

HEDONISTIC CONSUMERISM:
AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF THE CHANGING
CONSUMER CULTURE IN TURKEY

BÜŞRA ÖZER

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HEDONISTIC CONSUMERISM:
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CONSUMER CULTURE IN TURKEY

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Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŐIK
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of
Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip YALMAN
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully
adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip Yalman
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip Yalman	(METU, ADM)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Asuman G6ksel	(METU, ADM)	_____
Dr. Ergin Yıldızođlu	(METU, EUS)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Būşra ÖZER

Signature :

ABSTRACT

HEDONISTIC CONSUMERISM: AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF THE CHANGING CONSUMER CULTURE IN TURKEY

ÖZER, Büşra

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Department of European Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip YALMAN

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This study aims to explore the reasons behind the newly emerging elements within the consumer culture in Turkey during the process of her integration with the European economic and cultural geography and the latter's transformative effect on the already existing forms of consumption. This study is also based on what the sources of pleasure and the motivational determinants of consumption are and how the consumer capitalism itself became a commodity and was sold through advertising. Lastly, the consumer culture of Turkey especially in the 1980s and 1990s is analyzed as a case study through data collection from advertisements, an interview with an expert and a questionnaire conducted on focus groups. This study contributes to the EU studies focusing on its social, economic and cultural influence on Turkey as one of its candidate countries.

Key words: Turkish consumer culture, consumption, hedonism, the EU, the European integration.

ÖZ

HEDONİK TÜKETİM: TÜRKİYE'DE DEĞİŞEN TÜKETİM KÜLTÜRÜNÜN AÇIKLAYICI DURUM ÇALIŞMASI

ÖZER, Büşra

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Bu çalışma Türkiye'nin Avrupa ekonomik ve kültürel coğrafyasıyla bütünleşme sürecinde Türk tüketim kültüründe ortaya çıkan yeni unsurları ve önceden beri varolan tüketim formlarındaki dönüştürücü etkilerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca araştırmalar haz kaynaklarına, tüketime yol açan motive edici etkenlerine ve tüketici kapitalizmin sembolik sistemde ideoloji olarak nasıl mala dönüştürülüp reklam stratejileriyle satıldığına dayanmaktadır. Son olarak, özellikle 1980 ve 1990 Türkiye'sinden reklam örnekleriyle, bu konuda bir uzmanla yapılmış bir ropörtajla ve çeşitli gruplara uygulanmış bir anketle, elde edilen sonuçlar analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışma, AB'nin aday ülkelerinden biri olan Türkiye'deki sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel etkilerini inceleyerek AB çalışmalarına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk tüketim kültürü, tüketim, hazcılık, AB, Avrupa Bütünleşmesi.

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU: The European Union

SAR: Specific Absorption Rate

CU: The Customs Union

DTM: Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı (Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade)

EEC: The European Economic Community

PETA: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals

ODTÜ: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Subject Matter and Aim

It was the first time I had faced with the fact that consumption patterns changed dramatically in the pursuit of gaining a status when one simple but astonishing question was addressed to me: “Are you still using this old model? This one is older than my grandmother’s. You must be really poor!” These are the words that a 10 year-old boy uttered as I was trying to teach him English and dutifully convinced him that he could have a better life thanks to his education. However, he was the one who taught me a lesson where I learned that someone should upgrade his/her mobile phone so as to look more modern and richer even if his/her old phone still works as perfectly as a brand-new one. While the students giggled, I realized that I was the only one without a touch screen mobile phone in the class while every student had one.

From that moment on, it began to catch my attention that I was surrounded by numerous examples of this kind. I looked at the media advertising from a very different angle. If we are to argue out mobile phone advertisements through which “the ultimate accessory” is portrayed as trendy and important as dresses, they imply that we can make use of these expensive and attractive phones to show off. Media, I suggest, makes people think that a phone must be worthy enough to take out in public. Thus, it has to be the latest model which states their style and symbolizes their status. Mobile phones no longer have a simple function of connecting others even when you are far away from home. To the contrary, the masses are now convinced by the advertisements where there is always a handsome man in a smart

suit, who is able to reach his friends whenever he wishes, receive Facebook comments instantly, and send the report that his boss wants on time through his stylish, thin and touch screen *iphone*. He is successful in his job, the very sociable and happy man. You can imagine the girls who look at him with a warm smile on their lips. We all understand the message that, provided we have the latest model, it is easy for us to effectively tell others our stature, wealth and class.

Another tricky or manipulative example of advertisements is about a shampoo which can uncover your hidden beauty and make you freer as you do not have any dandruff on your head and shoulders anymore because you use *Head and Shoulders*. Well, you can get closer and closer to your partner with a high self-confidence which you have never had before. S/he will love your smell and look how beautiful, healthy and exciting your hair is. In this case, advertisements are proved to shape our values through persuasion.

Oddly enough, when we think about the old times¹, advertisements used to tell people how effective or how durable their product was. There were no girls being drifted towards a young man who used *Arko Shaving Foam* to kiss his soft cheek. If we try to remember its one of the early advertisements in 1986, a mature man who would probably go to work in one or two minutes said that *Arko* could make it more comfortable and easier to shave, and you must buy it as it was of great quality; thus, the emphasis was on the function.

Obviously this trend did not or could not stay the same. What has taken my attention most is these changes in the consumption pattern can be seen wherever we turn our heads. I set out this journey to find the reasons behind it. Starting from this point, this study has set itself an ambitious goal: exploring the relation between pleasure and consumption in social, economic and cultural contexts.

It may be assumed that modern consumerism is far more different than its earlier forms, and thus thinking about consumer culture today is thinking about post-modernity due to the economical, political and social changes in the context of the integration process of Turkey with the EU. It is crucial that we should be well-aware of the multiplicity of meanings, practices and images. While people all consume

¹Before the 1980s.

something, they do it differently, even think about it differently. Still, there is a public discourse which represents various ways of consumption. Therefore, I first looked through the historical and theoretical background of the consumer culture which is often seen as a hybrid concept before elaborating on it in **Chapter 2** where data have been collected related with consumption studies from past to present to understand the nature of consumption practices and the motivation behind them.

Chapter 2, furthermore, deals with the reason behind the fact that consumption dominates our culture due to the industrial capitalism which has both created and needed a highly consumer society. According to Baudrillard (1998), a consumer society was a visible sign of modernism and improvement. The more successful the industrial capitalism became, the more increased level of consumption was seen. However, when we look at the earlier texts about the birth of capitalism, consumption is barely seen as an important part of it. On the other hand, especially the social sciences have recently come to the realization that the history of consumerism is actually very significant in order to conceive the genesis of the capitalist systems.

Starting to think about workings of capitalism shown in the Marx's studies which were written over a hundred years ago, it may be suggested that consumption which has been seen as 'a set of social, cultural and economic practices together with the associated ideology of consumerism' and served to 'legitimize capitalism in the eyes of millions of people' stands for the ways in which we construct our everyday life through demands of the marketplace (Bocock, 1993: 2). The focus of Chapter 2 is also upon the concepts of consumption and consumerism, hedonistic consumerism as the latest variant of the capitalist system and lastly neo-liberal construction of the European economic cultural space. I put quite separate bodies of material including historical as well as contemporary literature together related to the theories of consumption, contemporary debates about consumption, the link between social position and economic necessities and consumption, the nature of consumer desires and socially constructed needs. I have a relatively close look at the periodization indicating different consumption practices at different times. It is simply that the end of Chapter 2 is driven by the analysis of dominant forms of consumption akin to

Fordist and post-Fordist regimes of accumulation, and the crisis dynamics of capitalism is touched upon.

Furthermore, Chapter 2's objective is to show how symbolic associations are related to the social status, and therefore how consumerism has inevitably assumed a hedonistic nature where people satisfy desires rather than needs. Furthermore, symbolic meanings of the products that are shared by the society influence our expectations and thus behaviors towards each other. This is caused by advertisements and social codes, which create a particular kind of consumer culture. In this chapter, my aim is to show what symbols advertisers make use of to persuade us to buy, and what the motivational determinants of consumer culture are.

Using the necessary tools provided by this analysis, **Chapter 3** deals with the newly emerging elements within the Turkish consumer culture during the process of her integration with the European economic and cultural geography and their transformative effect on the already existing forms of consumption. In this chapter, I do some case studies where I try to find some examples of consuming practices which shed a light on the alteration of Turkey's economic structure which had its roots back in the 1980s and continued with respect to the integration process into the global market. The adoption of the rules of the European economic integration process has affected each person and his ways in which he defines himself in everyday life. Therefore this chapter aims to look for an answer to the question which is asked above, that is, from where and how has the new pattern of consumption come to Turkey?

After consumption has gained a significant role for most of us, Turkey has undergone a period where social and cultural values have shifted from old, familiar and traditional to new, foreign and cool in quite dramatic ways. Especially in the 1990s, the power of consumption became the top status symbol (Kozanoğlu, 1995: 7). That is where love, welfare, happiness, leaders, singers and everything have turned into commodities produced and sold in fancy packages. Also we have started to question style and fashion, and this has given birth to the kind of people who had brand obsession. We have also witnessed, for instance, the people who started to swear in English and whose music sounds like almost western. There have been imported songs, the people who are cool as they can speak English, and the people

who try to create certain definitions of their realities through consumer goods and services. Furthermore, people are taught to link material prosperity to happiness. The warning that money cannot buy happiness rendered useless, simply because money in post modern times not only buys the happiness, but having money has become the happiness, which is not hard to understand why. Money has been elevated to the level of a sublime object as symbolic meanings appeared and assumed that money means power. The richer people become, the more they have the ability to satisfy their needs and desires, to get rid of health problems and so to improve their happiness. Moreover, Turkish people have begun to wear, eat and act like the men and women that appear in the advertisements to catch up with the western societies in order that they would be more “European”. More importantly, deregulation and liberalization of foreign trade in Turkey have led the commodities produced in different cultural environment, therefore carried different cultural codes to inundate the Turkish domestic market in particularly specific political climate, and they became the new objects of desire hence objects of identification². That is, new consumption patterns have been born into the everyday lives of Turkish people where they listen to pieces of music that gain them new and more ‘modern’ identities. They have begun to buy the ‘cool’ and branded consumer goods. In this chapter, most of the consumer practices discussed seems to have enabled them simply show off as they provide ‘cool’ness, unless they make their look more European, more modern and more civilized. What is more, there is a remarkable attention to consumer culture which I would go far to suggest is a mirror of the society where we can observe all the diverse practices. Lastly this chapter touches upon new stereotypes and ideologies, the rise of the new Turkish man, the career woman and mimic posterity. The new trend is being followed in McDonald’s, pubs and cafes.

Chapter 4 which stands for the conclusion to the thesis sums up the points where there occurred such active consuming practices and where everyday consumption might have some elements of hedonism, individualism and materialism. Finally, I try to consider the ways in which the nature of commodities had impacts upon social life diversely and quite unexpectedly. This approach towards consumption aims to put

²Object of identification is important for shaping the subjectiveness (Kozanoğlu, 2005).

culture and economy together. I try to put the emphasis on the consumption patterns in the Turkish society where most people set themselves a goal to be achieved through buying things that they actually do not necessarily need. In this society, everything around people, who have to have something that gives them so called personal expression, lures them to spend money extravagantly. I conclude my thesis suggesting that there is an indication that capitalism tends to manipulate our consciousness through our desires. The nature of consumption did change after the 1980s. That is, not only did the economic system get dependent upon consumption, but also people started consuming not what they needed but what they wanted to be seen as the consumers of specific products due to the appealing advertisements and certain cultural codes. In brief, with this study, I set out to find out answers to these questions:

- What are the sources of pleasures? Are they dependent on the needs imposed upon us by the system?
- How are the changing modes of capitalism reflected on consumerism in Turkey?
- How do the concept of hedonistic consumerism and the European integration interact within the framework of the Turkish consumer culture in the 1980s and 1990s?

1.2. Methodology

I have looked through both classical and modern capitalist variants in order to have a thorough idea of what lies behind the changes in consuming practices, consequently in culture, because of the European economic integration process which foresees a global market. Furthermore, I have acquired information from books some of whose writers I mentioned above, articles published especially in journals of cultural studies, newspapers, websites, advertisements, music pieces, food and clothing fashion in the 1980s and 1990s and many more other sources available. To observe

the changing consumption patterns in the 1980s and 1990s' Turkey, I have conducted questionnaires on how to look more European via specific consuming practices and interviews to look at the changing consumption from an expert's point of view.

As for the methodology, I have adopted a critical approach just as a number of the studies in this field do because consumerism is a social experience and has an ideological function as a way of life. I have tried to benefit from the experiences of experts in the advertising industry such as Can Kozanoğlu regarding the changing strategies and campaign themes. This thesis has been intended to be a multi disciplinary work.

Within this study, a questionnaire on the consumer habits in Turkey was carried out on 154 Turkish citizens. This questionnaire consisted of both open ended questions to evaluate the different ideas and multiple choice questions to gather the statistics on consuming habits. Consequently, data analysis to be mentioned in **Chapter 3** was carried out.

An interview with Can Kozanoğlu was made on 28 January 2013. This interview was an informal conversation and made on the telephone. During the interview, the main topic was changing consumer culture in Turkey. The questions that were answered in the interview were prepared within the scope of consuming practices in Turkey as this study tries to find out how and why the consumer psychology is influenced by economic, cultural and social factors. All the information gathered during the interview was written down.

In this context, the aim of the study was explained in detail throughout the research many times. The conceptual framework of the study was indicated in the introduction part of the thesis. A case study was carried out in Chapter 3. Participations of the questionnaires and interview were defined within the boundaries of the research field. Detailed information regarding the participants' age, occupation, income level, etc. was presented in the Appendices.

It was assumed that the participants to the questionnaires and interview presented accurate information throughout the research and they were honest. In addition, the data was collected and presented correctly by the researcher.

I could find very few thesis or study done in Turkey related to this research. Also, there were very few researches on this issue. That was one of the biggest difficulties while I was collecting data from written documents. Furthermore, scanning advertisement archives was time consuming and required hard work. In addition, while carrying out the questionnaires, it took fairly a long time to complete the process as the main aim is to reach as many people as possible with different background and at different ages. For the interview to be conducted, I tried to reach some marketers. However, no marketer was interested in the research. Therefore, no contribution from a marketer was taken. Also, the interview with Can Kozanoğlu was conducted on telephone and via e-mail as he lives in a different city. The other interviews with different people such as experts, academicians and very old people were conducted informally and anonymous. Lastly, various advertisements were looked through to understand the changing consumer culture.

CHAPTER 2

CONSUMPTION, CONSUMERISM AND MARKETS

“I shop, therefore I am” is a striking slogan by an American conceptual artist, Barbara Kruger who is able to come round to the facts about consumerism which has turned out to be a lifestyle of the modern society in terms of human behavior and his/her needs. There is strong evidence of the fact that consumer behavior goes far back to human history (Bocock, 1993). As we all know, it first stood out with the growing market of sugar in which affluent people in Europe had a deep interest. Even, according to historical anthropologists such as Gail M. Hollander³, it can be defined as the first mass consumer good which was later followed by tulips, tobacco, coffee, tea and Chinese porcelain. When consumerism arrived in Europe, needs and aspirations were redefined, which generated a revolutionary change in consumer culture. This chapter mainly deals with the key historical themes which have brought about this revolutionary change. Furthermore, it tries to lay out what consumerism, its causes and meanings are, and how commercial systems began to direct personal motivations towards happiness gained through satisfying the desire to have new items.

2.1. Classical and Contemporary Approaches to Consumption

This part addresses classical and contemporary theories of consumption which have been an issue in cultural studies (Bocock, 1993). In cultural studies, the attention has

³Hollander, Gail M. 2003. “Re-naturalizing sugar: narratives of place, production and consumption.” *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp.59-74.

long been on consumerism and its powerful relationship with the historical evolution of the capitalist system. Consumption is seen as the central interest of people in developed industrial societies and essential to construct identities. In order to understand the link between consumption and capitalism, we have to go into details of how consumerism has changed our way of life. It is not only about political economy, but also new modes of symbols of consumer experience.

What has made this argument more attractive is Marx's ideas which attracted incredible attention in the 1960s. According to him, capitalism suffers from overproduction crisis. There is a tendency to lower the cost of production through introducing the techniques of mass production. The products accumulate till there are simply too many. At this point, profits collapse, and a recession comes about. Thus, a solution for this problem is to get rid of the excess products through tricks that make people want more and more. In his monumental three-volume book, *Capital* (1967), Karl Marx stuck to the subject of commodities and consumption. He noted that commodities are to be measured by money which is "the universal equivalent" in capitalism. Everything has a price, and every desire can be satisfied in exchange for money. Marx saw the process of consumption as the fetishization of commodities which is desired for their supposed power they are to provide. About one hundred years ago, he touched upon the fact that people view themselves and others through possessions which are just means indicating who we want to be or who we want to seem to be.

Max Weber discussed the irrational nature of the 'spirit of capitalism', the thirst for money and the symbolic value of consumption whose role is to turn people into consumers. Similarly, one other classical contributor, Thorstein Veblen is famous for his celebrated idea that consumption has a social significance in its own right. That is, consumer goods become markers of status and social prestige. Thus, greatly influenced by Marx, Max Weber suggested that people act according to their economic needs along with their symbolic ones. He thought that status and wealth have a strong relation unlike Emile Durkheim who believed that symbols cannot be restraint to economical situations. He was concerned mainly about moral values and sentiments (Miles, 1998; Bocoock, 1993).

In the early modern period, consumers seemed to be a group for whom consumption had a leading role in their lives, drawing a line between them and the others. Thus, this provided them a sense of social identity. These groups appeared in the late nineteenth century in the Western Europe and America when industrial capitalism began to run its course. At that time, a new middle class who made money from trade emerged. The concepts of the “general store” and “Shopping Arcades” had also appeared. The American sociologist Thorstein Veblen was one of the most important classical contributors to the social understanding of consumption which was practiced by the new middle class to define their social status. He is the first sociologist to put the emphasis on the social importance of consumption (Miles, 1998; Bocoock, 1993).

Consumption is a vital component for construction of the modern life. Georg Simmel is another theorist who placed money to the centre of modernity (Bocoock 1993, Miles 1998). The author of the book titled *Consumerism as a Way of Life*, Steven Miles suggests “in many respects, Simmel foresaw the formative role that consumerism plays in the construction of everyday life in the late twentieth century” (Miles, 1998: 20). Both Veblen and Simmel⁴ defined their theory of new ways of life while shopping malls were opened for the first time in city centers. These shopping malls provided the consumers with a lot of choice under one roof unlike local markets. The shopping malls and other leisure facilities developed to “screen out the complex stimuli that stemmed from the rush of modern life... through the pursuit of signs of status” (Harvey, 1989: 26).

Although some theorist such as Veblen and Simmel contributed to it, the studies on the sociology of consumption did not appear until the 1980s. As for exemplifying it, Peter Saunders in his works (1981) suggested that class does not determine the modern way of life any more. Access to consumption is what comes forward. In modern society, we do not get satisfaction from work but from consuming goods. Furthermore, Pierre Bourdieu (1984) is another prominent sociologist who argues that people show their superiority via access to high consumption which is only possible when they have access to economic resources. Bocoock (1993) indicates that

⁴Either Veblen or Simmel did not analyze the “functioning of modern capitalism as a system that is an inter-related system of economic, political, cultural and social spheres” (Miles, 1998: 20). Instead, they tried to focus on the deeds of modern capitalism.

Bourdieu assumes consumption as a set of signs, symbols, ideas and values which makes one group dominant over another. Bourdieu also furthers his argument saying that consumption is a relation between the individual and the society rather than just a simple habitual activity. At this point, a new concept of “habitus”⁵ began to emerge. Habitus is the “everyday knowledge of appropriate behavior in particular cultures and subcultures. Therefore, it can be defined as a group-distinctive framework of social cognition and interpretation” (Miles, 1998: 22).

In the early 1990s, debates on the sociology of consumption further developed through the studies of David Lyon, Mike Featherstone and Jean Baudrillard who are of the opinion that consumption has a key role in understanding the nature of postmodernism. Lyon clearly proposes that “if post-modernity means anything, it means the consumer society” (Lyon, 1994: 67). Furthermore, Featherstone notes that consumerism provides the consumer with the freedom of construction of their way of life through consumption (Featherstone, 1991: 68-72). When it comes to discuss Baudrillard’s ideas about consumption, it is clear that he supposes people have certain desires to be fulfilled through consumption. At this point, “the consumer goods take on the value of a sign” (Miles, 1998: 26)⁶. Accordingly, this study tries to show the things that constitute the so-called consumer society which seems to have changed more than ever before. That is, it is important to know why and how this change⁷ has had a tremendous impact on the meanings of the signs through which people relate themselves to the consumer society.

Unlike what has been said so far, in 1995 Daniel Miller suggested that consumption⁸ was “the vanguard of history” (Miller, 1995: 1). It is clearly indicated that the focus shifted from production to consumption, the reason of which may be the changes in the relationship between the economic and the social in capitalism and the nature of

⁵According to Bourdieu (1984: 172), “habitus is the basis of an alchemy which transforms the distribution of capital, the balance-sheet of a power relation into a system of perceived differences”.

⁶In the film *Fight Club*(USA, 1999, dir. David Fincher), the protagonist Tyler Durden looked through an IKEA catalogue, ordered over the phone and wondered: “What kind of plates define me as a person?” With a sarcastic tone, the narrator suggests: “We are products of lifestyle obsession. Murder, crime, poverty do not concern me. What concerns me are celebrity magazines, television with five hundred channels and a designer name on my underwear.”

⁷Seemingly it is driven by the market.

⁸Rather than production.

the problems it faces globally (Miller 1995, Bocoock 1993, Giddens 1991). We also observe the increasing importance of consumption, finding and creating new consumption points, consumers due to the increasing pressures coming from the overproduction. It is not a coincidence therefore that both globalization and financialization also started at this point in time.

Thus, the current trend in the sociology of consumption is to focus on meanings. According to Kaj Ilmonen, “work is continuing to unveil the meanings associated with consumption and to investigate how those meanings tie in with society’s temporal, spatial and social structures and with identity formation...after all, it is impossible to imagine consumption without meanings (Ilmonen, 2011: 7). Lately, the study of emotional link between person and object has taken considerable attention, which “is opening up new perspectives on how individual and collective identities are historically constructed through consumption” (2011: 7). According to Steven Miles, Kevin Meethan and Alison Anderson, it is not surprising thanks to “the near-universal adoption of neoliberal market policies, the growth of multinationals, the global spread of media and information technologies and the globalization of production, in particular the displacement of Fordism by post-Fordism” (Miles, Meethan and Anderson, 2002: 2). This study, therefore, indicates a variety of disciplines such as Cultural Studies, Media Studies, Sociology, Marketing and Intercommunal Studies. While adopting a multi-disciplinary approach, the aim is to truly understand the nature of consumption and the consumers who are “inconsistent, unpredictable and contradictory” (Gabriel and Lang 1995: 191).

2.2. Consumption and Capitalism

I have always been amazed at the changes that my grandparents who were born around the 1920s experienced in their lives. They witnessed the introduction of automobiles, aeroplanes while they were travelling on animals or on foot. It was their generation who was first introduced to radio, telephone, television, world wars, the atomic bombs, space exploration, the rise and fall of Communism, the rise of consumerism, credit cards, computers, brands and far more changes. After they

passed away, their son and I as their granddaughter continued to see more and more. And today we live in such a world that nobody's life has never been easier thanks to the comforts of technology where we can do countless things from paying bills, working, educating ourselves to chatting, flirting, shopping and even organizing rebellions⁹. We can travel to anywhere in the world that we like more affordable than ever before. We are surrounded by concert halls, museums, shopping malls, restaurants with global cuisines. Furthermore, even religion which is known for its admiration for austerity is "becoming increasingly involved with consumption" and creating its own dedicated specialist markets –consumption centers (Belk, 2002: 146). For example, "the Caprice resort hotel in Turkey caters strictly to Islamists and features separate swimming pools for men and women. Material Christianity is nothing new; but it is proliferated in recent years" (Belk, 2002:146). However, it is not just our environment and society that change, but consumers, consumption theory and consuming practices are appealing to a growing number of researchers from a growing amount of academic disciplines. By looking through the history of consumption, we may understand the changing consumer better.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, shops spread and advertising expanded in Europe which was a world power in trade and manufactured goods as well as imports¹⁰. As a result, expectation rose, people became more open to fashion, and a desire to acquire grew. Clothing became a passion and theft rates went up¹¹. Consumerism also spread to toys and children books.¹² Eventually, early modern consumerism began to define class structures. The lower-class imitated the clothing of the well-off, which was highly at issue in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Consuming practices were used to demonstrate social differences between classes. This new way of consumerism faced with confusion and negativity as it caused "wasteful and disrespectful popular habits" (Stearns, 1997: 108).

⁹For example, Gezi Park Protestors are thought to communicate through social media.

¹⁰Such as tea, coffee, sugar, textile, guns and paper.

¹¹http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_SDDS/en/crim_esms.htm

¹²Peter Stearns, "Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the issues of Periodization" **The Journal of Modern History**, Vol. 69, No: 1 (Mar., 1997), pp. 102-117. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2953434>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, consumer goods were mainly clothes and household items. Women clothing, pianos and Oriental carpets came to the fore. Finally, the commercialization of Christmas which led to a great amount of purchased presents, Mother's Day as a new holiday when florists became richer and happier, St. Valentine's Day which created the commercial greeting card industry were only a few of the consumer activities associated with religion, sensuality and pleasure. Even children were encouraged to consume with the help of "the new practice of parentally granted allowances which was part of the process" (Streans, 1997:111). During the 1900s, soft dolls were created so that parents were now able to express their love to their children buying Teddy bears. The next step was that children were allowed to sleep with these dolls so that they could develop a sense of attachment to "things".¹³

At the end of the twentieth century, the dominant economic and social system has become capitalism nearly all over the world. Even the countries which do not own big productive capitalist industries desired to buy blue jeans, television sets, radios and cars. However, modern consumption has nothing to do with nature. It is something to be learned from others. Here it is suitable to mention "Jone's affect" which is a term indicating how to motivate a potential consumer to purchase based on what others are thinking. That is why consumerism is concerned with specific set of values and symbols accepted among the majority. Robert Bocoock discusses that "consumption involves consuming ideas, images on television and in advertisements. Symbolic meanings affect modern consumers in buying clothes, cars, discs, pre-recorded videos and home furnishings, for example. It is not merely a material object with a simple, direct, utilitarian usage which is purchased, but something which conveys meaning, which is used to display something about who the consumer aims to be at that time. Consumer goods are part of the way in which people construct a sense of who they are, of their sense of identity through the use of symbols in consumption patterns" (Bocoock, 1993: 52).

It must be recognized that consumption of mass-produced commodities is the final stage in the modern capitalist economy where capital in the form of money turns material production into commodity. "The truth is not that needs are the fruits of

¹³Zelizer, V. 1986. **Pricing the Priceless Child**. Princeton University Press: New York.

production, but that the system of needs is the product of the system of production” (Baudrillard, 1998: 74). Producers had to encourage consuming more and more for fear of filled up unsold items (Marx 1973, Baudrillard 1998). This was one of the reasons why the wages and leisure time were expanded as workers themselves were consumers, too. Thus, this led to the expansion of advertising industry.

According to the Marxist political economy, capitalism is a mode of production, which tends to change and have “crisis that periodically necessitates a radical restructuring of the capitalist mode of production” (Nilges, 2008: 26).¹⁴ That is why both the economic structure¹⁵ and its social dimension¹⁶ should be focused on to understand the centrality of the social component of capitalism. As a result, Mathias Nilges suggests, capitalism needs the help of the social dimension in order to regulate itself and be resistant to crises.

Also Harvey points out the steps for further accumulation that is in a crisis,

1. The productivity of labor will be much enhanced by the employment of more sophisticated machinery and equipment while older fixed capital equipment will, during the course of the crisis; have become much cheaper through a forced devaluation.
2. The cost of labor will be much reduced because of the widespread unemployment during the crisis and consequently, larger surplus can be gained for further accumulation.
3. The surplus capital which lacked opportunities for investment in the crisis will be drawn into new and high profit lines of production.
4. An expanding effective demand for product –at first in the capital goods industry but subsequently in final consumption- will easily clear the market of all goods produced (Harvey, 2001:241).

¹⁴Mathias Nilges. “The Anti-Anti-Oedipus: Representing Post-Fordist Subjectivity.” *Mediations* 23.2 (Spring 2008) 26-69.

¹⁵The Regime of Accumulation

¹⁶The Mode of Regulation

As Migone (2007) put it, capitalism is defined to be a “growth only” system where it is vital to have a continual growth and therefore profit. The system has to help increase the number of consumers and/or the level of consumption. In developed societies, self-defining consumption is inevitable especially for the rich. Thanks to consumerism, it is increasingly normal to associate some social status with certain goods and services. Consumption has become more customized and self-centered in recent years. Certain food, clothing, places, music and so on are all related to some social status, which leads to inequality locally, nationally and even internationally and irrationally greedy using of resources in the world.

Unquestionably, the topic of consumption is attractive not just to consumers, but also social analysts, economists, market researchers and social theorists.¹⁷ Most of them have tried to explain increasing consumption experienced by the rich and developed countries through looking at the market relations and the economic status quo.

Consumerism’s self-referencing pattern deepening and expanding all the time turns the society into a consumer society which consumes itself as it consumes anything else (Baudrillard, 1998). Consumption feeds more than our needs. It feeds, as Migone (2007) points out, “psychological compulsion”. Certain products gain a symbolic value through which they are seen as “the accepted form of expressing individual choice, determining status, showcasing wealth” (2007: 184).

2.2.1. Accumulation Regimes

In this part, I focus on the variants of consumerism on which both Fordist and post-Fordist accumulation regimes depend to encourage consumption. In the market, the modern consumer who likes to buy goods and services meets the seller. According to the quantity available and the demand towards a specific product, a price is set in

¹⁷ For example: Aristotle, Baudrillard, Bocoock, Bourdieu, Featherstone, John Fiske, J. Galbraith, A. Giddens, b. Jessop, Marx, Miller, George Simmel, T. Veblen, Weber, etc.

order an exchange to take place. Consequently, unless a good is cheap enough, it does not sell. As the demand determines the offer, “market exchange is fundamentally a type of social exchange” too (Migone, 2007: 174). The decision of the consumer is affected by social and economic market rules.

As mentioned before, capitalism relies on both mass production and mass consumption. However, it changes its production and consumption modes according to the social and economic limits. As we look through the Fordist regime, consumerism was about large-scale production and high income redistribution through which the economy was sustained. On the other hand, the post-Fordist period brings about batch production instead of standardized mass production. Furthermore, fixed labor relations were transferred to flexible ones where workers are made to work with lower wages in harsher conditions.

According to Marx (1993)¹⁸, in order for a circulation to happen, all the products have to be turned into money. Thus, the seller renews his products which must be recreated continuously. There should be constant expansion in the circulation, which is related to certain external conditions. Production increase entails new consuming practices. As the production circle widens so does the consumption circle. The more consumers buy, the more they discover that they have new needs. A new product is only different in 'richness in quality' from the old one in order to satisfy the new needs. Producers have to exploit all qualities of human being to be able to create a new product with a higher value. Nature is an object to be consumed or a material to be used in production. So capital exploits nature to recreate traditional ways of life.

Andrea Migone (2007: 175)¹⁹ explains that there are two fundamental levels of economic activity, one of which is the accumulation regime, “the dynamic structure of the productive system”.²⁰ The other is the modes of regulation, acting according to

¹⁸Marx, K. 1993. **Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy**. Penguin: England, pp. 406-415.

¹⁹A professor of Political Economy at Simon Fraser University.

²⁰A system which is linked to “the evolution of the organization of production and of the workers’ relationship to means of production, the time horizon for the valorisation of capital, a distribution of value that allows the reproduction and development of the different social classes or groups, a composition of social demand that corresponds to the tendencies in the development of productive capacity, and a manner of articulation with non-capitalist economic forms” (Boyer and Saillard, 2002: 335).

both “the needs of the capitalist system to achieve a sustainable level of capitalist accumulation and the needs of society to maintain a viable and coherent structure”. He furthers that the post-Fordist accumulation regime started replacing the Fordist one in the 1970s. This has led to a change in the socio-economic structure of the society. Furthermore, Wolfgang Streeck (2012: 28) says,

The late 1960s and early 1970s were, we now know, a watershed in the history of post-war democratic capitalism. It has become customary to speak of the crisis and eventual collapse of a more-or-less coherent, inter-national production and consumption regime which, having sustained unprecedented economic growth, began to be referred to summarily as Fordism. Today what is most often remembered about its demise may be the worldwide wave of labor militancy at the end of the 1960s.

At that time, the working class wished shorter hours, higher wages and rights. Moreover, people were able to buy goods such as cars and refrigerator for the first time in their lives with their rising income thanks to the mass production of standardized goods. Yet there were more obvious needs. People could buy goods that were cheap; hence, they did not have much to choose²¹ (Streeck, 2012: 29). In the early 1970s, it was clear that post-war Fordism was on its way out. The workers went on strike wanting better conditions. Customers were harder to please. What is more, basic needs of people had already been met. Provided a dishwasher still washed the dishes, it made no sense to buy a new one. Crisis emerged as the automobile industry made production endlessly. In the end, inasmuch as it was stuck due to the workers who refused to work under the Taylorist factory regime and the consumers who did not buy any more, it had to look for a cure to get over the crisis. Streeck (2012: 31) gives the solution to this problem as follows:

... capital’s answer to the secular stagnation of markets for standardized goods at the end of the Fordist era included making goods less standardized. ... By the 1980s, accelerated product design and more flexible production equipment and labour made it possible to customize the commodities of the Fordist world to an unprecedented extent, subdividing the large and uniform product runs of industrial mass production into ever-smaller series of differentiated sub-products, in an effort to get closer to the idiosyncratic preferences of ever-smaller groups of potential customers.

²¹Henry Ford’s dictum about his T2 model: “you can have it any colour you like as long as it is black”.

As bluntly indicated above, it may be understood that product differentiation led the consumer to rethink about their personal wants and define them specifically. What is for sure is that customized products attracted more attention than the standardized ones. Thus, the consumer was more eager to pay more. This flow was so fascinating that it became normal even to design your own product according to your taste.²²

At this point, products became more sophisticated and expensive.²³ While in the past marketing departments tried to persuade consumers to buy their products for this and that reason, now they were asking what customers would wish. Thus, seller's market was being replaced by buyer's market, which means producers faced more difficulties in catching the attention of consumers.²⁴

Although it may be suggested that both the Fordist and post-Fordist models coexist, the former lost its dominance over the other. The post-Fordist accumulation regime seems to continue developing and have a long way to reach its final structure. New forms of production and consumption have appeared thanks to new technologies (see Migone 2006, Davies 2011, Barnett 2000, O'Hara 2003).

In the Fordist model, there was a need for a consistent accumulation rate. Accordingly, the production and consumption phrases must be integrated, which affected the system of class relations based on materialistic conditions (Migone 2006). Both of the models have a different place amongst the past regimes inasmuch as they are involved in self-referencing and desire satisfying consumption. It does not necessarily indicate that consumers buy whatever they are offered. Rather, they are encouraged to express themselves with a product that they are set free to choose among increasingly differentiated ones.

²² I further this argument, which eventually leads hedonistic consumerism, in Chapter 3.

²³ For Streek (2012: 32) "By the 1980s, no two cars built on the same date at the Volkswagen plant in Wolfsburg were completely identical. ... The customization of commodities that aimed to overcome the stagnation of capital accumulation at the end of the Fordist period was part and parcel of a powerful wave of commercialization of the capitalist societies of the time. Product diversification attends to the wants of consumers which, under mass production, had remained commercially untapped; now they could be activated and made profitable."

²⁴ This is clearly explained in "On the Institutional Conditions of Diversified Quality Production" in Egon Matzner and Wolfgang Streek, eds, *Beyond Keynesianism: The Socio-Economics of Production and Employment*, London 1991, pp. 20-61.

Table 1: Accumulation regimes

Accumulation Regime	Mode of Regulation	Mode of Consumption
Fordism	Fordist, Keynesian	Diffused, Egalitarian, Functional
Post-Fordism	Post-Fordist, Neoliberal	Segmented, Unequal, Hedonistic

Source: Migone, A. (2006: 176)

According to the information shown in the Table 1 above, both the regimes can be compared as this. In Fordism, it is seen that there are mass production, Taylorist regime, relatively high wages, automatization, stable relation of employment and national markets, that consumerism is on the forefront, and there are advertisement strategies to encourage functional consumption, and commodification, that there are high levels of public debts, that the consumer profiles are not collected, bargaining is possible and that quality is emphasized.

On the other hand, in Post-Fordism it can be suggested that there are more flexible work conditions, low wages, batch production and international markets, that hedonism is the new focus, and there is higher dependence on advertisement as well as commodification, that there are high levels of private debts, that the consumer profiles are of vital importance, bargaining is impossible as the prices are fixed and that quantity is emphasized.

As soon as consumption became more self-referencing, consumerism began to be related to hedonism. The hedonistic pattern has become dominant especially in the West. What is a stunning fact about this situation is that people have begun to consume the products as soon as they are produced, or even before they are produced.²⁵

²⁵This has become possible especially through online shopping. One can order an item even before it is produced. For example; clothing, jewellery, fast food, individualized items and so on.

Table 2: Ideal type commodity forms of Fordism and Post-Fordism

	Fordism	Post-Fordism
Metalogic of growth:	Expansion, Massification	Intensification, Innovation
Characteristics	Durability Electro-mechanical Material Solidity, Structure Collective, Homogenous Standardized Hardware Fixity, Longevity Function, Utility	Non-durability Electro-micro Experiential Fluidity, Flexibility Individualistic, Heterogeneous Customized Software, Portable Instantaneous, Form, Style
Examples	Automobiles Standardized housing White goods Physical primary commodities (steel, rubber, petro-chemicals and plate glass)	Hi-tech commodities (e.g., videos, camcorders, microwaves, Walkmans, personal computers etc.) Cultural services and events (e.g., heritage, theme parks, sports etc.) Financial services Non-physical primary commodities (information, data and Access to means of communication)
Suitability for growth	Geared to the expansion and stabilization of new markets	Geared to the deeper penetration of existing markets and creation of new needs via the compression of the times and spaces of consumption

Source: Lee, M. (1993:128)

At this point, advertisements play a very crucial part in persuading buyers to consume more and more to define their places through the material culture.²⁶ Image of products sometimes arrives before the products themselves. Thus, the nature of the

²⁶For Migone (2007: 177), material culture “embraces manufacture, marketing, imports and increasingly services.”

hedonistic consumption should be able to be well-defined by high levels of production and consumption as well. Although consumption is a normal and fairly acceptable human activity; there are huge gaps among different social groups. The rich consume much more than the poor, which creates inequality. An acceptable level of consumption aims to provide a healthy advancement of physical, emotional and social state for the consumer. However, today it seems that this is not the case. Instead of providing for real needs, today consumption is practiced for satisfying desire regardless of the inevitable harm given to the environment and animals. Hedonistic consumption fosters ecological crisis around the globe. It is cruel and inconsiderate of human beings to use already scarce resources to satisfy his desire through self-referencing consumption.

It may be suggested that mass production becoming more sophisticated started to increase product differentiation. This provided an opportunity for the consumer to define his place in the society. Increased possibilities of consumption gained people to explore their own preferences, which enabled them to be set apart from some groups while linking them to others. Product differentiation to satisfy every want after the end of Fordism extended from automobiles to luxury goods such as perfumes, clothes, watches and sunglasses. Furthermore, it brought personalization.²⁷ That is millions of followers on social media²⁸ instantly know how much Paris Hilton²⁹ appreciated the meal that she ate in this or that restaurant.³⁰

So far, the idea that consumption provides a solution to all our problems and creates a world that everything is solely an illusion has been set forward. As Joseph Heath and Andrew Potter (2006: 151) suggested “the Matrix is real; it is all around us. So who cares what is true and what is false? It is simply a struggle over who will have

²⁷Celebrities.

²⁸Such as Facebook and Twitter.

²⁹She is “is an American heiress, socialite, television personality, businesswoman, fashion designer, entrepreneur, model, actress, producer, author and singer. She is the great-granddaughter of Conrad Hilton, the founder of Hilton Hotels.” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paris_Hilton). (Accessed on 01.04.2013).

³⁰ It is true that companies, celebrities and politicians discovered how effective to send highly personal messages to stay on the agenda.

the power to define reality”. In the next part, how this ‘society of spectacle’³¹ is created is discussed.

2.2.2. The Latest Variant: Hedonistic Consumption and Happiness

In recent years, the discussions on the crisis of modernism and the rise of post-modernism have been going on. Meanwhile, Pop was seen as a reaction towards modernism. It was first produced by consuming practices in Western countries in the 1950s. Especially in England, when the Conservatives came into power,³² they aimed to “reap the material benefits and achieve the private affluence so seductively presented in American films and magazines” (Whiteley, 1985: 32). They promised not to interfere what people wear, watch and eat. Their slogan was “Set the People Free!” At this point, it became clearer that the consumer society where social idealism was replaced by consumerism was being created. The government wanted people to be good consumers and customers. Later on, the consumer society was pushed forward to be a consumerist society. While the consumer society has the same meaning as the capitalist society, the consumerist society means an advanced consumer society where “a private affluence on a mass scale is the dominant force in the market place” (Whiteley, 1985: 35).

Inevitably, this change led to increasingly differentiated production. Its main reason is that there was a need to feed the hunger of particular groups rather than ‘undefined’ masses. Thus, differentiated production was born as a result of a competition to satisfy particular groups through social codes and emotive patterns. America was the first country to do market research to find out the best motivational tools. Today, America is the most advanced consumerist society. The style and design of differentiated products were slowly creating a new social language through

³¹Coined by Guy Debord (1994).The Society of the Spectacle is also a work of philosophy and Marxist critical theory by Guy Debord. It would be beneficial to look through to understand “the social relationship between people that is mediated by images” (Debord, 1994: 1).

³²We may here think about the crisis and neo-liberalism against Fordism as the Thatcherism aimed to dismantle the welfare state, nanny state, hence Fordism.

which people define who they were. The sellers had to accept that society changed so irreversibly that they should satisfy different needs of different groups to survive in the market.

As discussed above, in the 1950s, a remarkable discussion on the symbolic meaning of goods appeared. According to Gardner and Levy, consumers buy goods “not only for what they can do, but also for what they mean” (1955: 118). This discussion concerning the thin line between the lifestyle of the consumer and the goods s/he bought went on during the 1960s. Yet, researches in this area were increasingly carried out in the 1970s and 1980s such that a new phrase ‘hedonistic consumption’ was coined by Hirschman and Holbrook (1982) setting out from the evolution of symbolic consumption. They indicated that hedonistic consumption is related to the consumer behaviors that have multisensory,³³ fantasy and emotional aspects. The scene that is seen, the scent that is smelt, the touch that is felt are brought together in the mind of the consumer. This, consequently, leads to a kind of emotional arousal where the consumer feels anger, jealousy, fear or joy. These feelings are of considerable importance in hedonistic consumption as they motivate the consumer to buy specific goods and services such as sunglasses, watch, and perfume. Thus, it can be suggested that emotional desires are superior to utilitarian motives while selecting the products (Maslow, 1968).

Hedonistic consumerism is a relatively new research area.³⁴ Product image is in the forefront. Thus, goods are not objective entities anymore, but they are subjective symbols in the eyes of the consumer society. However, hedonistic consumption does not try to replace the traditional consumption practices; rather it tries to expand their viability. In hedonistic consumption, consumers do not think about what they know is real, but they like to buy what they want to be real. What is important for a product is not how it seems, but rather how it is seen by the consumer who constructs a mental image in his subjective reality (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982). For example, the popularity of soap operas in developing countries suggests that people find a role in which they would like to fantasize themselves and they are eventually

³³Tastes, scents, sounds and visual images.

³⁴Some of the scholars who made the first investigations in this area: Hirschman and Holbrook 1981, Holbrook and Huber 1979, Levy and Czepiel 1974, Becker 1973, Crane 1976, Hirsch 1972, Jeager 1945, Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957, Singer 1966, Swanson 1978.

drawn into the reality created by the product. That is why it is true that fantasies are determining factors in hedonistic consumption. Hirschman and Holbrook (1982) give another example to this self-constructed reality. That is cigarette smokers like to be seen as “Malbora Man”.³⁵ They resemble themselves to the idealized cowboy as a masculine and powerful image.

One of the biggest difference between traditional consumer and hedonic consumer researches is that the former one looks for the package goods³⁶ and major durables³⁷ while the other focuses on performing arts,³⁸ plastic arts³⁹ and another “high culture products within popular culture”⁴⁰ (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982: 95). Understandably, traditional consumer research is linked to utilitarian qualities of a product.⁴¹ However, hedonic consumer research chooses emotive and “subjectively experienced” products. When consumer watches a sports match or an episode of a television series, s/he has more intense and strong feelings than the one who uses washing machine and experiences low emotional⁴² involvement.⁴³ Furthermore, hedonistic consumption may help the consumer let out emotions, fears, rage and rebellion.⁴⁴ For example, *Holocaust*⁴⁵, *Roots*⁴⁶, and *Desperate Housewives*⁴⁷ have

³⁵Malbora Men was an icon who caused millions of people to start smoking. He died of cancer at a very early age.

³⁶Such as cigarettes, shampoo, beer, etc.

³⁷Such as automobiles, washing machine, etc.

³⁸Such as opera, modern dance, theatre, etc.

³⁹Such as painting, crafts, photography, etc.

⁴⁰Such as films, concerts, fashion shows, etc.

⁴¹For example a dishwasher is logically expected to wash the dishes in a most effective way.

⁴²Product placement strategies in the movies or TV series.

⁴³According to Hirschman and Holbrook (1982: 96) “all products can be hedonically experienced by the consumer.” Yet, such products as films, matches, CDs play a more effective role in creating emotive experiences and fantasies.

⁴⁴According to Freud (1955), some consuming practices allow consumers to overcome sad experiences through fantasy.

⁴⁵*The Holocaust* (1978) is a docudrama broadcast in four parts in America. It is about a family of German Jews. It underlines some important events occurred during the World War II such as the use of the Jewish ghettos and gas.

been popular especially among Jews, blacks and women who experience a painful hedonic consumption. Supposedly, this experience may help them overcome sad realities of life better (Freud 1955, Suomi and Harlow 1976, Holbrook 1980, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982). Thus, it can be suggested that consuming movies, television series, theatre plays, sports event and books help consumers get on with unhappy experiences they have.⁴⁸ As Hirschman (1982: 97) puts:

Patronage decisions regarding hedonically consumed products are based primarily on the symbolic elements of the products rather than their tangible features. A novel or play is selected primarily because of its ability to transport the consumer to a more desirable reality and/or help in coping with unpleasant emotional dilemma. Recent research indicates that even physical activities such as bicycle riding and skiing can be undertaken because of their symbolic qualities.

Yıldızoğlu (2012)⁴⁹ argues that looking for a way out of the functional consuming practices which already reached the saturation point, neo-liberal politics and practices paved the way for insatiate, pleasure-promising hedonic consumption. For these hedonic consuming practices to continue, products have to be valued not for their practical features, but for features that promise happiness. To be able to do this, Yıldızoğlu (2012) furthers his argument suggesting that, “unhappiness” must be created and controlled. Inasmuch as media industry has focused on producing images of “observable but unattainable” objects, the celebrity culture and youth culture that assume these images have spinned out of control increasingly since the 1980s. This brought about unhappiness and dissatisfaction which have to be overcome through consuming commodities. These commodities limitlessly promise pleasure, happiness, satisfaction and even youth to the consumers.

⁴⁶*Roots* (1977) is a television miniseries based on *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* book (1976) by Alex Haley. It is still the third highest rated American program. (see Steven Mintz (2009). **African American Voices: A Documentary Reader**, 1619-1877)

⁴⁷*Desperate Housewives* is a recent television series about women deserted by their spouses.

⁴⁸This actually evokes the concept of *Chatarsis* by Aristotle.

⁴⁹ Yıldızoğlu, Ergin (24 October 2012) “Neo-liberalizm ve Şiddet -II-“ <http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=373710> (Accessed on 06.02.2013)

On the other hand, when the desire to consume goes beyond the capacity to buy, consumers are welcome to spend their future income and encouraged to obtain credit cards. Yıldızoğlu (2012) emphasizes that consumer, whose unhappiness is fuelled, is desperately in search of happiness,⁵⁰ drawing upon the work of William Davies, through buying commodities and consequently s/he sinks into debts. That is why Yıldızoğlu (2012) proposes that this situation breeds unbelievable levels of unhappiness, depression and hopelessness.

Indeed,

Capitalism would seem to require an optimal balance of happiness and unhappiness among its participants, if it is to be sustainable. The need for dissatisfaction is implicitly recognized by Keynesian economics, which sees the capitalist system as threatened by the possibility of individual and collective satisfaction, manifest as a demand shortfall. Capitalism's gravest problem is then how to maintain governments or consumers in a state of dissatisfied hunger, and how to find ever more credit through which to feed that hunger. The defining difference between the Keynesian era and the neo-liberal era was simply that the former depended on insatiable, debt-fuelled, 'unhappy' state, whereas the latter depended on an insatiable, debt-fuelled, 'unhappy' consumer (Davies, 2011: 4).

Thus, it is clearly seen that consumers should stay dissatisfied enough to look for satisfaction consuming. However, they should not be so dissatisfied that they act against the culture of capitalism. Capitalism tries to run 'the political economy of unhappiness'. Avoiding from making people really happy,⁵¹ capitalism has the consumer taste happiness through a hedonic experience, which makes him/her want more. While doing this, advertising plays a major role in motivating for consuming.⁵²

Davies adds that capitalism cannot carry on only through promising more choice, happiness and money. "The spirit of capitalism is its promise of not only utility or

⁵⁰William Davies (2011) explains 'happiness' in three different categories. Firstly, happiness comes through "immediate experience of pleasure" which indicates hedonism. Secondly, happiness is related to having a balanced life and capability of acting logically. Lastly, happiness is "historic and messianic, the endlessly delayed promise of Enlightenment" (pp. 11).

⁵¹In fact, real happiness is understood as stopping to look for more satisfaction as there is enough of it.

⁵²Especially, after discovering such psychological traits as libido, frustration and impulse, advertising began to develop tremendously (Davies, 2011: 5).

hedonia, but also of meaning” (Davies, 2011: 11). If otherwise, a moral crisis is inevitable⁵³(Davies, 2011; Fisher, 2009).

2.2.3. Hedonic and Utilitarian Alternatives

When you enter a restaurant, a coffee bar, a phone or a clothes shop, you may feel lost in countless choices that are provided. You become entrapped between hedonic and utilitarian alternatives. At this point, it is most likely that emotive patterns and desires become dominant over functional dimensions in the decision-making process. For example, when buying a phone, an emotive pattern such as its design may be more important than its functional features. One of its clear evidence is that *iPhone* has terribly high levels of SAR,⁵⁴ which indicates that one may endanger his health in exchange for a cool design. Furthermore, these phones are highly expensive compared to others.⁵⁵

As indicated before, desires can be more powerful than functional motives (Maslow 1968). On the other hand, Dhar and Wertenbroch (2000) indicate that deciding whether to have the pleasure or the functionality may depend on some other goals, such as getting a signed photograph of a celebrity.

When it comes to differentiate between various types of products, a basic distinction appears between essential and luxury goods. Essential goods are needed to have a suitable standard of living. However, luxury⁵⁶ products promise to give pleasure,

⁵³Fisher, M. 2009. **Capitalism Realism: Is There No Alternative?**, Zero Books: Winchester. pp. 21.

⁵⁴“Specific absorption rate (SAR) is a measure of the rate at which energy is absorbed by the body when exposed to a radio frequency (RF) electromagnetic field; although, it can also refer to absorption of other forms of energy by tissue, including ultrasound.[1] It is defined as the power absorbed per mass of tissue and has units of watts per kilogram (W/kg).[2] SAR is usually averaged either over the whole body, or over a small sample volume (typically 1 g or 10 g of tissue). The value cited is then the maximum level measured in the body part studied over the stated volume or mass.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Specific_absorption_rate (Accessed on 23.02.2013).

⁵⁵Namely, positional goods.

⁵⁶ ‘Luxury’ comes from the Latin word ‘luxus’ which means excess.

comfort and status.⁵⁷ According to Maslow (1968), in the hierarchy of needs, luxury goods are less significant than essential ones.⁵⁸ At this point, it is clear that luxury goods are consumed hedonically while essential goods are needed for their utilitarian attributes. Luxury goods are multisensory and give pleasure. On the other hand, essential goods are consumed for their functional aspects. Consider, for example, ovens, computers, security systems, etc (Dhar and Wertenbroch 2000, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982).

Some products can have both hedonic and utilitarian aspects. For example, while looking for a jacket, a consumer may want it to have a strong and durable cloth (functionality) and design (hedonic feature) at the same time. Another example is that a computer helps the consumer work at home and play games⁵⁹ as well. Furthermore, hedonic goods are designed to be “affect-rich”⁶⁰ whereas utilitarian goods (not necessarily all) are usually “affect-poor”.⁶¹

A surprising idea is that consumers sometimes look for pain to be satisfied or to get pleasure. Consider, for example, bitter chocolate, painful piercings, hot chilies, painful tattoos or horror films.⁶² Thus, the question of how hedonic products cause or give pleasure has been the focus of many scholars for the last 30 years now.⁶³ The

⁵⁷As pointed out in the article, “Rebel Sell”.

⁵⁸According to Deaton and Meullbauer (1980), economists also agree with this idea as luxury goods has a positive income elasticity of demand.

⁵⁹Helping wok at home makes the good utulitarian while playing games makes it a hedonic product.

⁶⁰According to Khan, Dhar and Wertenbroch (2004) affect-rich and affect-poor distinctions are not between good or bad. For example, a deterjant cleans better while another smells nice and makes one feel good. So those affects can be both good but have different features.

⁶¹A good example to this can be a man who continues to wear a *Rolex* watch that stops and whose battery is dead as an accessory because he feels rich and cool. He refuses to wear his old watch which works properly.

⁶²Here, it may be good to remember the Lacanian concept of “Jouissance”.

⁶³ Such as Berger, J., & Heath, C. (2007), Berger, J., & Ward, M. (2010), Bloch, P. H., Brunel, F. F., & Arnold, T. J. (2003), Bloom, P. (2010), Bohm, G., & Pfister, H. R. (1996), Botti, S., & McGill, A. L. (2011), Braun, K. A. (1999), Buehler, R., & McFarland, C. (2001), Clarke, D. (2003), Carter, T. J., & Gilovich, T. (2010), Celsi, R. L., Rose, R. L., & Leigh, T. W. (1993), Chan, E., & Mukhopadhyay, A. (2010), Chandon, P., Wansink, B., & Laurent, G. (2000), Chattopadhyay, A., & Alba, J. W. (1988), Chernev, A. (2004), Childers, T. L., Carr, C. L., Peck, J., & Carson, S. (2001), Chitturi, R., Raghunathan, R., & Mahajan, V. (2007), Chitturi, R., Raghunathan, R., & Mahajan, V. (2008), Cohen, L. (1995), Cowley, E. (2007), Cowley, E. (2008), Crossen, C. (2006), Crowley, A. E., Spangenberg, E. R., & Hughes, K. R. (1992), DeLeire, T., & Kalil, A. (2010), Dholakia, U. M., Gopinath, M.,

general view is that source of pleasure is determined by personal experience, where the consumer interprets the product. First of all, aesthetic and design of the product provide pleasure. However, aesthetics is not always pleasurable alone. Rather, a perception is created for the consumer to see the artwork placed on a product. When one has to make a choice between hedonic and utilitarian products, and the hedonic features of the product are superior to its functional features, then the consumer surprisingly chooses the utilitarian product; however, when the products have both functionality and hedonic requirements, then the consumer will most probably choose the hedonically superior one. Thus, it is clear that when the consumer can have the functional product, s/he is satisfied. On the other hand, when the product meets or exceeds the hedonic requirements, the consumer feels excited and happier (Alba, J.W., & Williams, E.F., 2012).

2.3. Perception, Advertising and Consumption

Perception can be defined as the way in “which information acquired from the environment via the sense organs is transformed into experiences of objects, events, sounds, tastes, touch, etc” (Roth, 1986: 81). All the senses that humans have can catch the attention of the consumers. It is for sure that color is one of the many things that catch our attention easily. Physical characteristics of a product may create a favorable perception. That is the main reason behind the fact that producers attach a remarkable importance to the design issues. For example, according to Gestalt theories (Roth, 1986), producers focus on stimuli which affects our perception via vision and other senses.

Sounds also have the ability to influence consumer’s final choice. Thus, it makes sense that music is commonly used to catch the consumer’s attention in shops, on the radio and television commercials. The main reason of this may be indicated as the

Bagozzi, R. P., & Natarajan, R. (2006), Diener, E. (2000), Ditto, P. H., Pizarro, D. A., Epstein, E. B., Jacobsen, J. A., & MacDonald, T. K. (2006), Dunn, E. W., Gilbert, D. T., & Wilson, T. D. (2011), Elster, J., & Loewenstein, G. (1992), and others.

capacity of the music to create a favorable mood, accordingly the perception of the consumer changes.

Furthermore, different types of odors can change the way people perceive the products. To illustrate, a shampoo which changes its odor can be perceived differently even if its quality and the other features are the same. Producers and sellers make use of the idea that odors triggers memories. Moreover, shopping malls may use freshly baked bread smell to make the consumers think that everything in the shop is fresh. Also it reminds us of our old times when our mothers baked bread and cakes at home. Thus, the shopping mall is perceived positively by the consumer (Jansson-Boyd, 2010).

In addition to these, consumers are eager to touch the products to see whether they feel as they are expected to. Jansson-Boyd (2010) indicated that consumers are 88 per cent likely to purchase the products that they are allowed to touch. Similarly, when consumers are allowed to taste the products, they tended to buy more. For example, some companies make a blind taste test to the consumers who are supposed to tell the difference between similar products. However, it can be suggested that consumers are made to think that the product tastes better or worse according to its brand and visual design.

2.3.1. Symbolic Consumption and Identity

When we define and compare ourselves to other people by looking at what we own, it means that the possessions gain meanings. Were different products not to have different meanings and bear different values, we would not buy them to differentiate ourselves from others and establish both our and other's identities.

Products can be turned into symbols, which have become a means of communication among people. These symbols are generally created by marketing and our society as well. The meaning of the symbol is understood by everyone so that we can interact with each other and construct both who we are and who the others are (Jansson-Boyd, 2010: 59). To illustrate, a BMW car appears as a symbol of wealth and

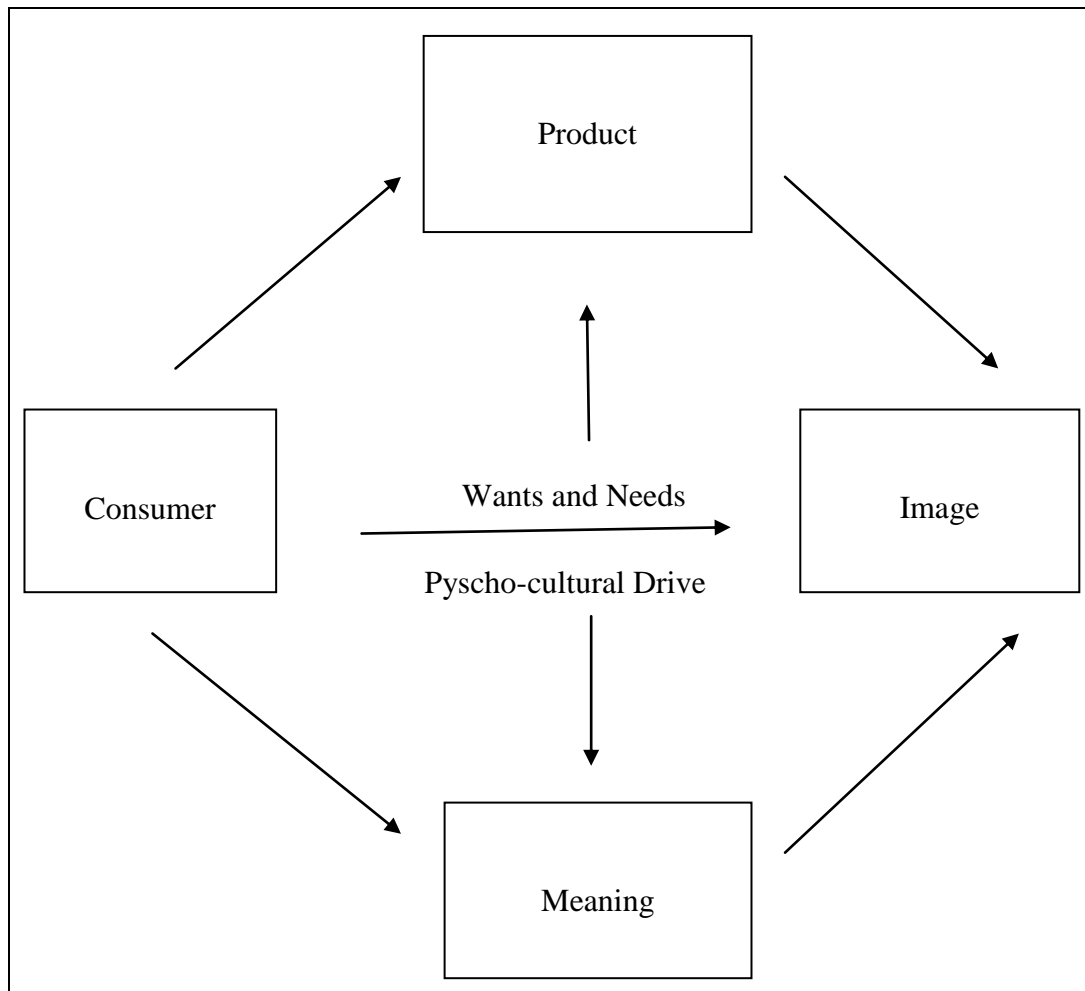
success. Therefore, driving this car makes us believe that we are wealthy and successful.

Also, it makes the others to believe the same as they read the shared symbols. People begin to expect of who you are depending on social codes created mostly by advertising. Think about some people wearing designer clothes like Gucci or Fendi. This leads other people to admire their clothes as they believe these people are successful.

With the help of these thoughts, their behaviors towards the people in designer clothes are influenced. Consequently, the people in designer clothes begin to act consistently with what the others expect. Thus, it becomes clear that there are three self-types. The first one is the actual self which indicates who people really are. The second is the ideal self that people always aspire to be. Lastly, there is the ought self that people think they ought to be (Jansson-Boyd, 2010: 65).

The ideal self usually tells us to be as perfect as Angelina Julie whereas the ought self tells us not to be fat like many people we know. For instance, a young woman who thinks her ideal self is Angelina Julie might become discontented with her own physical appearance and start to buy beauty products to look like Angelina Julie. This symbolic relation is shown in the table below.

Table 3: The relation between the consumer, product and image.



Source: Özdemirci, 2012

2.3.2. Advertising and Brand Wash⁶⁴

In England, the supporters of an anti-consumerist movement, namely “Enough”,⁶⁵ think that people consume too much, and the culture created by this overconsuming leads to many negative things all over the globe such as poverty, environmental destruction and a socially alienated youth. They ask some questions:

- “How much is enough?”

⁶⁴See Lindstrom, M. 2011. **Brandwashed**. Crown Publishing: New York.

⁶⁵See their web site: www.enough.org.uk

- “How can we change consumerism?”
- “How can we be less dependent on buying things to feel good about ourselves?”

They try to discover how they can avoid buying the things that are advertised through psychological tricks. Marketers usually focus on our fears, wishes and dreams to persuade us to buy their products. In this part, how marketers try to brand wash us is the question to which I would like to find an answer.

Marketers start to persuade us to buy when we are in our mother’s wombs. First of all, it is suggested by the media that babies are influenced by the external noises like music.⁶⁶ Thus, mothers are encouraged to buy music CDs that the babies may like. Furthermore, after the babies are born, marketers focus on the baby products that smell great. For example, using Johnson & Johnson products are popular among mothers. This brand claims to provide various products from bath time to bedtime. Mothers, whose hormonal changes are higher, readily accept suggestions and want the best for their babies. Furthermore, it is hardly surprising that baby clothes are rather expensive. Martin Linstrom (2011) indicates that children under the age of three years stand for an about 20 billion dollars market to advertisers. She furthers saying that the first thing that today’s children learn is not “dad” or “mom”, but “McDonalds”. As McDonalds uses LEGO colors and has a playground for children to have fun, children love it.

After a few examples from childhood, it is important to note that adults are not more difficult to persuade to buy than children. Marketers know that fear is one of the very few emotions that urge, motivate and persuade people to buy. Think, for example, swine flu that is recognized as a pandemic by both the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and the World Health Organization. Millions of people bought liters of antibacterial soap and got vaccinated against the flu. Furthermore, people like being scared especially by horror movies. Think, for example, *Dabbe* (2006) that is a Turkish horror film was watched by 539.381 people in Turkey.⁶⁷ It is clearly seen

⁶⁶For example, Minna Huotilainen, a reseacher from University of Helsinki indicates that “Music is very powerful in producing fetal memories.”

⁶⁷[http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dabbe_\(film\)](http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dabbe_(film)) (Accessed on 20.06.2013).

that fear is a powerful tool to persuade people to consume. Knowing this, marketers do not hesitate to make the most of it.

Another point is that many people become brand addicts and they cannot live without some certain products such as *iphones*. One of my best friends puts her *iPhone* under her pillow and wakes up several times at night to check whether she received a new message. In the morning she checks her mails and looks through all the news headlines even before she has breakfast. She has accounts on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram etc. and plays Angry Birds while at work. She paid approximately 150 liras to four *iPhone* cases, whose colors and pictures are different, each. Thus, this proves how *iPhone* becomes so addictive as alcohol or video games.

2.3.3. Motivational Determinants of Consumption

Celebrities are just normal human beings. However, according to marketers, they have a hidden power. Children always love heroes like Superman or Batman. Young girls long to be like Cinderella who is feminine and of a stunning beauty. Teenagers worship Justin Bieber. Adults want to have David Beckham's hair style. This obsession with celebrities stems from our ideal "future" self.

When celebrities show up in advertisements, it is most likely that the products are perceived to be more authentic. A celebrity does not necessarily have to be a singer, model or an actor, but a doctor, fashion designer, or cosmetician. For example, in Ipana advertisements, a film star⁶⁸ suggests the product as it would make your teeth look whiter than it looks naturally. The film star is somebody who symbolizes beauty, success, coolness, etc.

Furthermore, some companies use celebrity-driven advertisements. For example, using the same L'oriel shampoo Jannifer Lopez uses makes the consumers believe that they will have the same healthy, shiny and attractive hair as Jannifer Lopez's. She says in the advertisement "You deserve the best!".

⁶⁸Pelin Karahan.

Another example is that the Victoria's Secret top model Miranda Kerr explained her beauty and wellness secret, noni juice. It is a tropical fruit whose taste is sour. In the media, it is suggested that noni juice has various vitamins that our body needs to stay young and beautiful. Moreover, it is claimed that it makes tumors shrink. Soon after Miranda Kerr's suggestion⁶⁹, many people started to buy it. However, there is no scientific evidence that support those claims: "Noni juice has not been conclusively proven to effectively cure any medical condition. Furthermore, noni juice may cause several side effects, including serious problems such as liver disease."⁷⁰

Also, women may use clothes to catch attention to their physical attributes while men often use them as status symbols. A woman may wear high heeled shoes to look more attractive. On the other hand, a man can wear the same Rolex watch as James Bond's to look intelligent and successful as well as rich.

Furthermore some cosmetic companies maintain that their products promise "youthful smooth skin" or "a skin you love to touch".⁷¹ Apart from skin, hair is a symbol of youth and health. When we look at most women, we see that the older they get, the shorter their hair is. One of the main reasons of this is that hair losses its good quality with age. That is why shampoo advertisers hire young women with long, shiny, thick and silky hair. As hair symbolizes beauty, most religions⁷² require women to cover their hair to control their "ability to advertise their sexuality" (Saad, 2011: 89).

⁶⁹"I've been drinking it since I was 14, and when I've got a long day ahead of me, it's the one thing I can't live without." <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2011213/Miranda-Kerr-reveals-supermodel-secrets-Tahitian-Noni-juice-spoonfuls-coconut-oil.html> (Accessed on 29.06.2013).

⁷⁰<http://www.livestrong.com/article/183975-what-are-the-dangers-of-noni-juice/> (Accessed on 29.06.2013).

⁷¹Woodbury Soap's slogan.

⁷²Such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Table 4: Motivational determinants of consumer behavior

Cultural	Social	Personal	Psychological
Culture, Subculture, Social Class	Reference Group, Family, Roles & Status	Age & Life Cycle Stage, Occupational Economic Circumstance, Lifestyle, Personal & Self Concept	Motivation, Perception, Learning, Beliefs & Attitudes

Source: Philip Kotler, 2013

As it is seen in the table above by Philip Kotler,⁷³ there are various motivational determinants of consumer behavior. First of all, humans are motivated to buy when they need something. This need can be either innate or acquired. Innate needs can be counted as water, food, clothes, etc. while acquired needs that are learned as a response to our society can be counted as self-esteem, love, self-confidence, etc (Jonsson-Boyd, 2010: 118).

Secondly, people’s aims represent motivational determinants. These goals may grow out of beliefs, cultural values, social norms and experiences. Sometimes we see a person save money to buy the computer that he has always been wanting. This indicates that people can react emotionally towards shopping.

Moreover, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs is referred in many consumer research books to show the way human needs can be a motivation for consumption. In the table below, we see that Maslow suggests five levels of human needs. For humans to reach the next level, they have to master the level that they are on.

⁷³Philip Kotler is an American marketing author, consultant and professor; currently the S. C. Johnson Distinguished Professor of International Marketing at the Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University. He is the author of over 40 marketing books, including **Principles of Marketing, Kotler on Marketing: How to Create, Win, and Dominate Markets,** and **Marketing 3.0: From Products to Customers to the Human Spirit.** Kotler describes strategic marketing as serving as “the link between society’s needs and its pattern of industrial response.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philip_Kotler (Accessed on 29.06.2013).

At the bottom, we see physiological needs which indicate essential ones such as water and food. If the consumers meet these needs, they look for the next level of needs, which is safety ones such as housing. If the consumers feel secure in a certain environment, the next level is belongings and love needs which may be satisfied through going to concerts or pubs. Then comes the need for self-esteem where humans like to be respected by others. Consumers would like to satisfy this need through consuming expensive products to differentiate themselves from others. Lastly, self-actualization represents the needs for humans to fulfill their potential. For example, for a poet, writing a good poem leads to self-actualization.

Furthermore, another theorist Hull (1943)⁷⁴ proposes that human become motivated to lessen the unpleasant feelings. Therefore, with regard to their aim to get rid of this feeling, they tend to buy. For example, think someone who has a stomachache. It is inevitable for him to buy pain killers to relieve the pain.

Knowing these, companies use several methods to arouse motivation. Billions of dollars are spent for these methods. People all over the world receive advertising messages via television, newspapers, billboards, etc. Advertisements are anywhere we turn our heads to. These advertisements aim to capture consumers' attention. Achieving this, they may use a vivid imagery to persuade consumers to buy (see Illustration 1 in Appendix D).

Another thing that advertisements aim is to change consumers' attitude towards a specific product. They elaborate on the messages the advertisement gives through using personal relevance, perceived importance or personal responsibility (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

Furthermore, advertisers sometimes use humor, which is thought to be pretty successful. However, the type of humor must be appropriate and related to the product (see Illustration 2 in Appendix D). Another method is to use sexy images as they have the potential to easily catch attention (see Illustration 3 in Appendix D). Gad Saad (2011) suggests that almost everything we buy from cars, gifts, perfumes to high heels and cosmetics is related to sex, which is a very striking idea, though. Another point is that the idea that fear sells was mentioned earlier in this study.

⁷⁴Hull, Clark L. 1943. **Principles of behaviour**. Appleton-Century-Crofts: New York.

However, advertisers also use shocking contents similar to fear methods (see Illustration 4 and 5 in Appendix D).

2.4. Conclusion Remarks

To understand the consumer psychology is a key to understand consumer behavior, and thus, to realize the reasons why the consumer culture has changed through a process in which we have experienced different accumulation regimes from fordism to post-fordism. Advertisers must know what the motivational determinants of consumption are to catch consumers' attention to the product. Some of the persuasive methods used in advertising industry are mentioned in this chapter. People reconstruct who they are through the products that they buy. They believe these products differentiate them from others. As the products bear a kind of symbolic meaning that is shared by everyone, expectations of the people and accordingly behaviors of the consumers change. Furthermore, in what ways an advertisement becomes attractive was discussed.

In this chapter, a general background of consumer research from past to present was given. It was understood that without the productive capital, markets would disappear. Also, I discussed how people define themselves through consumption. Most consuming practices are linked to how people feel. Whether emotions play a part in deciding what to buy and how different types of consumption lead to happiness were discussed.

In conclusion, in this, I dealt with symbolic consumption, perceived values created by advertising techniques to manipulate our minds and persuade us to buy. I discussed what temptational perfumes, BMWs, iPhones, sexy images, etc. reveal about human nature. While trying to explain these, I mainly focused on consumer psychology, perception and motivational determinants of consumer behavior.

In the next chapter, the main focus is on the changing consumer culture in Turkey especially after the starting point of Turkey's relationship with the European

integration process. In the 1980s and 1990s, as Kozanođlu elaborated in his studies⁷⁵, there were remarkably quick changes in Turkish consumer culture. People started to link happiness to prosperity. Furthermore, people tried to act, wear, eat and live like Europeans. With advertisement examples, this chapter revealed that Turkish consuming practices shifted from old, traditional and familiar to new, modern and foreign. While explaining these, the focus is on cultural, social, sociological, economic and political aspects of consumption in Turkey.

⁷⁵Pop ađı Ateři (1995), Cilalı İmaj Devri (2001).

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH CONSUMER CULTURE

3.1. Introduction

Starting from the first quarter of the 19th century, the Turkish consumer culture has undergone a series of important changes as there started a process of westernization with an emphasis on the institutions of the state and lifestyles of the people especially those living in the cities. Also, it can be suggested that apart from capitalist countries of the west, the rest of the world has experienced the modernization process through consumption rather than production. From the late 19th century onwards, the Turkish people were getting ready to embrace the western way of life when certain groups or classes started experiencing a modern life shaped by imported products. Some of the reasons lying behind it can be counted as the commercial agreements, developments in the transportation system and a class readily waiting for adopting this kind of consumption system.

With the establishment of the new Republican state, the creation of a national economy became a major objective. While the period of liberal economic policy based on an open trade regime had been followed in the 1920s, a more protectionist state-led strategy of industrialization was pursued during the 1930s (Yalman, 2009: 157-163). As Orçan (2004: 122) indicated that the relations with the West gradually developed even during this statist experience as the government continued with the westernization and modernization process. That is, the West has continued to be the source of motivation for change for the Turkish people. That is why social change which is both vertical and horizontal is seen as westernization has become not only a matter of a politics of the state but also of the culture and the society. The Republican governments encouraged people to reform their family life, culture,

religion, clothes and entertainment according to the Western values. Accordingly, it can be suggested that this process of westernization may be seen as highly revolutionary. The Turkish government had to experience an integration process socially and culturally to catch up with the civilization level of the West. Turkey underwent an adjustment period after the Second World War. According to Galip L. Yalman, there appeared

... a basic dilemma though: how to re-integrate the Turkish economy into the world economy in accordance with the liberalization of international trade relations as advocated by the designers of the new world economic order, whilst maintaining the objective of industrialization which was deemed essential for national development (Yalman, 2009: 177).

However, the economy became more and more dependent on foreign sources to fulfill the aims of economic development. As a result, consumption was encouraged to prevent crisis stemming from lack of demand, which was used as a tool to overcome obstacles before the capital accumulation. This indicates well the relation between the capital accumulation and consumption. In this context, people started to consume more and communicate through their consuming habits. As indicated before, the consumer culture appeared in the post-modern period. However, modernism which started with industrialization and production was also conducive and encouraging for increasing consumption since the aim was the creation and expansion of domestic markets and the world market. And in the Turkish context, it will give rise to specific strategies of industrialization.

In this chapter, I will deal with the changing consumer culture and its practices that have an inevitable effect on the daily life in Turkey. Also, I will try to examine the development of dependent capitalism in the post-war period of Turkey as a periphery country. There will be a focus on external and internal factors determining the consumption habits and patterns.

3.2. The Development of the Dependent Capitalism⁷⁶ in the Post-War Period

In the aftermath of the Second World War, there appeared a new world order with two poles, namely in the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Turkey was in a struggle to adapt itself to the new world order. She took the steps towards becoming a part of the Western capitalism. According to Galip Yalman,

As the basic outlines of the post-war international economic order was coming into the agenda again. For the Turkish policymakers who had experienced the repercussions of being highly dependent on a single partner in the foreign trade relations for more than a decade, the idea of being incorporated into a world economy which would open the possibility of multilateral relations, was naturally quite appealing (Yalman, 2009: 176-177).

However, the Turkish economy gradually became dependent on foreign sources to sustain its developments. While the 1930s were dominated by the protectionist policies encouraging the accumulation of capital, a rapid shift occurred from an agricultural to an industrial society from the mid-1940s onwards, which inevitably caused problems in the labor market through distortions and unequal income distribution. In the 1950s, on the other hand, the policies implemented were clearly different from those of the etatist period. That is, policy measures were implemented to promote trade liberation. During this period, there were also attempts to attract foreign direct investments by changing the legislation about foreign capital investments twice (1951 and 1954). In 1954 the Law on Petrol and in 1960s the Law on Ereğli Iron and Steel Factories entered into force with the same aim (Orçan, 2004).

Another characteristic feature of the post-war adjustment period was the migration from rural to urban areas which continued throughout the 1950s and 60s. This was accelerated as a result of modernization of the agriculture with the increased

⁷⁶It is a canon word. This term was commonly used in the 1960s and 1970s and became popular again with the neoliberal ideas beginning to take root in the 1980s. It may be a good article to be touched upon about this issue: Vliegthart, A. (2010) "Bringing Dependency Back In: The Economic Crisis in Post-socialist Europe and the Continued Relevance of Dependent Development", **Historical Social Research**, Vol. 35. No: 2, pp 242-26.

imposition of agricultural machinery, tractor, etc. The new comers to the cities in search of jobs had created a new type of settlement in periphery of the cities, mostly as squatters. This was also the period of planned industrial development which led to the adoption of import substitution, industrialization with the aim of diminishing the dependence of the Turkish economy on imports. In this context, the new comers to the cities who settled in the peripheral areas would be looking for jobs in the newly established industries basically for the producing goods for the domestic market. It thus led to the emergence and subsequent expansion of a working class which would be making demands for better wages and living conditions, in other words they too want to be consumers of the products they were producing. However, the implementation of import substitution strategy proved to be rather unsuccessful in terms of creating jobs for the continuing flow of migrants to the cities on the one hand and failing to diminish the dependence of the economy on imports. Consequently, External debts rapidly increased which in turn increased the dependence on the inflows of the foreign capital. This process would be interrupted frequently by the balance of payment crisis which would in turn necessitate the adoption of the stabilization programs.

Another important aspect of Turkey's post war development is its relationship with European integration progress. The relations between the Common Market and Turkey started with the application of Turkey for the membership on 31 July 1959. The scope of this relation was determined in the Ankara Treaty signed on 12 September 1963. In 1970, the Annex Protocol that opened the doors of the Customs Union to Turkey was also signed. Yalman (2009: 239) further indicates that the Turkish economy could not be limited into the industrialization model based on the theory of comparative advantages Therefore, the 1970 Annex Protocol which was intended to eventually pave the way for the Customs Union⁷⁷ with the EEC, was criticized since one of the main aims was to create a less import-dependent industrial structure. Yalman furthers his argument stating that "industrialization has gained saliency more than ever" due to the decision to join the EEC. Therefore, there was a "potential conflict between the objective of becoming an industrialized economy and

⁷⁷Related tables showing the effects of the CU can be seen in the next parts.

the new mode of integration with the world economy that this membership would entail” (Yalman, 2009: 224-225).

The Turkish economy started to be liberalized in the late 20th century, as there was a reorientation of economic policies in many capitalist economies following economic and financial changes in the world economy during the 1970s. In the late 1970s, Turkey underwent a crisis as it had difficulty in paying off her foreign debts, which led to a foreign exchange crisis, and continuous price rise was observed. That is why a set of economic and political decisions was taken on 24 January 1980. Some problems such as high inflation rates, melting foreign exchange reserves and current account deficit were tried to be managed during the structural adjustment period which was supported by the World Bank and the International Money Fund (IMF).

Before the 1980s which is suggested to be a turning point for the Turkish economy, politics and cultural values, the society had been encouraged to stick to its traditional values, which put emphasis on the regional cultures, internal dynamics and local values that are close to novelties and support to preserve the existing culture. However, following the social and economic policies beginning to take root in the 1980s; the society has become surrounded by a consumption culture and extreme individualism. Moreover, the new accumulation regime that was touched upon above has made people’s lives addicted to consuming practices, which on the one hand provides continuity in the economic relations; but, on the other hand, leads to social disintegration.

Furthermore, in the last quarter of the 20th century, the Turkish economy underwent another phase of remarkable changes in the areas ranging from production, consumption to privatization, liberalization and localization, which entailed a shift from the strategy of import substitution to trade liberalization and export orientation. Now imported goods and foreign brands became more common and their consumption was encouraged. The structural reorientation of economic policies would inevitably bring along the modification of the Turkish economy with the world economy during the 1980s and 90s.

In Turkey, the neoliberal politics was based on the market and the market society, which was created through the legal, institutional and cultural interferences made to

build and develop a market. Therefore, what was at issue is opening the pathway for the market forces through adopting the strategies of the West such as encouraging investment, privatization and competition that are mentioned in the next parts. The 1980s were, consequently, considered to lay the background for and deepen the period of the market society which the capitalism inevitably became dependent on.

3.2.1. Export-oriented Economy between 1980 and 1989

Like their counterparts in many other developing countries, the Turkish policymakers attempted not only to increase the national income as much as possible, but also to create a modern industrial structure. The decisions of 24 January 1980 turned the inward-oriented industrialization model of the industry into export-oriented growth model.⁷⁸ This was a turning point for the Turkish economy as these decisions were needed to balance the payments deficits, which pushed the policy makers to adopt these new measures. IMF Stabilization Program was adopted before the 1980 coup, but continued to be implemented after it. The 1980s meant development and abundance for some people whereas it meant poverty, unemployment and corruption for others. There was a widening gap between classes, and a societal change occurred. The ban on the political and union activities and low wages along with rising prices led to a contraction of the demand especially by the wage earners. Strikes were suppressed, which resulted in low production costs. As the domestic market shrank, the surplus production had to be channeled to the foreign markets. Thus, this created a short-term success in economic policy while the government put emphasis on privatization and opening to foreign markets. However, this success in export orientation was not accompanied by new investments in new industrial sectors. The structural adjustment thus continued the dependence of the economy on domestic and foreign debts.

⁷⁸Especially after the military coup on 12 September 1980, this new growth model was put forward more explicitly.

Many consumption goods entered into the country due to the import-oriented politics in the late 1970s whereas this dependent economy would disappear with the new political structure beginning to take shape in the 1980s. Turgut Özal, who was the founder of the ANAP (the Motherland Party), tried to welcome the international markets into the protectionist state-dominated economy through a set of essential reforms after he had been elected as the Prime Minister of Turkey in 1983. He implemented a reform program for a more liberalized economy through reducing the power of state in the economy, abolishing subsidies and encouraging privatization. Özal became successful in cutting down external deficits, balancing economic growth and increasing foreign direct investment with the market reforms of Özal gained Turkey a more competitive nature in global markets. The economic transformation of Turkey in the 1980s and the early 1990s has brought along political, cultural and social changes. In brief, a consumer society was created successfully in the 1980s. The distinctness of classes relies on symbols and perceptions. The media played a big role in creating the consumer society in Turkey through using hedonic concepts stylistically and thematically. According to the old Japanese culture, anything shiny is worthless and inferior as the Japanese believe that an old good lives with its owner and reflects his patience, care and most importantly memories. Yet, in the capitalist societies, the newer the cooler. The Turkish people are known to have been frugal in the past. However, the media forced the people to satisfy their so-called needs through hedonic motivations. That is why the neo-liberal politics brought Turgut Özal to the fore as an economist bureaucrat. He did not quit social customs or values. At that time, consumption concept became individualized. One of the reasons behind it was that fashion became dominant in every part of the country. People were influenced by the fashion while deciding about their clothes, decoration, leisure time and life style, which means that the temporariness of fashion would seem to be everywhere. As for the nature and uncertainty of the new political structure, Yalman indicated that

It is noteworthy that the prevalence of alleged uncertainty, whatever its cause, did not bar the Turkish economy from accomplishing two of the major objectives of the structural adjustment program, namely, economic growth and export promotion” (Yalman, 2009: 259).

To have a better understanding of the structural adjustment policies, it is necessary here to view the relations between the EU and Turkey in two parts, that is, before the Customs Union and after the Customs Union. After entering the Customs Union in 1995, the structural adjustment mentioned above led to an increase in the import levels and foreign trade volume as it is shown in the tables below taken from the website of the DTM where further information can be obtained with respect to several variants of the EU and Turkey economic relations.

As it is seen in the tables below, from 1980 to 1995 before the CU, Turkey opened the doors wider to the foreign trade, through which the import rates of Turkey increased around 15 % per year while the export rates to the EU increased around 16 % per year. Furthermore, the export rates of Turkey increased 12 % while the export rates from the EU increased 15 %. The Turkey's trade with the EU drew parallels with the overall foreign trade as of 1980. In 1980, the deficit rates hit the highest with an increase of 46 %. Yet, it went down to 17,5 % till 1985. Following that, it experienced ups and downs until reaching 25 % just before the CU. In the same period, the deficit rates decreased from 29 % to 9,7 % and lastly increased again to 20 % before the EU.

Table 5 shows that the major shareholder of Turkey with respect to foreign trade had been the EU both before and after the CU. Yet, the total share of the EU in the foreign trade increased from 45 % (1993-1995) to 51 % (1996-2000). However, table 6 indicates that within 8 years following the CU, the export rates to the EU increased faster than the export rates from the EU, which resulted in the fact that the rate of exports meeting the imports rose from 66 % in 1995 to 88,2 % in 2001.

Therefore, it is clear that the foreseeable effect of the CU on the Turkish economy was the foreign trade deficit. Yet, it is rather impossible to determine to what level the foreign trade deficit was directly resulted from the CU. Following the CU, Turkey's export to the EU constantly increased as shown in the tables below as well.

Table 5: Foreign Trade in Turkey and the Share of the European Union

Overall				The European Union				Share of the European Union (%)		
Million \$				Million \$						
	Export	Import	Volume	Export	Import	Volume	Deficit	Export	Import	Volume
1980	2.910	7.909	10.819	1300	2360	3660	1060	44.7	29,8	33.8
1985	7.958	11.343	19.301	3204	3895	7099	691	40.3	34.3	36.7
1993	15.348	29.429	44.777	7.289	10.950	18.239	3.661	47.5	37.2	40.7
1994	18.105	23.270	41.375	8.269	10.279	18.548	2.010	45.6	44.2	44.8
1995	21.636	35.707	57.343	11.078	16.760	27.938	5.782	51.2	47.2	48.7
1996	23.224	43.626	66.850	11.548	23.138	34.686	11.590	49.7	53.0	51.9
1997	26.261	48.559	74.820	12.248	24.870	37.118	12.622	46.6	51.2	49.6
1998	26.974	45.921	72.895	13.498	24.075	37.573	10.577	50.0	52.4	51.5
1999	26.588	40.692	67.280	14.333	21.419	35.752	7.086	53.9	52.6	53.1
2000	27.485	54.149	81.634	14.352	26.388	40.740	12.036	52.2	48.7	49.9
2001	31.334	41.399	72.733	16.118	18.280	34.398	2.162	51.4	44.2	47.3
2002	35.081	50.832	85.913	18.059	23.124	41.183	5.065	51.5	45.5	47.9
2003	47.252	69.339	116.591	24.484	31.695	56.179	7.211	51.8	45.7	48.2

Source: DTM

Table 6: Rate of Exports Meeting Imports

YEARS	EXPORTS / IMPORTS
1993	66,6
1994	80,4
1995	66,1
1996	50,1
1997	49,2
1998	56,1
1999	66,9
2000	54,4
2001	88,2

Source: DTM

Also, high price and interest rates, high tariffs and import restrictions were tried to be eliminated through the initiation of the structure reforms. The main aim was to minimize governmental interference with the economy and internalize the neo-liberal approaches in the market. Along with these, postmodernism that puts otherness and individualism together arrived. Consequently, the structural adaptation period Turkey underwent changed the social structure profoundly, which caused a new consumer culture to appear.

Initially, this structural change was not considered to be an adaptation process into the world economy through a new mode of integration where the macroeconomic policies began to change their shapes from 1980 onwards. Rather, the change was perceived to be concerned about the struggle to come over “the detrimental impact of the potential conflict with the ‘external actors’ who might be in a position to choke the Turkish economy by cutting the inflow of funds which are indispensable for the functioning of the import-dependent industrial structure” (Yalman, 2009: 237).

It can be suggested that the structural changes aimed to draw parallels with the developments of the world's capitalist countries. On the other hand, as indicated in Chapter 2, this structural change brought along a "depression economy" (Yıldızoğlu, 2012). Depression economy stands for the unhappiness ironically created by the economic system which promises happiness through shopping. In the societies where neoliberalism came to the fore, especially in the 80s and 90s, the understanding of happiness took a different shape. As the governments tried to interfere with and direct people's lives, a new happiness economy was born. This policy was related with the struggle to tackle with the excessive production crisis, lack of demand and to cut down the labor costs.

According to Yıldızoğlu (2012), due to the fact that the utilitarian consumption that fed the material needs of Fordism had achieved satisfaction, new fields of consumption needed creating. Hence, through this consumption relying on pleasure that would never achieve satisfaction, a new pattern of consumption, namely hedonistic consumerism, was created. The consumer was believed that he could buy happiness through consumption and began to spend the money he did not earn yet. That became possible gradually thanks to the credits.

3.2.2. Liberalization Process between 1989 and 2001

ANAP government took an action with a Decree No. 32 that came into force on 11 August 1989. With this Decree, it became possible to take foreign credits and transfer foreign instrument, precious metal and cash. This led to the capital account liberalization, full capital mobility and convertibility of the Turkish lira. These policy changes were in response to the international financial market's demands. The economic crisis that came in the aftermath of the First Gulf War was a result of the rise in both domestic and foreign debts.

Along with these economic and political changes, the Turkish society underwent a process of cultural change. Globalization economically and politically influenced the

consumer and the consumer culture from the 1980s onwards. In the 1980s, the Turkish Economy grew fast. The end of ANAP rule coincided with the end of the cold war when liberal democracy was declared as “the end of history” (Fukuyama, 1999:7).

The background of these changes was laid down through the ups and downs of the relationship between Turkey and the EU. As it was indicated above, Turkey’s integration process with the EU came to a halt in 1982 when the EU decided to suspend its relations with Turkey in the wake of the Military Coup of 1980s. These relations were resumed in 1987 when Turkey applied for full membership. In 1995, the EU signed the CU agreement with Turkey without the prospect of granting it full membership. In the Helsinki summit meeting in 1999, Turkey was granted a candidate status. As it is seen, Turkey’s relations with the European integration have a history of more than 50 years. This relationship has experienced ups and downs for many years. There have been many elements of the enlargement process of the EU such as “Copenhagen Criteria”, “Agenda 2000”, “Pre-accession Strategy”, “Twinning”, “Screening”, “Pre-accession Assistance”, “Regular Reports”, “National Programme”, “Opening of EC Programs and Agencies”. Turkey has to catch up with the other candidate countries.

Turkey was then subjected to some criteria defined at the Copenhagen Summit of 1993, as a candidate: achieving stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, having a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the EU and having the ability to take the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.

As known there are a few criteria that the countries wishing to join to the EU and/or the EU economic and monetary union must fulfill. The former ones must fulfill three criteria of the Copenhagen Economic Criteria while the latter ones must fulfill four criteria of the Maastricht Convergence Criteria. The most important criteria that a country must have according to the Copenhagen Economic Criteria are “the existence of a functioning market” and “the capacity to cope with the competitive pressure and market forces in the EU” while the Maastricht Convergence Criteria

indicates “inflation rate”, “interest rate”, “exchange rate mechanism”, and “financial position of the government” (budget deficit and government debt).

Furthermore, as Harvey (2003) indicated consumption moves from goods to services such as education, tourism and health services. Also, their consumption was faster than the goods. Moreover, advertisements are so important that they do not only sell a certain product but also manipulate our desires through creating images. Advertisers knew well that creating images was as effective as advertising itself. Thus, the Turkish society was turned into a consumer society where people spent more than they earned to catch up with the Western way of life.

Along with cigarette, Nescafe and other imported products, the Turkish people met some luxurious brands such as Adidas and Nike. Following these, TRT started colored broadcasting. The people longed to have credit cards, Gold and Platen cards which enabled them to spend money easily. On the one hand television and advertisement became active in everyday life, which familiarized the Turkish people with foreign films and soap operas encouraging consumerism.⁷⁹ On the other hand, the Turkish people wished to live the life of the West through wearing, eating, living like them. Respect was shown according to the furniture people used in the guest rooms of their houses, the latest model car in which people entered to their street, the expensive watch which people wear during cocktails, etc. Therefore, it became easier to differentiate people’s class that they belonged to. While traditional people would like to look the same, the new modern ones enjoyed being different and cool. Thus, goods masked real identities and created new ones.

Becoming rich was one of the main aims pointed out by Turgut Özal at that time. Namely, when he visited Tunisia, he was noted to tell the president of Tunisia that “A rich Muslim is better than a poor one” (Bali, 2002: 33). At that time, the people started to buy lottery tickets, and on Monday evenings all the families sit and watched TRT lottery program with excitement. Some of the Turkish films were about an ordinary man that became rich thanks to his lottery ticket and how his

⁷⁹For example; *The Six Million Dollar Man* (1974), *Hollywood Wives* (1985), *Paper Dolls* (1984), *Poor Man Rich Man* (1976).

family and friends acted differently towards him. They respected him more than ever before. They called him and followed him everywhere. As money gives the consumers choice, it is understandable that choice gives freedom in consuming goods, education, clothes, health and so on.

Thus, as has been argued above struggling to become more modern and westernized, the Turkish people have internalized the consumer culture mainly since the 1980s and 1990s. It can be suggested that the 1980s were the watershed years when Turkish economy opened up to the world market, liberalized, and foreign capital and credits poured in the encouragement of individualism, liberalism. Postmodernism began to appear also as a political ideological response to the 1970s' crisis, exhaustion of peripheral Fordism and import substituting industrialization search for a new regime of accumulation or regulation or new forms of articulation with the world economy. Consequently, it can also be suggested that the politics of financial liberalization resulted in radical changes in the society and cultural values. A new consumer culture was born.

When we look at the data, as shown in the tables 7 and 8, the share and value of imported goods from the EU were higher than consumption goods. It becomes clear that as table 7 shows that the share of investment and imported goods from the EU were higher than that of the consumption goods while the latter also tended to increase over time. This is because of the way in which the CU operated. It also showed the continued dependence on the imported of the Turkish industry. On the other hand, there was a sudden jump in the imports of the consumption goods with the entry of Turkish economy into the CU.

The increasing share of the consumption goods may have detrimental effect on the Turkish economy over the long term. However, it is an undeniable fact that the goods imported from the EU created an awareness of the quality and standards of the products and consumer rights in the Turkish public. The detrimental effects of the imported consumption goods can be balanced through the taxes collected for the luxurious consumption goods.

Table 7: Percentage of the imports to the EU with respect to the different categories of goods

Year	Investment		Intermediate goods		Consumption	
	Share (%)	Value (%)	Share (%)	Value (%)	Share (%)	Value (%)
1994	2.9	-	32.5	-	64.6	-
1995	2.9	26.2	31.8	25.8	65.3	29.7
1996	3.4	24.5	32.3	5.6	64.3	2.7
1997	3.5	6.8	33.5	10.1	63.0	4.0
1998	3.6	15.6	34.2	12.4	62.2	8.8
1999	4.4	29.0	34.7	8.0	60.9	4.0
2000	4.6	5.5	35.9	4.5	59.5	-1.2

Source: DTM

Table 8: Percentage of the imports from the EU with respect to the different categories of goods

Year	Investment		Intermediate goods		Consumption	
	Share (%)	Value (%)	Share (%)	Value (%)	Share (%)	Value (%)
1994	29.4	-	63.3	-	7.3	-
1995	28.7	50.5	62.5	52.5	8.8	87.5
1996	31.9	52.9	55.7	22.2	12.4	92.5
1997	29.5	-0.8	56.3	8.8	14.2	23.2
1998	29.8	-2.0	55.1	-5.3	15.0	2.5
1999	28.4	-15.5	55.2	-10.9	16.5	-2.7
2000	27.3	19.5	53.0	19.4	19.2	45.1

Source: DTM⁸⁰

Consequently, it is clearly seen that consumption goods, investment goods and intermediate goods consistently increased. These developments indicate that the CU created a consumption effect as touched upon in the beginning. People could buy more and more thanks to the credit cards that enabled them to spend the money they did not earn yet. However, in the end they sink into debt, let alone happiness. In the next part below, it is seen more clearly how neo-liberalism pave the way for endless need to satisfy wants rather than needs.

⁸⁰<http://www.dtm.gov.tr/ab/rakamlar/d%C4%B1sticaret.htm>

3.2.3. Neo-Liberalism and Consumption in Turkey⁸¹

Galip Yalman and A. Saad-Filho⁸² define neoliberalism as the contemporary form of capitalism (2009: 1). The essays collected by the authors focus on the economic transition to neoliberal capitalism in different countries by looking at different aspects of this process. Galip Yalman and Pınar Bedirhanoğlu's chapter on the Turkish case mainly deals with how the policies attempted to be justified on the ideological discourse of the need for the separation of economics from politics. While there was an attempt to put an end to class based politics during this neoliberal transformation, the identity politics came to the fore in the post 1980 era. Furthermore, they suggested that the state took a neoliberal authoritarian form in the 1980s, which led to radical alterations in the economic, political and cultural spheres (Yalman and Bedirhanoğlu, 2009: 107-128).

In this context, the restructuring of the State and economy and the society in accordance with the neoliberal ideology with an emphasis on "free market economy" people were encouraged to consume even beyond their means so that many people would increasingly indebted to buy the shiny goods in the shop windows. Luxurious and imported goods entered almost every house, which was a sign that the consumer culture was getting globalized.

The Turkish people wanted to live as comfortable as the Western people which they see on TV or observe their living standards when they were travelling abroad more frequently than before. In the 1980s, shopping centers and credit cards that gradually enabled people to spend limitlessly, take cash advance and benefit from installments were seen as a privilege. As credit cards (see Illustration 8 (a), (b) and (c) in Appendix D) were seen as a tool to show off, it spread quickly and lost its effect. However, people could not give up the luxury and started to spend the money that

⁸¹While the Turkish economy opened its doors to the international trade, the individualistic values grew stronger. The aim of consumption became to get pleasure. Also, the importance was attached on the new, freedom and the real self inside (Jill: "Eski çoraplarınızı atın.", "İçindeki seni harekete geçir!").

⁸²In the introduction part of the book mentioned.

they did not earn yet. That is because in Turkey, people have been encouraged to consume continuously. This necessitates working hard to earn more. Finally, the more they spend, the happier they think they become. Credit cards are a tool that helps people to reach luxurious goods easily and quickly. Thus, they are in the hands of not only the rich but also the poor hoping to become happier with luxury products. However, credit cards bring only disappointment, let alone happiness as they lead to a way of life full of debts.

Another point apart from the economic developments is that neoliberal ideology is reflected to politics through consumption. Neo-liberal ideology legitimized consumer relations and controlled social values through the idea of “no-alternative” and neutralizing the opposite views. The neo-liberal ideas dominated daily life, and even the ones who did not adopt these ideas were labeled as being incapable (Kozanoğlu, 2005: 56).

Consequently, the focus was shifted from production to consumption, which resulted in radical changes in market conditions and social values as well. To avoid economic crisis stemming from lack of demand; marketing, public relations, brand culture, advertising and image management are used, which in turn aimed to minimize any threat towards the capital accumulation in the consumer society. In other words, consumption was encouraged to prevent a crisis stemming from the lack of demand. This indicates the close relationship between the process of capital accumulation and the consumption patterns.

3.3. Cultural Background

Consumption is not only an economic phenomenon, but also cultural. In terms of economics, consumption appears to feed the physical needs while in terms of culture, consumption appears to feed the psychological needs through the symbolic and social meanings of the products rather than their utilitarian aspects.

3.3.1. Popular Culture, Image Management and Consumption Psychology in Turkey

As Can Kozanođlu indicated, the popular culture in Turkey reflects every condition in the society as a mirror. In the 1980s and 1990s, Turkish women wanted to seem “modern and beautiful” whereas men wanted to seem “well build, young and modern without moustache”. Being modern is underlined insistently. Can Kozanođlu states that Emine Őenlikliođlu who is a popular writer of the Islamic world pointed out in an interview that Muslim girls preferred turban instead of burqa as turban was more modern. Furthermore, he further notes that Mahsun Kırmızıgöl⁸³ defined himself as modern yokel (Kozanođlu, 1995: 134).

Kozanođlu suggests that, if necessary, being different from them or being more “like them” than them, the Turkish football fans⁸⁴ wanted to show that they were equal (even superior) to the Europeans (1995: 135). In the 1990s, nationalism was on the forefront, and almost every woman in the street wore the star and crescent necklaces.⁸⁵ At that time, pop stars claimed to be nationalist whenever they could on TV shows.⁸⁶ For example, Mustafa Sandal shouted in a Taksim concert “Turkey is the greatest”⁸⁷ (1995: 146). Thus, pop music seemed to be a tool of modernism and adaptation to a new but dominant movement. Whereas in the 1970s the Turkish pop music and cinema adopted the western style, in the 1980s it became closer to the English music and American films.⁸⁸

⁸³“Ben de Dođulu olduđum için kıroyum. Hem de kıronun kralıyım. Ama modern kıroyum.” (1995: 134)

⁸⁴Their slogan was “Avrupa, Avrupa duy sesimizi, bu gelen Trklerin ayak sesleri!”

⁸⁵They were more expensive than the other necklaces of the same kind even if almost everybody bought it.

⁸⁶Due to the Kurdish issue at that time, nationalism came to the foreground as it was seen from the media.

⁸⁷“En byk Trkiye, okay?”

The Turkish people sought to win their bread as well as identities. They started to flirt with the other sex whom they saw from a distance in the past. McDonalds, pubs and cafes replaced coffeehouses.⁸⁹ Also, music was one of the best ways towards modernism. The rhythm and melody of the western pop music were copied. Pop stars wore and acted like westerners⁹⁰ and sang many similar songs. People felt themselves more European/modern when they listened to their music.

Furthermore, through music, people were encouraged to adopt the modern sexuality westerners had. To illustrate, Fatih Erkoç sang “senin için cilveli diyorlar/diskodan bardan çıkmaz diyorlar”, Yıldız Tilbe sang “geceler boyu sevişmelerimiz bitmesin” and Yonca Evcimik sang “bandıra bandıra ye beni” (1995: 151).

In Chapter 2, how fear sells is explained. Also, in the 1990s, violence was getting ordinary, and even watching a murder became entertaining. Along with these, the Turkish culture has been fairly influenced by the language of the westerners as well. For example, “sanırım” is a translation from English phrase “I think”. Also, “korkarım” is translated from “I am afraid”. Lastly, “inanmıyorum” translated from “I do not believe it” is very popular among the Turkish youth⁹¹. These are just a few of various phrases that have leaked into the Turkish language.⁹² Thus, it is clearly seen that European influence on the Turkish popular culture has been multifaceted.

3.3.2. The Consumer Culture Governed by Relationships

As indicated several times in the previous chapters, the consumer culture is shaped by the relationships. Another supporter of this idea, Ayşe Buğra, who is a Professor

⁸⁹Kahvehane or Pastane/Muhallebici

⁹⁰ Serdar Ortaç, “Karabiberim” whose melody was similar to a Spanish song’s.

⁹¹ Sometimes these phrases are written on t-shirts and these ordinary t-shirts are more expensive than their equals.

⁹² “Üzgünüm” and “Aşkım” are other translated and commonly used words.

of Political Economy at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History and the co-founder of Social Policy Forum of the Boğaziçi University, wrote a book titled *Beyond the State-Market Dichotomy: Essays on Human Needs and Consumption* (2000) on the consumer culture in Turkey. In her book, she suggests that consumer culture does not catch the attention of only economists or/and sociologists, but also anyone who would like to understand the society. The main reason of this is consumption is a kind of mirror reflecting the economic, political and social conditions of the country.

Furthermore, she indicates that consumption is highly affected by the relationships among people. Every person has the aim of belonging to a group and fulfilling himself, which is very natural and universal. Consuming practices points out people's struggle to be a part of the society.

Ayşe Buğra also states that the Turkish people do not have equal opportunities that people in the developed countries have. The Turkish people experience consuming practices through their personal relationships. For example, to have a shanty house, you have to be someone's acquaintance. Shopping depends on trust between the seller and the buyer. Thus, buying something is related to the relationships.

Another point is that there has never been a pure need as needs being highly dynamic are always manipulated. Furthermore, she noted in her book that offices in Turkey are powerful. For example, Petrol Ofisi has got around 5000 offices around Turkey, 70 of which belong to some members of the Parliament. This indicates that cooperation bears power.

In brief, she thinks consumption as a tool for the society to include or exclude individuals. Buğra seeks to find out how relationships between people such as family, citizenship and communitarianism may determine the consumer practices in Turkey. Her book has helped me understand more clearly how social relationships influence what, how, where, when or even how much we buy. That is why this was a good perspective to examine consuming practices of the Turkish people from a perspective other than economics and politics.

3.3.3. Advertising and Brand Obsession in Turkey

When I came across a television commercial (see Illustration 9 in Appendix D), I remember holding my father's hand as a little child. I thought his hand was big, bigger than any hand in the world. His hand was the first loving hand that tried to protect me with care. It promised me reliability as Nokia does as a brand in its commercials.

Another situation that surprised me is that my uncle bought a Mercedes even if he did not have a house yet. I asked him why he had not preferred a cheaper car that had almost the same features. His answer was Mercedes has "the star" (see Illustration 10 in Appendix D).

In a conference,⁹³ Necdet Kara⁹⁴ stated that the most democratic countries are the ones that have the most brands as they make their voices heard through their brands. Today, countries fight with brands not guns or bombs. To our surprise, countries welcome the brands opening their doors widest. Even they cut down the prices of electricity, water and gas for the country that the brand comes from. Moreover, wherever the brand comes, the social condition changes accordingly. He furthers his argument that Saddam Hüseyin went down through using his enemies' coke, chocolate and money. Lastly, he suggests that countries without brands cannot become rich and be accepted as a superpower in the world arena. The speakers of this conference tried to explain the importance of brands and advertisements in consumption. To have a better understanding of the issue, it would be better to look through the examples mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Perception that is created via advertising is mentioned in Chapter 2. However, to further illustrate, 7 Up whose slogan was uncoke ("uncola") became a successful brand in Turkey as it presented itself as an anti-coke drink instead of simply a soda. Furthermore, during the Refahiyol government period, Zeki Triko launched a

⁹³ "Markada Neler Oluyor?" 2. Ankara Marka Konferansı. Ankara Reklamcılar Derneği. 19.12.2003.

⁹⁴ Director of Turkish Advertising Agencies Association.

campaign “we missed the sun” and used Atatürk as the model (see Illustration 11 in Appendix D).

When the Turkish people go abroad, they mention about this as if they did an interesting thing. One of the reasons lying behind it may be that Turkey seems to lack esthetic factories, products, etc. Producing esthetic things is in direct proportion to producing big brands. Think, for example, Ferrari, Porche or perfumes (see Illustration 12 (a), (b) and (c) in Appendix D). Also, Ajda Pekkan is still as famous as she was young. Not many singers from her time are still remembered like her.

For an advertisement to be successful, the brand has to be brave, catch attention, seem busy, collaborate with other stars and know how to keep its fans. Furthermore, it must be ready to break taboos. For example, Madonna⁹⁵ has tried to break taboos and is always legendarily famous. Turgut Özal, who died in 1993, is still remembered while Mesut Yılmaz was forgotten soon after he had quitted politics. Turgut Özal was brave enough to challenge the established norms.⁹⁶ Furthermore, looking busy is another way to catch people’s attention. For example, Hülya Avşar plays tennis, publishes magazines, sings, launches video clips, stars in the movies, reads İbni Sina and puts a Sunday photo of herself on Instagram. Also, Reha Muhtar presents *Televole* program and Ateş Hattı, flirts with the singer, Nilüfer, etc. However, these days we do not remember him as he does not seem to be busy any more.

Last but not least, another point is that some successful brands choose to bring local values to the fore. For example, Coco Cola tries to be a part of “ıftar sofraları” (see Illustration 13 in Appendix D). Moreover, Nike encourages people as an instructor or a mother: “Just do it!” Similarly, Lassa “would take you home.” Thus, as it is seen in the examples given above, advertising strategies seem to change as well according to the current situation existing in that society. However, the consumers are usually encouraged to relate themselves to the products emotionally.

⁹⁵She burned a Christian symbol and kissed with a black Jesus in her video clip “Like a Prayer”.

⁹⁶He inspected the soldiers with his shorts on. Furthermore, he sang Samanyolu songeven if he did not have a beautiful voice and he walked hand in hand with his wife. At that time, it was not acceptable for a politician to do this. Nazmiye Demirel walked metres away from Süleyman Demirel for years.

3.4. Field Study

I conducted a questionnaire on the changing nature of the consumer culture in Turkey and spending on luxurious goods, an interview with Can Kozanoğlu⁹⁷ and several other conversational interviews with experts, academicians and old people. In doing these, the main aim is to examine the phases that the Turkish consumer culture underwent especially in the 1980s and 1990s due to the economic, cultural, political and social changes during the integration process with the EU. Thus, it is shown that after the 1950s when Turkey adopted the multi-party system and privatization of the institutions took its root, the cultural change came to the fore thanks to TV and radio in the early 1980s. While exploring these issues, some magazines (Hafta (1949), Resimli Hayat (1952), Yalpaze (1952), Hayat (1952), Ses (1956), Hey (1971), Kadınca (1978), Erkekçe (1980)) and certain newspapers (Hürriyet, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, Tan, Yeni Asır, Günaydın, Akşam, Tercüman, Ulus) as well as several web sites have been made use of. Last but not least, the questionnaire on hedonic consumption, which was conducted in May, 2013, and the interview, which was made with Can Kozanoğlu about consumer culture in Turkey, are presented.

In conclusion, the following examples of the changing consumer culture in the 1980s and 1990s were picked up during some interviews with several people who are in their 40s and 50s, the youth of the 1980s and 1990s.

- Refrigerators were put in the living room by some families.
- A guest room, which was the second living room in the houses and where expensive and valuable goods were kept, appeared.
- A show cabinet, where silver and crystal plates, glasses and various ornaments were put, also appeared. Most of them were made in Europe, especially Germany and France.

⁹⁷Can Kozanoğlu is a Turkish sociologist, writer and journalist. He is the writer of *Cıvalı İmaj Devri* (1992), *Pop Çağı Ateşi* (1995), *İnternet Dolunay Cemaat* (1997) ve *Yeni Şehir Notları* (2001), etc. He is an important name for this research as he studied an important period in Turkey (1980-2000) in terms of the changing elements of the consumer culture in Turkey. He focused in his books and articles mainly on the Turkish popular culture and the changing nature of the consumption.

- People started to watch American soap operas such as Dallas (1978-1991), The Six Million Dollar Man (1974 - 1978), ALF (1986 - 1990), Our House (1986 - 1988), Charlie's Angels (1976 - 1981), Fantasy Island (1978 - 1984), The Streets of San Francisco (1972 - 1977), Beauty and the Beast (1987 - 1990), etc. in the TRT channels.
- Children started to meet American and European heroes such as Superman, Spiderman, Batman and He-Man.
- Barbie dolls, which symbolized beauty understanding of the West, were very popular among little girls.
- Some women who covered their head and bodies due to their religious beliefs started to buy colored and different patterned clothes and scarves to look more modern or/and to catch up with the new fashion.
- Many women cut Princess Diana's photographs out of newspapers, which read her glamorous wedding ceremony, and rushed to the hairdresser's.
- "Çıplaklık çirkin değildir" (Kasım 1980, Kadınca)
- Elidor: "Ve Elidor özgürlüğü." (Özgürlüğün neden ve nasıl olacağı belirtilmiyor).
- Etirmek: "Etirmek'le başlayan günler güzel." (Zayıf bir kadın silüeti).
- "Ye, iç, eğlen. Çok kısa ömrün. Sev çünkü sevmek en kolay" (Bu Ne Dünya Kardeşim, Yeliz).
- "Manken olacaklara öğütler"(30.06.1971, Hürriyet)
- The Christmas Day and the St. Valentine's Day started to be celebrated in Turkey, through imitating the West countries.⁹⁸

As understood from the examples above, the interviewees, who are now middle aged, were the youth of the 1970s and 80s. They closely observed the economic, cultural and social changes in Turkey in their houses, from newspapers, TV programs and advertisements. Many of these changes indicate psychological needs rather than

⁹⁸In the 1980s, it was a wierd practice for some so-called intellectuals to celebrate the Christmas Day in a church to experience the true feelings and lit candles just as the Christians did.

physical ones. In the next section, it is seen more clearly that consumption has been turned to be such a tool to feed psychological needs that people cannot stand buying more and more.

3.4.1. Questionnaires

As it is indicated in the first chapter, the main focus of this thesis is on the changing consumer culture in Turkey which has been undergoing an economic, cultural and social integration process with the EU. Although the chapter is dealing with the Turkish case, it would be better to support its findings here with the questionnaires and later with an interview.

In this regard, open ended questions and multiple choice questions were prepared for the participants from Turkey. The questionnaire was examined by Ergin Yıldızoğlu and some other experts. Later, some modifications were made to the questionnaire. The participants⁹⁹ were asked about their age, homeland, occupation and income to understand the differences among groups.¹⁰⁰ Questionnaires are needed to assess the dominance hedonic choices over utilitarian ones. Multiple choice and open ended questions were prepared. In the questionnaire that I conducted in May 2013, my aim is to investigate the consumer choice of goods for pleasure versus functional purposes. This questionnaire was given to 154 Turkish citizens between ages of 14 and 62. Among these, there were experts determined by mostly focusing on their fields of study. Unfortunately, no marketers were interested in the study. Thus, I could not take any contribution of a marketer for the study. When asked how they define luxury, the participants gave several different answers. Some of the remarkable ones are as in the table below.

⁹⁹74% of the participants completed at least a B.A. program.

¹⁰⁰The detailed information concerned is presented in the Appendices.

Table 9: The definition of luxury by the participants of the questionnaires

Luxury	born out of capitalism
	existing to feed our egos
	kind of wastefulness
	expensive
	helping you feel socially and psychologically good
	attaching you to a specific group
	a tool to show off

Source: the Results of the Questionnaire

Also, it was concerned with understanding the motivations of Turkish consumers buying luxury brand products. Their participation in this questionnaire was totally voluntary and anonymous. A period of hard work followed while I conducted the questionnaire on the academicians from the fields of sociology, political economy, psychology and politics mostly on the internet via e-mail, on the telephone and face to face. Face to face questionnaires lasted more than half an hour each. Before, conducting the questionnaire, there was a need for an explanation with regard to the focus of the study. Furthermore, the participants to the questionnaire were requested to give a true representation of their feelings while completing this questionnaire as much as possible. The questionnaire and its results were presented in the Appendices A and B in detail.

According to the demographic data obtained, participants consisted of 63 % women and 37 % men. 57 % of the participants stated that they were under-graduates while 26 % of the participants graduated from high school. Furthermore, the socio-economic data showed that 34 % of the participants have an income between 2.000 and 3.000 TRL, 23 % of them have an income between 1.000 and 2.000 TRL, 24 %

of the participants have an income between 3.000 and 5.000 TRL, 13 % of the participants have an income above 5.000 TRL and only 6 % of the applicants have an income between 500 and 1.000 TRL. As all of the data can be seen in graphics shown in the Appendices, 54 % of the participants indicated that they often bought luxury products while only 3 % of the participants said that they never buy luxury products.

Consumption is a tool helping the consumer to show his status to his environment. 19 % of the participants confessed that they tried to show their status through luxury products they used. However, surprisingly enough, 81 % of the participants said that they found this idea humiliating and egoistic. Also, 42 % of the participants declared that they would like to wear what everybody wears and likes. This is not a coincidence that the individuals tried to belong to a group of their society and adopted the consumption patterns of these groups. The people who have high levels of income chose to buy luxury brands and followed the fashion while the ones whose income levels are fairly low chose to buy counterfeits of the luxury brands. This is clear from the data showing that when asked about the luxury products they use, almost everybody chose famous imported brands. Especially, it is hardly surprising that even the ones whose income was below 1.000 TRL used *iPhones*. As indicated in Chapter 2, the media is very influential for the consumer to buy as luxury products are shown as a prestige.¹⁰¹

73 % of the participants thought that luxury is a tool to show off. In addition, 51 % of the participants said that luxury products made them happy and 55 % of them indicated that utilitarian consumption lagged behind the luxury consumption. 69 % indicated that luxury products fed their psychological needs and 54 % admitted that famous and expensive products made them happy and it was a big pleasure and prestige to have them.

Therefore, the majority of the participants agreed that luxury items lead to unnecessary expenditures and satisfy not only functional but also psychological needs. They further accepted that using items belonging to famous brands makes

¹⁰¹In the introduction part, the iPhone example was emphasized with examples.

them happy. In addition, they thought that luxury means showing off. Surprisingly enough, the minority of the participants maintained that luxury items are of high quality. Lastly, almost half of the participants said that their desire to buy an item decreases if they see the item on many people. The details can be observed in the Appendix B.

Furthermore, when they were asked to count five luxury products, their answers included almost the same famous brands. It is remarkable that they counted the products with their brands.¹⁰²

So far, the things that the scholars say have tended to be confirmed by the results of the questionnaire. When we look at the table below, we see that the behavior of the consumers is changing rapidly. Spending on luxury increased tremendously especially in the 1980s and 1990s. Luxury products in the table can be counted as cosmetics/perfume, watch, bag, clothing, jewelry, footwear, cigarette and alcohol.

The main reason behind the luxury shopping is that it is considered to be a way to differentiate socially. Also, people are believed by the media that the more they spend the happier they become. However, as indicated above, Yıldızoğlu states that it creates a kind of “depression economy”, let alone happiness. Increasing depression rates prove that despite spending more and more, people become less and less happy (Yıldızoğlu, 2012).

¹⁰²Perfumes: Gucci, Armani, Burberry

Watches: Rolex, Calvin Klein

Cars: Mercedes, BMW

Jewellery: Diamonds

Phones: iPhone

Computers: Apple

Table 10: Spending on Luxury between 1975-2004

Years	Spending on Luxury (million Turkish Liras)
1975	27
1980	205
1985	881
1990	17.260
1995	241.092
2000	5.784.400
2004	24.819.000

Source: Temelli (2003: 40)

In conclusion, the data collected from the graphics shown in the Appendices prove the fact that there is definitely a consumer society in Turkey, which has been created by the neoliberal politics heading for a market society. As it was indicated above, a market society is today an indispensable part of capitalism. Neoliberal politics fed the idea that the physical needs were already satisfied while psychological needs could never be satisfied. Therefore, people are made to think that luxury consumption gave happiness and coolness. We can say that luxury consumption was adapted by the Turkish society in the 1980s and 1990s as explained in Chapter 3 in detail. However, this trend seems to continue throughout the 2000s. Regarding the findings of the questionnaire, we see that women tend to spend more in luxury than men. It is true for everyone that luxury consumption may always be at issue as it seduces the society in its search for status and pleasure.

3.4.2. Interviews

A conversational interview was conducted with Can Kozanoğlu on 28 January 2013.¹⁰³ This interview is mainly on changes in the Turkish consumer culture. The questions that were asked and his answers are can be seen in the Appendix C.

Can Kozanoğlu, in particular, emphasized that consumer culture had always been changing. For example, after the World War II, when people did not have enough bread to eat, nearly everywhere you could find radios. Also, since the 1950s, we have been made believe that “life is short”. Thus, we are encouraged to consume and have fun. In fact, the longer human life become, the shorter we think it to be. In Turkey, especially after the Turgut Özal period, people began to be less contented with what they had. Thus, the 1980s were a turning point in consumer culture. The Turkish people were introduced with the foreign currency, credit cards, electronic items imported, and a new era with respect to the consumer culture began. Along with these, we also imported images, music and films from the European countries.

I conducted several other informal interviews with experts, academicians and very old people on this issue, spending hours reaching to people, explaining the aims of my study and interviewing them. Some of the important points were given in the conclusion part. However, many of them further commented on this issue stating that media studies gained importance and became a popular occupational branch and a field of study.

Furthermore, we see how education and health services turned into commodities. As only the rich can have a better education in private schools and better health service in private hospital. Another interesting point is that despite having accounts on social networks themselves, many people complained about social media where consumption to show off is very common. In addition, in the chapters above, these facts were tried to be laid bare more clearly with various examples.

¹⁰³ Apart from this interview, I also conducted informal conversational interviews with several people including experts, writers, very aged people, etc. The results gained were summerized in the last chapter of the study.

During the interviews that I conducted, I observed that there was a consensus of the fact that “Özallı Yıllar”¹⁰⁴ came to the fore with three important features, namely, encouraging exportation, increasing investment and luxurious imported products, inciting luxurious consumption. Especially, the media imposed the society on the Western consumption patterns through new world-wide famous brands. As indicated in Chapter 3, the slogan of “Carpe Diem”¹⁰⁵ chanted by the advertisers was engraven on the people’s minds. Also, interviewees complained of the shopping malls popping up everywhere. They were seen as places of not only shopping but also having fun and socialize.

Can Kozanoğlu and most of the other interviewees indicated that consumption of counterfeit luxury brands were everywhere they turned their head to, namely, Adidas, Burberry, Casio, Sony, Puma, etc. This clearly supports the findings of the questionnaires that people would like to reach a higher status through consumption and see the consumption of luxury brands as a tool to seem rich. People started to spend the money they did not earn yet as the credit cards endeared “indebted life”. In Chapter 3, we emphasized on the aspect of consumption that enables people to communicate. The interviewees mainly focused on the same aspect, too.

Last but not least, what we can conclude from the interviews is that consumer culture is definitely changing in line with the perceptions, symbols and expectations of the society. It is important to note that our perception of ourselves, others and our environment influences our consuming practices. Kozanoğlu mainly focused on the 1980s as a watershed of the consumer culture in Turkey due to the economical and political reforms experienced in the Turgut Özal period. Consumers assume new identities though using certain products. However, as Kozanoğlu believes this hedonic trend is about to vanish as people begin to realize the consequences of consuming too much on our environment, which is not within the boundaries of the topic of our study.

¹⁰⁴ Coined by Can Kozanoğlu.

¹⁰⁵ Seize the day, have fun, etc.

3.5. Concluding Remarks

A scanning of the advertisements published in the 1980s and 1990s was carried out. This research was delimited to various groups of participants aged between 14 and 62, experts, parents, poor and rich people and educated and uneducated people with different backgrounds.

Also, experts on consumerism were interviewed. It is observed that consumption gained such a nature that it governs our relationships with others. In addition, consumption is used as a tool of socialization and show-off. Higher statuses are obtained through consuming luxurious products. As several interviewees indicated, health and education turned into commodities that only the rich can reach.

In conclusion, the consumer culture in Turkey has undergone a remarkable change especially since the 1980s. In 1990s, this change was accelerated through the politics indicated in the economic background section. Also, as many interviewees emphasized, media studies, marketing and advertising came to the fore as the new popular occupational branches and study fields whereas social media also became so popular that people began to show what they consume, how much they consume on the spot. In the questionnaire, we see that consumption has become an indispensable part of life. Lastly, it can be suggested that consumption is an inevitable result of the globalization. Yet, people began to think about its detrimental effects on the environment. Thus, there have appeared anti-consumerism groups.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶www.enough.org.uk

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

As stated at the beginning of the thesis, a public discourse indicating various ways of consumption exists. In Chapter 2, I tried to look through the historical and cultural background of the consumer culture as a hybrid concept. One of the main aims of this study has been to explore the relation between pleasure and consumption in social, economic and cultural contexts. Looking at the findings of the study, it may be suggested that consumption culture is a characteristic defining postmodern capitalism. As people began to assume their identities through consumption, it is clear that a new phase of capitalism appeared.

Within the scope of this study, the industrial capitalism is a key concept to explain why a consumer society has to be created. The consumer society is a society longing to become modernized. Modernization is not something new for the Western societies. However, this process has begun to be globally adopted, especially by developing country such as Turkey.

As indicated before, following the Second World War, the nature of the consumer culture changed inevitably due to a new economic system driven by consumerism and people's desire to satisfy their induced wants. In Chapter 2, the modes of regulation have been touched upon to better understand the spirit of modern capitalism. As Migone (2006: 2) puts it "the modes of regulation, different for each economy, mediate between the needs of the capitalist system to achieve a viable accumulation process and the needs of society to maintain a viable coherent structure". In the 1950s and 1960s the Fordist regime of accumulation enabled the production of large sums of standardized products at relatively low costs. Consumption started to be practiced to satisfy desires with this sustainable production system.

On the other hand, the Post-Fordist system, which has not reached its final point yet, emerged because of the technological advancement. Consumption began to lean on private debts. Moreover, standardized goods were replaced by the customization of the products aim of which was to overcome the stagnation appeared at the end of the Fordist era. From that moment on, advertisers aimed to develop consumer preferences and even asked what the consumer would like to have.

At this point, consumerism took over a hedonic nature where consuming goods bearing symbols indicating social status come to the fore. Goods assume symbolic meaning through which people show their status in the society and gain appreciation from the others.

Thus, it can be suggested that people consume to communicate with others through building a symbolic world with the products they choose. No product has a meaning alone. The meanings are attributed to the products by the society. These shared meanings and values may show the status competition in the societies where individuality is prominent.

Also, my studies support the idea that hedonism lies at the center of consumption. As explained in the second half of Chapter 2, advertisers use various techniques to allure the consumer and persuade him to buy. Doing this, new pleasures, new worlds and new wants are discovered. In principle, consumers pursue the way leading to a better life in modern societies.

However, manipulating goods symbolically make the consumer believe that he would be happier through experiencing certain consuming practices. He encouraged buying more thanks to advertising, competition and technological advancement that helped the consumer reach the products easily and fast. Therefore, the findings of the changing consuming practices that is one of the main focuses of the thesis are presented and compared as follows.

Table 10: The differences between the traditional and post-modern consumption

Traditional Consumption	Post-modern Consumption
Goods are limited	Goods are various and in large sums
Competition among companies is never dominant	There is an ultimate competition Along with the goods, fantasies are sold
There is no advertisement	Advertising is a key element
Consumers are not encouraged to buy	Consumers are encouraged to buy
Bargaining is possible	There is no bargaining as the prices are fixed
Technology and information is limited	There is advanced technology and information
Consumer profiles are not gathered	Consumer profiles are highly significant for the seller
This type of consumption does not provide a social identity	Social identities can be purchased at the shopping malls
There is an interaction between the seller and the consumer	There is no interaction between the seller and the consumer
Quality is emphasized	Quantity is emphasized through various campaigns

Source: Migone, A. (2006: 176)

At this point a questionnaire on the perception of luxurious goods in Turkey was carried out as presented in the earlier chapters. Its findings cannot be generalized. On the other hand, results show that there is a relation between consumption and happiness. Also, identities are assumed through consuming practices which are governed by relationships in Turkey. According to the data collected through an in-depth interview with Can Kozanoğlu, it is surprising to note that hedonistic consumerism gives harm to both the economy and the environment, which does not fall into the scope of this thesis.

With regard to the question ‘how hedonistic consumerism and Turkey’s relationship with the European integration process interact within the framework of Turkish consumer culture in the 1980s and 1990s’, the study carried out with a critical approach shows that consumption has gained a socio-cultural aspect along with an economic one. In this thesis, to find out an answer to this question, I tracked the economic developments especially following the 1980s. Turkey’s relationship with the EU and the world in the era of globalization showed how the developments at the macro level affected the consumption habits at the micro level. In Turkey, consumer goods assumed cultural meanings, and this potential was used by the ideological system in the 1980s and 1990s. Today, goods are used for their social and cultural symbols, not simply for satisfying needs. These symbols are created by social interactions between people. Thus, meanings of the goods are produced by a shared language of symbols, which enables people to understand the world through these meanings created by the society.

With this study, I drew a conclusion that capitalism, following the Industrial Revolution, forged ahead in the West while the Turkish society lagged behind as its political and social structures were not able to reproduce a similar pattern of capitalist development. That is why the newly founded Turkish Republic took over an economy that was weak and dependent on foreigners.

In the 1950s, with the introduction of the multi-party system, the capitalist system expanded with the initiation of foreign aid programs such as the Marshall Aid Program. As we have briefly reviewed in Chapter 3, the post-war economic development initiated import subsidization strategy expanded the domestic market encouraging the consumption of the goods produced nonetheless proved to be crises prone thereby there was a change of strategy from the 1980s onwards. Thanks to television that put emphasis on modern and desired images everybody longed to have, the consumer culture outstood. Along with mass media, certain socio-economic factors of the West spurred the process such as the capitalist market that bears modernism, bureaucracy and technology and science.

This capitalist system had the power to draw even the conservative people in Turkey. Even though these people tried to protect their values and belief, they could not

escape to be integrated to the consumer culture with the purpose of modernization.¹⁰⁷ Eventually, the consumer culture took its place with its fashion and swanky aspect in the society in spite of this change being outrageous to some groups.

Within the scope of this study, I also aimed to find out how the Turkish people adopted and adapted to the consumer culture. After the 1980s, the people who were able to increase their income levels could have the shiny foreign goods in the shopping windows. However, the people who were not as lucky as the former ones had to plunge into debt owing to the shopping malls growing remarkably and credit cards promising limitless shopping as suggested in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, the consumer concept emerged mainly in the modernization period. Through consuming experiences, the consumers assume roles and status in the society. The consumer may be defined as someone who is encouraged to buy and pursues to have an identity, communicate with others and consumes to be happy through shared symbols of goods. In hedonistic consumption, pleasure is related to not only consuming manipulated goods, but also controlling them with regard to their symbolic meanings. Therefore, it can be suggested that hedonism is pursued in all experiences. Pleasure may be gained through controlling the meanings of goods. Furthermore, hedonism is related to emotions. Lastly, emotions can be controlled by the media.

Actually, consumer culture has always been changing. Also, especially from the 1980s onwards, we have been made to believe that life is short. Thus, we are encouraged to consume and have fun. In fact, the longer human life become, the shorter we think it to be. In Turkey, especially after the market oriented reforms implemented during and after the Turgut Özal period, people began to be less contented with what they had. Thus, the 1980s were a turning point in consumer culture. The Turkish people were introduced to shopping with the foreign currency, credit cards, electronic items imported, and a new era with respect to the consumer culture began. Along with these, we also imported images, music and films from the

¹⁰⁷Think, for example, the Caprice Hotel which has separate beaches for men and women or the slogan of Kayra, which sells outwear for the conservative women, “Tarzını seç.”

Western countries. In brief, Turkey has undergone a process of rapid economic, cultural and social changes. This process leads to further changes in not only life styles but also traditions and customs. This study focuses on how these changes affected the life of the Turkish people through consumption habits. In this thesis, I tried to show that there is a strong relation between pleasure and consumption in social, economic and cultural context. Industrial capitalism needed and created a highly consumer oriented society. That is how and why consumption culture dominates our lives. As Baudrillard (1998) put it, a consumer society points out modernization and improvement in technology and information.

Moreover, hedonic consumption may be suggested to indicate post-modernism and acquired desires. There is an ultimate link between social positions and economic necessities and consumption, the nature of consumer desires and socially constructed needs. Furthermore, goods can bear symbolic meanings that are shared by all the society, and through these meanings; people may assume social status, which leads consumerism to take up a hedonistic nature.

In other words, consuming experiences influence our expectations from each other. Thus, certain social codes implied in advertisements may alter our behaviors towards each other. This, I may suggest, creates a consumer society. As indicated at the beginning of the thesis, there are newly emerging elements within the Turkish consumer culture during the process of her integration with the European economic and cultural geography and their transformative effect on the already existing forms of consumption. This change in consuming practices began in the 1950s with some economic improvements with the help of some programs such as the Marshall Aid Program. However, the people could not afford to have what the Westerners have at that time. As indicated in Chapter 3, people, therefore, sank into debts due to the credit cards, which created the depression economy.

In the 1980s, with the introduction of credit cards, shopping malls, and certain economic reforms mentioned in Chapter 3, people found themselves in a shiny world where they spent the money they had not earned yet and bought whatever they desired to look “cool”. Especially in the 1990s, the power of consumption became the top status symbol as Can Kozanoğlu (1995) indicated. Popular culture was a

mirror reflecting the conditions the society was in. Leaders, love, happiness, singers and many other various kinds of things turned into commodities. A brand obsession emerged in Turkey. Remember the Mercedes example where the man says he preferred Mercedes because of its “star” instead of a cheaper car with the same features. People started to go McDonald’s, pubs and cafes instead of coffeehouses in their streets.

Having regard to the results of the questionnaires and in the light of the interviews that were conducted with Can Kozanoğlu and several other people including experts, academicians and people with various backgrounds at different ages, I reached the conclusion that the consumer culture in Turkey has undergone a remarkable change especially since the 1980s. In 1990s, this change was accelerated through the policies as indicated in Chapter 3. In addition, as many interviewees emphasized, media studies, marketing and advertising came to the fore as the new popular occupational branches and study fields whereas social media (especially websites such as Facebook and Twitter) also became so popular that people began to show what they consume, how much they consume. In the results of the questionnaire, it is indicated that consumption became an indispensable part of life. The data seen in the graphics that belonged to the results of the questionnaires prove that there ultimately appeared a consumer society in Turkey, which has been created by the neoliberal politics heading for a market society.

As it was indicated many times above, a market society is today an indispensable part of capitalism. Neoliberal politics fed the idea that the physical needs were already satisfied while psychological needs could never be satisfied. Regarding the findings of the questionnaire, we see that women tend to spend more in luxury than men. It is true for everyone that luxury consumption may always be at issue as it seduces the society in its search for status and pleasure. As a result, the Turkish people believed that luxury consumption gave themselves happiness and coolness. It can be suggested that luxury consumption was adopted by the Turkish society in the 1980s and 1990s as explained in Chapter 3 in detail. Also, this trend apparently continues throughout the 2000s.

Lastly, it may be suggested that, as many authors indicated, people have to continue this consumer culture where they experience consumption and artificial pleasures to survive in the modern society. Throughout the thesis, a detrimental effect of this consumer culture is touched upon from time to time. That is, if people continue to consume with the same rate, our environment may be damaged irreversibly, which may be an important topic to write another thesis on.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A QUESTIONNAIRES

(Anket: Tüketim Alışkanlıkları)

ODTÜ Avrupa Çalışmaları Bölümü'nde hazırlanan bir yüksek lisans tezi için yapılan araştırmada Türkiye'de tüketim alışkanlıkları ve lüks tüketimin nedenleri ile ilgileniyoruz. Bu ankete katılımınız araştırmalarımız için çok önemli. Anket sonuçları sadece akademik amaçlar için kullanılacak olup, katılımcıların isimleri alınmayacaktır. İlginiz için teşekkürler.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Lüks tüketimi nasıl tanımlarsınız?</p> <p>2. Lüks tüketim gereksiz harcamalara sebep olur ve kesinlikle ihtiyaç duyulmayan şeylerden oluşur.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Katılıyorum• Katılmıyorum <p>3. Lüks tüketim ünlü markaların ürettiği yüksek kaliteye sahip modaaya uygun şeylerdir.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Katılıyorum• Katılmıyorum <p>4. Lüks tüketim bugün sadece fonksiyonel değil aynı zamanda</p> | <p>psikolojik ihtiyaçları da doyumaktadır.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Katılıyorum• Katılmıyorum <p>5. Ünlü bir markaya ait, piyasadaki emsallerinden oldukça pahalı olan bir eşyayı kullanmak mutluluk verici ve ayrıcalıklıdır. Örn: iPhone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Katılıyorum• Katılmıyorum <p>6. Hangi markalar lüks tüketimi simgeliyor, hangileriyle ilgileniyor, çıkarttığı ürünleri ilgiyle takip ediyorsunuz?</p> |
|--|---|

- iPhone
- Burberry
- Calvin Klein
- Christian Dior
- Armani
- Lancome
- Chanel
- Diesel
- Gucci
- Prada

7. Hangilerine ait ürünleri deneyip, satın aldınız?

- iPhone
- Burberry
- Calvin Klein
- Christian Dior
- Armani
- Lancome
- Chanel
- Diesel
- Gucci
- Prada

8. Son üç ayda hangilerine ait ürünleri satın aldınız?

- iPhone
- Burberry
- Calvin Klein
- Christian Dior
- Armani
- Lancome
- Chanel
- Diesel

- Gucci
- Prada

9. Hangilerini büyük bir gurur ve kendinden eminlikle önerirsiniz?

- iPhone
- Burberry
- Calvin Klein
- Christian Dior
- Armani
- Lancome
- Chanel
- Diesel
- Gucci
- Prada

10. Gerçek lüks tüketim malları seri üretilemezler.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

11. Bence, lüks gösteriştir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

12. Bence, lüks mutluluk ve zevk vericidir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

13. Bence, lüks tüketimin modası geçti. Artık işlevsellik daha önde.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

14. Bence, lüks iyidir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

15. Lüks ürünler her şeyden önce kalitelidir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

16. Pahalı bir şey satın alacağım zaman, ailemin ve arkadaşlarımla bu konuda ne düşünecekleri konusunda endişelenirim.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

17. Pek çok insanın satın aldığı fakat benim kalite standartlarımı karşılamayan ürünleri asla satın almam.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

18. Lüks ürünleri başka insanları etkilemekten ziyade kendi isteklerimi tatmin etmek için alırım.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

19. Hangi marka ve ürünlerin diğer insanları etkilediğini ve onlar tarafından sevildiğini bilmek isterim.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

20. Çevremdeki insanların satın aldığı eşyalara bakarak o günkü modayı takip edip anlamaya çalışırım.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

21. Lüks ürünler olarak diğer insanların benim sınıfımı anlamalarına yardımcı olurum.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

22. Bir ürün herkes tarafından kullanılıyorsa ona olan ilgim azalır.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

23. Satın aldığım ürünler beni diğer insanlardan ayırır, farkımı gösterir.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

24. Eski moda ürünleri satın almamaya çaba sarfederim.

- Katılıyorum
- Katılmıyorum

25. Lüks tüketim mallarına 5 adet örnek verebilir misiniz?

26. Nerelisiniz?

27. Cinsiyetiniz nedir?

- Kadın
- Erkek

28. Yaşınız kaç?

29. Eğitim seviyeniz nedir?

- Lise
- Üniversite
- Yüksek lisans
- Doktora

30. Mesleğiniz nedir?

31. Ne sıklıkta lüks ürünler satın alırsınız?

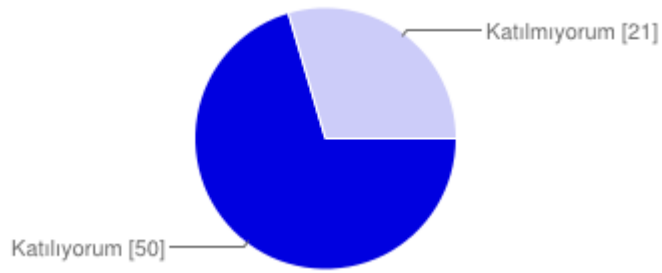
- Her hafta
- Her ay
- Altı ayda bir ya da birkaç kez
- Her yıl
- Nadiren
- Asla

32. Aylık toplam ev halkının geliri nedir?

- 500-1000
- 1000-2000
- 2000-3000
- 3000-5000
- 5000 üzeri

APPENDIX B
ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES
(Summary)

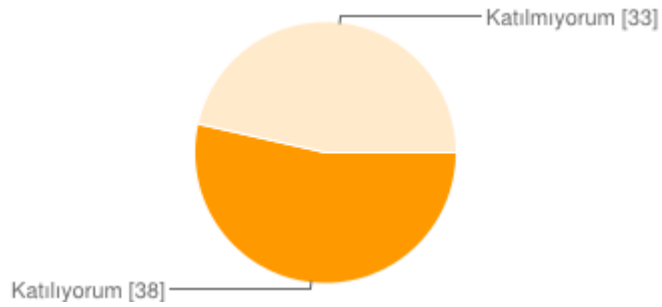
Lüks tüketim gereksiz harcamalara sebep olur ve kesinlikle ihtiyaç duyulmayan şeylerden oluşur.



Katılıyorum **50** 70%

Katılmıyorum **21** 30%

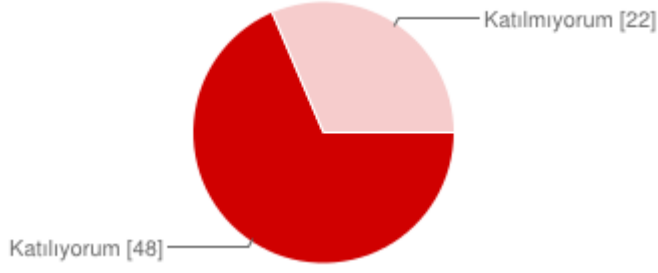
Lüks tüketim ünlü markaların ürettiği yüksek kaliteye sahip modaaya uygun şeylerdir.



Katılıyorum **38** 54%

Katılmıyorum **33** 46%

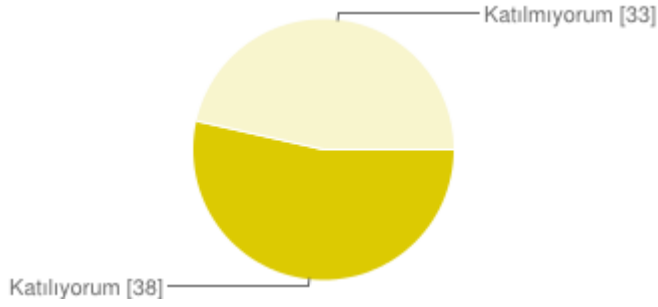
Lüks tüketim bugün sadece fonksiyonel değil aynı zamanda psikolojik ihtiyaçları da doyurmaktadır.



Katılıyorum **48** 69%

Katılmıyorum **22** 31%

Ünlü bir markaya ait, piyasadaki emsallerinden oldukça pahalı olan bir eşyayı kullanmak mutluluk verici ve ayrıcalıklıdır. Örn: iPhone



Katılıyorum **38** 54%

Katılmıyorum **33** 46%

Hangi markalar lüks tüketimi simgeliyor, hangileriyle ilgileniyor, çıkarttığı ürünleri ilgiyle takip ediyorsunuz?

iPhone	44	21%
Burberry	23	11%
Celvin Klein	20	10%
Christion Dior	18	9%
Armani	26	12%
Lancome	10	5%
Chanel	16	8%
Diesel	17	8%
Gucci	19	9%
Prada	16	8%

Hangilerine ait ürünleri deneyip, satın aldınız?

iPhone	22	20%
Burberry	12	11%
Celvin Klein	14	13%
Christion Dior	4	4%
Armani	15	14%
Lancome	10	9%
Chanel	11	10%
Diesel	10	9%
Gucci	6	6%

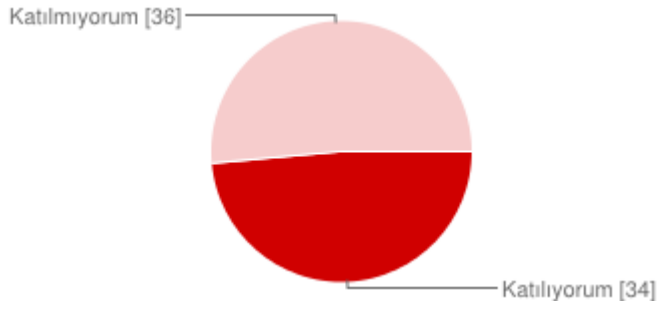
Son üç ayda hangilerine ait ürünleri satın aldınız?

iPhone	16 31%
Burberry	9 17%
Celvin Klein	7 13%
Christion Dior	0 0%
Armani	8 15%
Lancome	5 10%
Chanel	1 2%
Diesel	3 6%
Gucci	2 4%
Prada	1 2%

Hangilerini büyük bir gurur ve kendinden eminlikle önerirsiniz?

iPhone	22 24%
Burberry	12 13%
Celvin Klein	9 10%
Christion Dior	5 5%
Armani	8 9%
Lancome	6 7%
Chanel	6 7%
Diesel	6 7%
Gucci	11 12%

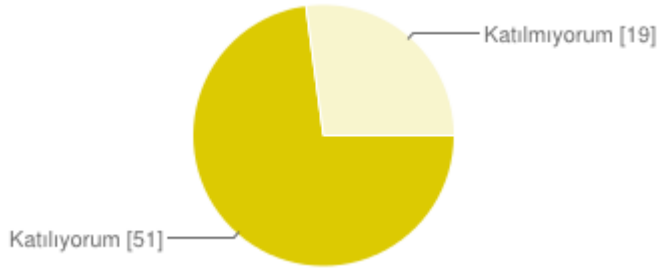
Gerçek lüks tüketim malları seri üretilemezler.



Katılıyorum **34** 49%

Katılmıyorum **36** 51%

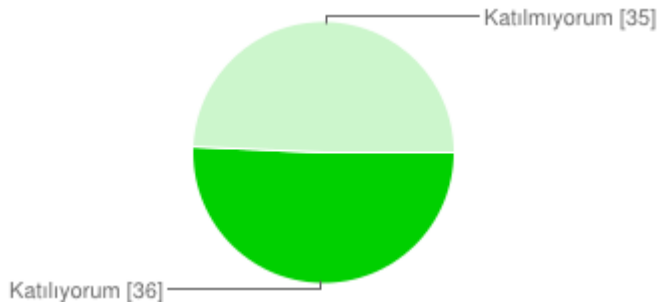
Bence, lüks gösteriştir.



Katılıyorum **51** 73%

Katılmıyorum **19** 27%

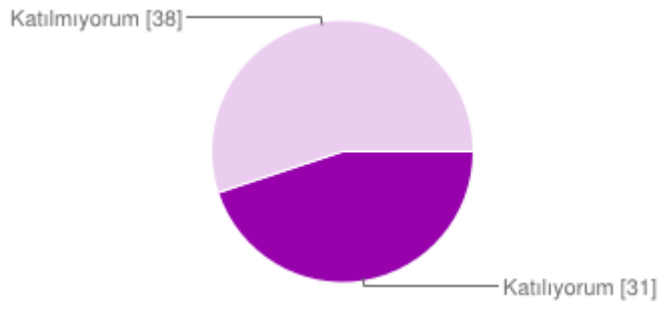
Bence, lüks mutluluk ve zevk vericidir.



Katılıyorum **36** 51%

Katılmıyorum **35** 49%

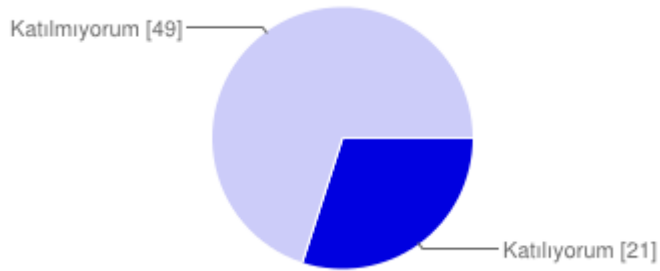
Bence, lüks tüketimin modası geçti.Artık işlevsellik daha öndedir.



Katılıyorum **31** 45%

Katılmıyorum **38** 55%

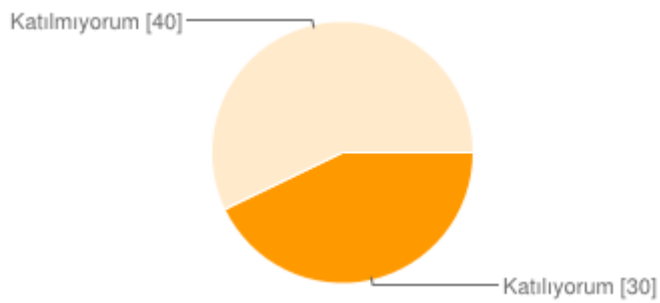
Bence, lüks iyidir.



Katılıyorum **21** 30%

Katılmıyorum **49** 70%

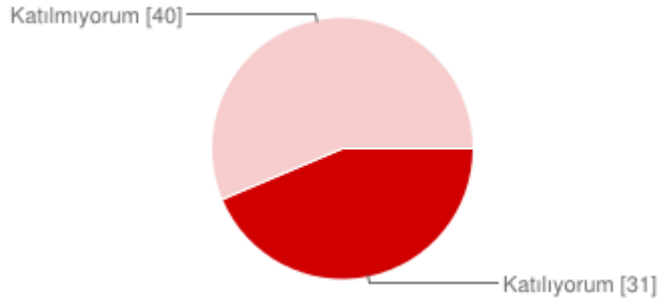
Lüks ürünler her şeyden önce kalitelidir.



Katılıyorum **30** 43%

Katılmıyorum **40** 57%

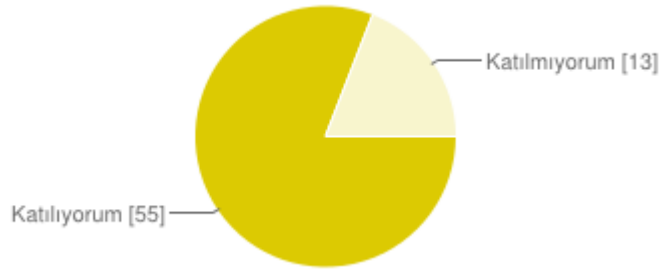
Pahalı bir şey satın alacağım zaman, ailemin ve arkadaşlarımla bu konuda ne düşünecekleri konusunda endişelenirim.



Katılıyorum **31** 44%

Katılmıyorum **40** 56%

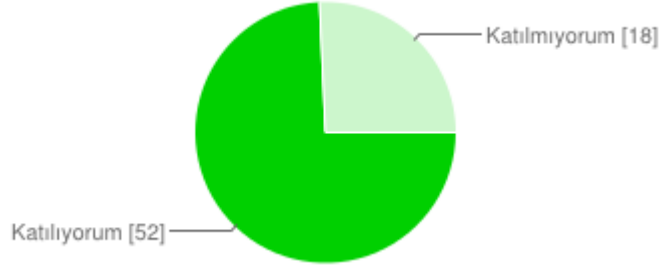
Pek çok insanın satın aldığı fakat benim kalite standartlarımı karşılamayan ürünleri asla satın almam.



Katılıyorum **55** 81%

Katılmıyorum **13** 19%

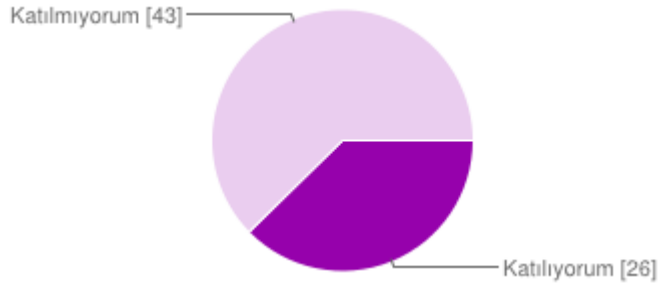
Lüks ürünleri başka insanları etkilemekten ziyade kendi isteklerimi tatmin etmek için alırım.



Katılıyorum **52** 74%

Katılmıyorum **18** 26%

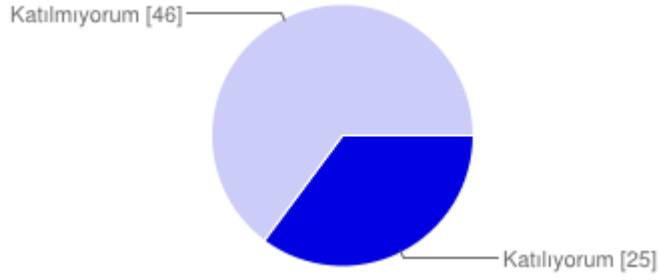
Hangi marka ve ürünlerin diğer insanları etkilediğini ve onlar tarafından sevildiğini bilmek isterim.



Katılıyorum **26** 38%

Katılmıyorum **43** 62%

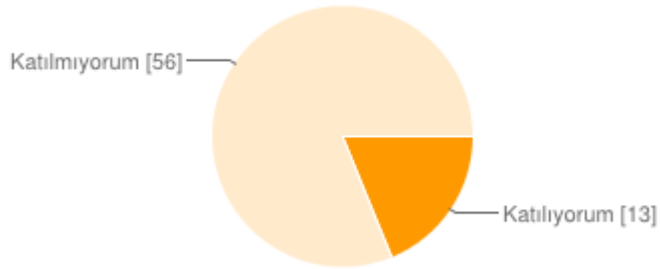
Çevremdeki insanların satın aldığı eşyalara bakarak o günkü modayı takip edip anlamaya çalışırım.



Katılıyorum **25** 35%

Katılmıyorum **46** 65%

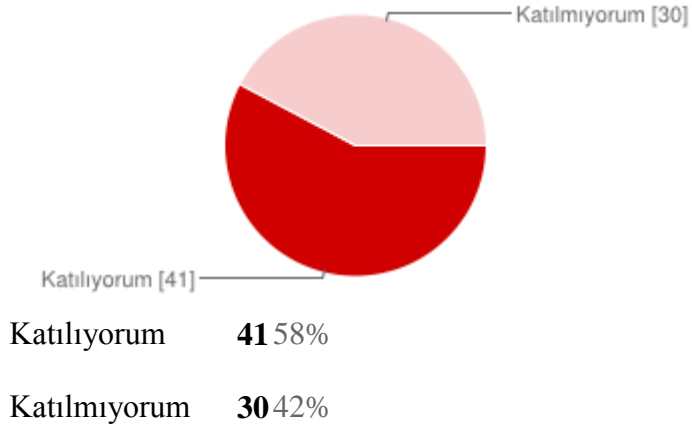
Lüks ürünler alarak diğer insanların benim sınıfımı anlamalarına yardımcı olurum.



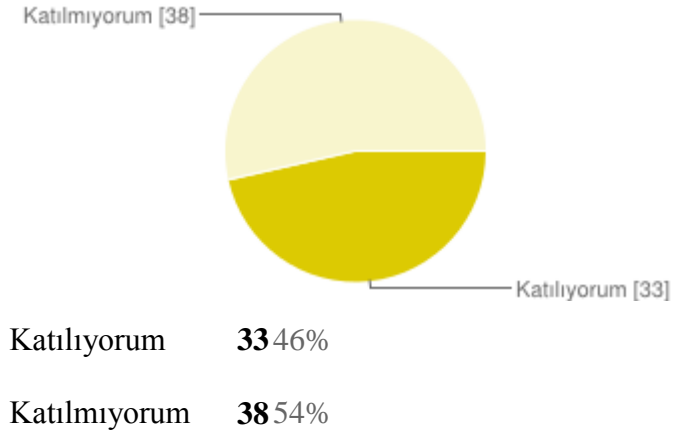
Katılıyorum **13** 19%

Katılmıyorum **56** 81%

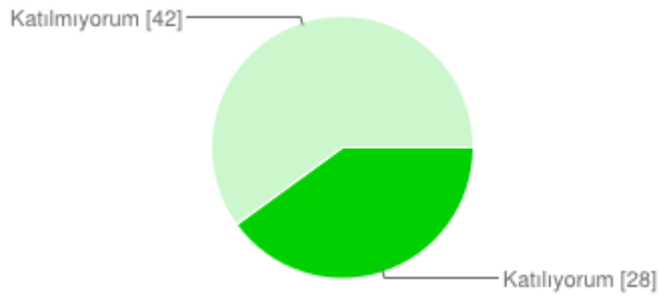
Bir ürün herkes tarafından kullanılıyorsa ona olan ilgim azalır.



Satın aldığım ürünler beni diğer insanlardan ayırır, farkımı gösterir.



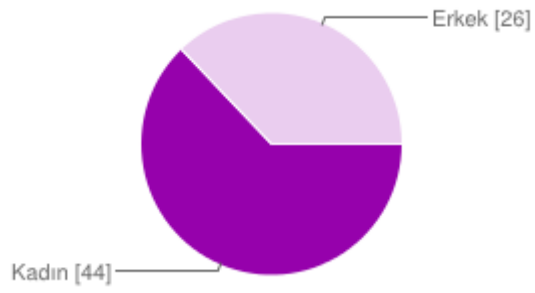
Eski moda ürünleri satın almamaya çaba sarfederim.



Katılıyorum **28** 40%

Katılmıyorum **42** 60%

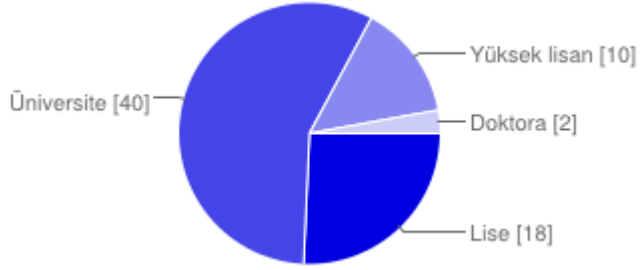
Cinsiyetiniz nedir?



Kadın **44** 63%

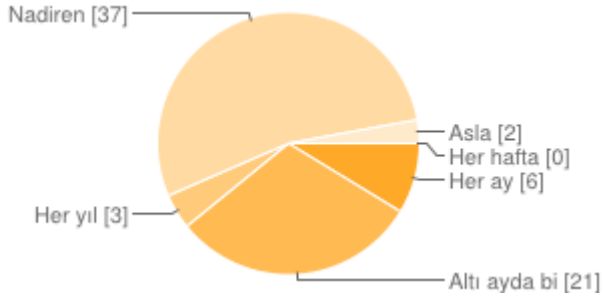
Erkek **26** 37%

Eđitim seviyeniz nedir?



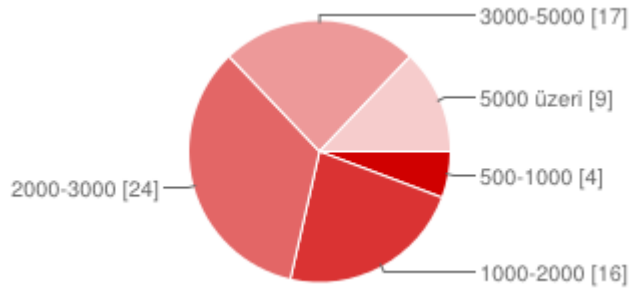
Lise	18	26%
Üniversite	40	57%
Yüksek lisans	10	14%

Ne sıklıkta lüks ürünler satın alırsınız?



Her hafta	0	0%
Her ay	6	9%
Altı ayda bir ya da birkaç kez	21	30%
Her yıl	3	4%
Nadiren	37	54%
Asla	2	3%

Aylık toplam ev halkının geliri nedir?



500-1000 **4** 6%

1000-2000 **16** 23%

2000-3000 **24** 34%

3000-5000 **17** 24%

5000 üzeri **9** 13%

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW WITH CAN KOZANOĞLU

- Do you believe every specific group has its own cultural codes and behaviors while consuming?

“Every definable group has its own specific behavior patterns and clear-cut identities which are obtained through specific aesthetic values and consuming practices. The rest, however, experiences what Pop provides them.”

- Why has the idea of “produce more, sell more” become dominant in the world market?

“It is because capital does not exploit its labor-power any more. It has produced advanced technology products, which decreases its profits. When the profit decreases, the only thing to do is selling a number of products and earn through demand. To achieve this, you need an advanced consumerist society to sell your products. Thus, countries try to create a triangle of market economy, democracy and human rights. This is called the New World Order.”

- Can you explain what you mean by the idea that the rest experiences what Pop provides them?

“Here, I want to share one of my experiences about this. Our country where purchasing power is literally limited cannot compete with an A class country.”

However, popular culture forces people to look like who they actually are not. For example, one snowy day I was waiting for a Fenerbahçe-Gençler Birliği match to begin. The football field was being cleaned when the coach suddenly appeared. The cleaners stopped and started to take photos of him with their fancy and expensive phones. At that time, phones with cameras were of the latest technology. I remember I was truly surprised.”

➤ When do you think the consumer culture in Turkey started to change?

“Actually, consumer culture has always been changing. For example, after the World War II, when people did not have enough bread to eat, nearly everywhere you could find radios. Also, since the 1950s, we have been made believe that “life is short”. Thus, we are encouraged to consume and have fun. In fact, the longer human life become, the shorter we think it to be. In Turkey, especially after the Turgut Özal period, people began to be less contented with what they had. Thus, the 1980s were a turning point in consumer culture. The Turkish people were introduced with the foreign currency, credit cards, electronic items imported, and a new era with respect to the consumer culture began. Along with these, we also imported images, music and films from the European countries.”

➤ What are your predictions about the future of consumer culture?

“I think people have begun to realize the detrimental effects that their greed causes on the environment. Hedonistic consumption will be replaced by minimalistic consumption in every part of our life. In the globalized world, people want to save their environment for the next generations. They are now more aware of the importance of consuming consciously, caring for the environment. However, consuming organic and natural products is a different issue in itself to deal with.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸As it is seen, the idea of Kozanoğlu was proved to be true by the results of the survey that I conducted and explained in detail above.

APPENDIX D
ADVERTISEMENT EXAMPLES



Illustration 1: The United Colors of Benetton



Illustration 2: Pepsi



Illustration 3: Calvin Klein



Illustration 4: How to sell using fear

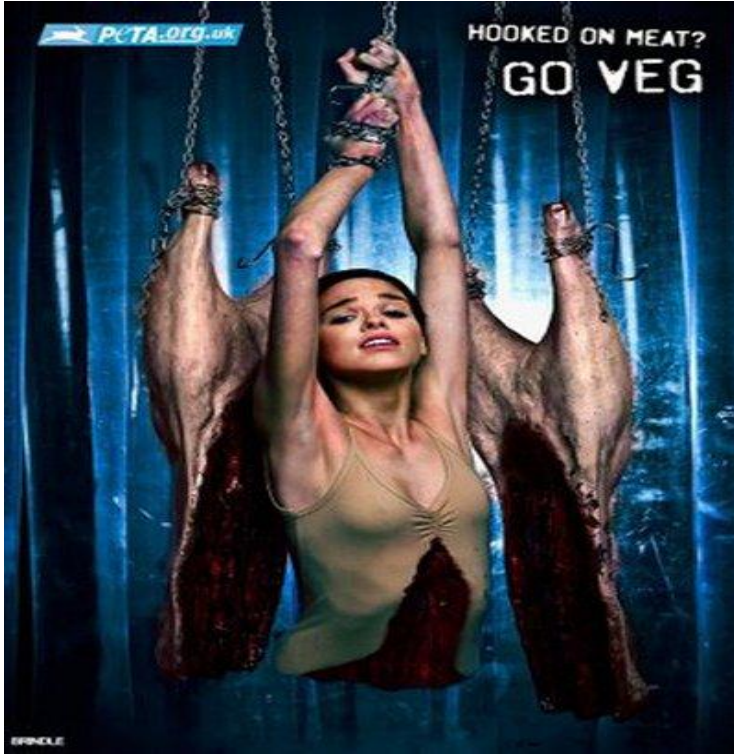


Illustration 5: PETA: Go Veg



Illustration 6: Arçelik



Illustration7 (a): Karrison



Illustration 7 (b): Murat

Müzeyyen Senar...

SİZLERE HITAB EDİYOR.
Radyodaki konser-
lerimi bihakkin din-
lemek istiyorsanız
bir Siemens'e sa-
hip olmalısınız. An-
cak bir SIEMENS
beni sizinle karşı
karşıya getirebilir!

SIEMENS
Alman Radyoları

TÜRKELİ LTD. ŞTİ.
Galata, Bankalar Cad. Yankıkapı Sok. 1, 3, 5. Tel. 44624

1931

Illustration 7 (c): Siemens



Illustration 8 (a): The Yapı Kredi Bank



Illustration 8 (b): The İş Bank

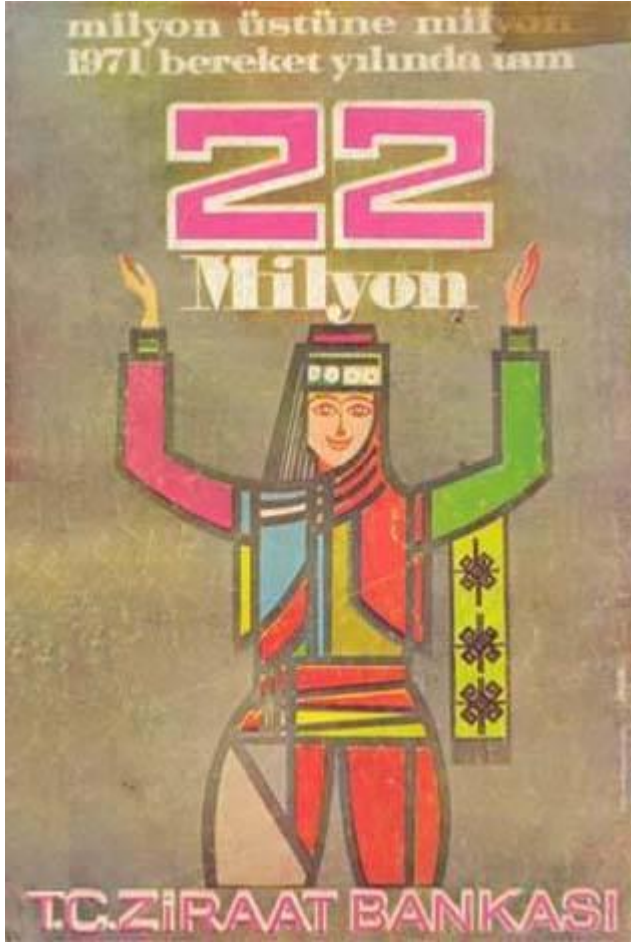


Illustration 8 (c): The Ziraat Bank



NOKIA

Illustration 9: Nokia



Illustration 10: Mercedes



Illustration 11: Zeki Triko



Illustration 12 (a): Ninna Ricci



Illustration 12 (b): Jean Paul Gaultier



Illustration 12 (c): Ferrari



Illustration 13: Coca Cola

APPENDIX E TURKISH SUMMARY

HEDONİK TÜKETİM: TÜRKİYE'DE DEĞİŞEN TÜKETİM KÜLTÜRÜNÜN AÇIKLAYICI DURUM ÇALIŞMASI

GİRİŞ

Bu çalışmanın amacı, 1980 ve 1990lı yıllarda Türkiye’de hızla değişen tüketim kültürünü, nedenlerini ve etkilerini ele almak ve özellikle Türkiye’nin Avrupa ekonomik ve kültürel coğrafyasıyla bütünleşme sürecinde Türk tüketim kültüründe ortaya çıkan yeni unsurları ve önceden beri var olan tüketim formlarındaki dönüştürücü etkilerini incelemektir.

Ek olarak, araştırmalar haz kaynaklarına, tüketime yol açan motive edici etkenlerine ve tüketici kapitalizmin sembolik sistemde ideoloji olarak nasıl mala dönüştürülüp reklam stratejileriyle satıldığına dayanmaktadır. Semboller ve ifade ettiklerinin sosyal statü ile olan bağlantısı, tüketimin ihtiyaçlardan daha çok istekleri doyurmaya yönelik bir olgu haline gelmesi ve son olarak ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel yansımaları detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. 1980 ve 1990 Türkiye’sinden reklam örnekleriyle, bu konuda bir uzmanla yapılmış bir röportajla ve çeşitli gruplara uygulanmış bir anketle, elde edilen sonuçlar analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışma, AB’nin aday ülkelerinden biri olan Türkiye’deki sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel etkilerini inceleyerek AB çalışmalarına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

1980 VE 1990 YILLARINDA TÜRKİYE'DE YAŞANAN EKONOMİK GELİŞMELER

Tüketim, modern hayatın vazgeçilmez bir parçası olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. George Simmel gibi teorisyenler parayı modernizmin merkezine yerleştirmişlerdir. Tüketime ilişkin çalışmalar, Kültür Çalışmaları, Medya Çalışmaları, Sosyoloji, Pazarlama ve Ekonomi gibi çeşitli alanlarda oldukça popülerdir. 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda, ticarete, sanayi ürünlerinde ve ithalatta dünya devi olan Avrupa'da alışveriş merkezleri sayıca artmaya ve reklamcılık gelişmeye başlamıştır. Bunun sonucu olarak, beklentiler yükselmiş, insanlar modayı takip etmeye başlamış ve hırsızlık oranlarında önemli artışlar yaşanmıştır. Sonuç olarak, tüketim, sınıf yapılarını belirlemeyi başarmıştır. Tüketim, sınıflar arasındaki farklılıkları göstermek için kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Buna karşın, tüketimi bu yönüyle, israfı neden olan kötü bir alışkanlık olarak görenlerin sayısı da azımsanamayacak kadar çoktur.

Tüketici psikolojisini anlamak için, tüketici davranışlarını anlamak gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle, fordizm ve post-fordizme geçiş sürecinde ve sonrasında tüketim kültüründe yaşanan değişiklikleri gözlemlemek önemlidir. Ayrıca, reklamcılar, tüketimin altında yatan motive edici unsurları kullanarak tüketicinin dikkatini reklamını yaptıkları ürüne çekmeyi başarmaktadırlar. İnsanlar, tükettikleri mallarla yeni kimlikler edinmekte ve kendilerini diğerlerinden farklı kılmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Mallara, herkes tarafından anlaşılan ortak bir anlam yüklenmekte ve insanların beklentilerine göre, tüketici davranışları değişkenlik göstermektedir. Türkiye'de 1980 sonrası uygulanan iktisat programlarına ilişkin olarak yapılan bir araştırmada, Derya Öcal Tellan'ın da özetlediği gibi,

1980 sonrası dönemin ilk yıllarında birikim rejiminin hızla değişim göstermesine karşın baskı altına alınmış bölüşüm ve tüketim süreçlerinin gecikmeli bir ardıllık sergilediği bilinmektedir. Türkiye'de siyasal sistemin, parlamento ve yerel yönetim seçimleriyle (1983-1984) birlikte yarı yasaklı olarak kısmen işlemeye başlaması, yöneticilerin geniş toplum kesimlerinin talep ve beklentilerine cevap arayışını da kaçınılmaz hale getirmiştir. Bu dönemde toplumun geniş kesimlerine yönelik 'çarpık bir popülizm' devreye sokularak, imar afları, kentsel planlamanın kapsamı dışına çıkan imar izinleri, gecekondulara tapu tahsis belgesi dağıtımı, ücretli kesimlere vergi iadesi, yoksullara 'fak-fuk-fon' tarzı doğrudan gelir desteği gibi uygulamalarla -

özellikle yerel yönetim düzeyinde- birbirinden kopuk ve bağımsız popülist eylemler gerçekleştirilirken; 1980 öncesi siyasallaşmanın ve kitleselleşmenin neden olduğu sınıf bilinci arayışlarının aksine sermayenin ekonomik programlarına ve günlük yaşam içinde dayattığı ideolojisine teslim olabilecek büyük yığınlar oluşturularak, kendi gerçekliğinden koparılmış ve talepleri çarpıtılmış bir toplumsal bütünlük sağlanmıştır... Özellikle 1980'ler boyunca demografik yapıda yaşanan dönüşüm (1980 yılında Türkiye nüfusunun % 43.9'u kentsel alanlarda yaşarken 1990 yılına gelindiğinde bu oran % 59'a çıkmış ve nüfus artışı ile kırsal alanlardan kentsel alanlara aşırı-göç olgusu bir arada deneyimlenmiştir), bu dönemde gerek parlamentoya gerekse yerel yönetimlere hakim olan ANAP'ın, toplumu neo-liberal ideolojinin çıkarları doğrultusunda yeniden yapılandırmasını olanaklı kılmıştır.

20. yüzyılın sonlarında, bütün dünyada baskın ekonomik ve sosyal sistem haline gelen kapitalizm, büyük ve üretken sanayilere sahip olmayan ülkelerde bile seri üretilmiş malları satın alma arzusu uyandırmıştır. Türkiye ekonomisinde 1980'lerde uygulanan liberal politikaların doğurduğu sonuçlar arasında tüketim alışkanlıklarındaki değişiklikler göze çarpmaktadır. Aynı tarihlerde, Türkiye ve tüm dünyada öne çıkan küreselleşme olgusunun ivme kazanması, yabancı sermayeye kapıları açmaya mecbur bırakmıştır.

Özellikle 24 Ocak 1980 Kararları'ndan sonra üzerinde durulan dışa açılma süreci ile sanayileşmeye verilen önem sayesinde ihracat gelirlerini arttırmak ve gelişmiş ülkeleri yakalayabilmek amacı güdülmüştür. 24 Ocak Kararları'nın Türk ekonomisinde açıkça görülen en büyük etkilerinden bir tanesi, ithal ikamecilikten ihracata dayalı yeni bir büyüme modelinin benimsenmesidir. 12 Eylül 1980 tarihinde yaşanan askeri darbeyi müteakip, siyasi ve sendika faaliyetlerinde kısıtlama yoluna gidilmesi ve işçi ücretlerinin artırılması üzerindeki engeller ve son olarak yüksek enflasyon rakamları neticesinde gelir darlığı yaşayan Türk toplumunun alım gücü ve dolayısıyla talep oranları düşmüştür. Buna karşın, 1980li yılların başında kabul edilen önlemlerden bazıları aşağıdaki gibidir:

- Para arzının kısılması ve serbest faize geçilmesi,
- Türk Lirasının yüksek oranda devalüe edilmesi,
- Kamu harcamalarının kısılması, bütçe açığının küçültülmesi,
- KİT ürünlerine açıklarını kapatmaları için zam yapma yetkisinin verilmesi,
- Sübvansiyonların asgariye indirilmesi ve fiyat kontrollerinin azaltılması,

- Esnek kur, günlük döviz kuru uygulamasına geçilmesi,
- Yabancı sermaye girişini hızlandıracak önlemlerin alınması,
- İhracata dayalı sanayileşmeyi özendirirken, ihracata (vergi, ucuz kredi ve döviz kullanım kolaylıkları) sürekli destek verilmesi (Tokgöz, 2001:192-193).

Yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi anti-enflasyonist ve dışa açılmayı özendiren bu önlemler, 1981 yılının başından itibaren olumlu sonuçlar vermiştir. Ayrıca 1981 yılında özel sektörün beklediği iki yeni uygulama başlamıştı. Merkez Bankası 30 Nisan'dan itibaren "günlük döviz kuru" ilanına başladı. 30 Temmuzda da Sermaye Piyasası Yasası yürürlüğe girdi (Tokgöz, 2001:193).

Yapısal reformlar ile birlikte, faiz oranları ve ithalata ilişkin kısıtlamalar kaldırılması, ekonomiye hükümet müdahalesinin azaltılması ve neo-liberal yaklaşımların benimsenip içselleştirilmesi hedeflenmiştir. Bu durum, sadece ekonomi de değil aynı zamanda kültür de değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Türkiye'de yaşanan ekonomik dönüşümler, sosyal yapıda derin değişikliklere ve sonuç olarak yeni bir tüketim kültürünün ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, Derya Öcal Tella'ın da değindiği gibi,

Türkiye ekonomisinin son çeyrek yüzyılı aşan diliminde, üretim, bölüşüm ve tüketim ilişkilerinin kökten değişim geçirdiği; özelleştirme, serbestleştirme, kuralsızlaştırma ve yerleşme deneyimlerine bağlı olarak toplumsal ilişkilerden günlük yaşamlara değin bütün mekansal ve zamansal örgütlenmelerin yeniden kurgulandığı gözlenmektedir. Türkiye ekonomik, politik ve kültürel yaşamında dönüm noktası olarak kabul edilen 1980 öncesinde, tarım ve sanayi dengelerinin dikkate alındığı bir ekonomik büyüme sürecinin sürdürülmeye, demokratik mekanizmalarının toplumsal talepler doğrultusunda geliştirilmeye, hukukun bireysel çıkarların ötesinde sosyal fayda unsuru olarak tanımlanmaya ve kendi geleneklerine dayanan politik bir toplum olma yönünde ilk adımların atılmaya çalışıldığı bir ilişkiler ağına sahip iken; 1980 sonrasında uygulamaya konulan ekonomik ve sosyal politikalar sonucunda tüketimin aşırılaşmış bireyciliğin, yoksulluğun ve depolitizasyonun hakim olduğu bir topluma dönüşmüştür. Ortaya çıkan yeni birikim rejiminde, bireylerin tüketime odaklanmış yaşam biçimlerinin, bir yandan ekonomik ilişkilerin devamlılığını sağlarken diğer yandan da

sosyal çözümlenin temel unsurlarını açığa çıkardığı görülmektedir (Tellal, 2008: 2).

1980 VE 1990 YILLARINDA TÜRKİYE'DE YAŞANAN KÜLTÜREL GELİŞMELER

Tüketim, yalnızca ekonomik değil, aynı zamanda kültürel bir olgudur. Ekonomi bağlamında, tüketim fiziksel ihtiyaçları karşılarken, kültür bağlamında, malların sembolik ve sosyal anlamları sayesinde psikolojik ihtiyaçları doyurmaktadır. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Buğra'nın belirttiği gibi, Türkiye'de tüketim kültürü ilişkiler tarafından şekillendirilmeye başlamıştır. Ayrıca, Buğra, tüketim kültürünün sadece ekonomistlerin, sosyologların değil aynı zamanda toplumu anlamak isteyen herkesin dikkatini çektiğini belirtmiştir. Bunun nedeni, tüketimin, ülkenin ekonomik, politik ve sosyal durumunu ayna gibi yansıttığıdır (Buğra, 200). Buğra ayrıca, tüketim ve insan ilişkilerine ilişkin dikkat çekici tespitlerde bulunmuştur:

Dayanıklı tüketim malları sektöründe gelişmiş Batı toplumları ile Türkiye'yi karşılaştırdığımızda şöyle bir tablo çıkıyor ortaya. Gelişmiş Batı toplumlarında tüketim faaliyetini bireyler bir vatandaş olarak yürütüyor. Herkesin eşit şartları olduğu bir piyasa var. Emek piyasası olsun, tüketici kredisi alanında olsun, bireyler devletin düzenlemeleri ile eşit şartlara sahip hale getiriliyorlar. Bir satıcının karşısına çıktıklarında da birbirlerine eşitler. Oysa Türkiye'de tüketiciler eşit değil. Türkiye'de tüketim kişisel ilişkiler ağlarının bir parçası olarak ortaya çıkıyor. Mesela gecekondu sahibi olabilmek için, mutlaka birilerini tanımak gerekiyor. Üretici ile bayiler arasındaki ilişki de güvene dayalı. Bayinin tüketici ile ilişkileri yine ilişkilere dayalı. Türkiye'de insanlar topluma tüketim yolu ile katılırken yola eşit vatandaşlar olarak çıkmıyorlar... Kişisel ilişkilerinin parçası olarak çıkıyorlar; en önemli fark bu.

Tüketim, ayrıca, insanlar arasındaki ilişkilerden oldukça etkilenmektedir. Her birey, kendini bir gruba ait hissetme ve kendini gerçekleştirme çabası içerisinde. Bu durumun, oldukça doğal ve evrensel olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu nedenle, tüketim, insanların toplumun bir parçası olma gayretinin bir sonucu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca, günümüzde ülkelerin silahlar yerine markalarıyla savaştığını söylemek mümkündür.

Türkiye’de değişen tüketim kültürünün sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan lüks tüketim çılgınlığının boyutlarına ilişkin olarak özellikle bu konuda önemli araştırmacı isimlerden biri olan Can Kozanoğlu ile ve uzman, araştırmacı ve bu konuda daha çok deneyime sahip yaşlı insanlardan oluşan bir grupla röportajlar ve görüşmeler yapılmış; ayrıca farklı eğitim ve gelir düzeyine sahip çeşitli yaş gruplarına lük tüketim alışkanlıklarına ilişkin olarak, tezin 3. Bölümü’nde de belirtildiği gibi akademisyenler yardımıyla hazırlanan bir anket uygulanmış ve sonuçları paylaşılmıştır.

Röportajlar

Can Kozanoğlu ile yapılan röportajın ayrıntılarına girmeden önce, yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi çeşitli kişilerle yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda elde edilen bilgilerin, tezin savını destekler nitelikte olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. Röportaj soruları arasında, belirli her bir grubun kendine ait kültürel kodları ve davranış kalıplarının olup olmadığı; daha çok üret, daha çok sat ilkesinden ne anlaşılması gerektiği, popüler kültür ve modanın sonuçlarının neler olduğu, Türk tüketim kültürünün değiştiğine ilişkin örneklerin olup olmadığı, gelecekte Türk tüketim kültürünün nasıl değişiklikler gösterebileceği gibi sorular bulunmaktadır.

Bu sonuçlar arasında, göze çarpan unsurlar arasında; özellikle 1980 ve 1990 yıllarında yaşanan ekonomik gelişmelerin kültürel ve sosyal yaşam üzerindeki yansımaları olarak, bazı ailelerce misafirler için salon ismi verilen ayrı bir oturma odası, ayrı mutfak ve banyo eşyaları satın alınmış, hatta o zamanlar oldukça lüks karşılanan bir eşya olan buzdolaplarının bazı ailelerce salona konduğu kaydedilmiştir. Bunun gibi ayrıcalık olarak görülen, diğer hususlar arasında, salonda sergilenen gümüşler ve kristal cam bardak takımları özellikle Almanya ve Fransa başta olmak üzere Avrupa’dan getirilmekteydi. O sırada toplumun bir kesimi, Dallas, ALF, Charlie’nin melekleri, Cesur ve Güzel gibi başta Amerikan olmak üzere ithal diziler izlemeye ve orada gözlemledikleri hayatı ideal olarak adlandırmaya başlarken, çocuklar Süpermen, Örümcek Adam ve Batman gibi Amerikalı ve

Avrupalı çizgi filim kahramanlarıyla tanışmışlardır. Avrupa'da hakim ideal vücut ölçüleri ve güzellik anlayışının, ilk olarak Barbie bebeklerle ülkeye ithal edildiği de ayrıca kaydedilen enteresan bilgiler arasındadır.

Örnekler arasında ilgi çekici olan bir diğeri ise, Prenses Diana'nın saç stiline kuaförlerden talep edilen en popüler saç kesimi olduğudur. Son olarak, Sevgililer Günü ve Yılbaşı gibi daha önce ülkemizde kutlanılmayan, fakat medya kanalıyla öğrenilen ve benimsenen Batı kültürüne ait birçok unsur bulunmaktadır.

Diğer bir yandan, Can Kozanoğlu, özellikle 1950li yıllardan itibaren hayatın kısa olduğuna ve günü yaşamamız gerektiğine vurgu yapıldığını belirtmiştir. Bu nedenle, tüketmeye ve eğlenmeye özendirilen toplum, 1980li yıllardan itibaren yaşanan ekonomik gelişmeler ve yeniliklerle, tüketim toplumu haline gelmiştir.

Can Kozanoğlu, tanımlanabilen her grubun kendine özgü belirli davranış kalıpları ve belirli estetik değerler ve tüketim yoluyla elde ettiği kimliklere sahip olduğuna vurguda bulunmuştur. Türk ekonomisi, 1980li ve 1990lı yıllarda, küreselleşmenin etkisiyle, yeni dünya düzenine ayak uydurmak ve gelişmiş ülkeleri yakalamak uğruna çeşitli yapısal değişiklikler ve yeniliklerle karşımıza çıkmıştır.

Anketler

Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi, tezin temel amacı, Avrupa Birliği'ne uyum süreci içindeki Türkiye'nin yaşadığı ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal gelişmeler sonucunda ortaya çıkan yeni tüketim kültürüdür. Bu bağlamda, lük tüketim alışkanlıklarına ilişkin olarak yapılan anket sonuçları, röportaj sonuçlarını destekler niteliktedir.

Anket için, çoktan seçmeli sorular ağırlıklı olmak üzere, bir akademisyenin onayı alınarak hazırlanan sorular çeşitli yaş gruplarına uygulanmıştır. Bu gruplar, farklı eğitim ve gelir düzeylerine sahiptirler. Katılımcılara, lüks tüketim alışkanlıklarına yönelik sorular sorulmuş ve sonuçları ayrıntılı bir şekilde bu tezde açıklanmıştır. Lüks tüketim, genellikle ego tatmini için kullanılan bir araç, israfa yol açan pahalı bir

alışkanlık veya gösteriş yolu olarak tanımlanmıştır. Ayrıca, lüks tüketimin altında yatan motive edici unsurlar incelendiğinde, başkalarının ne düşüneceği korkusu ağırlıklı olmuştur. Diğer bir yandan, bunun tam tersini savunan ve lüks tüketimi gereksiz ve bencilce bulan katılımcıların sayıca çoğunluk olması da bir hayli göze çarpmaktadır.

Katılımcıların 63 %'ü kadınlardan oluşurken 37 %'si erkeklerden oluşmuştur. Oldukça büyük sayıda katılımcının üniversite mezunu olması, verilerin toplumun aktif bir kesiminden geldiği kanıtlamaktadır. Katılımcılar, tüketimin, statü göstergesi olarak kullanıldığını, fakat bu durumu bencilce bulduklarını dile getirmişlerdir. Ankette, lüks tüketimin gereksiz harcamalara sebep olup olmadığı, lüks tüketime gerçekten ihtiyaç duyulup duyulmadığı, lüks tüketimin ünlü markaların ürettiği yüksek kaliteye sahip moda uygun ürünler olarak görülüp görülmediği, sadece fonksiyonel değil aynı zamanda psikolojik ihtiyaçları da doyurmaya yönelik olup olmadığı, ünlü bir markaya ait, piyasadaki emsallerinden oldukça pahalı olan bir şeyayı kullanmanın mutluluk verip vermediği, lüks ürünlerin her zaman kaliteli görünüp görünmediği, lüks ürünler tüketirken çevre baskısının ne derecede olduğu, modanın tüketimi ne kadar etkilediği, lüks ürünleri tüketmenin sınıf göstergesi olup olmadığı gibi sorulara yanıtlar aranmıştır.

Anket sonuçlarının da işaret ettiği gibi, lüks tüketimin altında yatan en büyük unsur, tüketimin sosyal olarak farklılaşma aracı olarak görülmesidir. Ayrıca, medya insanları ne kadar çok alışveriş yaparlarsa o kadar çok mutlu olacaklarına inandırmayı başarmıştır. Bu nedenle, Ergin Yıldızoğlu'nun da işaret ettiği gibi, bir çeşit depresyon ekonomisi ortaya çıkmıştır. Yıldızoğlu'na göre, artan depresyon oranları, daha çok alışveriş yapmalarına rağmen insanların eskisinden daha mutsuz olduklarına işaret ettiğini belirtmiştir (Yıldızoğlu, 2012).

Röportaj ve anket sonuçlarından elde edilen bulgulara göre, tüketim kültürünün, algılar, semboller ve beklentilere göre değiştiğini söylemek mümkündür. 1980li yılların, Türk tüketim kültüründe, özellikle Turgut Özal döneminde yaşanan ekonomik ve politik reformların sonucu olarak, önemli bir yere sahip olduğunu

düşünülmektedir. Tüketicilerin, tüketerek yeni kimliklere kazanmaya çalıştıklarına vurgu yapan anket katılımcıları, ayrıca, tüketimin çevre üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerinden de bahsetmişlerdir.

SONUÇ

Bu tezde, ilk olarak, tüketim kültürünün tarihi ve kültürel altyapısına ilişkin temel kaynaklar ele alınmış ve tüketim ile mutluluk arasında kurulan bağlantılar, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel boyutlarıyla incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Tüketimin, post-modern dönemdeki kapitalist düzeni tanımlayan bir özellik olarak karşımıza çıktığı gözlemlenmiştir. Toplum, tüketim yolu ile yeni kimlikler kazanmaya başladığında, yeni bir kapitalist döneme girilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Odabaşı Türk tüketim kültürünün değiştiğini belirtmiştir;

Tüketim kültürünün gelişmesi, pazarın, ev halkının faaliyetlerini ve çalışmanın anlamını da değiştirmektedir. Evde yapılan üretim ve tüketimle bağlantılı kavramlar da değişmeler göstermektedir. Ailenin bir sorumluluğu olarak yerine getirilmesi ve ailede üretilenin gene aile içinde tüketim için sunulup, aile bireyleri tarafından tüketilmeleri durumu da tüketim toplumu kavramı içinde düşünülmemelidir. Artık herkes tüketici olarak tanımlanabildiği gibi, her şey de satın alınabilir hale gelmiştir. Bunlar arasında sayılabilecek olanlar; kolaylık, rahatlık, temizlik, moda, yeni olmak gösterilebilir. Tüketim, insanların çalışma nedeni olmuştur ve tüketmek için fırsat eşitliği yurttaşlık kavramlarıyla bağlantılı algılanmaktadır” (Odabaşı, 2006: 43).

İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın ardından, tüketim kültürünün yapısında, tüketimle işleyen yeni ekonomik sistem yüzünden, kaçınılmaz değişiklikler olmuştur. Tüketim, iç ve dış borçların artmasına neden olmuş, reklamcılarının farklı teknikler kullanarak tüketicileri satın alarak mutlu olabileceklerini inandırmayı gaye edinmelerini kaçınılmaz kılmıştır. Tüm dünyada ve Türkiye’de tartışılan küreselleşme ve küreselleşmenin kaçınılmaz bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan tüketim kültürü, yeni gelişmekte olan ülkelerde daha çok ön plana çıkmaktadır. Türkiye’de yaşanan post-modern ve siyasal değişimi Ahmet Bora Tarhan aşağıdaki gibi özetlemektedir:

Türkiye’de 1980’li yıllarda etkisini göstermeye başlayan yeni sağ siyasal tercihlerini, otoriter bir yönetim çerçevesinde, muhafazakâr ve milliyetçi öğelerle neoliberal öğeleri sentezleyip, birleştirerek eklektik bir yapılanmaya

bağlı olarak oluşturmuştur. Bu sentez, ekonomik liberalizm, kültürel muhafazakârlık ve siyasal otoriterlik şeklinde somutlaşmıştır. Muhafazakârlık, toplumsal bağların ve tarihsel bir aidiyet duygusunun yaşayabilmesinin temel koşulu olarak gördüğü “gelenek”e vurgu yaparken otoriteyi kutsamakta, organizmacı bir toplum tahayyülünü içselleştirmektedir. Postmodernizmle bağlantılı olarak Türkiye’de 1980 sonrası yeni sağ siyaset tarzında toplumun geleneksel olarak ortaya çıkardığı tarikat ve cemaatler de siyasal yönetim için tehdit değil, yönetim kolaylığı sağlayan araçlar olarak öngörülmüştür. Bu anlamda milli ve manevi değerlerine saygılı muhafazakâr bir toplum ideali, yeni sağın toplumu dönüştürmek istediği asıl alanlardan birisi olmuştur. Siyasal iktidarın dini-millî terimlerle tanımlanan organik bir toplum kurma çabasıyla sağlamaya çalıştığı meşruiyet arayışı, sonuçta Türkiye’yi radikal bir nitelik arz eden postmodern sürece sürüklemiştir. Türkiye’de yeni sağ yönetim şekli, kurumsallaşmamış bir demokratik rejim üzerinde yükseldiği için toplumsallığın çözülüş süreci çok daha derin, sürecin etkileri ise kapsamlı olmuştur. Günümüzde çok-kültürlülük, çok-kimliklilik, çeşitlilik ve ayrıştırma bağlamında düşünüldüğünde Türkiye’de insanların önemli bir kesiminin postmodern bir durumda olduğu söylenebilir. Özellikle 1980 sonrası parçalanma, çoğulculuk, çok-kimliklilik ve çok-kültürlülük toplumsal, sosyal ve siyasal alana yansımıştır (Tarhan, 2012: 19).

İnsanlar, satın aldıkları mallarla inşa edilen sembolik bir dünya sayesinde diğerleriyle iletişim kurmaya başlamışlardır. Hiçbir mal tek başına anlama sahip değildir. Anlamlar, satın alınan ürünlere toplum tarafından yüklenmiştir. Bu ortak anlamlar ve değerler, toplumda statü yarışına neden olmuştur. Tüketici davranışlarının altında yatan motive edici unsurlar, kültürel, sosyal, kişisel ve psikolojik olarak sınıflandırılabilir.

Daha önce var olan tüketim kalıplarına baktığımızda, malların sınırlı olduğunu, şirketler arasındaki rekabetin baskın olmadığını, oldukça az reklam yapıldığını, insanların satın almaları için devamlı teşvik edilmediklerini, bu şekilde tüketmenin sosyal kimlik saptamadığını ve malların kalitesinin ön planda olduğunu görmekteyiz. Ancak, post-modern dünyada tüketim kalıpları, malların büyük miktarda ve çeşitli olduğuna, şirketler arasında büyük rekabet olduğuna, mallarla birlikte fantezilerin de satıldığına, reklamcılığın en önemli unsurlardan biri olduğuna, tüketicinin devamlı satın almaya teşvik edildiğine, sosyal kimliklerin alışveriş merkezlerinden satın alınabileceğine işaret etmektedir.

Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği ile ilişkilerinin ve küreselleşmenin sonucu olarak, makro düzeyde yaşanan gelişmelerin, mikro düzeyde Türk tüketim kültürü üzerinde nasıl ve

ne tür etkilere sahip olduğunu incelemek amacıyla yazılan bu tezde, bugün malların fiziksel ihtiyaçlardan ziyade soysal ve kültürel sembollerine uygun olarak psikolojik ihtiyaçları doyumak için tüketildiği görülmüştür. Son olarak, 20. yüzyılın sonunda, neredeyse bütün dünyada baskın ekonomik ve soysal düzen haline gelen kapitalizm, modern tüketim toplumunun ortaya çıkmasına zemin oluşturmuştur.

APPENDIX F
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 : ÖZER

Adı : BÜŞRA

Bölümü : AVRUPA ÇALIŞMALARI

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce): HEDONISTIC CONSUMERISM: AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF THE CHANGING CONSUMER CULTURE IN TURKEY

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

- | | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: