expect rather to be showcased in a cabinet. The next biggest object in that section is a piano which is

played occasionally by their daughter. Their plan to renew it with a bigger one is the main determining factor for the arrangement of this section in this way. They prefer to leave it as spacious and unfurnished to keep some space for their possible future home furnishing practices. And I see four chairs lined up side by side which seem to be some pieces kept from their previous dining sets. The two different styles of those four chairs give us an idea that they probably have had two sets of dining sets before the current one which are memorialized by these chairs. Then, these objects which define that setting tell us how past-present-past is being represented in their living environments.



Figure 2

Family 1 Dining Area

Figure 2 shows the formal dining area of Family 1's living room. The carpet on the floor is a pair of the same carpet which is seen in photograph 1. As would be expected the area is furnished by two main pieces which are a dining set and a console both in a modern look. What is not expected, are the objects and the textiles. On the console like in photograph 1, there are glass home accents which seem to be improperly placed like

the wine glassware set as a decoration item. The other unexpectedness is the books spread on the table which is covered by a casual tablecloth. It seems that the formal dining set is being utilized as a desk as well.

Family 2's living room is in the form of a more informal shape where different practices are enabled in the expense of orderliness.



Figure 3

Family 2 Dining Area

Figure 3 shows one section of Family 2's dining area where two main pieces located are a console and a matching wall shelf. There is an armchair and a dining chair at two ends of that setting. The wall shelf houses a small number of books, several frames with their kid's photographs and surprisingly two pencil cups full of pens. On the surfaces of the console there exists a bunch of stickers placed irregularly. And what is attention grabbing on the top is a toy car together with coloring papers and pencils. It seems that

this place is being used as an office and a play area which is supposed to be a dining area.



Figure 4

Family 2 Living Room

Figure 4 with less details compared to Figure 3 is taken in the same living room of Family 2. It is a section close to the wide and tall windows. There is a children's table and chair placed near the windows at the corner of the room. What is seen from that angle are a portion of sofa, curtains and carpet all in neutral colors. The curtains are rolled at the sides such that the view of garden is not blocked. It looks like the neutrality in colors together with the nature view give a calming sense to the observer. Family 3 showcases more of a showroom like appearance in their living room due to limited detail and same set of furniture placement. The setting is established to be functioning as more of a formal area, however its potential to enable different practices seems to be limited.



Figure 5

Family 3 TV Corner

Family 5 from Family 3 shows three pieces which are a chair placed near a small size TV put on a round coffee table. The cables of the TV pass through the corner of the TV and the chair as well. The look does not support the idea that this setting is intentionally arranged in that particular way rather it seems that it is at a phase where its arrangement is not finalized yet for some reason.



Figure 6

Family 3 Living Room

Figure 6 from Family 3's living room shows a sofa, a side table and a carpet all in modern style in the foreground and a dining set and a console at the background. What is eye catching in these photograph other than the uniformity in the style of objects are the cables of the phone surrounding the side table and books placed on the dining table. It is like this family is using their dining table as a desk like in Family 1 and cables seem to be an integral part of their home furnishing.

Family 4's living room is very rich and textured at the same time intended to enable varying activities at the same time. It moreover is divided into two sections for informal and formal gatherings.



Figure 7

Family 4 Dining Area

Figure 7 from Family 4's dining area depicts 12 frames with family photographs on the piano and 3 bigger framed pictures on the wall. The picture at the middle shows a couple in romance and the others are nature pictures as a preference of the husband. The piano which is never utilized for its intended purpose as mentioned by the wife is acting like a shrine where the family history can be traced. In addition to the frames there several accessories placed on the piano and the side table on the side of the piano.



Figure 8

Family 4 Living Room

Figure 8 displaying a photograph taken in Family 4's living quarter shows the richness of the details in their home furnishing. In the foreground there are two classical style chairs aligned to each other. There is an ottoman placed in front of the chairs and one of two side tables are placed in between the chairs and the other one at the side. Not only these tables but also the ones seen at the background are topped with several pieces of accessories which are mostly antiques. There is another sitting arrangement at the background which seems to be more in a formal shape where sofas and coffee tables are placed.

In Family 5 living room photographs I see a similar division of informal and formal sections at the same room as in Family 4. However it was less layered.



Figure 9

Family 5 Living Room

Figure 9, similar to Figure 8 shows the formal and informal sitting arrangements of their living environment. In the informal setting which is at the background, there is a comfortable sofa and a reclining chair in front of the TV. There is a picture hanging on the wall of that section which is finished by drapes. The formal section is furnished with more appealing furniture's and accessories. Most of the pieces on the coffee table are silver and are used not only as a decoration item but also as a serve ware.



Figure 10

Family 5 Dining Area

Figure 10 from dining area of Family 5 shows a console table with two layers. On the bottom layer there are glass vases and several picture frames. On the top of the console frames are combined with various small sized accessories. The piece exhibits classical features and a mirror is built in between the two layers. What is seen from the mirror is a hand woven oriental rug finishing the look.

The features of settings analyzed through the procedure and enriched by the photographs, lack mostly the one prominent coexistence enhancing feature which is multi-functionality. I understand multi-functionality of an object or setting in the very design and set-up of the setting built in with multi-functionality in mind. You can use let's say a setting in a way that it was not intended for. This way of usage does not add the setting a multi-functional feature for the only reason that it is used in that way. That feature should be added in the establishment phase of the setting for it to function in a multi and proper way. In other words, a living room set up for guests and dining only

may not serve as a play place for the child. Such a necessity can only be accommodated with temporal and spatial arrangements which may create a tension both for the participants and the setting. However multi functionality could eliminate such a disorder. Schatzki (1996) when specifies the function of practices to open spaces of places where the practices can correctly and acceptably performed sets the theoretical reasoning for that arguments. Moreover he notes that “in these settings people can carry on practices different than those for which the settings were set up. When this occurs, it is much less likely that their lives there hang together through a common space of places” (1996, 189).

4.4 From Creativeness to Homeyness

Practice analysis of informant families enabled me to uncover layer 1 of their existence in home furnishing context. In order to better comprehend the frequency and organization of practices, I followed the classification taking home as the border such that activities done on and about objects until they enter home as class 1; activities conducted as they are at home to be class 2 and finally activities done in order to enable objects' leave from home as class 3. These three classes in respect to each other and along different families gave a chance to compare and contrast each respectively.

Following table includes some examples from each family for each class of practices.

Table 4 Practice-Family Examples

	Family 1	Family 2	Family 3	Family 4	Family 5
class 1	purchase living room furniture as a couple	search market online before checking in stores	search market thoroughly for any furniture item	search for decoration items mostly abroad	search market extensively
	purchase the carpet for the living room together with wife's sister	limit alternatives for electronics item purchases by budget	ask the selected furniture companies to custom make certain features	have beforehand a picture of what is looked for in the market	purchase mostly custom built items

Table 4 (continued)

	purchase accessories from abroad trips	purchase items by the help of sales person	postpone purchase projects when doubt occurs	order custom-made furniture	re-upholster old sofas and chairs
	order a custom made bookcase		reupholster old furniture	replace existing furniture whenever a dislike occurs	order items to be delivered in months
	purchase new bedroom furniture for their daughter			renovate old furniture items when needed	
	purchase most new furniture from an already known brand store			look for antiques	
class 2	keep old furniture in the family room by upholstering	question the match of new ones	decorate family room with the reupholstered sofa and chairs	keep and use heirlooms in their living environments	mix and match old and new furniture
	keep an empty space for the new piano in the living room	consider return or exchange	use some dining chairs as chair in the living room	make purchase decisions based on the size and shape of the rooms in addition to the further practices intended	keep heirlooms in the rooms less often used
	rotate display of accessories in the living room		place the old dining set in the balcony for use	mix and match old and new furniture	decide the layout of furniture by trial and error
				display paintings and photographs extensively	match and use single pieces in similar styles side by side

Table 4 (continued)

class 3	hand the old sofa to a friend in need	hand old items to extended family members	reuse them inside their homes in some way or another	hand to a colleague	transfer all to the husband's mom
	hand the refrigerator to a colleague				transfer to the husband's office
					hand them to the secretary of the office

As my data revealed accumulation of home furnishing practices among my informant families were in class 1 in respect to class 2 and class 3 which I labeled as the practices up until objects come to the home. It can be noted that most of the effort my informants dedicated in their home furnishing practices were to bring in the ‘right’ pieces from market. In other words they direct their time and effort in the purchasing phase well ahead of defining the layout and uses. However as analyzed by Holt (1997) the meanings to consumption objects are attributed by how they are understood and used by consumers in addition to their built-in meanings (McCracken 1986). So the lesser frequency of practices as doings and sayings in class 2 can be taken as a signal of lesser chances to decommodify consumed objects. This limitation in decommodification is in a circular relation to the subjectivity of consumers. I find in my study that this limitation is indicative of lack of ‘bricolage’ in home furnishing practices of my informant families. Since the unique creation representative of a bricolage can best and most be reached through the practices done on objects in the home, its scarcity should be taken as a departure from that construct. This finding is especially meaningful for home furnishing where consumption often requires combinations of goods (Holt 1998).

In order to better qualify this point I am interested in analyzing the “formulaic creativity” construct. Then my interest to test the construct of Kravets and Sandikci (2014) is rooted in the quest to understand how resistive and creative my informants in their home furnishing consumption practices are. For this purpose it may be a good

starting point to summarize what it is meant for. First of all what Kravets and Sandikci (2014) mean for formulaic creativity as a mode of consumption is “working with a standard set of products and rules to achieve individualized and competent, yet ordinary outcomes” (136). Their method to explain it fully is to contrast it with bricolage which is a mode of creative consumption in the West. They conclude that formulaic creativity is different from bricolage such that this is a “rational, planned and regimented process” in contrast to the “improvisational, inventive and expressive nature” of bricolage (136). Based on these explanations and my prior analysis at the practice level my informants tend to express their creativity in a formulaic sense rather than bricolage. For instance “uniformity/consistency” as an emic term seemed to shape most of their home furnishing practices. There was only one family out of all that did not bother about “uniformity/consistency”. And this was the only family at the same time as risk takers to mix and match pieces in order to form settings. As examples of this “uniformity/consistency” sensibility, in Family 5:

Interviewee: I want at least some of the features to match others I want everything like a whole

Interviewee: I upholstered the chairs with a fabric matching to others so I searched a lot and finally found that out.

Or in Family 1 they state, “we wanted to match the pieces so we purchased them since they do not pop up.”

Like in their fashion context, I observed my informants trying to add uniqueness to settings by accessories rather than big pieces. So as noted by Kravets and Sandikci (2014) my informants illustrate most of the sensibilities related to developing countries’ middle classes like managerial rationality or individualization within limits as detailed in the following lines.

For instance, the commonality of the organization of home furnishing consumption practices in Family 2 is evident in their shared understanding for the optimum way to use market. They together prefer to search market alternatives based on their budget first:

Interviewee: in fact we start with a budget in mind and we were able to find solutions within budget in that store

Interviewer: solution that matches your requirements as well

Interviewee: ye I do not know how you do but it is the same mentality for my wife as well, for instance we limited our budget to 10 thousand TL for kitchen appliances, it is a reasonable amount, then you go and search for items adding up to that limit, otherwise you are pointless. It is like when you have boundary conditions in mind then solution is easier to find.

This way of commonality is in stark similarity with Kravets and Sandikci (2014)'s view of "the self as an enterprise to be a managerial rationality implicated in the middle class ontology of existence within limits, whether real or imagined" as materialized by these two engineers in their domestic consumption practice.

While pointing to a certain level of orchestration in Family 2 on how they prioritize the alternatives at hand; husband looking for functionality only, however wife considering to assert certain aesthetic preferences in her final choice, the following quote points to one prominent sensibility of middle classes:

Interviewee: since we are from middle class everything has to have a function anything for a fancy look only has no meaning for us for example we would never place a huge vase in our living environment in case we do so we would plant in tomatoes

Interviewer: or worry that it will be broken

Interviewee: ok we may have aesthetic concerns however it needs to be within the functionality dimension this is the same way from our clothing to home furnishing choices or selection of our cars even shoes.

Middle classes no matter in which locale reside are inclined to make a distinction between luxury and necessary due to their economic and cultural standing whereas a distinction between developing and Western counterparts should be pointed due to their unequal historicity. Laroque (1968) points to the shift from rural production to industrial production where this process in Europe and North America took over two centuries compared to the much rapid transformation in developing countries setting the conditions for the distinction between the two urban middle classes.

Another example of middle class sensibility worth noting in this study's context based on a commonality of home furnishing practice organization was the understanding for both the wife and the husband of Family 3 that extensive search of market and effective

manipulation of it will enable them to reach the best result possible even though they claim to be well aware of the rules of mass market. In the husband's words: "in fact we looked everywhere, almost the same products are being sold everywhere, they have a standard model on which they only make modifications. The one we purchased seemed to be different than the rest."

Their understanding that the market is on sameness but their individual efforts can overcome that problem may be attributed to a middle class managerial approach of looking for individualization within limits similar to as observed by Kravets and Sandikci (2014).

At this point reserving to attribute my findings to class based practices I would like to reinforce the importance of family dynamics in home furnishing practices by the following example of an orchestration of the participants' understandings on what is needed for their house. For instance wife in Family 3 was in search of more homey items whereas husband valued modern look as his first preference:

Interviewee: if it were more of my preference I would use more accessories and more textiles however it turned out to be mostly my husband's choices. I finally got along with his choices since it is easier to use plain items in daily routine especially when you come home from work tired you do not want to be disturbed by details all around.

Then while acknowledging the role of practice intelligibility in the previous quote when it comes to seek any signs of "homeyness" in my informant homes, I would like to say that settings created by formulas rather than expressions do not give so much hope. McCracken (1989) defines arrangements to be "homey when they combine diverse styles of furnishing in a single room. The important principle of arrangement is redundancy and they bring many homey things together into a single arrangement". His analysis of the phenomenon on its physical, symbolic and pragmatic properties shows that there is no simple formula for the creation of homeyness as McCracken (1989) verbalizes. Especially the variable property of homeyness seeks to eschew uniformity and consistency which is the opposite of what my informants searched for. In short an inclination to matching pieces rather than mixing is the main drawback in reaching "homeyness". Up until now only Family 4 showed a mix and match disposition in their

home furnishing practices. Other than them the rest were searching the conformity of “uniformity/consistency”. Even though Family 5 made some attempts to mix and match different forms or fabrics at the same setting, their main judgment scale was whether the setting turned out to be “uniform/consistent” or not.

Two other properties of “homeyness” as detailed by McCracken (1989) which I want to go over are its embracing and mnemonic properties. When analyzing the embracing property he focuses on its dynamic quality from both historical and social point of views. By historical he emphasizes the time required to reach homeyness and by social he highlights the collective nature of accomplishment of homeyness. Both viewpoints are so applicable to my study such that my informants who spend more time and effort collectively come up with more authentic outcomes like in Family 4. This embracing property no doubt is so related to the mnemonic property, through which historicity of objects are appreciated. As Curasi, Price and Arnould (2004) note the keeping of heirlooms or keepsakes are not limited to upper middle classes which Belk (1990) has concluded. In my data as well I observed a visible importance attached to these items however the difference among families was based on what they do with them. Most of my informants especially the wives were trying to keep them in safe places rather than incorporating to their lives. The only case was Family 4 whom used them as living objects in their living rooms. So in other words they were activating the mnemonic property which helps to reach “homeyness”.”Interviewee: we keep so many old and used items in our living environment. We like to live with them you know we do not live to live in places in the coldness of a showroom we like the meaning in them.” All in all it helps them to locate themselves to somewhere and sometime in the world as outlined below.

4.5 Differential Locatedness

Schatzki (1996) describes “social order as an arrangement of individuals and objects in which each has place and is positioned with respect to the others” (171-172). And this order or in other words locatedness is determined within practices through which they coexist. Up until now what I have tried to say within home furnishing consumption practices of Turkish middle class families depict their nature of order for participants

and objects. Their interpersonal ordering in their families together with the ordering of objects in their homes has been plotted by the findings outlined. While doing so the forms of coexistences were incorporated to the study effectively stemming from the fact that the variableness and complexity of these coexistences shapes and is shaped by the arrangements of participants and objects. However confining the borders of the study to one particular practice in our case home furnishing consumption does not have the potential to cover the whole story for Turkish middle class families. People obviously participate in many practices. And each practice equips us with certain subject positions. Let's say husband and wife's position in teaching practices as an academician is something that they bring to their home furnishing practices. For instance, their respectively limited time for such consumption activities defines how they use market. In their words they explain why they limit their market search to only nearby stores due to that reason: "since it is on our route to school, it is convenient and enough number of good stores so we stick to that street only."

Or the respectively disproportional involvement in such practices between husband and wife despite their same social roles in business is molded by the wife's gender based role in domestic environment. Likewise for their furnishing attempts of their respective work spaces I see two very different approaches such that husband prefers to have a custom built private library whereas the wife is ok with studying in the family room with her books on her lap:

Interviewee: since we are academicians my husband decided to furnish the biggest room as a study, we put in wall to wall custom-built bookcase, my books are mostly in the family room, even now there are books all over the sofa. I do study there at nights. You see, we made such a set up in family and study rooms since we study anytime.

When Ayata (2002) deals with the negotiations on domestic masculinity of suburban men in Turkey one of the instruments he observed was the establishment of a man's cave within home which seems to be realized within my informant as well in the shape of a study room. However woman is not interested in such an arrangement since her cave is the whole house in line with the characterization of home as a feminine world. I guess when Ayata (2002) attributes the separation of private to family space to

privatization only does not say so much given the richness of our understanding through the lens of practices.

By these examples I want to reinforce the establishment of order within practices to be not independent of wider practices we are involved such that various social roles molded in different practices. In line with my projection in literature section, I observe Family 1 home furnishing practices establishing an order with channeling of interaction within other practices like teaching in their case.

In a similar way, analysis of Family 2 shows a picture of two engineers with similar backgrounds and family values exercising only minor personal differences in their domestic consumption. I base these difference on their gender based roles and relatively disproportional stakes in home furnishing. Or in Family 3, husband's occupation which is related to home decoration seems to factor itself as a high level of involvement in their home furnishing practices. Wife's respectively passive role enables to form a house which smiles more to the husband than her: "I would prefer something floral like English style so his choices made the room belong to him more than us; he reads there, he stays there whenever he needs silence and tranquility."

Based on my lookup of the practices and coexistence forms within Family 4 their order dimension starts to give clues related to the differential distribution of identities and meanings. They together like the existential meaning in used items, value aesthetics in various forms and never stop meshing each other's point of views. However Family 5's differential distribution was much different which is evident in their practices and forms of sociality emerging as a highly disproportional involvement of the wife and husband in home furnishing consumption practices due to the difference in their understandings and divergent teleoaffective orders within the practice organization.

So by these examples, first I want to reinforce that participants instantiate the normative understanding and intelligibility of practices differentially and end up with differential locations. And secondly we are party to practices in relation to other practices we carry on. This brings us to the acceptance of social field as a weave of practices by Schatzki (1996). While doing so he reminds rug as a metaphor for social life from Wittgenstein.

So this study focused on the home furnishing consumption practices gives us a chance to see the shape and color of this portion of the rug. But as already rationalized it does not limit us not to visualize the whole rug.

According to Schatzki analysis of social formations like family or social structures like classes exhibit only scope wise differences. Otherwise they are all different constellations of practices. Then the differences between micro and macro accounts are attributed to an increase in space, time and number of participants. Now I will delineate two properties of these nexus of practices. First one is the phenomenon of “being one of us” which is shaped by the intelligibility articulated by the participation in a particular set of practices. Then this specification of what makes sense to us defines the borders of us and others. The other property which I would like to name as “heterogeneity” of this formations and structures is rooted on the acceptance of these as a nexus of practices. This way of thought “rejects the presence of well-defined large-scale social unities” (Schatzki 1996, 202) and gives credit to multifarious ways of coexistences in that nexuses.

In sum, my aim to understand home furnishing consumption practices of middle class Turkish families and the domestic arrangements of objects and participants reproduced through these practices is uncovered along; (1) home furnishing as a negotiated staking, (2) tradition as a negotiated practice, (3) multi functionality and multiplicity of settings, (4) from creativeness to homeyness and (5) differential locatedness dimensions. I have discussed these dimensions that characterized their home furnishing consumption practices and domestic arrangements. Hence, by appointing the routinized and normalized nature of practices, my findings illuminated the patterns as well as the arrangements while the coexistences acted as dynamics of that process. So I suggest that the possibility and direction of change in these patterns and arrangements is particularly embedded in the forms of coexistences outlined. Then how much of the normativized is routinized depends on us and others.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

My framework based on practices, forms of coexistence and order has revealed how these layers are functioning autonomously and concurrently to give way to a comprehensive and deep understanding of Turkish middle class consumer's home furnishing practices. My emphasis on the settings was based not only on the empowerment of it as a context for practices or a medium of coexistence but also the very solid outcome of home furnishing itself. Thus I was able to delineate how the practices form bundles with the arrangements, those arrangements of objects including the subjects in a plural sense.

My attitude in that study has been to analyze families and their homes through home furnishing consumption practices by taking a multifaceted approach. Since the very truth of social life to be analyzed from multi perspectives, I tried to see historical, sociological and material dimensions in affect to understand this segment of life. As Hand, Shove and Southerton (2007) artfully state I aimed to explain “choreography of things and people in time and space”.

Their study on how the introduction and accommodation of technological objects alter the usage of domestic spaces in UK show us that the spatial pressures imposed by such objects result in two configurations as multi functionality and multiplicity of arrangements. These two types of configurations have been looked for in my informants' domestic arrangements as well. Multi functionality of an arrangement in my study is not regarded as a solution to a problem like spatial pressures, rather taken as a sociality enhancing property that could be added to a setting with the purpose in mind. As my findings reveal there are consequences of the lack of multi functionality in domestic spaces. Firstly, it may lead to improper usage of spaces. By improper usage I mean the utilization of spaces for the practices that they were not intended for. As noted

in the findings section there is a difference in the usage of spaces for the correct and acceptable performance of practices that the settings are set for. Of course there exists no legal barrier on the usage of spaces for unintended practices. However we should be aware that this way usage may impose some tensions both on the settings and the practices. Settings will be subject to temporal modifications which in my informant accounts turned to be an undesirable thing. For instance clutter is one of such undesired consequences. I see Cwerner and Metcalfe (2003) taking clutter as an alternative form of home design based on contingent flow of life through it or McCracken (1989) ascribing a relative clutter to the informality property of homey settings. These seemingly innocent portrayals of clutter may turn to be blockages of life flow in case the settings do not facilitate the practices performed. The tension on settings will bring about tension in practices which will lead to incompetent performances. For the competent performance of domestic practices, settings should be prefigured for those practices.

In Hand, Shove and Southerton's (2007) study multiplicity of arrangements was observed as another form of solution to changing domestic practices. In my study there were instances of multiplicity of settings or more frequently multiplicity of objects in settings. Even though multiplicity of settings can be regarded as a contributor for the underutilization of resources it may simultaneously be the outcome of the multifunctional way of furnishing. As my findings show TV has been the main object to be multiplied in domestic spaces. My informants locate a second TV set mostly in kitchens for in case situations. This way of multiplicity as I inferred may give way to multi functionality as kitchens turn to be places for both to eat and watch. However for it to lead competent performance of domestic practices it should be a layout designed or implemented by multi parties.

This brings me to the main distinctive dimension of my study, its collectivist approach. In literature, mostly based on the reason of uncovering the particular question more concretely the participants in collective endeavors are analyzed as in isolated camps. For instance in Arsel and Bean (2013) we are faced with individuals decorating their homes by the doctrines of AT community, a web site. I am not very clear what would

happen in case the other parties in their home are not a fan of AT but some other taste regime. However in my informant homes by my extensive analysis especially on the coexistence layer we have a chance to see how the practices and settings are negotiated. For instance by unfolding the first and second forms of their coexistence I was able to diffuse in the main tension points of their sociality in home furnishing practices. In addition to that by the help of fourth form it was easier and clearer to see how they negotiate certain tensions. And finally settings as a form of coexistence and a dimension of order help to visualize the circulating character of order in participants and objects through practice reiterations. We as participants in domestic consumption create settings then these settings have the potential to define what we can practice within comfortably. This enabling character of the setting not only shapes the order achieved at that point in time but also the future direction of our practices either in home furnishing or other practices using that settings. In more solid form I see observant families establish settings that define themselves which subsequently by their enabling character refine the families and give way to further redefinition of itself. Having said the superiority of my analysis especially on the coexistence layer I would like to infer that application of forms of coexistence as in Schatzki's (1996) account could be more extensively utilized in the analysis of collectivities. By so the workings of collectivities could be captured in a deeper grounded nature for the consumer researchers. Both in Arsel and Bean (2013) and Schau et al. (2009) application of practice theory mostly based on Schatzki (1996) is bounded to practices and practice organization where the coexistence dimension is not clearly handled. Rather in Schau et al. (2009) I see an encompassing practice "physiology" to capture the dynamics of mutual value creation. Two points worth noting based on the similarities of my findings within two different collectivities as brand communities and families are the enhancing property of practices for collaborative value creation and adroit performances.

I prefer to handle each separately. Home furnishing as a consumption domain in my findings revealed to have features like the amount of investment and sharing of usage to necessitate the collaboration of multi parties in the process. Schau et al. (2009)'s insights on the collaborative consumption and value creation is generalizable to my study such that firms should collaborate with collectivities and individuals in

collectivities to improve the benefits for both the customers and the firms. As my findings demonstrated market was at instances utilized as a negotiation tool among participants. In addition to that, inclusion of others in home furnishing consumption may be replaced by the market through effective means fashioning that collaboration.

The other dimension of practices has been their enabling power to lead adroit performances. This is referred both in Arsel and Bean (2013) and Schau et al. (2009) in the form of taste regime or brand community participations. These participants are endowed by cultural capital through the practices they perform within these teleoaffective structures. In my study as well this time within family and through home furnishing practices husband and wife are endowed by cultural capital. It is evident that this endowment is not limited to home furnishing but any practice done together. So it is possible to infer that my informants are homogenizing their differences as illustrated in the observant profiles by sharing a multiplicity of practices. At this point I prefer to limit my boundaries with home furnishing only and render that home furnishing practices enjoined mutually lead to adroit performances which may counteract the market by utilizing their created and accumulated value. This is with no question is different than where Arsel and Bean (2013) locate market. In my study I am interested in the ways settings are established through performances of practices in various ways and forms. So the organization of the practices is mostly within home for my informants in comparison to the two mentioned studies.

This brings me to the point that as participants of the home furnishing practices through the forms of coexistence already outlined they set up settings which have something to say about their coexistences as well. Or from another angle the way their coexistences unfolds through these practices have some consequences on the settings. For instance the dominance of orchestration to commonality in the understandings, rules and teleoaffective orders could be an indicative of the way the settings are established and utilized by the families. However this action intelligibility is one facet of the total story. It is as much important on how they handle the world intelligibility pertaining to their being the object of one another's life conditions. If only one of the parties is continuously influential in the definition of life conditions then there is no hope to

expect a balanced ordering of subjects and objects within the final picture. Moreover chains of action could have some break points showing itself in the form of unfinished projects within living environments. No doubt the settings have the full potential to show off all that forms of coexistence. Until now my motivation to show how the practices and arrangements bundle inherently gives way to see how the coexistences and arrangements bundle as well. So by emphasizing the role of forms of coexistence on the arrangements I will reach my claim that any meaning that is not built within the home territories mutually by households will be purchased by its built in features from market. This is no different than saying that objects become singularized way before they enter home by an enlargement of Kopytoff's macro process (1986). When McCracken (1989) mentions about the market corrector role of "homeyness" phenomenon, he just touches on how home based meanings are preferred to market meanings. He describes it as "untouched by meaning that are served up by the meaning manufacturers of a mass society. Homeyness is the record of a life, a particular life, lived without ulterior motive, creating its own meaning for its own purposes". So I would like to note that the alignment of objects with the flow of life in homes and families can be understood by a deeper understanding of the alignment of coexistences within participants. So while we attach meaning to domestic consumption practices of families our motive should also focus on the means they do it collectively.

When we enlarge our focused collectivity from family to middle class as a collectivity it is possible to observe their sensibilities. One such sensibility is the nature of their creative-resistive consumption practices. As studied by Kravets and Sandikci (2014) Turkish middle class consumers exhibit a distinct mode of consumption that they named "formulaic creativity" for their fashion consumption empirical context. My findings in home furnishing consumption show similarities that can be attributed to the same construct. One prominent inclination among my informant families have been their habit of highly prizing consistency and uniformity. This inclination was evident almost in most of their furnishing practices. They were interested in matching fabrics, styles, forms and colors more than anything else. This aspect of their home furnishing not only defined how they used market but also how they set up settings. As a result they highly valued purchasing furniture as ensembles which decreased their chances to loose

uniformity in decorations. No surprise that mix and match philosophy has been far away from their furnishing preferences. Even families that made a try of mixing and matching never seemed to be completely comfortable with their selections. This resulted in less authentic spaces to be generated. Or in other words they seemed to be comfortable by limiting their authenticity to align with the ordinary. In line with my findings my informants furnished their homes bounded by their class sensibilities enmeshed with their in home dynamics.

When it comes to trace how domestic masculinity is present in my informants' home furnishing practices, once more I have to emphasize the strength of my study based on its collectivist viewpoint. I believe that domestic masculinity construction could not be best addressed by considering it to be an individual performance. Moisio, Arnould and Gentry (2013) deal with the subject in such a manner even though they point to the importance of "household dynamics" (313). Especially for HCC men it is not possible in their research to think that their spouses have any influence. However for LCC men to a certain extend the spouses are present in opposition to whom their domestic masculinity is taking shape. However in my informants' accounts it is much clearer on how domestic masculinity is exercised as participants of home furnishing practices. First thing to note is that it should not be taken as a construction as in the mentioned study rather a co-construction. DIY home improvement was not informative of the nature of domestic masculinity for my informants due to its limited application in their urban flats. However most of the observations on the suburban middle classes (Ayata 2002) were present in my informants' related co-construction. Especially their domestic masculinity was most observable in their leading role for defining space usage. Most of the men in contrast to their spouses questioned the traditional way of living room usage and come up with solutions that gave clues about their domestic masculinities.

All these conclusions regarding Turkish middle class families in their home furnishing consumption practices lead us to several implications for marketing. Marketers should concentrate on the ways products giving way to form settings as much as products in isolation. When Kotler (1973) coined the term atmospherics as a marketing tool, it was not being used effectively and efficiently by marketers. However its potential especially

in home furnishing context is promising. For instance the idea of mock room atmospheres in retail environments which is still underutilized may help consumers to visualized products in an integrated setting. This concentration may lead to an increase in multi functionality of products to be used in multi ways. They may market products individually or as part of a solution set. However that solution sets should be tailored for the specific needs of customers and their physical environments. This particularity and contingency approach may lead to better solutions for families in order to stimulate sociality and sustain order within themselves. Moreover it may serve to develop mix and matching practices which could transfer home furnishing to be a continuous process. By so, the ebbs and flows of everyday life through its past-present and future dimensionality can better be addressed. Families not independent from market, set up spaces through their sociality which stimulates the likelihood of performing other practices hopefully in a better way. So marketers may stimulate life through products and settings which stimulate different practice enactments.

A focus on home furnishing consumption practices of families will improve segmentation policies of marketers as well. For instance understanding the chains of action in those practices or in which conditions market is seen as a remedy will help them in better tailoring their market offerings. A practice based view by unfolding the consumption patterns of consumers is critical in evaluating the potential of market to penetrate into their practices. By so market may be acting like an insider by understanding the dimensions of family dynamics in their home furnishing consumption practices.

Moreover the peculiarities of domestic arrangements of objects reproduced by home furnishing consumption practices may guide firms in developing new products to maintain the necessities of settings. Then my findings reveal that there is room for marketers to foster their role in home furnishing consumption practices through a better understanding of practices, coexistences and domestic arrangements.

All in all, my study based on a practice theoretical look at home furnishing consumption practices of middle class Turkish families emphasized both the collectivity and materiality dimensions of consumption in line with my promise in the introduction

section. Then the strength and distinctiveness of my study stems from its search of routinization and change of practices in the coexistences and domestic arrangements present in those practices. It is the place where value is created and performances produced. As a result I hope this study is a step in keeping Reckwitz's (2002) hope in the future of practice theoretical applications to yield some interesting surprises afresh.

CHAPTER 6

FURTHER RESEARCH

My study which pertains to urban middle class families in home furnishing consumption context could be extended further by possible extensions to other locales, classes or consumption domains. For instance future research may examine how lower or upper classes practice home furnishing and which are their peculiar class sensibilities on their consumption patterns.

I would suggest that an expanded practice analysis of families on a wider scale and scope could enlarge our knowledge on how they reproduce order within their families and homes through practices. By so not only the continuity in practices through routinization but also change in practices may be uncovered through practice based views.

Moreover future studies by promoting practices as the unit of analysis could enrich our knowledge on how collectivities consume, especially advancement in family consumption may be expected by this methodological shift. We can reach new implications for managerial purposes stemming from such practice theoretical standpoints.

And finally I would suggest future research to focus on the material dimension of objects for understanding consumption as well as their symbolic dimension which is rather a demanding and prospering filed. In that line, I think that the bundles of practice-arrangements still have too much to say us.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Evinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Eviniz sizin için ne ifade ediyor?
2. Evinizde neler yapmaktan hoşlanırsınız?
3. Evinizin neresinde en çok kendinizi evinizde hissediyorsunuz?
4. Özel eşyalarınız daha çok nerede bulunuyor?
5. İdeal ev tanımınız nedir?
6. Evde nasıl vakit geçirirsiniz?
7. Arkadaşlarınız, akrabalarınız, misafirleriniz evinizi nasıl buluyorlar? Neler diyorlar?
8. Evinizin en beğendiğiniz yanı nedir?
9. Eve taşınma sürecinizi biraz anlatır mısınız?
10. Koltuk takımınızı (ve/veya diğer eşyaları) ne zaman aldınız?
11. Karar verme sürecinizi biraz anlatır mısınız? Bireysel, ikili ve toplu ilişkiler nasıl etkili oldu?
12. Ürün ve marka seçimini nasıl yaptınız?
13. Hangi dükkanlara baktınız?
14. Bu stile nasıl karar verdiniz?
15. Bilgi aldığınız kaynaklar nelerdir?
16. Aile bireyleri arasında görüş farklılıkları oldu mu?
17. Hangi dükkandan aldınız?
18. Marka tercihiniz oldu mu?
19. Yerine nasıl karar verdiniz?
20. Nasıl kullanıyorsunuz?
21. Anlamı nedir?
22. Diğer eşyalarla ilişkisi nedir? Koltuk takımınız ile beraber kullandığınız diğer eşyalar hakkında bilgi verir misiniz?

23. Bu evi diğer evlerden farklı kılan özellik nedir?
24. Salon sizin ailenin en çok zaman geçirdiği yer mi?
25. Ailenizden kalan sizin için özel olan eşyalarınız mevcut mu?
26. Sizden çocuğunuzun evine bir eşya geçmesi sözkonusu olsa hangi eşya olurdu bu?
27. Ailenizde a) bireysel, b) ikili ve c) toplu faaliyetleriniz daha çok hangi mekan ve şekilde gerçekleşiyor?
28. Ailenizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? (... ailesi kimdir?)
29. Ailenizde ev dekorasyon tüketiminde karar verme sürecinde bireysel, ikili ve toplu ilişkiler nasıl etkili oluyor?
30. Evinizde başka ülkelerden/yerlerden obje bulundurmak size neler hissettiriyor?
31. Eviniz, aileniz ve ilişkileriniz hakkında eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Appendix B: TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma da Türk orta sınıf ailelerin ev dekorasyon tüketimini ve bu tüketim ile oluşturulan nesneler ve kişilerin evsel düzenini anlamayı amaçladım. Aile, ev ve ev dekorasyon tüketimini gibi üç bağıntılı ögeyi çalışarak maddesel kültürü anlamamanın nasıl kültürü maddeleştirdiğini McCracken'da (1989) öngörüldüğü gibi bir ölçüde değerlendirmiş olacağım.

Tüketim literatüründe şimdiye kadar bir tüketim birimi olarak aile ihmal edilmiş bir konudur ve çoğunlukla dar kavramsallaştırmalara ve çeşitli limitasyonlara maruz kalmıştır. Limitasyonlar çoğunlukla aile kavramına bireysel bir bakış açısı ile yaklaşılmış ve kaynaklanmaktadır. Benim görüşümde teorik altyapı olarak pratik teorisinden faydalanılması bu eksikliği gidermekte etkili olacaktır. Bu amaçla pratik teorisi ve özellikle Schatzki (1996) bakış açısı ile pratikler ağındaki bireysellik ve beraberlik işleyişi açığa çıkarılması amaçlanmıştır. Ve ev dekorasyonu verimli bir bağlam olarak detaylarındaki zenginlik ve aile hayatına tecessümü nispetinde çalışmama gerekli veriyi sağlamaktadır.

Aile bir tüketim birimi olarak dar kavramsallaştırmalara ve limitasyonlara; toplulukların karar prosesleri yerine bireylerin karar sonuçlarına odaklanılması neticesinde maruz kalmıştır. Bu topluluklar içindeki bireylere yönelen dar yaklaşım sadece aileyi layıkıyla anlamamızı engellemez aynı zamanda bazı olası yanlış anlamlandırmalara da yol açabilir.

Benim bakış açım da pratik teorisi birey ile topluluk arasındaki köprüyü kurarak bu eksiklikleri giderme potansiyeline sahiptir. Teorinin etkinliği odağı pratiklere yoğunlaştırarak beraber yaşama dinamiklerini ortaya koymaya yardımcı olmasındandır. Yani açığı bireyden pratiklere kaydırarak Schatzki'nin (1996) dediği gibi pratiklerin oluşturduğu bir düzenleyen ve bağlamlandırıcı beraber varolma alanı oluşur. Bu durumda pratikler ailelerin barındırdığı karmaşıklık ve hususiyetleri anlamayı mümkün kılar.

Ev dekorasyonu verimli bir bağlam olarak özellikle bu düzenleyen ve bağlamlaştıran özellik nisbetinde anlamlıdır. Ailenin evsel yaşamına katkı sağlayan geniş ev dekorasyon pratikleri zengin bir pratikler ağının oluşmasına neden olur. Ayrıca ev dekorasyon pratiklerinin bağlantılı diğer pratikler ile içiçe geçme özelliği verimli bir bağlam olarak hareket etme potansiyelini sağlama almaktadır. Öyle ki ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratikleri ile oluşturulan düzenler ailenin günlük faaliyetleri olan diğer pratikleri için bir bağlam olmaktadır.

Aynı paraleldeki muhakeme ile kişiler ve mekanlar pratikler yolu ile bir değişime maruz kalırlar ve bu değişim pratik öncesi koşullara bağlı olduğu kadar pratik esnasındaki beraberliğe de bağıntılıdır. Her pratik hem kişileri hem de mekanları dönüştürür. Ve bu nokta benim yoğunlaştığım pratiklerin düzenler ile nasıl bir bütün olduğudur ki bu düzenler hem nesne hem de kişilerin düzenleridir. Benim (1) pratikler (2) beraber yaşama ve (3) düzen boyutlarında ilerleyen analizim ev dekorasyon tüketiminin bağlamı oluşturduğu evler ve aileler içindeki beraberlik iklimine ışık tutacaktır. Detayı ile; (1) pratik boyutu ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratiklerinin çeşitli sınıflandırmalar yardımı ile nitelik ve nicelik dağılımını sağlayacaktır, (2) beraber yaşama boyutu ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratikleri ağındaki çoğulculuğu çeşitli formlar yardımı ile daha net anlamamızı sağlayacaktır ve son olarak (3) düzen boyutu da nesne ve kişiler üzerinden pratikler ve beraber yaşamının başlangıç ve bitişini belirleyen özelliği nispetinde incelenecektir. Düzen Scahtzki'de (1996) belirtildiği gibi beraber yaşamının karakterize edildiği bir yaşam düzeni olarak algılanacak ve kişi ve nesnelerin tefazuli konumları aydınlatılacaktır.

Bu çalışmanın farklılığı aileleri ev dekorasyon tüketimleri bağlamında çok boyutlu ve fazlı ele almış olmasında mevcuttur. Böylece çalışma ailelerin bu bağlamda beraber yaşama ve düzen boyutlarında köklü bir kavramayı mümkün kılmaktadır. Bu çalışma umulur ki aile tüketim literatüründeki mevcut birey-birey ilişkileri (Foxman, Tansuhaj, and Ekstrom 1989), birey-marka ilişkileri (Fournier 1998) ve alışkanlık-marka ilişkileri (Coupland 2005) gibi yaklaşımsal ve kapsamsal sınırların aşılmasına katkıda bulunur. Pratik teorisinin sağladığı etki ile topluluklar içindeki bireylerin karşılıklı bağılıkları bu

çalışmada daha iyi bir kavrama sağlayacak ve aile içi tüketimi daha iyi açığa çıkaracaktır.

Veri toplama ve analizimde nitel araştırma metodlarından faydalandım. Türkiye'nin Ankara şehri Çankaya ilçesinde ikame eden orta sınıf ailelerin kapsamlı bir incelemesini gerçekleştirebilmek adına derinlemesine mülakatlarımı katılımcı gözlem tekniği ile destekledim. Oluşturduğum veri kümesi bu ailelerdeki pratik, beraber yaşama ve düzen boyutlarını açığa çıkarmamı sağladı. Bu veri kümesi irdelenirken Thompson, Pollio ve Locander'te (1994) vurgulandığı üzere anlam ve amaçların sosyal ve tarihi içiçe geçmiş orgüden soyutlanamayacağından hareketle çalışma Türk ev dekorasyon tüketiminin tarihsel gelişim boyutunu da ele alarak zenginleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca Türk ev dekorasyon tüketicisinin tüketim kalıplarının ne kadar direnç ve yaratıcılık içerdiği irdelenmiştir. Bu projeksiyonlar gelişmekte olan pazarları anlamak adına oldukça anlamlıdır. Bu çalışma ayrıca evsel alanlar, evsel değer üretimi ve maskülenlik kavramlarına atıf yapmaktadır.

Bulgularım kişilerin düzen olgusuna ulaşma ve sürdürme ekseninde uyguladıkları belirli pratiklere ışık tutmaktadır. Pratikler ile düzen bağının işleyişi pratikler ağındaki beraber yaşama boyutu vasıtasıyla açığa çıkarılmıştır. Böylece aileler ve mekanlardaki düzenin sarmal yapısı irdelenmiştir. Böylelikle bu pratikler ontolojisi Türk orta sınıf ailelerini ev dekorasyon tüketimi bağlamında daha iyi anlamayı sağlamış ve evler ile aileler içindeki hayatın akışının nesnelerin akışı ve bireyler arası beraber yaşama dinamiklerinin akışı ile bağıntılılığı vurgulanmıştır. Bu çerçevede Schatzki (1996) den hareketle kavramsallaştırmalara çerçeve çizilmiş ve çerçeve güvenilir sonuçlar verecek şekilde uygulanmıştır.

Özetle, orta sınıf Türk ailelerinin ev dekorasyon tüketim pratikleri ve bu pratikler vasıtası ile oluşturulan nesnelerin ve katılımcıların evsel düzenini kavrama amacımı aşağıdaki şekilde sınıflandırdım; (1) müzakere edilen iştirak olarak ev dekorasyon pratikleri, (2) müzakere edilen bir pratik olarak geleneksellik, (3) mekansal düzenlemelerin çok amaçlılığı ve çoklanması, (4) yaratıcılıktan ev gibiliğe, ve (5) tefazuli yerleşiklik boyutları. Çalışmam da ev dekorasyon tüketimleri ve oluşturulan

evsel düzenlemelerini karakterize eden bu boyutları etraflıca ele aldım. Böylelikle pratiklerin rutinize etme ve normalize etme özelliklerini tayin ederek bulgularımı pratik kalıpları ve düzenlemeleri beraber yaşama dinamiklerinin etkisi dahilinde aydınlatarak şekillendirdim. Ve bu kalıplar ile düzenlemeler boyutundaki değişimin ihtimal ve yönünün beraber yaşama formlarının içinde aranması önerimi bu çalışma ile ileri sürüyorum. Yani normalize olanın ne kadarının rutinize olacağına ortak bir süreç ile ulaşıyoruz.

Pratikler, beraber yaşama ve düzen boyutlarından oluşan taslağım bu boyutların orta sınıf Türk ailelerin ev dekorasyon tüketim pratikleri hakkında kapsamlı ve derin bir kavrama sağlayacak şekilde nasıl tekil ve eş zamanlı hareket ettiğini gözler önüne sermiştir. Mekansal düzenlemelere olan vurgum ne sadece bu düzenlemelerin pratiklere imkan veren bir bağlam oluşturmaktan ne de beraber yaşamın bir formu olmasından ibarettir, fakat aynı zamanda ev dekorasyon tüketiminin direkt sonucu olmasındandır. Bu şekilde pratiklerin düzenlemelerle olan bağına sergileyebildim ki bu düzenlemeler hem nesneleri hem de çoğul kişileri içine almaktadır.

Bu araştırmadaki tutumum aileleri ve evlerini ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratikleri bağlamında çok yönlü bir yaklaşımla analiz etmek oldu. Sosyal yaşam gerçekliğinin çok yönlü analiz edilmesi gerekliliğinden hareketle bu yaşam kesitini anlamak için konuya tarihi, sosyolojik ve materyal açılardan yaklaştım. Hand, Shove ve Southerton'ın (2007) ustaca ifade ettiği gibi "nesne ve kişilerin zaman ve mekandaki koreografisi" 'ni açıklamayı amaçladım.

Teknolojik eşyaların varlığı ve yerleşiminin İngiltere'deki yaşam alanlarının kullanımını nasıl değiştirdiği ile ilgili araştırmaları bu objelerin kapladığı alanlara bağlı sorunların iki farklı konfigürasyonla sonuçlandığını gösteriyor: çok yönlü kullanım ve düzenleme çokluğu. Bu farklı iki konfigürasyon tipinin gözlemlediğim ailelerin yaşam alanı tasarımlarında ne şekilde yer bulduğuna bu çalışma kapsamında göz attım. Araştırmamda bir düzenlemenin çok amaçlılığı mekansal darlık gibi sorunlara bir çözüm olarak görülmeyp bir niyet dahilinde oda düzenine eklenen beraber yaşamı geliştiren bir özellik olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bulgularım gösteriyor ki evsel

mekanlarda çok amaçlılığın eksikliğinin beraberinde getirdiği sonuçlar mevcuttur. Öncelikle bu durum mekanın uygun olmayan şekilde kullanılmasına neden olabilmektedir. Uygun olmayan kullanım derken kastettiğim mekanların amaçlanan pratikler dışı kullanımıdır. Bulgular bölümünde belirtildiği gibi alanların düzenlenme amaçları paralelinde doğru ve uygun kullanımı bir fark yaratmaktadır. Elbette yaşam alanlarının oluşturulma amaçları dışında bir amaçla kullanılmasına yasal bir engel mevcut değildir. Ancak şunun farkında olmalıyız ki bu şekildeki kullanım hem düzen hem de yapılan pratikler üzerinde bir gerilim yaratabilecektir. Bu durum görüştüğüm bireylerin ifade ettiği üzere onlar için istenmeyen bir durum olan mekanlarda geçici değişimlere neden olabilmektedir. Örneğin eşyaların kargaşası bu istenmeyen sonuçlardan birisidir. Görüyorum ki Cwerner ve Metcalfe (1989) eşyaların iç içeliğini değişken hayat akışına bağlı alternatif bir ev dizayn tarzı olarak algılıyor veya McCracken (1989) belirli bir miktardaki kargaşayı ev gibi ortamların sıcaklığına ve teklifsizliğine bağlamaktadır. Bu görünüşte masum kalabalık eşya düzeni kullanım amacına elverişli olmadığında hayat akışına engel olarak karşımıza çıkabilmektedir. Eşya düzenindeki oluşan gerginlik yapılan pratikleri etkileyecek ve yetersiz performanslara sebep olabilecektir. Ev içi aktivitelerden verim alınabilmesi için eşya düzeninin buna uygun olarak hazırlanmış olması önem arz etmektedir.

Hand, Shove ve Southerton'ın (2007) çalışmasında düzenlemelerin çokluğu değişim içindeki ev pratiklerine bir çözüm olarak gözlemlenmiştir. Kendi çalışmamda yer yer yerleşim çokluğu ve daha sıklıkla ev düzenlemelerinde nesne çokluğunu gözlemledim. Yerleşim çokluğu kaynakların tam verimli kullanılamamasına sebep olarak görülebilse de bu aynı zamanda çok amaçlı yerleşim şeklinin sonucu olarak da değerlendirilebilir. Bulgularımın gösterdiği gibi TV evsel alan düzenlemelerinde en fazla yinelenen eşya konumundadır. Görüştüğüm bireylerin çoğunlukla mutfaka olası bir ihtiyaç durumuna karşı olarak ikinci bir TV yerleştirdikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu çoklu kullanım biçimi anlaşılmaktadır ki mutfağın hem televizyon izlemek hem de yemek için kullanıldığı bir çok fonksiyonlu mekana dönüşmesini sağlamaktadır. Ancak bundan yeterli performans alınması için mekanın çoğunluk tarafından çok amaçlı bu kullanıma uygun olarak tasarlanmış olması gerekmektedir.

Bu bizi çalışmanın kendine özgü kısmına getiriyor ki bu kolektif yaklaşım şeklidir. Literatürde çoğunlukla belirli bir soruyu daha net bir şekilde açıklamak adına belli bir kolektiflik içinde olan katılımcılar bağımsız kamplarda varolmaktaymış gibi analiz edilmektedirler. Örneğin Arsel and Bean'te (2013) evlerini AT topluluğu isimli web sitesinin doktrinlerine göre dizayn eden bireyler görüyoruz. Bu bireylerin evlerini paylaştıkları diğer kişilerin kendileri gibi AT topluluğu değil de başka bir beğeni rejiminin etkisi altında olması durumunda oluşacak sonuç konusunda muğlakta kalınmaktadır. Halbuki benim çalışmamda görüştüğüm bireylerin evlerinde özellikle beraber yaşam boyutundaki kapsamlı araştırmamda düzen ve pratiklerin nasıl müzakere edildiğini görebilmekteyiz. Örneğin birlikte yaşam biçimlerinin birincil ve ikincil formlarını incelerken ev dekorasyon tüketimindeki beraberliklerindeki ana gerginlik noktalarını açıklayabildim. Buna ek olarak dördüncü formun yardımıyla belirli gerilimleri nasıl müzakere ettiklerini görmek mümkün oldu. Ve son olarak mekansal düzenlemeler hem bir beraber yaşam formu olarak hem de varolan düzenin bir boyutu olarak pratik tekrarlamaları düzeyinde hem nesne hem de katılımcılar için düzenin döngüsel yapısını görmemi sağlamaktadır. Yaşam alanı dekorasyonu tüketiminin katılımcıları olarak bizler mekansal düzenlemeleri oluşturuyoruz ve bu düzenlemeler de içinde rahatça yapabileceğimiz pratikleri tanımlama potansiyeline haizdir. Mekansal düzenlemelerin bu kolaylaştırma özelliği sadece o anda sağlanmış düzeni şekillendirmekten öte, aynı zamanda bu düzenlemeleri kullanacak ev dekorasyon ve diğer pratiklerin gelecekteki şeklini de şekillendirmektedir. Daha net kelimelerle görüşülen ailelerin kendilerini ifade eden düzenler oluşturduklarını ve bunun aynı zamanda kendilerini tanımlamaya ve gelişime elverişli ortamlar hazırladığını görmekteyim. Analizimin yoğunlaştığı alanın bir arada yaşama odaklı olduğunu belirtirken aynı zamanda Schatki'nin(1996) anlatımında olduğu gibi bir arada yaşamın kolektivitelerin analizinde daha kapsamlı bir şekilde kullanılabileceğini belirtmek isterim. Bu şekilde kolektivitelerin dinamikleri tüketim araştırmacıları tarafından daha kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenebilecektir. Hem Arsel ve Bean (2013) hem de Schau et al 'da (2009) ağırlıklı olarak Schatzki kaynaklı pratik teorisi uygulamaları pratik ve pratik organizasyonu kapsamında kalmış beraber yaşama formları üzerinde durulmamıştır. Bundan ziyade Schau et al 'da (2008) müşterek değer oluşumunun dinamiklerini

yakalamak adına kapsamlı bir pratik "fizyolojisi" görülmektedir. Marka toplulukları ve aileler gibi iki farklı kolektivitelerin benzerlikleri olarak bulgularımda ortak değer üretimi ve yeterli performansa yol açan pratiklerin geliştirici özelliği kayda değerdirler.

Her birini ayrı ayrı ele almayı tercih ediyorum. Bulgularım ev dekorasyonunun yapılan yatırımın boyutu ve kullanımın paylaşılması esasından hareketle proses esnasında birden fazla bireyin işbirliğinin gerekli olduğu bir tüketim alanı olduğunu göstermiştir. Schau et al.'daki (2009) ortak tüketim ve değer üretimine dair anlayışlar, firmaların topluluklar ve topluluklar içindeki bireyler ile hem firma hem de müşteri faydasını arttıracak şekilde işbirliği yapması gibi benim çalışmamda da uyarlanabilecek genellemeleri içermektedir. Bulgularımın gösterdiği üzere katılımcılar arasında pazarın bir müzakere aracı olarak kullanıldığı durumlar vakidir. Buna ek olarak, başka bireylerin ev dekorasyon tüketimine müdahil edilme durumu pazarın bu işbirliğini etkili yöntemler ile geliştirmesi ile ikame edilebilecektir.

Pratiklerin bir diğer boyutu ehil performanslara ileten kolaylaştırıcı gücüdür. Bu konu hem Arsel and Bean (2013) hem de Schau et al.'da (2009) beğeni rejimi ve marka komünitelerinin katılımcıları bağlamında işlenmiştir. Bu katılımcılar bu yapılar içinde pratiklere müdahil olarak kültürel kapital oluşumuna vakıf olmaktadır. Benim çalışmamda da bu sefer aile içinde ve ev dekorasyon tüketimi çerçevesinde karı ile koca kültürel kapital oluşumuna girişmektedir. Barizdir ki bu girişim sadece ev dekorasyon tüketimine has değil bütün ortak yapılan pratiklere genişletilebilmektedir. Buradan hareketle veri kaynaklarımın mevcut farklılıklarını çeşitli pratikleri paylaşmak yoluyla homojenize ettiklerine hükmetmek mümkündür. Bu noktada çalışmanın sınırları olan ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratiklerine sadık kalarak belirtmek isterim ki ortak yapılan bu pratikler ehil performanslara sebep olurken meydana getirdiği ve biriktirdiği değerler ile pazara karşı hareket edebilecektir. Bu bakış elbette Arsel and Bean'nin (2013) pazar yaklaşımından farklılık göstermektedir. Benim çalışmam da mekansal düzenlemelerin farklı yol ve yöntemler ile pratikler düzlemindeki performanslar yoluyla nasıl oluştuğu aydınlatılırken diğer bahsedilen çalışmalardan farklı olarak pratiklerin organizasyonu katılımcıların evinde varolmaktadır.

Bu beni ev dekorasyon tüketiminin katılımcıları olarak ailelerin beraber yaşama formu ekseninde mekanları kendi beraber yaşama dinamikleri hakkında birşeyler söyleyecek içerikte oluşturduklarına götürmektedir. Ve ya başka bir açıdan bu pratikler içinde beraber yaşam dinamiklerinin var oluş şeklinin mekansal düzenlemelerin üzerinde bazı vurguları mevcuttur. Örneğin pratik organizasyonu içindeki farklılığın benzerliğe üstünlüğü ailelerin mekanları nasıl oluşturduğu ve kullandığı hakkında ipuçları vermektedir. Fakat bu tüm hikayenin sadece bir kısmıdır. En az bunun kadar önemli olan ailelerin birbirlerinin hayat koşullarını ne kadar belirleme yetisine sahip olduklarıdır. Eğer katılımcılardan sadece bir taraf hayat koşullarının belirlenmesinde etkili ise bu durumda oluşacak nihayi resimde dengeli bir nesne ve özne düzenini beklemek pek olası görünmemektedir. Ve hatta aksiyon zincirlerindeki olası kırılmalar kendisini yaşam alanlarındaki bitmemiş projeler olarak gösterecektir. Şüphesiz ki mekanlar da beraber yaşam formlarını ifşa etme potansiyeline sahiptirler. Şimdiye kadar ki benim pratikler ile düzenlemelerin bir bağ oluşturduğuna dair yorumlamalarım aynı zamanda beraber yaşama formları ile düzenlemelerin de aynı şekilde bir bağ oluşturduklarına götürmektedir bizleri. Şöyle ki beraber yaşama formlarının düzenlemeler üzerindeki etkisini vurgulayarak ailelerin ev içinde ortaklaşa oluşturamadıkları anlamların pazardan hazır olarak alınması durumunu oluşturacağına dair savımı ortaya koyuyorum. Bu Kopytoff'un (1986) makro prosesini daha da genişleterek nesnelerin daha eve gelmeden özelleştirildiğini söylemekle eşseldir. McCracken (1989) ev gibilik mefhumunun pazar düzeltici rolünü ifade ederken aynı şekilde ev üretimi anlamların pazar anlamlarına tercih edilmesine vurgu yapmaktadır. Ev gibilik mefhumunun nasıl kitle anlam üreticilerinden soyut olup hayatın kendi hedefleri içinden oluşup nasıl onun bir kaydı olduğunu anlatmıştır. Yani ifade etmek istediğim nesnelerin bir evdeki ve ailedeki hayat ile uyumlu akışı bireyler arasındaki beraber yaşama akışını anlamak ile daha mümkün olacaktır. Bu durumda bizler ailelerin evsel tüketim pratiklerine atıf yaparken motivasyonumuz aynı zamanda bunu kolektif olarak nasıl yaptıklarının araçları üzerine olmalıdır.

İncelediğimiz topluluğu aileden bir topluluk olarak orta sınıfa genişlettiğimizde sınıfa has duyarlılıkları gözlemlenebilirliği doğacaktır. Böyle bir duyarlılık yaratıcı-dirençli tüketim pratiklerinin şeklidir. Kravets and Sandıkçı 'nın (2014) giyim bağlamında

ortaya koydukları Türk orta sınıfının formüllü yaratıcılık diye adlandırılabilen bir çeşit farklı tüketim modu sözkonusudur. Benim bulgularım ev dekorasyon tüketiminde de aynı moda atıflandırılabilen bir benzerliğin sözkonusu olduğunu göstermektedir. Benim veri kaynağı ailelerim arasında göze çarpan bir eğilim ahenk ve uyuma gösterilen yüksek önemlilik tavrıdır. Bu eğilim nerede ise bütün ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratiklerinde belirgindir. Kendileri kumaşları, stilleri, form ve renkleri uyumlu kılmayı herşeyden öncelikli hedef ve ilgi haline getirmişlerdir. Ev dekorasyonlarının bu yönü sadece marketi nasıl kullandıkları ile kalmayıp mekanları nasıl düzenlediklerini de belirlemektedir. Sonuç olarak mobilyaları takım olarak almaya önem vererek dekorasyondaki uyumu kaybetme risklerini azaltmaktadırlar. Bu durumda şaşırtıcı olmayan karıştır-eşleştir felsefesinin dekorasyon tüketimlerinde yer etmemiş olmasıdır. Öyle ki bu konuda deneme yapan aileler bile hiç bir zaman yaptıkları tercihleri hakkında emin olamamaktadırlar. Bu da sonuç olarak daha az özgün mekanların oluşturulmasına yol açmaktadır. Ve ya bir başka deyişle özgünlüklerini ortalama ile eşgüdüm adına sınırlamakta beşis görmemektedirler. Bulgularım doğrultusunda veri kaynaklarım evlerini kendi sınıf duyarlılıkları sınırlarında ve aile içi dinamikleri esasında döşemektedirler.

Veri kaynaklarımın ev dekorasyon pratiklerinde maskülenliğin mevcudiyet şeklini incelemeye gelince bir kere daha çalışmamın kolektiflik açısından gücü ortaya çıkmaktadır. İnaniyorum ki evsel maskülenlik sadece kişisel bir performans olarak değerlendirilemez. Moisio, Arnould ve Genrry (2013) her ne kadar aile içi dinamiklere işaret etseler de tam da konuya bu çerçeveden bakmamışlardır. Çalışmada özellikle yüksek kültürel kapitaldeki kocaların eşlerinin bu kapsamda herhangi bir etkilerinin olup olmadığını öngörmek mümkün görünmemektedir. Fakat düşük kültürel kapitaldeki kocalar için evsel maskülenliklerinin şekil alışında eşlerinin mevcudiyeti az çok belirgindir. Ne var ki benim çalışmam da veri kaynaklarımın evsel maskülenliği yaşama şekilleri ev dekorasyon tüketiminin katılımcıları olarak daha nettir. Not edilmesi gereken birinci nokta belirtilen çalışmada irdelendiği şekliyle bu mefhumun bir tekil yapıdan ziyade çoğul olduğudur. Benim veri kaynaklarımın oturduğu apartman dairelerinin fiziksel limitasyonları gözünüze alındığında kendin yap ev geliştirme faaliyetleri evsel maskülenliğin oluşum şeklinde çok belirleyici olmamakla birlikte

Ayata (2002) bahis edilen bir çok banliyö orta sınıf duyarlılıklarına benim çalışmamda da rastlanmaktadır. Özellikle evsel maskülenlikleri mekan kullanımını belirlemekteki etkin rolleri kapsamında kendini göstermektedir. Çoğu veri kaynağım kocalar, karılarının aksine oturma alanlarının geleneksel kullanım tarzını sorgulamış ve evsel maskülenlikleri hakkında ipuçları verecek sonuçlar alınmasında etkili olmuşlardır.

Orta sınıf Türk ailelerinin ev dekorasyon tüketimi bağlamındaki bütün bu sonuçlar bizi bazı pazarlama içerimlerine iletmektedir. Pazarlama profesyonelleri bir ürünü bağımsız pazarlamaya yönelmek kadar ürünlerle oluşturulacak düzenlere de ağırlık vermeli. Kotler (1973) mekan düzenlemesini bir pazarlama aracı olarak öne sürdüğünde henüz yeteri kadar verimli ve etkin kullanılmıyordu bu yöntem. Ne var ki bu yöntemin faydalılığı özellikle ev dekorasyonu bağlamında gelecek vaat etmektedir. Örneğin mağazalarda yapma oda atmosferlerinin yaratılması fikrinden hala yeteri kadar faydalanılmamakta olup bu uygulama müşterilere ürünleri entegre bir düzende görme imkanı tanımaktadır. Bu konsantrasyon farklı şekillerde kullanılabilecek ürünlerin çok işlevliliğinin artırılmasına yol verebilecektir. Pazarlama faaliyetlerinde ürünler tekil olarak pazarlanabileceği gibi bir çözüm setinin içinde de pazarlanabilmektedir. Elbette bu çözüm setleri müşterilerin kendilerine has ihtiyaçları ve mekansal verileri dikkate alınarak oluşturulmalıdır. Bu duruma göre değişen bakış açısı aileler için beraber yaşama ve düzen boyutlarında daha teşvik edici çözümlere neden olacaktır. Hatta bu yaklaşım ile karıştır-eşleştir bakış açısı geliştirilip ev dekorasyon tüketiminin bir süreklilik arz etmesi temin edilebilir. Böylelikle günlük yaşamın gelgitlerine geçmiş, şimdi ve gelecek düzleminde daha iyi hitap edilebilecektir. Aileler pazardan bağımsız olamamaksızın başka pratikleri umulur ki daha iyi bir şekilde gerçekleştirecekleri mekanları kendi beraber yaşama dinamikleri ile oluştururlar. Bu durumda pazarlama profesyonelleri başka pratiklerin gerçekleştirilmesini kolaylaştıran ürün ve mekan düzenlemeleri yolu ile buralardaki hayatı da yönlendirmiş olurlar.

Ailelerin ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratiklerine odaklanma, pazarlama profesyonellerinin segmentasyon politikalarının geliştirilmesine de faydalı olacaktır. Örneğin bu pratiklerin işleyiş zincirini daha iyi anlamış olmak veya pazarın hangi noktalarda çare olduğuna hakim olmak daha iyi pazarlama teklifleri sunma fırsatı tanıyacaktır.

Müşterilerin tüketim yönelimlerine bakan bir pratik eksenli yaklaşım pazarın bu pratiklere müdahil olma potansiyelini değerlendirmek açısından da önemlidir. Bu yolla pazar ailelerin ev dekorasyon tüketim pratiklerindeki dinamikleri anlamakla içeriden birisi gibi hareket etme noktasına geçebilecektir.

Ayrıca ev dekorasyon tüketim pratikleri ile oluşturulan düzenlerin hususiyetleri firmalara yeni ürün tasarlarırken düzenlemelerin gerekliliklerini gözünüze alma konusunda yol gösterici olacaktır. Kısaca bulgularım ev dekorasyon tüketimi pratiklerini, beraber yaşama ve düzen boyutlarını daha iyi anlama ile pazarın bu pratiklerdeki etkinliğini artırma konusundaki potansiyele ışık tutmaktadır. Sonuç olarak orta sınıf Türk ailelerinin ev dekorasyon tüketimine yönelttiğim pratik bazlı çalışmam tüketimin hem kolektiflik hem de materyallik boyutlarına vurgu yapmıştır. Yani çalışmamın gücü ve farklılığı rutin ile değişimin arayışını pratikler içindeki beraber yaşama ve düzen boyutlarında aramasındadır. Pratikler hem değerlerin üretildiği hem de performansların sergilendiği yerlerdir. Nihayetinde umarım ki bu çalışma ile Reckwitz'in (2002) ileri sürdüğü pratik teorisi uygulamalarının ilgi çekici sonuçlara namzet olma umudu hala taze kalabilmiştir.

Appendix C:

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : YILDIZ BABA
Adı : EBRU
Bölümü : İŞLETME

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS OF MIDDLE CLASS TURKISH FAMILIES REPRODUCED THROUGH HOME FURNISHING CONSUMPTION PRACTICES

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☒
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: