CONSUMPTION MANIFESTO OF THE GENTRY IN A SMALL TOWN IN TURKEY:
LIVING ROOM FURNITURE PREFERENCES IN MANİSA

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ABSTRACT

CONSUMPTION MANIFESTO OF MANISA GENTRY IN A SMALL TOWN IN TURKEY:
LIVING ROOM FURNITURE PREFERENCES IN MANİSA

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When we look at the general area of study in sociology in Turkey, much against the village stands out on our studies and urban studies. However, studies reflecting the unique dynamics and social structure of small towns are rare. Gentry has a decisive place in the social stratification of small town in particular due to its relative elite structure. The aim of our study is to conceptualize Manisa gentry, in terms of their social position in the social hierarchy and looking answers to the question whether they exist as a status group or not, despite generational change. In every part of Turkey, when asked about the gentry of that area, people mention certain names. These are generally well known families of a long-descent who have a decisive influence on the people of the region. In short, with its unique characteristics, the gentry have an important place in the social structure and consumption is an important tool to show their social positions. For this reason, we try to make a study on concepts such as consumption, lifestyle, taste and preferences. In our study, the distinguished gentry families are considered as upper class in the locality. In this sense, we tried to determine what kind of consumption preferences the gentry families prefer when

differentiating themselves from others. The gentry families' positions both in relation to "others" and within themselves will be analyzed by looking into consumption preferences and tastes which they use to decorate their living rooms.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'NİN KÜÇÜK BİR KENTİNDE EŞRAFIN TÜKETİM MANİFESTOSU: MANİSA EŞRAFININ SALON MOBİLYASI TERCİHLERİ

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Türkiye'de sosyoloji alanında yapılan çalışmaların geneline baktığımızda, daha çok köy üzerine yapılan çalışmalar ve kentleşme çalışmaları karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Oysa küçük kentlerin kendine has dinamiklerini ve toplumsal yapısını yansıtan çalışmalara az rastlanmaktadır. Eşraf özellikle göreli elit yapısı sebebi ile küçük kentlerin kendi içinde ki toplumsal tabakalaşması içerisinde belirleyici bir yere sahiptir. Çalışmamızın amacı, Manisa eşrafının, toplumsal hiyerarşideki konumlarını ortaya koymak ve yaşanan değişimlere rağmen, bir statü grubu olarak var olup olmadıkları sorusuna cevap aramaktır. Türkiye'nin herhangi bir köşesinde, o yörenin eşrafını sorduğumuzda bize belli aile isimleri verilmektedir. Bu aileler genellikle, yörenin köklü, hatırı sayılır aileleridir. Yöre halkı üzerinde bu ailelerin belirleyici bir etkisi mevcuttur. Kısacası, kendine has özellikleri ile eşraflık toplumsal yapı içinde önemli bir yere sahiptir ve tüketim tercihleri ile statü konumlarını ortaya koymaktadırlar. Bu noktada tüketim, yaşam tarzı, beğeni ve tercihler gibi kavramlar araştırmamız için önemlidir. Çalışmamız da bir seçkinlik hali taşıyan eşraf aileleri, üst sınıf kesitine ait olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu anlamda eşraf ailelerin kendilerini "diğerlerinden" ayırırken ne tarz tüketim tercihlerine yöneldiklerini belirlemek bizim için önemlidir. Çalışmamızda

eşraf ailelerin salonlarını, hangi tüketim tercih ve beğenileri ile dekore ettiklerine bakarak onların hem "diğerleri" ile hem de kendi içlerinde oluşturdukları sosyal konumları ve bu konumu sürdürme stratejileri incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Tabakalaşma, Eşraf, Tüketim, Statü, Kültürel Kapital

Beni büyütenlere,

Beraber büyüdüklerime,

Büyüttüklerime…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introducing the study

The aim of our study is to conceptualize Manisa gentry, in terms of their social position in the social hierarchy and looking answers to the question whether they exist as a status group or not, despite generational change. In every part of Turkey, when asked about the gentry of that area, people mention certain names. These are generally well known families of a long-descent who have a decisive influence on the people of the region. In short, with its unique characteristics, the gentry have an important place in the social structure.

In Turkey, sociological studies are mainly concentrated on either village or urban studies. However, studies reflecting the social structure and specific dynamics of small towns are rare. We believe that significance of social stratification of the small towns in Turkey is high. On the other hand, with respect to understanding the social structure and stratification in small town a prominent group is the gentry as alocal elite group. In terms of their class situation gentry has a decisive place in the social stratification of a small town in particular due to its relative elite characteristic. From this point of view, we aim to contribute to the sociological understanding of small town studies in Turkey. Within this perspective in this study small town stratification is studied with a focus on the class situation of the gentry though an understanding of consumpiton preferences, lifestyle and tastes of the gentry in terms of living room furniture preferences.

We aim to address the value of the concept of "gentry" in Turkey through the status group concept that Weber mentions in his three dimensional perspective. According to Weber, the status group, unlike classes, usually has a disorganized structure. Class

distinctions can be linked to status distinctions in a wide variety of ways. However, when we talk about the status group, it indicates the concrete, positive or negative elements of life which are indicated by the measure of "social honor". First of all, it involves the expectation of having a particular lifestyle (Weber, 1991: 211).

In order to fulfill this aim, we try to make a study on concepts such as consumption, lifestyle, taste and preferences. The concept of lifestyle is a concept that we encounter often in recent literature. Bourdieu, in his work, shows that despite the phenomenon of becoming the same, people still maintain their differences in terms of their lifestyle depending on their class position (Bourdieu, 1995: 20-21). According to Bourdieu; each individual has his/her own capital accumulation. However, the society in which the individuals exist presents to them the general lines of its capital accumulation. This is because a distinction between groups is actually something desired by all fractions of society. People develop togetherness with the ones similar to them. They feel more comfortable next to those who are like them. They also want to know their distance to others. This is why they do not only observe the characteristics of their own group, but also the characteristics of other groups. While people tend to avoid the behavior and preferences of groups that they consider inferior; they tend to imitate and emulate the groups they consider superior. Based on this point of view, individuals also present the differences that they have in their consumption preferences and lifestyles.

The starting point of our study is consumption preferences of individuals that are shaped according to the positions they think they belong to in today's world defined as consumption society. Individuals present themselves to the world through their preferences. Every product or service they consume - from the food they eat to clothes they wear, from books they read to the series they watch - is a message they give to the world. These messages vary based on classes, groups, and positions to which individuals belong to within the society. The reason for this variation is the basic behavioral expectation from individuals to adopt the attitudes and consume the products appropriate for their positions.

People consume to exist. After a certain point, a basically essential need to consume has become a tool that individuals use to express themselves. Through consuming, individuals both displayed their preferences and proved their differences from 'others'. The desire to be different from others becomes more dominant especially when one considers himself/herself in a higher position than others.

In our study, the distinguished gentry families are considered as upper class in the locality. Gentry families are families of long descent, who do not only hold economic capital accumulation but also possess other types of capital accumulations introduced by Bourdieu. In this sense, we tried to determine what kind of consumption preferences the gentry families prefer when differentiating themselves from others. As we mentioned above, the fact that consumption is present in every aspect of life has caused us to set certain limits. The gentry families' positions both in relation to "others" and within themselves will be analyzed by looking into consumption preferences and tastes which they use to decorate their living rooms.

The living room is a space that individuals use to display their lifestyles and preferences to their visitors. In this respect, efforts are being made to keep it in the best way possible to represent the family at a top level (Ayata,1988:13). Living room furniture and auxiliary elements used to decorate the living room are selected carefully and diligently. The living room presents the family's status and its social class to its visitors. As the family becomes more distinguished, the living room decoration is rearranged as soon as possible to reflect the change. The living room decoration preferences not only display the level of distinctiveness of the family, but also give hints on how it was obtained. The differences between the preferences of "wealthy from roots" and the "newly wealthy" are quite significant in terms of living room decoration. Therefore, we considered it convenient to focus on the living room furniture preferences of gentry families whom in our study we try to conceptualize within the social hierarchy.

In our study, we tried to examine how Manisa gentry express themselves with consumption preferences. In our reading, Manisa gentry's attitude of "what is

appropriate for us" and "appropriate for our status" attitude, is a manifesto. Hence this attitude has a stronge message like a manifesto. In particular, due to being durable consumption goods and being used where guests are hosted, the living room furniture preferences and tastes have an important role in the elaboration of this manifesto. In this study, it is aimed to see and show through this manifesto the relationship of the gentry among their generations and with other positions of the society. Through our empirical research, we tried to examine the use of "living room furniture" which we considered as the most powerful pillar that constitutes this consumption manifesto. In this way, we think we can present how the group we consider as the Manisa gentry perform themselves to their entourage with their consumption preferences and tastes when decorating their living rooms.

- Can we conceptualize Manisa gentry as a status group? If so, how does this status group position themselves against those who are not from Manisa gentry?
- What kind of space is the "living room" for Manisa gentry as a status group? What are the living room practices, the use of living room and the living room furniture preferences?
- Is there a change and transformation in the living room decoration and furniture preferences of Manisa gentry through generations? If so, does it affect their status positions? What are the dynamics behind this change and transformation?

These questions mentioned above are the basis of the main structure of our work. As our work progressed concepts such as Manisa gentry, consumption, preferences, living room, furniture, that we thought to be distant from each other, have come together in harmony. There are some studies, addressing some of these concepts that helped us to create this harmony.

Some studies conducted in Turkey which guided us in our work:

'Gentry', a term specific to Turkish culture, refers to a state of being distinguished. Gentry families are families of a long descent and who have a certain reputation in the

city they live in. According to the work of Durakbaşa et al of 2008 covering five provinces "The Role of the Local Gentry in the Formation of Countryside Bourgeoisie in Turkey and Middle Class in Countryside Provinces" there is "gentry" in provinces where they conducted their work, who, due to their role play an important role in some of social transformations. According to the report of this study "the 1980s or the period of Özal was a period when the countryside gained power; in this period, entrepreneurs of countryside origin, who were described as "Anatolian Tigers", switched from agricultural based small-scale industries to export-oriented industries and become active in global, international trade. These enterprises, who took initiatives towards industrialization, are located in the provinces called "the new industrial focus" and play an active role in the "branding" of the city, as expressed in their own words. The provinces developed after 1980 who ensured this development by their own independent sources are defined as "new industrial focus" provinces (Durakbaşa, Karadağ, Özsan, 2008: 30). Even though it is not mentioned in the work of Durakbaşa et al, Manisa is one of the "New Industrial Focus" provinces mentioned above. The gentry plays an active role in this process of change. The city, taking a significant step towards industrialization with the establishment of Manisa Organized Industrial Zone in 1968, made efforts to achieve the same success in industry that it had reached in agriculture owing to its fertile lands. Stable investments realized in the industrial zone led to a rapid growth. With the expansion to Europe in the 2000s the industrial zone attracted the attention of Europe for investments by being selected "Europe's most cost-effective city" in the "FDI's European City of the Future 2004-2005" competition held by the Financial Times in 2006. Logistics structure of Manisa and low rents played a crucial role in this choice. These developments, that gradually made Manisa more important, have introduced new possibilities for Manisa gentry. We will also try to show the effects of this change that Manisa gentry went through in both economic and social terms.

The reflections of the impact of social changes on consumption, which is considered to be a status indicator, are very important for our study. Studies on consumption habits and tastes have been conducted on middle class in Turkey. In their study named "Toward a Therory of Status Consumption in Less Industrialized Countries" Üstüner

and Holt (2009) analyzed status consumption strategies of upper-middle-class women in Turkey. In this study, which they go through with Bourdieu's differentiation of the capitals, they investigate the tastes and preferences of people who own different levels of capital from culture of consumption point of view. The study which they have build on top of Bourdieuien status consumption theory, they mostly focus on answering the question of "how does status consumption operate among the middle classes in less industrialized countries?". The results of these studies showed the traces of distinction based on unequal distribution of cultural capital. If to look at upper class within the scope of these studies that focus mainly on middle class, it is indicated that while upper classes maintain their class advantages they tend to use exclusionary practices and discourses. In a survey that she conducted on middle classes in Ankara in 2013, Karademir-Hazır (2014: 236) found out that a group of upper and middle-class interviewees frequently presented the "speaking the same language" as a criterion when defining the people with whom they exercise social interactions. For these interviewees who possess a great amount of cultural and economic capital, speaking the same language refers to standards such as coming from a similar distinguished educational background, having similar tastes and being close to a Western lifestyle. Without openly mentioning the class differences, the interviewees are expressing the "necessary" distance they specify between themselves and the tea makers at the office, manicurists or those who do not have a family structure appropriate to them and those who do not have a profession of a certain level. Thus, even though it is considered or even claimed that people are equal before the law, setting a distance on a cultural dimension shows how the upper-class domination over the lower classes occurs in characteristics involving cultural matters. In terms of cultural class analysis, the conclusion driven from this observation is the fact that a classification of identities in everyday life and therefore, gracefully functioning class processes that result in what Bourdieu defines as class habitus and the process of internalizing the hierarchy is functioning in Turkey as well (Karademir-Hazır, 2014: 236).

Another study in Turkey is structured around the idea of "status games and contested forms of symbolic capital" (Üstüner and Thompson, 2012). While they address the study around the hairdressing industry in metropolitan regions of Turkey the research

is deepened over the symbolic capital of Bourdieu. Clearly, it is tried to find out the correlations between the social link structures & positions at status games and distribution of capitals.

Consumption, which is a basic part of our lives, serves as a separatrix when the class distinctions are taken into consideration. The fact that individual's consumption tendencies are different based on their class, age or gender is mentioned almost in every book written on consumption. In fact, in some cases, consumption preferences are made in order to make it seem to belong to a particular class. Especially in the studies conducted in recent years on the middle classes, consumption habits and preferences are the most important indicators representing the individual's class. In their book Reproducing Class, while Rutz and Balkan focus on individuals reproducing themselves through their education preferences, in his book Sociology of Nutrition Akarçay addresses the impact of eating and drinking preferences on the positioning of the middle class. A society who works to produce in the early years of the Republic of Turkey is now in an effort to become a society consuming the "best".

There are also studies determining that individuals in Turkey are motivated by the desire to show that they are different from the others through their consumption preferences and tastes (Karademir-Hazır & Çelik & Kalaycıoğlu, 2016: 64-107). The low/upper and common/elite hierarchy among cultural forms is something internalized throughout the society. Popular taste patterns transferred through bloodlines and infused into new generations secures the next generations' advantageous place in cultural hierarchy.

In the article of Sencer Ayata (1988) "Status Competition in Urban Middle Class Families and Use of Living Room" which focuses on the use of living room in middle class families, the "living room" - one of the most important concepts of our study, is described as a space which is outside of the "interior house" and where the "symbolic consumption" occurs. The living room is not considered to be a living space where everyday life takes place. Even if it occupies almost half of the house, it is not considered a part of the family's home life. This "symbolic" power of the living room

is an important indicator also for the gentry. Every conspicuous consumption preference mentioned in Ayata's article on middle class, has immence significance for the gentry. The main reason for this is that as a status group, the message that the gentry is trying to convey is extremely powerful.

There is also a master's thesis on living room furniture consumption preferences in Manisa by Yeşim Balım (1995). This study examines how people in Turkey, especially in Manisa/Alaşehir, negotiate their sense of identity in terms of furnishing. The name of this thesis is "Negotiation of Identity in the Global Era in Houses Furnisihing in Turkey". The aim of this study is to show the changes that the families went through based on the symbolic power of the living room furniture. In this thesis, enriched with photographs, evaluations were made by looking into the reflections of the change experienced by different families on the living room furniture preferences.

All these studies are, in some way, based on concepts related to our work. However, none of them brought these concepts together from the perspective of our study. Our study argues that Manisa gentry's furniture consumption preference is a manifesto. We aim to present the change and transformation that the gentry went through by pointing out their status position based on this manifesto.

The structure of our work:

If to briefly look at a structure of our study; in Chapter Two, we found it useful to acknowledge basic theories related to social class positions. We mentioned dichotomous class theory of Marx, one of the leading names when it comes to social class theories. Then, the significance of Weber's concept of status position for our study was emphasized. These two philosophers constituted the basis of Bourdieu's work. Many concepts and views pointed out by Bourdieu bear the traces of Marx and Weber. A theoretical framework was developed based on works of all these philosophers. In this respect, it is aimed to describe the positioning of the "Manisa Gentry" within the society in the light of these theories. However, the mentioned social class positions have diversified throughout history and this has made it necessary to address some of the changing social class positions. By addressing newly formed class

structures through changing social class positions, we will try to determine how the 'Manisa Gentry' has transformed in the light of these newly formed social class positions. It is believed to be beneficial in this chapter to briefly refer to theories related to distinctiveness in order to further determine the position of Manisa Gentry as a state of "being distinguished". Being distinguished implies that you are distinct from others. The distinction emerging from social class position reflect in consumption preferences.

The third chapter focuses on the analysis of general consumption theories. The fact that consumption is present in every aspect of life causes us to convey a message to others with our consumption preferences. This has led us to approach consumption theories and focus on the tastes and preferences – each a great symbol for this study. Our tastes and preferences are shaped according to the social position we belong to. In this respect, based on Bourdieu's capital approach, our lifestyle shows itself according to the amount of the capital we have. The type and proportion of capital that we use reveal our social position. The families we are born into, the environment we grow up in, the education we receive are all the variables that change our capital ratios. For a group who attaches importance to status, the way in which these capitals are presented is quite decisive. On the other hand, it is inevitable for the social changes experienced to have reflections on tastes and preferences.

The point we aim to make in Chapter Four is how we elaborated our fieldwork based on theories introduced in the second and third chapter. In this chapter we provide a detailed information about the methods deployed in the elaboration of the fieldwork and about the preparation process for interviews.

When addressing these concepts, we stated which of Bourdieu's capitals importance was observed and we tried to explain for which purposes these concepts were discussed in our study. Some of the basic concepts used in the study are also presented in this chapter as well as the issues related to how we determined the sample required for the fieldwork and the techniques used during interviews. In this chapter, where we

provide participants' demographic information, we tried to present the main lines of our study and its road map.

Chapter Five of the study provides the historical and geographical information on Manisa province. Considered as a small countryside city, Manisa has been a host for many civilizations. It has an intense cultural heritage and a strong history. In this chapter, where we also cover the importance and structure of Manisa, it is aimed to provide an insight into the general structure of the group identified as "Manisa Gentry". We will try to present the general characteristics required to be gentry and elaborate on gentry and its difference from the others.

Chapter Six will deal with "Manisa Gentry" with a focus on their consumption habits. However, it is important to note that the notion of consumption habits is a very general concept. We will attempt to produce a general evaluation based on previous studies conducted on general consumption habits of Manisa people. Nevertheless, the evaluation of habits related to every field is not within the scope of our study. For this reason, we found it applicable to look into living room furniture preferences as they are durable consumer goods offering long-term use and serving as a showcase reflecting the lifestyle of the household to the visitors. The tendency of Manisa Gentry families to display their status through living room furniture preferences is noteworthy in this respect. It has also been observed that the gentry families tend to distinguish themselves from "others" in respect to their preferences in living room furniture. We will try to dwell on this position by providing quotations from conducted interviews.

In Chapter Seven we will discuss the inter-generational transformations of Manisa Gentry families. These transformations are experienced both within the family and with the impact of newly emerging class structures and their consumption preferences. A behavior defined as "doing what is appropriate" is transferred within the family through the capital accumulation. However, a tendency to develop and transform oneself over a variety of unconscious or unconscious preferences is observed among the generations. Furthermore, the concept of "the best" also transforms in light with new classes and new consumer perceptions, emerging as a result of social changes.

The concept of fashion is very influential in this transformation. Particularly the new generation gentry family members formulate their desire to consume according to their status, through both "doing what is appropriate" and consuming "the best" as a strategy. The effect of these strategies on the interviewees' preferences in the living room furniture was clearly observed during the interviews and quoted in this chapter to convey the transformation strategies they put forward.

In the final Chapter Eight, with an overall evaluation of the study, we will look into how the countryside gentry demonstrate their status using living room furniture preferences and how these preferences are influenced by their capitals. In addition, by looking into different generations of gentry families, it is aimed to make an evaluation of the transformation of living room furniture preferences. Through the analysis of living room furniture preferences of Manisa gentry, the thesis tries to conceptualize the social position of Manisa gentry in the social hierarchy and also answer to the question whether they can be understood as a status group or not. Status group concept is very important tool for our study. We can interpret Manisa gentry and their living room preferences according to status group concept. Also the thesis demostrate that Manisa gentry use some strategies to protect their status. When we look at these strateges, the use of different capital types has been illuminating for us.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS

2.1. Introduction

As we mentioned in the introduction of our study, it is important for us to determine where the Manisa gentry is positioned in the social stratification of a small town in order to understand its position as a status group. For this reason, we think it would be useful to draw a road map through some basic social stratification and social class structures while establishing the theoretical framework of our study.

Throughout the history of mankind, certain stratification has been observed in relation to power and reputation criteria. Regardless of the type of society, social differentiation and hierarchy which occurs as a result of this differentiation is a general phenomenon. The masters-slaves, elites-knights, aristocrats - bourgeois are hierarchical groups representing different periods of history. It is possible to mention four important historical examples of social stratification as slavery, caste, clans and social classes. Our study is also based on the concept of social class because it involves relatively open groups, and it does not have to be defined legally or religiously (Bottomore, 1990: 216). The concept of social class is based on an economic foundation. However, the only building block of this foundation is not the economy. Apart from economic values, there are many other variables that constitute social classes. It is difficult to draw the boundaries of a social class in terms of determining the structure and proportion of these variables. Social classes are a characteristic element of industrial societies that emerged in the seventeenth century. While social class can sometimes be defined as state of owning something and sometimes your social class can be determined with a service provided or with the title that one has. In order to create the theoretical background of our study, we think that it would be useful to look into some fundamental studies on social classes in this chapter.

When we look at today's societies, stratification is associated with the phenomenon of social class and when we want to study the concept of "social class" we come across with two leading names; Karl Marx and Max Weber. When we look into Marx, we see that economic relations are at the foundation of his works. According to Marx, it is necessary to look at the economic relations which are at the root of classes and class conflicts to understand and explain social order and change. Weber refers to the impact of status groups and status positions rather than economic relations. These two pioneers shed light on the works of the sociologists after them. Pierre Bourdieu is another important name who was deeply influenced by these two leading sociologists.

Bourdieu argues that in the theory of social stratification, stratification and the status discrimination are maintained with cultural exclusion. At this point social stratification is associated with the emergence, implementation and protection of different forms of power and domination in the society through political monopolism, cultural reproduction and social exclusion mechanisms. Contrary to common belief of "there is no accounting for tastes", Bourdieu (1989:243) argues that even individual tastes that cause individuals to make their choices are manifested within the context of a social logic. In his work, Distinction, he tries to show the social logic behind many practices characterized as individual.

In order to understand social classes or groups of status in which individuals are involved, numerous studies have been conducted on the perception of society and the ways of behaving within the society. It is acknowledged that these studies have contributed to the knowledge we have about many of the elements constituting the society. What is more important now is how individuals use these elements rather than what these elements are. It is necessary to establish a detailed framework on individuals' use of identified elements. Social stratification and social classes are the main components constituting the society. However, as highlighted above, how social stratification and class distinctions are formed and shaped is now more important than what these classes are or why they are formed (De Certeau, 2009:13).

When we look into the social class approaches discussed above, we see that many concepts or situations expressed by Weber and Bourdieu play a decisive role in our work. We aim to put forward the coordinated approach of the theoretical observations discussed in our interviews in detail in the following chapters.

Unlike all studies conducted on the social class that are mentioned above, on the other hand, changes in the general structure of society and new social class structures have begun to be discussed. In this respect, new positions emerging in work life and technological changes have a lot of influence. In particular, Wright (1985), Poulantzas(2014) and Goldthorpe's(1987) views on the new class structures will support us to point out some changes that we observe more clearly in our study. The fact that we are dealing with two different generations in the scope of our study is very important to show the change that occurred in social class positions.

On the other hand, we think that we need to address the generation studies in the theoretical framework, even though shortly, because we built our study on two generations. Thus, analyzing two different generations during our research, is making it easier for us to reveal the change and transformation that took place.

When we look at the theoretical background of our work, another important point that should be addressed is the elite studies in sociology. The "Manisa Gentry", the subject of our research, has the state of being distinctive as a stance. However, showing to what extent this state of being distinctive matches with the elite studies in general sociology, will actually explain us more clearly being "gentry" as a state of being distinctive.

2.2. Theorizing Social Class Positions

The subject of class, social classes and distinctiveness is one of the major discussion topics both in sociology and political sciences, and there are many approaches, paradigms, definitions and opinions on this subject; therefore, it is not possible to address and discuss them all within the scope of our study. For this reason, a brief explanation of main discussion of class is alsoadded below.

The concept of class was used for the first time in an English Dictionary prepared in 1656 by a linguist named Thomas Blount. The modern use of the concept of class, described as 'the distribution or ranking of people according to various hierarchical degrees', is closely related to the development of capitalist relations. With historically significant events like Industrial Revolution, French Revolution, urbanization, rise of nation states, the concept of class has gained even more importance (Dworkin, 2006:42). The great historical transformation known as the Industrial Revolution, symbolizes the rise of a system defined by the use of machinery in the process of production - transition to factory production on one hand, and direct control of capitalist production on the other; namely a system where an industry capitalist directly confiscated the added value produced by thousands of paid workers, working under his control. If not the first example, The French Revolution, was the peak of a struggle of the bourgeoisie, nourished at the heart of the feudal society, to overthrow the feudal absolutist state and to establish a new state power. In other words, the period of transition from 18th century to 19th century is an era in which the bourgeoisie, attempts to change world's features, both socio-economicly and politically, in a revolutionary way. The shape of the modern capitalist society, emerging from the heart of the feudal society and the class structure gradually becomes evident in this period and (Ricardo, 2007:12).

Saint Simon states that, during the period of transition from 18th century to 19th century when the capitalist production has been increasing every day, the feudal society came apart, and with the industrial revolution a new society, "industrial society" had emerged. There are two main classes in this new society: the industrial producer class and the leisure class. This distinction is consistent with the general approach of Saint Simon, who defends the "industrial society" against the traditional society and believes that a fair society can be established with a "scientific management". Industrial producer class includes factory owners, investors, bankers and workers, namely anyone operating in the industrial sector (Marx, Engels, 2013:426-435).

The views on the concept of 'class' by Karl Marx and Max Weber's, who observed the Industrial Revolution and its effects closely, are extremely important for sociology

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literature. While Marx treated class relations by focusing on 'exploitation', Weber adapted a 'power' oriented approach. While Marx's approach refers to two classes that are opposite to each other, and even in constant conflict with each other as it is based on exploitation relations. Marx's way of treating classes is related to historical accumulation. It is directly linked to the analysis and criticism of capitalist production and reproduction relations, just like the social class relations in real life. The class is never independent, unrelated, unattended, autonomous; it is relational and historical. According to Marx, in order to understand the class and structure of the class, the analysis of the capitalist society where the class exists must be conducted first. The formation of social classes depends on the relations of production, hence directly on economic strategies.

When we look at Marx's evaluation of the class distinctions of individuals, it is seen that the individual's class identity is determined by his role in the relations of production, and in the distinction, that he points out, the division of the society into two is striking; ruler and ruled, oppressor and oppressed, those who have and those who do not have the means of production. The contradiction created by this sharp distinction and by the dichotomous system is fundamental in Marx's approach. Marx has a dichotomous approach, and Marx says that an economic-based distinction forms the class positions. He states that it is very easy for individuals with economic power to gain power in other areas.

According to Marx, there are two classes in the industrialized society; the capitalist bourgeoisie who controls the production and the proletarians who realizes the production. There is a polarization between these two classes and it is stated that their interests are opposite to each other. The interest of the bourgeoisie is directly profit-oriented; it keeps the wages of the proletariat low and focuses on the maximum profit it can obtain; while workers demand to be paid for their labor and to have decent working conditions. When these demands rise, the bourgeoisie tries to suppress them with all its power and the mechanism of repression comes into play in accordance with all devices of the state and policies of capitalists. Capitalism develops different policies throughout history in order to overcome the obstacles that it encounters and maintains

itself thanks to these policies. Karl Marx's understanding of class reality has a profundity that reflects the versatility of life.

The gentry concept covered in our study leads to a different structure other than Marx mentioned about dichotomous class structure. However even it is, going through Marx's social class evaluations is a deep necessity for our research in creating the path of the concept. Gentry can be defined neither completely as owners nor completely being owned. For this reason, it is difficult to conceptualize Manisa gentry based on Marx's social class theory. Members of gentry families who belong to different class positions can be occupied as landowners, farmers or merchandisers. However, the main reason of them being called as Gentry is mostly depends on the status they have. What they do or their wealth can affect their position to a large extend, whereas it is more viable to win the status by "respect" and existing at the same geography for generations.

According to Weber, the concept of class refers to any group of people found in the same class situation. Therefore, a class is not a community, but merely a group of people in the same economy or market (Ritzer, 2004: 127). According to Weber, "class" is defined rather with "class location". Class location means the properties and living conditions and typical possibilities that people own in their personal lives. These opportunities must be determined by the degree and type of power to spend goods and skills in order to provide income in a given economic order or by the absence of such power. The term class refers to the group of people in the same class location (Weber, 1991:270). In short, Weber considers the class location as the sum of the opportunities that individuals have in their possession within the economic structure.

According to Weber, stratification is not a phenomenon explained only by economic reasons. The phenomenon of stratification is a multidimensional concept and it is not possible to develop a correct approach unless it is considered from different perspectives. According to Weber, society is stratified based on economy, status and power, while people are at the top of one dimension of stratification they can be at the bottom of other dimensions. It is not very illuminating at this point to look into the

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positions of individuals arising solely from their economic situation (Ritzer, 2004:127). Weber, stating that a class is not a community, focuses on class situation. Class situation exists when three fundamental conditions are ensured. The first condition is that life chances must have a certain component, the second condition is that this particular component is represented completely by economic interests related to the ownership of goods and opportunities to provide income, and the third condition is that to the extent that this particular component is represented within the conditions of goods and labor market, it is a common feature of humans (Weber, 1978:927).

According to Weber (1991), status honor, unlike the class, refers to communities. Status groups are quite unshaped and amorphous communities. The "status location" that we want to define against the "class location" which is purely determined by the economy is defined as any component of people's lives, determined by a concrete, positive or negative, specific assessment of social dignity of people's destiny (Weber 1991:277). In this sense, the social situation is different from the social class and social group, and it is the key concept that expresses the social strata that are outside the scope of the class. Social status and social honor of individuals are determinants of the system of status and prestige. Social honor is not just a concept associated with today. It is a concept that go a long way back. The status owned shows its impact on the stratification in the society with social honor displayed by social situation. "Status" is an indicator of the existence or non-existence of social honor; it is conditioned and expressed with a certain lifestyle. "Social honor can be directly linked to class location; at the same time, status is usually determined by the average class location of the members of its group (Weber, 1991:336). As a general rule, status is linked to lifestyle. The ones at the top of the status hierarchy have a different lifestyle than those who are below the same hierarchy. Here, lifestyle or status is associated with class status. However, class and status are not necessarily related to each other (Ritzer, 2004:127). At this point, the main point differentiating the class situation and the status is the "lifestyle". The best expression of social honor, which represents the status, is to have a certain lifestyle. Some of the factors that determine the lifestyle are the social habits, customs, educational levels, professions and innate reputations of a group. The individual who wants to be a member of a certain environment first of all has to have

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the lifestyle that circle requires. However, according to Weber, the activities of the individual which are appropriate to 'that' lifestyle are not sufficient in determining the status. When the individual ceases to be an imitator of the lifestyle of a particular group and began to adapt to the accepted inward actions of that group, his status really begins to develop (Weber, 1991: 183).

According to Weber, to be in the same class location or in the social class does not necessarily derive from class interests. Because in their everyday lives, individuals do not only act for their class interests, or they do not look out for these interests. According to Weber, class and status stratification are two different concepts, even though they are both based on power issues. When the class and status and the stratifications which are formed in accordance with them are taken into consideration, while the stratification formed by the class is mostly shaped by the relations of production and property, the status stratification is determined by the consumption preferences represented by the lifestyles. What best expresses the status honor is that for people wanting to be a member of a certain circle, it is expected that they have a certain lifestyle, above all. (Weber, 1991:287).

Interestingly, we read through the class and stratification concept of Bourdieu, we might talk about it is influenced by Marx and Weber at particular understandings. However, each of the mentioned two sociologists reaches different evaluations. Bourdieu accepts Marx's distinction between 'the dominant' and 'the dominated'. However, he does not limit the struggle between classes only to the economic sphere like Weber does. Bourdieu, considers classes in a large background covering all 'symbolic spaces ' such as religion, politics, art and so forth. Besides, Bourdieu makes use of Weber's concept of 'legitimacy'. The dominant ones can remain dominant to the extent of the legitimacy of their dominance. This legitimization of the dominance is ensured by many "reproduction strategies" in all symbolic areas.

Shortly, instead of economic capital, Bourdieue's different types of capitals can influence the definition of gentry more accurately. As a result, Marx keeps a central role for our definitions, which are mostly built on Bourdieu's terms. Especially, when

we talk about capital differences, Marx's separation of class structures which depends on such capital types will be helpful while we try to explain Bourdieu's capital descriptions. Additionally, Gentry has a status position that is gained by the capitals gentry holds. The status positioning which is different than the economic capital of Marx emphasized guides us to Max Weber's studies.

Status manifests itself through the 'lifestyle' as Weber points out; in other words, it can be conceptualized as a sum of cultural practices such as body tendencies and views, style of speaking and clothing. At this point, we need to mention 'habitus'. Although habitus is a concept used by Weber, it has been studied more in depth by Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, habitus is the process of identification and formation by the spectrum that consists of taste, tendency, and practices organizing individual's perception related to a social sphere. When we mention status, it contains manner/style at certain scale, and it is even manner/style itself. The position of a group in the social system is expressed by the tastes of that group. Such that, as if these tastes are the faces of the lifestyle in practice (Turner, 1988:66-67).

Habitus is a term passed on to the language of sociology by Bourdieu in order to indicate the forms of 'being' deriving from the social roots and status of social actions. It refers to the whole of internal tendencies that steer individual's social activities. In other words, it is defined as "the whole of the acquired qualities, perception, appreciation and action schemes, which are placed in our minds by the social conditions belonging to a certain time and space". The "class habitus" is the shaped form of class identity and of conditions required by it, and the productive and distinguishing basis of the lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1989: 112).

In his book Distinction, Bourdieu (1989) explains the class structure and stratification patterns in contemporary France through everyday experiences. It describes how it concretely reveals that in the essence of every symbolic distinction practice there is the state of belonging or exclusion. For Bourdieu "differences in lifestyles are perhaps the strongest barrier between classes" (Bourdieu, 1989:56). Symbolic distinctions are both conceptual and social. Our daily life preferences are organized around basic

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conceptual classification forms such as high/low, unique/mundane, important/unimportant. This basic conceptual classification also determines the positions of individuals and groups in the stratification hierarchy. In other words, class struggle as a classification struggle involves our various practical uses of basic conceptual classifications. Thus, "sense of belonging" is imposed on us in some way (Swartz, 1997: 256-257).

According to Bourdieu, "real class... is the whole of actuators having a homogeneous existence, adopting homogeneous regulations, producing homogeneous tendencies, intertwined like class habitus.... having objective properties and set of common properties" (Bourdieu, 1989: 112). The term "class habitus" needs to be explained as all of the features that Bourdieu treats in class definition are directly derived from the "class habitus".

According to Bourdieu, "there are no social classes. It is an existing social space, in which, in any case, classes are virtual, in unclear lines, in the state of something to be done, rather than given" (Bourdieu, 1995: 28).

When we look at Bourdieu's class analysis, it underlines an indirect causality relationship between the positions in the social sphere and the actions of individuals. The concept of habitus plays a key role at this point. According to Bourdieu, the social class is not linked to individuals or groups of people but to the habitus of the class, and therefore there is a causal relationship but not a direct one between the class positions and the habitus. With this approach, Bourdieu drifts apart from Weber, who considers class positions and status analytically separate. In Distinction, Bourdieu (1989) examines the relationship between social classes and status groups and considers Weber's emphasis on the differences between class and status as "economic" and "symbolic" differences. According to Weber, differences deriving from status can also be attributed to factors that make up class relationships. For example, the property is often considered as a status feature. Where this happens, the property owner has both class advantage and social prestige. However, according to Weber, status "generally has a profound difference from mere property-based show-off" (Scott, 1996:32).

However, as Bourdieu tries to explain the relationship between habitus and class by emphasizing that class analysis cannot be reduced to economic relationships, he includes also the symbolic system in the class analysis (Weininger, 2005:84). This approach of Bourdieu emphasizes the economic as well as the symbolic one in class analysis and points out that the dominant class can hide its power with symbolic capital (Postone, LiPuma, Caalhoun, 1995: 5).

Bourdieu states that every position in the social space corresponds to a particular "class condition". The individuals in these "class situations" exhibit homogenous behavior and actions as forming a system. Indeed, in Distinction, instead of examining classes only within the framework of external factors, Bourdieu (1989) examined them in the context of attitudes and actions that form a homogeneous union and which are internalized. Thus, Bourdieu examined the differences in lifestyles in the class and between classes in the context of habitus (Brubaker, 2000: 103-104). The reason for the importance that Bourdieu attaches to the lifestyles is the idea that social collectivity can be seen in the tastes. Indeed, one of the issues he emphasized in Distinction is that in today's societies collectivism is primarily seen in consumption (Bourdieu, 1989:653). Based on this assumption, Bourdieu studied the data reflecting the individual preferences and consumer practices in a wide range of areas, including art, literature, music, theatre, reading and eating habits, sports, clothing and home decor, within the framework of multi-dimensional adaptive analysis (MCA) (Weininger, 2005:92-93). Thus, Bourdieu reveals the homogeneous structure underlying the different and multidimensional preferences and actions within the social space. Similarly, the members of the ruling class and the working class have separate lifestyles and class habitus (Bourdieu,1989: 654). While Bourdieu, who sees the difference in the emphasis related to form and function "the sense of distinction" among these two classes, comments that refined and glorification is not only determinant in the field of art but also in the field of actions:

> Although art presents it in the most comprehensive way, there is no action field where simple purity, purification and glorification are not suggested for simple reactions. In language, however, this is seen as contrasts in preferences between popular outspokenness and the bourgeoisie language in which censorship is highly present or between picturesque and rhetoric

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(between the expressionist pursuit of the picturesque or the rhetorical effect) and between self-mastery or false simplicity. The economy of similar meanings is also seen in the body language: the anxiety and excitement, the grimace and gestures peculiar to lower classes, are the opposites of slowness -according to Nietzsche, the slow gestures of the aristocracy, glances- self-control and indifference which are the indicators of level. Even the area of basic pleasures, quality and quantity, appetite and taste, forms of self and behavior are formed according to the basic contrast between self and form (Bourdieu, 1989: 176-177).

When we consider the above-mentioned discussions on the concept of social class, in light of the ideas pointed out by Weber, it is decided to develop an approach based on the concept of status, rather than on the concept of class at first. The 'Manisa Gentry', which is the subject of our study, is in compliance with the status group definition of Weber. Weber mentions the impact of the status on the position of the individual in his study, where he tackles the status position and status groups. According to this approach, the social position of individuals is not detached from the economic accumulation, but he argues that the dignity of the individuals is more effective than the economic accumulation. For Weber the concept of status is decisive which he considers as indication of dignity and honor. Bourdieu, influenced by Marx and Weber's approaches, predicates to look at the position of individuals in the social space to create an approach on class. The position in the social space is determined by the taste and preferences of individuals. The concept of taste and preferences of individuals, which played an important role in Bourdieu's research in the following years, and the class structure which is shaped by different capital accumulation, are the concepts that shed light on our analysis of Manisa Gentry's relationship with others in terms of positioning itself and in determining its position between generations.

2.2.1. Differentiation within Social Class

The class analysis pointed out by Marx and Weber has been a guide for many philosophers who follows their footsteps. The concept of social state, which began to develop after the Second World War, the expansion of the public and service sector, the acquisition of important privileges and rights by some working classes, and especially with the impact of the changes in technology, it provided new perspectives to the concept of class. The main reasons for these new perspectives was the emerging

new class positions. Now Marx's bipolar approach, the owners of the means of production, and those who use the means of production, a white-collar managers class that stand out with their expertise and talents was being discussed.

With the effect of all these changes, the most fundamental issues in the 70's were based on which criteria to define classes, how to distinguish the 'middle class' from the working class, how to position the professional managerial class. During this period, Eric Olin Wright worked on the reconstruction of class analysis. According to Wright, the main problem in class discussions is related to Marx's approach. The concept of class in Marx's approach was inadequate in making room for some classes such as middle class, professional managerial and experts. However, these classes exist and they get more numerous every day.

According to Wright, it would not be a right differentiation to gather groups that cannot be positioned within working class and bourgeoisie under a single concept of middle class. For this reason, in his book "classes" published in 1985, he made evaluations on contradictory class locations. One of the most prominent categories in the middle-class discussions is the position of 'manager', which, according to Wright, is characterized as the bourgeois and proletarian at the same time (Wright, 1985:59). In addition, managers also have different positions and these positions are shaped according to the control size in the production process. In other words, classes are defined according to their control relationships, not according to their production relationships. Wright explains his approach as follows;

> I insisted that this was particularly a reformulation of the Marxian class concept from the beginning to the end of the development of the concept of contradictory class locations". I alleged the relationship between class and exploitation as part of the rhetoric of such initiative. In practice, however, the concept of contradictory positions in class relations was based on relations of domination rather than exploitation. The reference to exploitation did not serve as a constituent element of the analysis of class structures, but as a background concept of class discussion. For example, the managers were basically defined as a contradictory position, since they were the dominators and the dominated at the same time. The relations of domination were decisive when describing the character of the class of semi-autonomous workers–positions which I defended as the petty bourgeois and proletarian at the same time in the process of labor and in

accordance with self-management- because 'autonomy' defines a situation of domination (Wright, 1985:733-74).

Poulantzas, another name working on redefining the class concept, in his book Classes in Contemporary Capitalism says that, "After developing these theoretical and political points, I would like to discuss some of the major propositions that I have developed in my book. These propositions are as follows: (I) wage-earner non-productive workers, what I call the new petty bourgeoisie, have a specific class status; (ii) there are transformations in the reproduction of capitalism in relation to the dimensions of the limits of the working class. However, these transformations do not alter the specific class state of the new petty bourgeoisie; (III) these transformations affect the gradual shift of the new petty bourgeoisie to the working class in objective terms as a specific class. But since the new petty bourgeoisie is a unique class, this objective polarization does not bind the whole class equally. On the contrary, it binds certain fractions of the new petty bourgeoisie, which forms the majority of this transformation. If we want to talk about 'contradictory class locations', we need to think about whether this is the solution to the problem or not. If we consider the thesis of Erik Wright in "class boundaries in advanced capital societies", can we solve the theoretical problem by stating that some of the perpetrators have contradictory class locations? This means that the perpetrators occupy different and changing class locations; it is assumed that they fill a gap, a neutral zone between the bourgeoisie and the working class (Martin, 2010:446).

Poulantzas refers to a labor that produces surplus value in order to separate the new petty bourgeoisie and the middle class from the proletariat. Working for a wage is not a sufficient criterion to be proletariat. Because the classes are influenced by different periods in terms of production style, they cannot always be determined solely by the examination of economic production styles. For this reason, as social structures have different modes of production as an achievement of capitalism, the classes in their pure form might not directly appear as a 'district' class concretely in the social structure (Martin, 2010:85).

Another important name who worked on the differentiation of the class concept is John Goldthorpe. Goldthorpe (1987: 56) has drawn up a class diagram based on professions to explain the class position in capitalist societies that changed with the impact of industrialization in the late 70s and mentions three basic classes; freelancers, workers and employers. In this diagram, those who do not work with hand labor constitute the service class. The ones who do not work with hand labor and therefore the service class consists of petty bourgeoisie involving professionals, managers, executives, senior technicians, white collar workers, inspectors of those who do not work with hand labor, sales and service staff, small business owners and craft and trade workers. In this sense, the service class includes both upper and lower layers in the professional diagram. According to Goldthorpe's professional diagram, the composition of middle classes includes those who are propertyless and who do not work with hand labor, employers and business owners. In short, with this diagram, society is categorized according to professional positions (Aslan, 2012:69).

2.2.2. Cross-generation of Social Class

When we look at each era, it is a known fact that they all have their own specific dominant values and cultural codes. In addition, there are behaviors and mindscapes that shape the periods. In order to understand these and to make various predictions, discussing these periods over generations creates a more explanatory environment. When we look at the society through generations, we notice a different perspective on the classes as well. The differentiation of the class perception shared by individuals who come across the same generation cycle in the next generation cycle is quite common in societies.

One of the first names that comes to mind for generation studies in sociology is Karl Mannheim. Mannheim (1952), by using on the definition of generation in his studies, considers this concept within itself, over a wide category. The concept of generation is based on Mannheim's definition consists of age groups sharing the common class history. In Mannheim's article "The problem of Generations"(1952), providing a sociological discourse to the subject of generations, he considers time as an internal

and subjective experience and states that it is inevitable that our view is affected by different social, cultural and geographic phenomena. According to Mannheim, generation is defined as "social position and dynamic interaction among same-age groups who lived in the certain period of history and witnessed important events such as wars, revolutions and economic developments during this period." Based on this definition, we accept the fact that the characteristic desires, wishes, ideas and experiences of the members of the same generation are largely shaped by the important events of the period. In short, the generation is a reference to a consciousness that determines our approach to the world shaped by historical events and trends and helps us understand the reasons why generations are different from one another and how the change progresses. Each generation has its own historical consciousness and the spirit of its own time. This situation affects the class positions in which the individuals are in and the re-production of the class positions. Taking into consideration that historical accumulation is an important factor in Marx's class definition; it is in fact an influential factor in the re-production of the class in intergenerational relations.

Although he did not clearly state that he was focusing on generations, we see the impact of the generation in the analysis of Bourdieu on society. Considering the heritage, he inherited from Marx, especially in terms of historical accumulation, it is obvious that Bourdieu is in close contact with history in the formation of the capital. Furthermore, habitus, one of the fundamental concepts of Bourdieu, describes a system of permanent and transferable dispositions that occur through the world in which we perceive, evaluate and act. Although each individual owns a unique form of the common matrix, this means that is shared by people who go through similar experiences. The habitus, which mediates between the past effects and the present stimulus, is structured and structures according to the stereotyped social forces that produce themselves simultaneously. It provides form and consistency to the different activities of an individual in different areas of life (Wacquant, 2010:61-62).

The concept of capital, one of the fundamental concepts of Bourdieu, depends on the systems of people's tendency and their position in society. At this point, the capital accumulation of individuals is shaped according to their position within their own

generations as well as the amount of capital transferred between generations. Unlike Marx, Bourdieu does not only focus on economic capital. For Bourdieu (1986), capital is an effective resource in a particular social arena that enables one to participate in a particular social area and to obtain the special achievements that the competition offers in this area. There are three types of capital: economic, cultural and social. The position of an individual, group or institution in a social space can thus be placed in two coordinates. The general amount and composition of the capital they have accumulated. A third coordinate, the change of this amount and composition over time, registers the trajectories of the relevant actors in the social space, and provides valuable clues about their habitus by revealing their styles and means of reaching the position that they occupy (Wacquant, 2010:62).

Bourdieu makes a social critique of the judgement of taste in Distinction. Aesthetic judgment shows that the individual has a social power arising, to a large extent, from class discipline and education, far from expressing some of the individual's specific sensibilities. Bourdieu shows that the class struggle is a hidden but basic dimension of competition among groups within the lifestyles space. According to Bourdieu, who thinks that classes emerge in the context of shared tendencies in social space, "the representation in the practices of individuals and groups that are inevitable is the most important part of their social reality. A class is defined by its own existence as well as by its perceived existence" (Bourdieu, 1989:564).

The concept of habitus is at the heart of Bourdieu's practice theory. Bourdieu's approach is different from the two opposing approaches that are called structural approach that emphasizes only the constructivist characteristic of the action and the structural approach that emphasizes only the constructed aspect of the action. According to Bourdieu, while social life is formed through the interaction of structures, actions, orientation and attitudes with one another, social structures and information embodied in the body about these structures lead the action. Thus, Bourdieu emphasizes that social action shapes "structuring structures" and "structured structures" and that it is shaped by them. Action is not directly shaped by our habits; action is an improvisational process composed of our cultural orientations, our

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personal history and our ability to play the game of social interaction. Bourdieu calls this structural improvisation capability "habitus" and while emphasizing the continuity and transportability characteristics of habitus, he points out that the concept of habitus also involves accumulation (Durakbaşa, Karadağ, Özsan, 2008:38). Bourdieu expresses this situation as follows:

> The habitus, as the product of history, produces individual and collective actions in accordance with the mechanisms established by history. It enables the effective presence of past experiences that are more robust than all formal rules and norms, guaranteeing the 'accuracy' and stability of actions over time, that are present in each organism, as perception, thought and action patterns (Bourdieu, 1989: 54).

In the process of the formation of habitus, the limitations, restrictions and experiences that are decisive in the early years of life are mentioned. While many experiences gained in the family before school life becomes decisive in future education life, this effect is also observed in professional life in the following years (Cicourel, 1995: 90). In childhood, as an individual imitates others' actions and understands their forms, his/her habitus also develops. Just in the same way as understanding the grammar of their native language, individuals also understand the meaning of the codes belonging to areas such as kinship, cooking, politics and style. As people grow older, they learn to adapt to new conditions and thus transform their habitus unintentionally (Scott & Lopez 2000: 103). In this case, it can be said that habitus is the past that is lived today and that it provides its continuity for the future with actions that are structured in accordance with its own rules (Lienard & Servais, 2000: 88). Besides, while objective relationships, institutions, values and thoughts integrate with the individual's body, it is reflected in the actions such as walking, thinking, stopping and attitudes. Thus, we can say that habitus is a dynamic composition of structure and action, society and individual (Postone, Li Puma & Cahoun, 1995:4).

When time is scarce, information is limited, alternatives are poor, and when practical problems are urgent, rationally calculated conditions can hardly be met in practice. Then why do actors mostly do the only thing that can be done rather than acting according to coincidences? As they are aware of the natural necessity of their social worlds in practice, they act according to a sense of practice, which is the product of

continuous exposure to conditions similar to the conditions in which they are present (Bourdeiu, 2010:47). According to Bourdieu (1989),

> What I am trying to explain empirically in my work, Distinction: a critique of a judgement of taste, is the concept of social action as a product of the practice sense, as a social art. In this book, I suggest that members of the ruling class who were born in a privileged position, whose habitus were actually socially constructed, appear privileged because they are in fact directly in compliance with the basic requirements of the social and cultural game. Thus, they can claim to be different, special, even without making an intentional effort. The indicator of the naturalized difference is that appearing different/privileged does not tell much more than being "himself". (Bourdieu, 2010:47-48).

According to Bourdieu, it is important for the class analysis to monitor the change or continuity of the volume and composition of the cultural and economic capital over time, which is inherited through the family backgrounds of individuals. It is also possible to see the roots of Bourdieu's approach also in Weber's analysis on social class. According to Weber, a social class consists of 'the whole of class positions, in which individual and intergenerational mobility is easy and typical. Thus, Weber defines the social class as social class clusters where individual and intergenerational mobility occurs easily and typically (Scott, 1996: 29). Bourdieu stresses the importance of intergenerational mobility on the subject of combination of capital and points out that, when the attitude of families with high amount of cultural capital is analyzed, it is observed that they have tendency to invest in their children's education to protect and strengthen their rareness, and families with high amount of economic capital invest in cultural capital in order to strengthen and sustain their economic capital (Bourdieu, 2000: 120). When the findings of Bourdieu are examined, it is more likely that a professional is born in this class rather than in other members of the bourgeoisie (Weininger, 2005: 89). Bourdieu focuses on objective positions and objective relationships of individuals in this three-dimensional social space consisting of volume, composition and trajectory, and with this approach brings a new perspective to class analysis (Durakbaşa, Karadağ, Özsan, 2008:36).

With the concept of capital, at first the economic accumulation comes to mind. However, Bourdieu (1986), in his work, emphasizes the different qualities that the

capital has. If we look at the characteristics of the concept of capital, what comes to mind at first is that it can be collected through investment activities, transferred to future generations through inheritance, and offer some opportunities and privileges to the owners of the capital. From this point of view, Bourdieu has not limited this concept only to the economic domain, but has expressed that the concept of capital can be addressed with four different perspectives. In addition to economic capital, he also examined the concepts of cultural, social and symbolic capital. Bourdieu, although he discussed these capitals separately, wanted to emphasize the effect of each capital on another and on the individual through this distinction. Each type of capital that we will soon discuss is interaction with other capitals. But we must not forget that the differences between capitals are the reflection of the differences that exist in every aspect of social life.

Economic capital:

This type of capital that we analyze from the modern economics perspective is one of the four main factors of production. Economic capital enables the creation of monetary investments and monetary accumulations that can be measured materially. It is quite easy to measure economic capital compared to other types of capital. Because wealth can be clearly identified with data in terms of its material value. The class definition of Marx, which we mentioned at the beginning of our study, is shaped by economic capital. For Marx, economic capital is the fundamental factor that separates the social classes from one another. Marx's definition of dichotomous class as 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariat' are in essence those who have economic capital and those who don't. However, with the way Bourdieu addresses, this classification is not sufficient for today's societies. It is stated that different types of capital have influence on the class position of individuals (Bourdieu, 1986;2). And by conducting studies in this area, he made room for other capital types. But this has not reduced the importance of economic capital. As mentioned above, economic capital is an easier capital type because its measurement is done through tangible values. In addition, the individual can clearly demonstrate that he has economic capital through his preferences. The fact that you show your consumption preferences through more expensive and rare

products gives the other person the message that you have economic capital to obtain these products. In this sense, your economic capital is in a quite decisive position because it offers you the opportunity to buy a product that you prefer. We will see that other types of capital play a decisive role in the preferred products, but this decisiveness will in any case be within the limits provided by the economic capital. According to cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital that we will discuss later, the moment we want to consume a product, our economic capital steps in and only if we can buy this product in economic terms our preference is meaningful. Thus, it is inevitable that economic capital, even though it does not play a decisive role by itself, as it is addresses by Marx, in essence always has a power specific to it.

Cultural capital:

For Bourdieu culture is very decisive in terms of the class positions of individuals. For cultural capital, education is a formal method. Diplomas, certificates obtained through education and schools provide an objective view to the cultural capital. Another important institution that contributes to cultural capital other than 'school' is 'family'. The qualities acquired by the individual in the family life also shape culture capital. Individuals have a certain cultural accumulation thanks to intellectual accumulation, upbringing, behavior patterns etc. that they receive from their families. The position of individuals in the society is determined by the accumulation they receive from the school and family. When addressing the concept of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) mentions that in the research phase of this concept, at first he addressed the academic success, namely the profits that children from different classes and class fractions obtained in the academic market, by making a correlation between the distribution of cultural capital among classes and class fractions. Economists have been able to calculate the amount of school expenses and the cash equivalent of the time spent at work when calculating the money spent on education investment and the profit to be generated as a result. However, they did not take into account the resources allocated by individuals with different class positions for different economic and cultural investments and that these resources might be used at different rates. However, these different proportions or investments made with different purposes have different profit

opportunities that they offer to different classes (Bourdie, 1986:2). This proves that, financial possibilities are not actually at the basis of expenditures made for education, as it was defended by economists. A consciousness created within the family and transferred between generations is one of the determining elements of the choices made in education.

What is intended to be mentioned with cultural capital is that, it is the structure in which those who hold power in an area which we can actually call "knowledge capital" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2016:108). For Bourdieu, education is a field that nourishes cultural capital and differentiates students by favoring the interests of the ruling class. The position of individuals in the society is a factor that affects their opportunities in receiving education and the quality of education they receive in many cases. Language and writing practices, body movements, gestures and mimics learned are the practices that are often influenced by the environment in which we grow up and are shaped according to the opportunities our environment offers us. Similarly, they are also high tastes and preferences that require close contact with the environment in which you grow up, such as books, works of art, music, which require special cultural accumulation. In other words, cultural capital is the type of capital that is most affected by the social environment in which we grow up and live. If we consider that the people in the ruling position are at the beginning of the resources such as education, social order, social change, they play an active role in the re-production of the system. Thus, the system is shaped within the limits determined by the ruling class. The relatively 'rich' part of the society, which has dominant cultural capital as a result of this situation, holds also a large part of the economic capital.

In order to understand the formation of cultural capital in more detail, Bourdieu says that cultural capital comes in three ways: in embodied situations with permanent tendencies (in gestures, mimics and behavior patterns), in objectified situations as cultural commodity (works of art, paintings, antiques) and in institutionalized situations established by institutions (school degrees)(Bourdieu, 1989: 3-7).

Cultural capital as we address as embodied situations, basically involves the "upbringing" (bildung). It is inevitable for individuals to be embodied with their instillation and assimilation efforts and with their own efforts and perceptions during "upbringing". Moreover, embodied cultural capital cannot be acquired at second hand. Acquisition occurs with the individual working on himself and it requires personal effort and self-devotion. This embodied capital is an inseparable part of the individual. It does not have a structure that can be easily purchased or transferred (Bourdieu,1989:3). The acquisition process of cultural capital, which is closely related to the individual "himself", is a very important issue.

Cultural capital is obtained unconsciously at different proportions, without any limitations based on the society, social classes and period in which the individual lives. It is not possible for it to accumulate beyond individual's acquisition capacity. It is also influenced by the changes experienced by the individual, but always bears the traces of the first acquisition (Bourdieu, 1986: 3).

Another form that cultural capital presents itself is the objectified situation. Some characteristics of cultural capital, which can only be defined in relation to its embodied form, present themselves in objectified form. Cultural capital, manifested by material objects such as painting, sculpture and writing, has its own materialism. A painting has its own economic value and is an appraisable work of art in terms of economic capital. However, the purchase and sale of this work of art at the appraised value is a condition that is related to its legal ownership. To what extent the habitus, which is the prerequisite of the embodied cultural capital used for the creation of the work of art, is important for the individual who "consumes' this work of art in an objectified situation is questionable. Why this individual who purchased this work of art preferred it? Did he choose to buy this work of art based on his accumulation on art or with a different purpose? In fact, this situation is shaped by the cultural capital of the individual who owns the work of art. If we look at the situation, as it is mention in Marx's class theory, a certain economic capital is required to have a machine. However, cultural capital is needed to use this machine. In fact, this situation shows us how intertwined the separation of capital is.

While objectified cultural capital is legally guaranteed by certain academic qualifications and in a position that can be approved by authorities, the cultural capital has an institutionalized status. In this context, institutionalized cultural capital is defined as having cultural capital with formal validity before the law, and to be able to present it with a document approved by all, like a diploma (Bourdieu 1986: 4).

Having institutionalized cultural capital provides a privilege to the individual. It liberates the individual from the obligation of constantly proving the cultural capital that he has and and provides a legitimate, guaranteed cultural capital power. In addition, it also allows the evaluation of institutionalized cultural capital through economic capital and the determination of conversion ratios between capitals. Thus, the individual can transform cultural capital into monetary value in the labor market. This aspect of institutionalized cultural capital is more easily measurable due to this aspect that it has.

Cultural capital, when considered as a whole with its internal differences, is a type of capital that presents itself with the conscious and/or unconscious past preferences of the individual. Even though it cannot leave a legacy like the economic capital, it allows transfer between generations in line with the predispositions and opportunities owned. In addition, when "preferring" we put forth a certain "taste" in line with the impact of the cultural capital. This is actually the part of economic capital that reveals our lifestyle.

Social capital:

Social capital is a concept that is mostly based on relationships. The concept of social capital is linked to having a long-term network consisting of institutionalized relationships based on knowing each other. Individuals within the network make the members feel the support of the capital owned by the collectivity, the contribution of the actual and potential resources. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (2016), an individual or group is considered as the sum of real or potential resources acquired through a permanent network of relationships, with a certain degree of institutionalized mutual recognition and identification. The concept of social capital has been used in

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many researches in order to explain relations, social connections and social organizations. The activities, parties, meetings are actually the networks formed as part of the social capital. Starting from the family we were born into, every relationship around us is an expression of our social capital. Unlined economic and cultural capital, social capital is very effective in developing a lifestyle. The social capital we own is an important function for us to be accepted by a social environment (Bourdieu, 1988).

The key factor that is intended to be underlined with social capital is the importance of the network of relationships in social life. The relationships of the individual with others, group memberships, the obligations of these relationships over or against the actuator, privileges and confidence are taken into consideration. The stronger the individual's connections and the stronger points he/she has connections to, the stronger the individual's social capital (Göker, 2010: 282).

Social capital can also be institutionalized socially and can be secured by the use of a common name (a family, class, or tribe) and with the acquisition of a whole set of institutionalized measures designed to shape and inform those who are engaged in these relationships simultaneously (Bourdieu,1986: 5). When we mention that social capital is based on connections and networks, it is obvious that it has a starting point. However, this starting point does not depend on family tree or pedigree, it depends on rituals that are necessary to produce and reproduce lasting, beneficial relationships that secure material or symbolic gains. Bourdieu (1986) defines the formation of these networks as follows: relations are the product of investment strategies aiming at establishing or reproducing direct social relationships that can be directly used in the short term or in the long term, which are either individual or collective, conscious or unconscious. As the social capital is proportionate to the capital owned by the individual, owners of a hereditary social capital, symbolized with a big name can transform all casual relationships into lasting connections. They are popular for their social capital and they are famous, they tend to be known by people. But on the other hand they do not need to get to know the people they meet, they are known and recognized by more people than they know (Botton, 2013: 31).

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Symbolic capital:

The last capital type that Bourdieu mentions is the symbolic capital. Symbolic capital embodies three other capitals. This type of capital, being especially important for specialization, has an abstract value having the quality of an indicator. Diplomas obtained as a result of education received, art works and antiques we own in consequence of our knowledge of art, are examples of symbolic capital. Our tastes and preferences have an important role in determining our position in the society. The symbolic capital has a very important in the formation of our tastes and preferences.

For Bourdieu, symbolic capital has a different and special place than other types of capital (Bourdieu,1995: 191-207). It is based on honor and recognition, and cannot be treated seperately from the economic capital. In other words, symbolic capital is nothing more than a credit and authority provided by owning three other capital types and by being recognized. Symbolic capital is not limited to private areas and it is present in all social spaces. But of course, it has a certain difference from the other capitals, it is a capital based on knowledgeand acceptance. Bourdieu (1995) explains this with the following example, "The symbolic capital, which makes us bow to Louis XIV, to praise him, and which makes him to give orders and which makes people to follow these orders, which makes him discredit or sanctify people, exists to the extent that the smallest differences, all detailed indicators in titles, practices and outfits constituting the palace life are recognized and valued by the people who are ready to give their lives for it (Bourdieu, 1995: 158).

2.2.3. Why Did We Analyze Social Class Theories?

Social stratification is one of the most fundamental subjects of sociology. However there are not many studies conducted in small town. The common point of the majority of the studies is the fact that societies have a hierarchical structure. This situation brings us face to face with the concept of social class. Although each society does not have a class structure, trying to understand and transfer societies through explanations on classes is often seen as a method preferred by sociologists.

Social stratification within a small town is a significant issue in sociological analysis. Particularly, in terms of social stratification, there are unique dynamics. In Dahl's (2005) study, he wants to answer the question 'who governs?'. Dahl investigates local decision making processes at a small town in America. He tries to find out who gives desicions and how the local political positions are shaped (Dahl, 2005: 136). Furthermore, Hinderink and Kıray's (1970) study on social stratification in a small town in Turkey the authors examine the effects of modernization of agriculture over social stratification and social change in four villages of a small town, namely Adana/ Çukurova region in Turkey. Hinderink and Kıray (1970), study the strategies of rural households with different levels of land ownership patterns in four different villages in the small town and tried to undertand how the agriculrual developments effected those households differently. Additionally they tried to look how these rural households have adapted to agricultural transformations of irrigation, road development, introduction of new crops (Hinderink & Kıray, 1970: 26). The studies of Dahl (2005) and Hinderink and Kıray (1970) provide various cluesto us about capturing the different dimensions of social stratification in small towns and how to analyze the social structure more deeply.

The subject of our study, the concept of "gentry" does not actually reflect a class structure. It is rather an example of the status groups that Weber mentions (1991). Then why did we discuss social classes? First of all, we believe it is useful to explain why the group we define as the "gentry" is not a class. Therefore, we started our study by referring to social class definitions. Also, Marx's dual-class approach has guided us to explain Weber's class and status group approach. Similarly, the conceptualizations of Marx and Weber set the basis for our understanding of Bourdieu's work.

"Manisa Gentry", whose tastes were the focus of our work, is a group that comes together with too many variables that cannot be expressed with Marx's understanding of the dual class. Even though they are a group of economicly high standards, in our positioning as "distinct from others" as "Manisa Gentry" we did not only take into account their economic wealth. In fact, some of the families we interviewed are still

known as "Manisa Gentry", even though they left their old, flamboyant days behind. At this point Weber's views on status honor have been more explanatory for us.

> What best expresses the status honor is that for people wanting to be a member of a certain circle, it is expected that they have a certain lifestyle, above all (Weber, 1991:287).

The fact that the families we interviewed lived in this area for at least three generations, that almost every family has had a political power at least once, that many of them have had close contact with the government in various periods, that they all have large-scale land ownership, that they have different types of means of production, are some of the reasons why people of Manisa define these families as "Manisa Gentry". The above-mentioned features provide a certain recognition and reputation for this group. Thus, this group, which is defined as "Manisa Gentry", places itself in a different position in society than the "others". The main characteristic that distinguishes them from "others" is the different "lifestyle" provided by social honor, as Weber mentions in his work. Manisa Gentry positions itself apart from "others" through lifestyle. Manisa Gentry, who clearly expresses this positioning with the residential areas that they prefer at first, later on makes this distinction more noticeable with its tastes and consumption habits.

One of the main arguments that Bourdieu (1989) mentions in his work Distinction is

> ...the aesthetic feelings exhibited by different groups and their lifestyles associated with these feelings define themselves in contrast to each other: taste is primarily not liking the tastes of others. Cultural practices, therefore, take place in the system of practices rather than in some intrinsic characteristics of social meaning and the ability to show social differences and distance. Revealing social logic of consumption, therefore, does not require establishing a direct connection between certain practices and class categories, on the contrary, it requires identifying current structural parities that are present between dual relationship sets, namely the ones between lifestyle spaces and social positions space occupied by different groups (Wacquant, 2010:66).

During our fieldwork, Manisa Gentry's effort to distinguish itself from the others has reached a different dimension with the emergence of the "new rich" that we know from class studies. At this point, the changing social class view has helped us to position the new rich. With the impact of the changes in technology around the World especially

in the 20th century, it provided new perspectives to the concept of class. The main reasons for these new perspectives was the emerging new class positions. Now Marx's dichotomous approach, the owners of the means of production, and those who use the means of production, a white-collar manager class that stand out with their expertise and talents was being discussed. A different class position has emerged, described by E. O. Wright as "contradictory class positions", mentioned as "the new petty bourgeois" by Poulantzas, and which is the research subject of many more philosophers and scientists. The rise of specialization, the development of the service sector and the formation of the group of directors added a new dimension to the social class theories. We reflect the new class approach by mentioning the positions of people such as Wright (1985), Poulantzas (2014) and Goldthorpe (1987) pertaining to this topic. Because we deal with different generations of Manisa gentry, we cannot turn a blind eye to the impact of these changes. The reflections of this process in Turkey have resulted in the emerging of a class without property or land, which we call "new rich", whose emergence started with the initiatives of private sector and privatization, with the development of a neoliberal economic policy especially after 1980s. Newly formed social class positions are important for us to consider the impact on the established families' member of status group. While examining their intergenerational capital and transformations we also observed the impact of new social class positions. In the interviews that we conducted during our fieldwork, Manisa Gentry mentions the emergence of this new class by using terms such as "new money" and "new money after the 80s".

The new rich people are on Manisa Gentry's radar especially with their new lifestyle. The effects of this newly formed class structure show itself in the preferences of residential areas and in decoration. While the first generation has more critical approach to this change, for the second generation, "new rich" has the effect of "tastemaker" for tastes, consumption preferences and residential areas. The lifestyle of the 'new rich' has caused Manisa Gentry to change their deep-rooted preferences in terms of showing their position. This situation is also considered as a new strategy to display wealth and to be "distinct from others".

2.3. Elite Studies in Sociology

In our study, the distinguished gentry families are considered as upper classes, like as an "elite". The concept of elite has been the subject of many different studies in literature. There are quite different definitions of the concept and if we want to analyze some of the definitions, it is useful to get to the origin of the concept first. The concept, deriving from the Latin word 'eligere', is used to point out to those who have high status in politics, religion, society and economy.

Pareto defined the concept of elite as follows; suppose that each individual in each branch of human activity is given an index as an indicator of its capacity, similar to the notes given on various subjects in school exams. For example, let's give ten to the top jurist type, and let's give the one as silly as a goose a zero, and let's give ten to a man who made millions, regardless of how the money is made- in an honest or dishonest way. Let's give six to those who have won thousands of pounds, let us give one to one who has managed not to end up in almshouse, and let us give zero to the one who ended up in almshouse. All human activities can be evaluated in the same manner. So, let's create a class of people with the highest indexes in their fields of activity and let's call this class the elite and divide this elite into two categories as the ruling elite, formed by individuals who play an important role directly or indirectly in the government or the non-ruling elite, which constitutes the rest. Thus, we have two layers in the society: (1) the layer whose impact on the government is irrelevant to us, namely the non-elite; (2) an upper layer divided as the ruling elite and non-ruling elite (Bottomore, 1990:8). In Pareto's definition of elite, it is important to have the highest score in the field of activity, rather than being ethical, honest and abiding the law. The higher the score in their line of work, the closer the individuals are to enter the elite class.

If we look at Mosca's work on the elite, the most important distinction is Mosca's approach which systematizes distinctions between the elite and the mass. According to Mosca, who emphasizes the distinction between the ruling class and the subject

class, the class that is few in terms of number within the society who holds the power and who obtains privileges provided by the government is defined as the 'elite' class.

One of the most important names among elite theoreticians is Robert Michel. According to Michels, the organization and leadership structure in developed societies provides the basis for the emergence of elites and increases their dominance. As the economy gets complex and specialization develops, it becomes easier for small groups to show their talents and power is retained by small groups (Jack, 1974:266).

According to Mills, elites are the class that has the power to transcend the ordinary and common people's ordinary environment, thanks to their means and knowledge of life. Ordinary people are not able to transcend the world of life they live in. The power elite community is made up of people who have the power to overcome the ordinary environment of ordinary people, thanks to their means and the knowledge of life. These are the people who run big companies, the people who manage the world mechanism, the people who determine the demands and requirements of the state. The armies are managed by people of this kind. These elites, who form large companies, the state, the army, and the society, constitute a social unit. In fact, these elites have conscious of being a certain class (Mills, 2017:7-18).In his book on the power elite, Mills talks about a group as local society.

> In America, in every town and small city, there is a community of high families who are above the middle classes and who look down on the sub-populations composed of low level officials and producers. People coming from these families have more than whatever ordinary people can have in that area; they hold the effective key positions in local decision-making process. They are the ones that built two or three large factories in their location, bought or built a few of the buildings on the streets close to shops and bazaars. Since these families have very close relations with each other, they are all known to be members of a distinct class of ruling families within the society. The sons, daughters of these families go to private schools and then go to colleges; then, the son of that family is married to the daughter of this family. After getting married in the appropriate way, it's time to buy property. It was like this in the small American towns and cities, it is like that today as well (Mills, 2017:65).

Mills made a very clear assessment what he called as local society, which he observed from a slightly different point in classical theories and elite approach. This class too

has a distinction. It's different from the general public. However, while calling the shots in terms of power, issues, its main distinctive position is different from those of the power elite. Local society are people from the upper level. Even though it is just because they are few in number, they can recognize each other more easily and better, and they can create a custom of their own among themselves, and they can become aware of their privileged status. They also have the money and time to meet common standards, to adopt and learn them. Because they belong to a class of property owners, they create a distinctly different community in society, and in terms of their desire to be considered as the leading families of their towns, they create an independent environment within themselves (Mills, 2017:66).

2.3.1. Gentry: As Local Elite

In this study, there will not be any research conducted on the general Turkish notables, elites and gentry. Manisa - as a small countryside city that had close connections with the Palace life for a certain period of time; well-known, recognized and influential individuals' intergenerational transformations will be analyzed. Besides, we will try to transfer the experiences of these families in relation to the changes in the society.

We often witness the state of being "elite/notable" as it an adjective that the group which is the subject of our work uses to define itself. Before we start our interviews, it is essential that at least one generation of these families have to be considered to be among the gentry by the society, as the criteria to be recognized as 'gentry' is the basis of our work. The state of being 'gentry' results in family members being more recognized and distinct from other members of the society.

After 1980, the national development approach in Turkey has been replaced by the free market economy. In order to enter the free market economy and the targeted global markets, it is necessary to increase economic growth and to lift the trade barriers for this purpose. In the 1980s, Turkey had a modern class structure based on the combination of state ownership and state-led private enterprises. There was a national market in which consumer goods produced within the country were developed, and this market was nourished by the consumption culture promoted by the State.

Prominent industrialists had obtained the national bourgeoisie status. The industry was using the entrepreneurial, managerial, technical and professional services of the urbanite university graduates of the upper middle class. The core middle-class families of the middle-class were wage-earners; this was distinguishing them from the working class that made their living with paid employment. In the 1980s, core middle-class families lived a comfortable life with State-provided health, education and pensions guarantees (Balkan and Rutz, 2016: 53).

Before 1980s, middle and upper- middle class families wanted to achieve two important goals which were leading 'a comfortable life' and getting higher education. Both classes wanted a better life than theirs for their children (Balkan and Rutz, 2016:54).

Neoliberal policies created a new consumption ideology and guided a change that transformed Istanbul's established middle-class culture. It created new opportunities for identity creation and expression through new meta aesthetics. This meta-aesthetics displays itself in the consumptions of housing, shopping, good living conditions and in general in every country there is the dream, unique to middle class families, of having an ideal home. According to Ayşe Öncü (1997), having an 'ideal home' as a local adaptation of a global fairy tale, is treated as follows in the advertisements of big construction companies in Istanbul. "Out of Istanbul but very close to center", "just few minutes by car if you use the belt highway". Advertisements stating that they provide a safe environment for children, away from the hustle and traffic, are the most basic guide that teaches how a new way of life must be. Although this situation is analyzed for Istanbul in Öncü's work, we see new building ads in every corner of Turkey with similar ads promising to provide a protected and unique environment, away from urban life.

The discussion on the new money and the old money in Turkey that we came across during our literature review, is mainly experienced in the light of the privatization experienced after 1980 and the decisions taken in the field of economy and politics in Turkey. We came across a lot of studies during our literature review that focused on

the discussions on "Do we have a bourgeoisie culture in Turkey?" which was brought up by the new elite who grew stronger in 1980-90s. However, whether Manisa Gentry was affected by this change in the 1980s or to what extend it was affected is not discussed in our study. The main reason for this is that families living in this region for least three generations, has always had a wealth as a result of commercial, agricultural or cultural accumulations. Their wealth has been their greatest support in carrying them for generations. Besides, they use some distinguishing strategies by making conscious or unconscious choices in order to protect their recognition and reputation that they achieved thanks to this capital.

Gentry families have a unique position and perception as recognized, well-known families. The formation of a sense of trust and respect for gentry families is a result of this perception that is shared by the majority of the community. Economic accumulation is seen in many families, but only basis is not economic. In some cases, having power or being highly educated also play a role. At this point, when we look at Bourdieu's way of dealing with the mechanisms of re-producing social hierarchies and sovereign structures while analyzing social struggle, it has an important place in the linguistic and cultural skills produced by social actors, such as economic factors. For Bourdieu, unlike Marx, this view is the main reason that capital is not only economic. Social, cultural and symbolic capital is as important as the economic capital. Economic capital remains insufficient in many evaluations as it covers only economic resources. This type of capital, mentioned in general terms by Marx, is shaped by income, ownership of the means of production and relations of production. Bourdieu does not consider economic capital independent from other capitals, and even assesses all capitals in some way through their distant or near relationship with each other. All types of capital, more or less, directly or indirectly, are in interaction with each other. These interaction rates vary according to the conditions of the habitus where capital matures. Shortly, for Marx it is sufficient to look into ownership of the means of production and position in the relations of production when defining the class of the individual; according to Bourdieu, economic capital is not sufficient to explain the class; it is necessary to look into social, cultural and symbolic capital accumulation.

Even though they have their own habitus, it is not possible for us to consider the well-established families that we define as the gentry as a class. Just like Gramsci's "organic intellectuals", gentry families are not an independent class, but they have some kind of commitment to the dominant group according to the structure and conditions of the period. The main reason for this commitment is that the gentry families are recognized, well-known and trusted individuals in the society and this reputation is transferred between generations.

According to Barlas, what is understood about becoming bourgeois in Turkey is,

> In 1908, the Young Turks administration in Istanbul supports the Muslim Turkish industrialists group to replace the Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Levantine merchants and tradesmen who traditionally engaged in trade and industry. This group, which joined the elite old bureaucrats leading a Western lifestyle, may later be perceived as the birth of the Turkish bourgeoisie. The 1910 economic crisis led to the vital transformations in Istanbul's social life and Western lifestyle was adopted in the middle or even middle low classes at that time. However, since becoming bourgeois is not compatible with mimicry, the rich has maintained a makeshift lifestyle (2006:31).

Again, according to Barlas, the industrialist breeding in Anatolia is enriched more with her own lifestyle and began sending their children abroad for education. "The clothes coming from Europe, which has not yet become a consumer society, surprises everyone, and the feelings of fascination for the West are blossoming and mimicry continues." (Barlas, 2006:40).

2.3.2. Conclusion

In Chapter II, our aim is to address the theories that constitute the starting point of the study's basic topics. The structure that we call society is stratified. The factors causing the stratification vary, but they are different from one another. These differences affect the positions of the layers among themselves within the social structure and a hierarchical formation is inevitable. For Marx this issue is explained through classes, but for Weber the concept of status is decisive which he considers as indication of dignity and honor. In his work, Weber mentions the impact of the status on the position of the individual, where he tackles the status position and status groups. According to

this approach, the social position of individuals is not detached from the economic accumulation, but he argues that the dignity of the individuals is more effective than the economic accumulation. Bourdieu, influenced by Marx and Weber's approaches, predicates to look at the position of individuals in the social space to create an approach on class. The position in the social space is determined by the taste and preferences of individuals. In his work (1989) Bourdieu investigates the effect of the social classes on taste and displays the aesthetic predisposition of different social classes. Concepts such as forms of capital, taste and preferences that Bourdieu discusses in his work will be discussed in detail in the following section.

Differences are observed in addressing the concept of class with the effects of social changes. As emphasized above, the rise of specialization, the development of the service sector and the formation of the group of directors addes a completerly new dimension to social class literature. We reflect this new approach by exploring Wright (1985), Poulantzas (2014) and Goldthorpe (1987) positions on this topic. Because we deal with different generations of Manisa gentry, we cannot ignore the impact of these changes. Newly formed social class positions are important for us to consider the impact on the established families member of status group. Examining the intergenerational capital and the transformations of them, we also observed the impact of new social class positions.

In addition, in positioning the "Manisa Gentry", the subject of our study, Weber's "status honor" approach and Mills' "local elite" concepts are the cornerstone. Moving on from this point, we clearly observed a state of distinctiveness in the gentry families. Gentry have a distinctiveness acquired by the dignity and honour that earned them their status in the first place. The distinctiveness is an important source that feeds into their recognition. On the other hand, the states of distinctiveness regenerate the position they have. Hence, the representation of the state of distinctiveness is important for the gentry.

CHAPTER 3

CONSUMPTION STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

3.1. Introduction

In the light of the theoretical evaluations presented in the second chapter, we will consider Manisa gentry as a status group. On the other hand, this group, which we call a status group, has to give strong messages to show and reproduce its own position. The power of the message that it should convey as an elite group of status requires the declaration of a "manifesto" by the Manisa gentry. Of course, it is important to know what the foundation of this manifesto will be. At this point, Bourdieu (1989) in his book Distinction by underlining the multivariate and ambiguous nature of consumption and by moving the taste from individual dimension to social dimension, points out how vital the lifestyle is when explaining class positions and class struggles. In other words, "consuming" manifests the social positions of individuals.

If we are to talk about how to address consumption as a manifesto; one of the most basic themes that we encounter when we look at stratification and class is the relations between production and consumption. Production is an important process for society. The forms of production have played a decisive role in the interpretation of societies for a long time. But today, a form of production that is central, noisy and eye-catching as well as rational and expansive matches up with another form of production that is defined as "consumption". It must be accepted from the beginning that "consumption" as a form of production is cunning, disorganized but it infiltrates everywhere; it is silent, almost invisible, because it does not manifest itself with its products; it manifests itself with the forms of utilization of products imposed by the dominant economic order (De Certeau, 2009:45). What Bourdieu (1989) points out in his book Distinction is the impact that taste and preferences, embodied in the practice of "crafty consumption", has on the class dimension. It bears the traces of the environment in

which we are born and raised which also includes many practical things we do as a part of everyday life. Our preferences and tastes are actually a reflection of the class character we have, and they are an important fact that reproduces our social class position. If we make an assessment of the relationship between unequal force we will see that even similar mechanisms do not yield the same results. For this reason, it is necessary to distinguish the maneuvers made within the consumer classification brought by the product system. The reasoning behind consumed products preferences provide us with important information about the person making the preference. In addition, this reasoning of preferences attributes symbolic values to consumed products and reveals the symbolic balances determined by the consumption strategies manifesting in personal relations (De Certeau, 2009: 52). This is why we consider consumption as a manifesto. While consumption can be cunning, sly and sometimes a silent process, the benefits or harms acquired as a result of the act of consumption are visible. And this observed situation guides us to understand the consumption preferences and the class positions that individuals present at any moment.

Differences becoming visible through consumption preferences date back to even earlier period than the start of a phenomenon defined as power of economic wealth. It is even possible to say that distinctions generated over consumption preferences date back to the beginning of hunting and gathering culture. The most primitive difference in the consumption of goods and property is similar to the difference in consumption that we learned and constitute today. In more primitive times, the consumption of luxury consumer goods is a consumption executed according to taste and comfort of the consumer and showing the taste of the master(Veblen,2005;59). If to look at early stages of the economic development period, the use and consumption of good quality goods has always been the trademark of only those who are in possession of time and money. In the following period, with dissemination of systems such as private property ownership and paid work, people who have plenty of time and money did not consume only what is necessary to survive; they sought, found and consumed more than that and better than that. This type of individual always aims to have the very best in terms of food, drinks, houses, services, household items or sacred items. They also do what it takes to make life easier, to live more at rest and comfortably. But of course, the

ambition behind their consumption was never just to live at rest and comfort. It is also the standard of living and the fame. Luxury and expensive consumer goods are not only a sign of wealth, but an important symbol increasing their respectability (Veblen, 2005: 58-62). Consumption has a decisive power in this respect. As we discussed above, consumption preferences that exist since the existence of human beings, are the indicators presenting the positions of individuals. For this reason, looking at consumption and consumption preferences helps us to reveal the class positions of individuals.

Consuming to display your distinctiveness is an important strategy. However, the important aspect to this is what is consumed and why. Constantly changing fashion and trends regularly introduce new consumption elements at any given moment. This is where the tastes and preferences take the central stage. In essence, materials and goods are produced and used in order to make the human life easier. As tastes and preferences come into play, consumption develops into a competition and comparison among people. The fact that we consume symbolic values of products as we consume them, gives them a secondary meaning. This starts from the production phase. The use of expensive materials is highly appreciated and manufacturers who use expensive materials in the production are regarded with respect. Goods with high costs and high sale prices are perceived as valuable and good quality. In order for everything to be complete and accepted in the eyes of the consumer, the item must also have the element of praise (Veblen, 2005:70). On the other hand, it is necessary to be able to understand this element of praise as a cultural accumulation as well as to have the economic power to purchase it. This whole situation bestows the state of being distinguished from others and being a distinctive individual.

In our study, we aim to look into consumption preferences of a status group categorized as Manisa Gentry in light of the capitals they own. Before defining our starting point - Manisa Gentry, we believe that it will be useful to touch on social class concept in order to position the Manisa Gentry which with a Weberian point of view we consider as a status group. In addition, since we will focus on gentry families of a long descent, it will be useful to look into the changing class structures and the

transformations of generations within. It is obvious that the state of being different from "others" experienced by gentry families has given them a position of distinctiveness. In order to position this state of distinctiveness, it is believed to be useful to start off with general distinction theories in the theoretical part of the study. One of the most obvious situations in which the state of being distinct from "others" shows itself is the consumption preferences. Therefore, it is thought that a study focusing on consumption preferences and consumption habits would provide us a good guidance.

3.2. General Overview of the Consumption

Bocock explains Bordieu's aim for writing his book Distinction as:

> To analyze how various consumption goods, edible foods, their forms of presentation, household goods and interior decoration, are used by certain groups and especially by socio-economic classes in order to underline their different lifestyle and distinguish themselves from others (Bocock, 2008:68).

Bourdieu's distinction approach has brought along a number of different concepts. These are mainly different forms of capital consisting of symbolic, cultural, economic and social capital. We can examine how various consumer behaviors are used for 'distinction' through these different types of capital (Longhurst and Savage, 1996:276).

Consumption includes a range of practices that allow people to express their identity, underline their commitment to social groups, accumulate resources, display social distinctions, and ensure their participation in social activities (Warde, 1996:304).

According to Mackay, we transfer cultural capital, our appreciation to objects. For this reason, consumption include the consumption of symbols and indicators. Consumption, in a way, is like a language on which the system is built (Mackay, 1997:4). When we think about Bourdieu's idea, in addition to the fact that consumption is a learned behavior within the framework of what the society offers us, our

consumption practices also have an active nature and with the changes that we experience, these consumption practices reproduce themselves over and over again.

In today's societies, although production has not lost importance, the positioning of individuals in the social order is based on their consumption. Therefore, today's society is called "consumption society" (Bauman, 2013:10).

Various scientists have different opinions on consumption, which currently have major importance in our lives. Today, consumption happens because we are convinced that we need more than meeting the biological or physiological needs. The fact that it is harder to sell cars than manufacturing them is an important factor making the phenomenon of consumption so remarkable. Human beings are dissatisfied beings and the unlimited variety of each product feeds their dissatisfaction. The motto of capitalism "There is always a new one and a better one" creates the desire to buy and own.

Consumption society and individuals' perception of success have also started to change. What, how and with whom they consume plays an important role in the evaluation of success. While people classify each other, they consider the consumption habits of others. Today's general perception is 'you are what you consume' (Todd, 2012: 46).

There are many positive and negative approaches regarding consumption which has vital importance. When consumption is considered as a process, it is possible to identify it as searching, finding, using or destroying a product or service to satisfy our specific needs. Traditional consumption theories consider consumption based on utility. According to this, consumers choose and consume the product that can provide them the most benefit with disposable income. According to another theory, people consciously or unconsciously lean on consumption to form their identity, personality, and choose the appropriate product for this purpose (Bourdieu, 1989: 262). Consumption, by being the signs and codes of status, tastes, identity and social relations takes part in the social communication processes. From this point of view,

consumption is a concept that combines two concepts that are perceived differently with its current use (Warde, 2005: 137).

Daily experiences and studies show us that we cannot talk about a single consumption structure. According to our position in the hierarchy of needs, our consumption may also be different. As the simplest example, we can mention a large spectrum of consumption, ranging from consumption for compulsory needs to symbolic consumption. If the consumption action plans to satisfy the needs by showing a tendency to satisfy them, it is inevitable to mention different types of consumption (Odabaşı, 2013:17).

In his work entitled The Theory of The Leisure Class Veblen states that the 'leisure class' displays its class and wealth through their consumption habits. The term leisure, as here used, does not connote indolence or quiescence. What it connotes is non-productive consumption of time. Time is productively from a sense of unworthiness of productive work, and as an evidence of pecuniary ability to attract a life of idleness (Veblen, 2003: 21). According to Veblen, the members of the leisure class do not work in any business, they already have money, and their basic tasks are to display their wealth. They have to consume expensive things because they have more money than they could ever spend.

According to Featherstone, consumption builds our identity. In addition, according to Featherstone, there is a logic of consumption within the society, and in line with this logic, individuals determine what they should consume.

> If it is possible to claim the operation of a 'capital logic' deriving from production, it may also be possible to tie a 'consumption logic' which points to socially structured ways in which good things are used to demarcate social relations. To speak of the consumption of goods urgently aims the wide range of goods which are considered or motivated when more and more problems in free time (which includes everyday routine maintenance activities as well as leisure) are mediated by the purchase of commonalities (Featherstone, 2007;16).

In other words, what we consume is a reflection of us. Individuals, through what they define as 'performing self' want to show that they are healthy. They keep a healthy

diet, they do sports. The state of being sick and being overweight is something to be avoided. Bauman, like other philosophers, argues that we live in a consumption society and that at this point the world provides everyone with the guarantee of "having something that nobody has". It is quite important for the consumers to feel that they are unique. According to Bauman, poverty has now changed shape. If 'being poor' once derived its meaning from the condition of being unemployed, today it draws its meaning primarily from the plight of a flawed consumer. This is one difference which truly makes a difference to the way living in poverty is experienced and to the chances and prospects of redemption from its misery (Bauman, 2004:1). 'Now' is important for Bauman, because we live now, we consume now. Products are always perishable and must be consumed in a short time. "A consumer society is a society of credit cards, not saving books. It is a 'now' society. A wanting society, not a waiting society" (Bauman, 2004: 32). Consumption is an individual act and everyone consumes alone within society. Bauman expresses this situation in his work as follows;

> There is no such thing as 'collective consumption'. True, consumers may get together in the course of consumption, but even then, the actual consumption remains a thoroughly lonely, individually lived-through experience. Getting together only underlies the privacy of the consuming act and enhancements its pleasures (2004:30).

Starting from the general approaches on consumption when we look into consumption norms, besides having differences in home, clothing, food and leisure activities and the values determined in relation to them between the societies, there are differences within the society as well. What applies to all societies is the fact that each individual does not consume in the same way. Consumption differs according to the social stratification and other status organizations that exist in a society. In the various layers of a stratified society, individuals wear different clothes and consume different nutrients or have different concerns about consumption (Kıray, 2005:13).

3.3. Taste Patterns

Kant says that judgements of taste of the form "this is beautiful" are reflective assertions of the pleasure one takes in particular objects or states of affairs that, without the mediation of concepts, lay claim to intersubjective validity. Reflective judgement

of taste, Kant contends, "demand" or "exact" agreement from everyone, and everyone "ought" to give the object in question approval and pronounce it beautiful. (Kleinman & Others, 2012:45)

Our preferences and tastes are the maps that reveal who we are. Bourdieu's concept of habitus at this point is a classification system that we learned in childhood and put into practice in the following years of our lives. It's kind of a structured predisposition. Therefore, even though there seems to be different consumption options, our practices of consumption are our socially constructed predispositions. Thus, Bourdieu actually applies a class analysis in the consumption world (Mackay, 1997:5). Each individual consumes based on his or her capitals. On the other hand, consumption activity under effect of their capital is also being shaped by way of using the capital. Bourdieu supports the idea of designing social life just like a game zone by the capitals which individual hold for their status. Unlike other capitals, Cultural capital is constructed by rare and specific tastes, abilities, knowledge and applications. (Holt, 1998:3) Holt (1998) who studied high capital savings especially about designing status games makes evaluations about consumption preferences and practices of the individuals with high and low cultural capital.

According to Bourdieu, habitus it is a structure that both shapes the individual and is shaped by the actions of the individual. Thanks to the habitus, the individual gains the ability to produce solutions in the face of different possibilities. In other words, the individual comes from within a structured classification and builds a classification which is in the process of being structured. The person reproduces the habitus by doing a lot of things that people from his/her entourage have done before. In other words, habitus is a reality put into practice, in which the person who is doing the action does not actually think about it, tends to do anything other than what is expected of him by society and in order to be accepted by society in its essence. In short, habitus is a set of action tendencies that make a person suitable to his place in the social order. The accumulation as a child has a great effect on the formation of the habitus. Habitus allows us to keep up with the limitations of the social world that we come from, allowing us to develop many strategies for the infinite number of situations we face.

The habitus of individuals present distinct and distinctive practices. This is the main reason why individuals from different backgrounds differ from each other in their habits. For example, according to the habitus of individuals, they have different eating-drinking preferences, political predispositions, consumption habits, cultural and art tastes. The habitus they build differs according to their capital accumulation.

In Marx's work, just as ownership of economic capital gives many privileges to a person, in Bourdieu's approach as well, ownership of capital provides a great deal of privilege, no matter what kind of capital it is. At the same time, by taking the changes in the society into consideration, when a new position to reach is created, those who are first aware of this position and those who tend to move towards these positions are those who are rich in terms of any type of capital.

Bourdieu (1989) in his book Distinction reveals social positions space through the four forms of capital discussed in detail above. With these social positions the space he tries express the property and practices owned by using a distance system. Thus, the ownership of individuals in the form of property and practices corresponds statistically to their social position and to their class positions that they belong to in their existence conditions. There is a similarity between the lifestyle space of individuals composed of different properties due their choices and social locations space. Therefore, it is possible to determine the consumption preferences according to the positions of the individuals by looking at this space introduced by Bourdieu. In terms of consumption preferences, this prediction is very valuable. The tastes of individuals can be predicted based on their social position. On the other hand, you can have the opportunity to look like a member of this group by adopting the consumption preferences of the group that you want to belong to. However, whatever you choose, your preferences are shaped according to the four capital proportions and the balance that you have. Even if you consume according to a group that you really don't belong to, it is possible that it might be noticed by the real members of that group.

In his work Distinction Bourdieu states that the social classes cannot be defined only within the relations of production, but the class habitus in cooperation with this

position should also be emphasized (1974:372). In this way, the formation of the class is considered through the verb of "to make a distinction" created by capital accumulation in economic and cultural fields. The functional aspect of distinction in cultural, symbolic areas will be achieved by producing values, tastes, ideas and images. Thus, we see that the images and codes produced are used in the production, defense and maintenance of the social, class hierarchy, and that it plays a role in the production and reproduction in a way. Bourdieu uses the concept of taste to explain the production of social codes that produce cultural hierarchies, and thus the strategies of power that different classes use to differentiate themselves.

In our study, since we look into families of long descent, we make an effort to examine a group of people who exist with their own values in a specific region. At this point, the fact that they have a background with a certain accumulation and that somehow, they form their own existence within a group brings us closer to the concept of social status. It is obvious that individuals who are present in this group have a social status and that they transfer this social status between generations.

3.4. Relation Between Taste and Lifestyle

We often come across the concept of lifestyle in various studies. In most of the studies, the concept is re-defined according to the flow and the author's approach. According to Chaney, the lifestyle is patterns of behavior that make people different from each other, and it helps to explain what people are doing and what it means for themselves and for others. The lifestyle is the categories that are originally determined by those who apply them. This situation does not make people have high-level theoretical characteristics, rather it tells us that people use the term lifestyle in daily life to describe broader and complex meanings of identity and relationships (Chaney,1999: 14).

The 'consumption' behavior taught by the modern world actually converges with the concept of 'lifestyle'. According to Chaney, when mentioning status grouping being categorized as modernism, he underlines that this stem from the way in which the privileges and opportunities gained by being a member of a particular group are used. Therefore, it is assumed that life forms are based on social regulations related to

consumption in general (Chaney,1999:24). The lifestyle and consumption are inseparable, each of which is the nourisher and the guide of the other. While depending on cultural structures, each lifestyle has a form, attitude, and some items, places, times, etc. belonging to a group (Chaney, 1999:15).

According to Featherstone, the lifestyle is popular, and this concept refers to individuality, the way of expressing oneself and self-consciousness with a certain style. It is important to consider the tastes and preferences of the individual such as body, clothes, speech, leisure time, home, eating and drinking preferences, car, etc. in the context of lifestyle. In short, lifestyle is the embodiment of identity and consumption concepts for Featherstone. As individual tastes are displayed, repeated, become consumption forms and as they all say something about the person, the use of the concept of 'lifestyle' increasingly falls into place (Featherstone, 2007:83). Moreover Bourdieu (1974) says:

> Today the lifestyle is the first and most basic of symbolic manifestations; in fact, things such as clothes, home decoration, which work in accordance with the logic of belonging and exclusion, reveal differences in terms of capital (1974: 33).

Lifestyle is the way individuals present themselves to others. Therefore, their lifestyle and preferences that determine their lifestyle are very important for individuals.

It is possible to observe the strong message capability of the lifestyle clearly in Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu shows that despite an ever increasing social phenomenon of becoming the same, people still maintain their differences in terms of their lifestyle depending on their class position (Bourdieu, 1995: 20-21). In light of this approach, many things that are part of everyday life such as eating-drinking, interior decoration, choice of cloths are determined by class position and status positions. People who become elite through economic capital show tendencies of "conspicuous consumption". These individuals are more interested in developing a lifestyle based on showing off with the financial possibilities they have and they obtain the products that they prefer to consume based on this show off. On the other hand, individuals who have become elite through cultural capital accumulation, shape their lifestyle

based on their cultural codes. The most obvious reflection of these cultural codes is revealed through "taste". Although taste is often regarded as a natural predisposition, Bourdieu has tried to demonstrate the impact of social classes on taste. From this point of view, Bourdieu in his work Distinction reveals the aesthetic predispositions of different social classes. Tastes function as an integration factor that shows belonging to a class, as well as as an exclusion factor. Taste is a mastery of separation that makes it possible for individuals who occupy a certain place in social space to feel or perceive the "similar ones" (Bourdieu, 1989: 543). In this sense, there is a strong connection between the tastes of individuals and their lifestyle. On the other hand, when we want to observe the lifestyle of individuals or families, looking at their homes, living rooms and belongings will be guiding us. Wolfie in his book "The house in good taste" says that;

> We are sure to judge a person in whose house we find ourselves for the first time, by their surroundings. We judge their temperament, their habits, heir inclinations, by the interior of their home. We may talk of the weather, but we are looking at the furniture. We attribute vulgar qualities to those who are content to live in ugly surroundings. We endow with refinement and charm the person who welcomes us in a delightful room, where the colors blend and proportions are as perfect as in a picture. After all, what surer guarantee can there be of a person's character, natural and cultivated, inherent and inherited, than taste? It is a compass that never errs. When people have taste they may have faults, follies, fads, they may err, they may be as human and honest as they please, but they will never cause a scandals!(Wolfie, 1913/2008:14).

In short, the contents of the house and the house are the tools that present us the lifestyle. The absolute bond between lifestyle and taste manifests itself through consumption. Individuals build their lifestyles according to the capital they own and the usage rate of these capitals. The environment in which they grew up and the tastes they developed consciously or unconsciously are the building blocks used when shaping their lifestyle. As we discussed earlier, Bourdieu in his book Distinction, addressed these tastes and lifestyles together with capitals and tried to determine the positions of individuals in social space (Bourdieu, 1989: 654). This study shows how numerous consumer preferences that seem to be insignificant in everyday life shape our lifestyle. Moreover, the capital that individuals possess and the usage rates of these capitals are the elements constituting the background of the lifestyle of the individuals.

3.5. Conclusion

In today's consumption society, everything we consume is a message that reveals our social class position. Every practice we choose in everyday life reveals the status position we have. According to our status position, we have some similarities with the members of our group. The common preferences are also the elements that enhance the togetherness of the status group. Consumption is the most important tool that shows that they share these similarities or commonalities. Consumer preferences of individuals with common tastes and similar lifestyles should be made according to this association.

As we mentioned in the previous chapter, someone has always a higher position than the others. According to Bourdieu in the case of taking position, the most decision point is the capital accumulation. Bourdieu puts forward four different capital types, unlike Marx, whose understanding of the capital is based on economic capital. Bourdieu, who does not deny the impact of economic capital, argues that cultural, social and symbolic capitals are also effective in the social position of the individual. Individuals form their own areas in society according to the capital they own and share these areas with those who are "like themselves". Thus, they develop "common tastes", "similar lifestyles". As Weber states, the status groups are observed through these lifestyles. Individuals' positions are not only defined by their economic accumulation but also by the way they present their other types of capital to the society through their lifestyles. The gentry, the subject of our study, is a status group. And showing their status is a very important need to maintain their social position. "Conspicuous consumption" is a strategy for the gentry used to show their status. The gentry, which aims to show the elite status they have with consumption, tends to consume products and practices in line with their group based on the concepts of "appropriate for us", "appropriate for our status", and "appropriate for us".

The lifestyle has a decisive role in the status honor. The lifestyle is a tangible element that reflects all the characteristics of the status groups. Regardless of its features, it is the status group which defines the lifestyle. Although the principles reflecting the

status differ, there are certain typical characteristics, especially among the privileged strata (Weber, 1991:215). In other words, what expresses the essence of status honor is that individuals, who want to belong to a certain entourage, must first have a certain lifestyle (Weber, 1991: 211). Individuals are inclined to be in contact with groups that are appropriate to their own lifestyle or that have a higher lifestyle. This determines the social space positions in which they are present in a representative manner. The main point taken into consideration in determining the lifestyle is what we consume or why we consume it. Today's world which is transformed into a consumption society, classifies individuals with the products they consume, and decides on their lifestyle.

Tastes and preferences, which are the determinants of the lifestyle, are closely related to types of capital that individuals own and to their usage ratio. According to Bourdieu, the lifestyle is the first and most basic manifestation of symbolic expression. In individuals' actions of inclusion or exclusion, things such as clothes, home decoration are effective.

From the perspective of theories that we discussed in Chapter II, preferences is the most important value that determines one's place in the social hierarchy. Our preferences are determined by our capital. Respectively, the society, which is the subject of our work in general, and our research cluster specifically, have a unique structure. We aim to examine this structure without leaving aside the general accepted theories and the uniqueness of society.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH PROCESS

4.1. Introduction

The subject of our work is the gentry families who have been living for generations in Manisa, a small town. When we examine them within the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter II, it was deemed that it would be appropriate to consider gentry families as a status group rather than a class.

Being from the gentry is a social phenomenon that holds an important place in Turkish culture and in the social structure and it reflects the state of being the elite people of a certain place. With respect to understanding the social structure and stratification in small town prominent group is the gentry as a local elite group. It is a concept that is still used in terms of carrying some values peculiar to Turkish society and stating the prestige of a particular region when depicting the structure of the Turkish society. Being gentry especially in the countryside is a state of being different from "others".

The state of "being well-known" and "distinguished" of the gentry clearly reveals itself through consumption preferences. One of the main points that the families stressed the most during our interviews was to emphasize the symbolic value of their preferences and the importance of transferring this symbolic value between generations. When we received addresses for interviews at the beginning of our fieldwork, it was an important finding for us that they were situated in a certain area within the city center. This situation that we did not realize while establishing our theoretical framework, revealed itself during the fieldworks. Besides the residential area, items in general and furniture in specific is one of the most important products in terms of being a status symbol. Especially living room furniture preferences are where the state of being "gentry" is displayed as a symbol of status where it is most evident. The purpose of this chapter

is to provide information about some basic concepts that we think will support the theoretical part in order to make the subjects we will discuss in the rest of our study clearer and to address some of the questions that are the starting point. In line with these questions, by transferring what we did during the preparation process of the research, we will provide information on our semi-structured questionnaire which we conducted during our interviews. Lastly, in this section, we plan to provide information about the scope and implementation phases of our fieldwork.

4.2. Aim of the Study

In our study, we are looking at how the gentry, the backbone of the countryside bourgeoisie in Manisa, has changed in terms of consumption norms and values and how this change has become different between generations. As mentioned in the previous chapters, although Manisa is defined as a countryside, it has always been historically and culturally important region. As a result, an aristocratic group has always existed in Manisa and it is possible to talk about the "upper class" structure in the city in every period. From the point of view of commercial capital, it is clear that there had been a high increase in supply and demand during the period when it was the city favored by the Sultan's sons (Şehzadeler Kenti). A commercial structure that intends to serve the central establishment of the Empire must be equipped to respond to a strong demand. The rich range of goods and services has also led to differentiation of lifestyles. This differentiation has prevailed until today in changing life conditions and in the course of history. The main point of our study is that, in the light of our interviews, we will explore how and to what extend the gentry adapted to the changing living conditions and lifestyles mentioned above.

Our main questions are as follows;

- How does Manisa gentry position themselves against those who are not from Manisa gentry? Can we conceptualize Manisa gentry as a status group or not?
- If the Manisa gentry is a status group, are their consumption preferences influential at this point or not?

- Has Manisa changed from the standpoint of consumption norms of the gentry, who are the backbone of the countryside bourgeoisie? If yes, how this change is different among generations?
- Does the neighborhood, locality and quarter of the Manisa gentry's house make any differences in their consumption habits?
- What kind of space is the living room in the houses of Manisa gentry? Is there any difference between generations in terms of living room practices?
- Did the differences and relations of the Manisa gentry between generations affect the living room decoration and living room furniture preferences? If yes, how?
- Does the neighborhood, locality and quarter in which the house is located have an impact on the preferences of living room decoration and furniture?
- Are there any changes and transformations regarding living room decoration and furniture preferences between generations? What are the dynamics behind these transformations?
- Do the intergenerational differences of Manisa gentry, reflect itself on the neighborhood, locality and quarter of their home?

With these questions, we aim to present the findings that we have mostly obtained with field works based on the theories discussed in the following chapters of our study. We believe that it would be useful to look into the general characteristics of Manisa as a countryside city, where "Manisa gentry", subject of our study, live. In this way, we can understand Manisa's position in the status acquisition of the gentry in an easier way. With the references provided in Chapter V: History of Manisa and Manisa's Gentry we see the importance of Manisa as a city for Manisa gentry. The predispositions of Manisa gentry stemming from the past will be analyzed by looking into some previously conducted studies. By providing a general picture of the Manisa's gentry's lifestyle, the consumption preferences and tastes will be presented. In particular, consumption preferences, tastes and strategies used by the gentry to obtain and maintain the status position will be discussed. Our study aims to look into how the gentry, defined as a status group in Chapter VI: The Consumption Behavior of Manisa Gentry to Distinguishing Itself From The "Others", expresses itself and how

it tries to show themselves through consumption habits and lifestyle. The status is important for the gentry and its importance for the acknowledgement and respectability of the status is not debatable. Therefore, we need to show how the gentry differentiates itself from those who are out of this status group. In other words, pointing out the difference between the gentry and others defines how the gentry legitimizes its status position. In Chapter Six, we will try to explain how Manisa gentry defines themselves, how it maintains its state of being well-known and distinguished that he has preserved since old times. The quotations from the statements of interviewees presented in this section aim to show how Manisa gentry, regardless of their generation, as a status group differentiates themselves with the rest of Manisa people, whom they call "others". Within the scope of our work this distinction has been manifested by the living room furniture consumption preferences of the gentry.

The issue that draws out attention when pointing out how Manisa gentry positions and differentiates themselves from others is the fact that there are different transformations and changes taking place between the first generation Manisa gentry and the second generation Manisa gentry. Manisa gentry's strategies to position themselves compared to the ones who are not from the gentry, which is addressed in chapter six, show some differences among generations. These strategies will be analyzed in Chapter VII: Change and Transformation of Manisa Gentry Through Consumption Patterns Across Generations. The transfer of economic capital between generations is quite common. In addition to this, other types of capital are also needed to be transferred between generations. Coming from a family of long descent that is well-known and reputable are the desired criteria to be from the gentry. However, with the new class positions, a class which is different than ordinary rich classes emerged. These new elites, which will be mentioned in Chapter Seven, have introduced new consumption preferences. The gentry, who try to present their lifestyle with consumption, have to take these new preferences into account in order to find the "what is appropriate for them". In this respect, Chapter VII should look into the strategies used by the gentry to differentiate themselves from the others as well as the internal transformation and change it went though.

4.3. Definition of the Basic Concepts

In theoretical part, which is in the second chapter of our study, we tried to address the general accepted theories described by various scientists as reference and foundation, which also guided us when constructing, implementing and evaluating the content of our discussions as a whole. However, some concepts are also included in order to make it easier to understand and address these theories both in the preparation and in the fieldwork phase of our study. In order to prevent misunderstandings and misinterpretations due to the possibility of misunderstanding and misinterpretation of these concepts in general, we think that it is useful to define some of the important concepts used in this chapter, especially before starting the implementation and evaluation phase of the study. Our aim is to briefly explain how these concepts are addressed in our study.

Additionally, we believe that it is vital to note the Bourdieu's classification of capital distinctions mentioned in the theoretical part; and his interpretation of what these capital forms are, for better understanding of our study. The concept of capital is not limited to production and consumption sources for Bourdieu. In addition to these resources; norms, role expectations and social prestige are also included (Bourdieu 1986: 2). For example, when we speak of economic capital, the first thing that comes to mind is the abundance of material resources. However; high level of economic capital brings relationship with the high economic circles and accumulated financial knowledge with it; likewise, ownership of cultural capital brings a network of relationships with cultural elite groups. In short, no form of capital can sustain without being affected by another. The unity of capital forms is important in the context of the concepts that we take into consideration; but on the other hand, the impact of prioritizing some capital forms in the formation of meaning in our study attached to these concepts is undisputed. For this reason, we aim to reveal the meanings of the concepts that we are dealing with, besides the prioritized importance attached to two capital forms.

4.3.1. Gentry' as Social Notables:

The concept of "eşraf (gentry)" is a word that is translated from Arabic into our language, meaning "very honorable, very honest". The Turkish Language Institution also described the term in the Turkish dictionary as "the rich people of a place, influential and notables" (TDK, 2005:658-659).

In the Ottoman period, although they are not included in the ruling class especially in the countryside, influential and notable people in the region are called the gentry and the notables. This group, consisting of rich merchants, old and experienced tradesmen, well-known religious figures such as ulema, imam, preachers, and famous sheikhs of sect, Islamic lodge and monastery, serve both as the representatives of people and as the deputies of officials in conveying the orders of the state to its subjects and in the execution of these orders. (Ergenç, 1982: 106). The gentry and the notable, by obtaining great powers over time, ensuring the administration of foundations and lending money to countryside officials, have become integrated with the military class and obtained important positions.

"Gentry and notable'' does not only involve the regional dignitaries, but also countryside officials, an extension of the central government. Accordingly, the concepts of gentry and notable mean "countryside rulers" which does not derive from same category as origin. The Gentry and Notable category, one of the most important elements of countryside administration, will become an internal dynamic that solves state organization since end of the 16th century (Keskin, 2007: 53). Loss of power of the central authority as a result of period of stagnation and regression during the Ottoman Empire, has created an opportunity for the gentry and the notable to preserve and sustain the local authority and wealth they have in the countryside. Taking this opportunity, the gentry become more powerful both in terms of authority and wealth and sought ways to make more market-oriented production in order to maximize the return they gained from the large lands they have. In addition, this fraction of society named as the gentry, wanted to legitimize their actual state taking advantage of Ottoman Empire's loss of power as a result of the turbulent period that the Empire was

going through. In the early years of the Republic, the driving force of the countryside gentry played an active role in the post-war reconstruction of the country. The countryside gentry have set an example to the local people with their lifestyle and tastes.

In the light of all these explanations, we can say that the gentry refers to a strong social position, a socially approved situation, and a form of relationship. Moreover, due to the network of relations in which they are involved, they are very active and they have a strong connection with both the State and the local powers. The gentry, when considered with its meaning 'the honorable one', are the persons who have certain wealth and assets. Therefore, the concept of gentry refers to a clear state of being from a class and having certain assets (Durakbaşa, 2010: 8-9).

Considering the conditions of today, it is important to argue whether the gentry still exists or not. Or the question of whether today's wealthy and rich families can be identified as the gentry is significant. Durakbaşa answers this question as follows: "it is possible to say that the gentry and notability exist today at the local level as a form of basic relationship. Furthermore, it is not always necessary to have a tangible wealth or assets to be the gentry. Religion, political power and being a part of an administration can be enough to be the gentry. It basically is to have a certain local power." (Durakbaşa, 2010: 9).

When we take a look at the definitions of the concept of gentry mentioned above, it is actually based on status rather than on accumulation of economic savings. The status of the individuals manifests with cultural and social capital. That is to say of course, the gentry we tackle with have savings in the economic sense. In fact, they enjoy many advantages thanks to these considerable savings. However, the highest capital form of accumulation of these long-established families is not the economic capital that acquired their status. The reputation of this group is a more important criteria than the financial opportunities. Even if there are certain people with similar amounts or even more wealth, they cannot be a member of this group. The main reason for this is the

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long established family histories we mention above. At this point, moving on from Bourdieu's concepts; their distinction is rooted in their cultural capital.

The main factor exhibiting the cultural capital, the concept of "gentry" has a socially approved dimension, and can be transferred from one generation to another with certain concrete elements. Gentry families tend to behave and live in a way that "appropriate for their status group". They make their preferences in all fields of life ranging from the region they reside in, to the clothing, the furniture and to the internal decoration elements according to the understanding of "whether something is appropriate for their status group". That is how they are raised in their families, and their tastes shape consciously or unconsciously according to "their status group". Gentry behaving according to "what is appropriate for them", and "what is expected from their status group", can not help but express themselves through the social networks they are in. It is important for gentry as a status group to adhere to their group. They have to act according to what is expected of them. In other words, gentry accommodate a strong position within the network of social relations as well. They are involved in a big network of social capital, as a matter of fact in the middle of it. The position at the centre impose other responsibilities to gentry, apart from the necessity of acting in accordance with the status group. If one person is a member of gentry network, he/she is likely to be known by many people who are the acquaintances of gentry's immediate circle of friends. The fact that the society at large knows the 'gentry' makes them as a status group. This is why they are individuals who are valued and consulted. They have to act appropriately and rebuild their assets all the time within their status groups in terms of social capital. Social capital accumulation has a significant impact on the position of gentry as a status group.

4.3.2. Home as a Space

One of the most important features of home construction is that its design starts from the inside and continues towards outside. Why and for what purpose the house is being built, in other words, the function of the house is determined at first (Bektaş, 2018: 30). Nowadays, a home has more functions than meeting only the need for shelter and

protection. Over time, we witness the construction of very different buildings both in terms of form and quality. We see many different house types throughout history, such as tents, adobe buildings, igloos, huts, earth houses, wooden houses, mansions, villas, apartments, skyscrapers, residences, building complexes. The main reason for having so many different types of houses is the transformations that buildings went through in order to meet the basic needs. It is accepted that there are interesting connections between the forms of houses and lifestyle and the perceptions of the people who lead that life. The house and the habitants of the house are mutually affected by one another. Of course, every house has its own life (Alver, 2013: 76).

Home lifestyle, makes it obligatory to discuss some notions such as world of values and cultural structure. Especially the concept of lifestyle and home are emphasized in a different tone as if they are complementing each other. In fact, the house is not just a tool to meet a need, but a tool and indicator of a certain relationship, a certain social structure (Castells, 1997:38). The existence of the house itself means that a certain life will come to light, it will render that life livable and it will provide a place and a space for that life. The house is not only a building but also a space designed for people. Therefore, the house is a cultural process and a unity of material and spiritual values (İncedayı, 2004: 9).

The house describes complex processes such as the neighborhood, locality it is situated, architectural style, figural characteristics, size, interior design and compartments, items, material value, material and construction quality, human population that it accommodates and the positions, roles, material and cultural capital of this population. The house is a social criterion and a symbol (Sencer, 1968: 204). It summarizing the lifestyle of the society that it belongs to with all its elements and characteristics (Kösemihal, 1968:179).

The house is the basic combination of the traditional image of the city. The concept of home is deeply related with the psychology of the society and the human spirit. Home symbolizes the culture by which it is created (Kuban, 1995:12).

House is a place that makes economic capital visible. As mentioned above, the house connotes more meaning than just the need for shelter and protection. The region of location or structural features of the house readily reveal the economic value of it. 'House' is a substantial value that reflect the status of gentry as a status group. In this respect, the power of the gentry is exhibited through the house and the strong economic value of it. We can easily assess the economic capital of the house due to the fact that there are many items with measurable economic value; starting with the location, ranging to the used material. Furthermore, we will see in the following sections that, the change of life over the years in the houses became the area of exhibiting the economic capital the most.

In the Chapter Six, Figure 12 demonstrates the fact that Manisa gentry prefers to live in a certain region in the province. In other words, the houses of Manisa gentry are concentrated usually in the same area. The main reason for that is revealed in our negotiations; the social capital besides economic capital has a huge impact on houses. The house is not only a structure or a building for individuals it also creates a social environment. This social environment is also effective in creation of social capital. Creation of a framework in the society suitable for this social capital is far reaching for individuals and, consequently; the impact of social capital in house preferences is observed on the aspect of "having a house in a neighborhood appropriate for the status group". The strong influence of social capital results in majority of participants having similar structures in their homes. Structures emerging with the impact of social change are having similar structure in line with the spirit of the period. Until the 1980s many participants used to live in "ground houses" shown in Figure 3, which we will tackle, in greater detail in Chapter V. As of 1980s after the period of construction of building blocks, many participants employed contractors to transform their houses into building blocks to become their new 'homes' promising a new lifestyle. Even if the location of houses is the same, the changes in social life obviously have a determining role in the structure of the houses. Under these circumstances house is a place that demonstrates both the power of economic capital and the influence of social capital. Additionally, it is an important element used by Manisa Gentry as a status group to display "what is appropriate for them".

4.3.3. Living Room as a Showcase

The most important element of the concept of 'home', which is not only a housing tool, is the 'living room'. Living room items, unlike the furniture bought for the purpose of providing comfort of use, are important as they are used for symbolic consumption. In this respect, they should be considered separately from the consumer non-durable goods, such as food or investment tools for future savings purposes. The items bought for the living room and the decoration of the living room are first of all closely related to the competition of wealth and reputation among the families. Living room items present the financial power of families. The other side of the coin is that it reflects a process of enrichment. Enrichment, from one hand, is the result of families' climbing up the social ladder and on the other hand the increase in the average income levels of some social groups. Living room items are one of the most important elements of conspicuous consumption. Our living room, where we host the guests who come to our house, is the showcase of our house. The goal is always to impress others when decorating the living room. As a matter of fact, guests try to observe the items around the house that they are visiting and get information about its price and quality. The information obtained constitutes an important data for comparison. The visitors use some criteria when comparing their own living room items with others' and these criteria are related to quality, number of goods, brand, model and aesthetics. Who has what in their living room, which goods can be bought from where, how and at what price and living room decoration are some of the customary topics of visits and encounters, especially when its 'women only' type of gatherings. Families who manage to draw attention with few or all of these comparison criteria, make their names mentioned by their neighbors and acquaintances and even by people that they do not know (Ayata, 1988: 14-16).

The living room is an area where the lifestyle of the house and the host is the "showcase", and thus the symbolic capital is critical. All preferences made for the furnishing and utilization of the living room are intrinsically a reflection of the symbolic capital of the individual. For this reason, it has a high capacity of conveying messages. The individual coming from outside to the living room learns a lot about

the owner of the living room and the family. Bourdieu expresses this situation as follows: "Every interior expresses the present state and as a matter of fact, the past of the people residing there in its own language; the unpretentious safety of inherited wealth, the noise of the new rich, the quiet misery of the poor, or the gilded misery of the poor who claim to have a life larger than their means (Bourdieu,1989: 123). As stated in the quote, the living room is a showroom of vanity. It is an area prepared by inhabitants to depict themselves to the outsiders. Hosts can transfer any type of capital they have with the products they prefer to use in their living rooms. In this sense, the living room is most of the time the center of conspicuous consumption within the house.

On the other hand, the living room is shaped according to the cultural capital of individuals besides being an important showcase that reveals the symbolic capital, as Bourdieu argues. Individuals' living room preferences expose their conscious or unconscious tendencies generating from the past. Living room preferences develop according to certain inherited values that are more cultural rather than material; because, cultural capital is more prominent than the economic capital. The living room practices differ, which will be covered in Chapter VI in greater detail and are heavily influenced by the cultural capital (family, education institutions, work area) whether it is an unused display living room or by the furnishing style. Manisa Gentry considered to be a status group, exposes cultural capital through the capacity of the living room to deliver strong messages. Some of the antique pieces in the living rooms of Manisa gentry can be found in appendix B. It is obvious that, these antique pieces have a higher cultural value than the objectified state of cultural capital and the economic value they entail. Our participants express their appreciation of these antique pieces in their living rooms and show us cultural capital's determinative position on the living room.

4.3.4. Furniture as a Status Attainment

Furniture has quite an important place in contemporary modern world. A life without furniture is unimaginable in a house or an office. Furniture has been an indispensable

product from the very beginning of a settled life. As a matter of fact, furniture is not a vital necessity. Although there is no apparent need to have furniture to meet the basic needs, it has always been important for people in terms of space they inhibit in. Furniture is preferred because it is thought to provide convenience. Eating at a table, placing our belongings in a closet, sitting on a couch and lying in bed is more practical and comfortable. In addition to comfort and practicality, furniture holds responsibility for other determinant duties. Furniture holds an important place in delineating the private space that a person wants to reserve for himself. For example, when working at a table - that table becomes effective in determining your position against others. Apart from all of this, another important and old task that furniture has always played is bringing prestige to its owner. Throughout the history thrones are used as tools to emphasize the supremacy of Kings. The size of the throne was the most basic indicator used to show the majesty of the king. Good and high-quality furniture has always been an indicator of superiority in the decoration of pa. Palaces are furnished with the most beautiful furniture in order to reinforce the prestige of the countries in the eyes of the visitors. This tradition seems to continue when looking at modern countries. Observing a similar effect, the fact that furniture in living spaces like houses and workplace are used in line with fashion emphasizes that their appearance and value are important as tools that we use to prove our position in the society (Boyla, 2011: 2).

After industrialization, mass production of products has started especially in the furniture sector. Mass production methods have made major differences in the quality and format of the products. This difference does not only stem from the fact because machines in factories produce products. In the previous centuries, design was naturally developed by social, cultural and technological factors specific to each period and spread from the highest layers of society to the ordinary masses of people. Architecture, furniture, various elements of use and decorative elements on them would reflect the stylistic features stemming from the economic, social and cultural structure of the period. The palace styles emerged under these conditions and each of them has made a distinguished name for themselves. In the 19th century, what we can describe as an interim period after industrialization, there was an authority gap in determining this style. With the absence of prominent palace style as a tastemaker of

this period, manufacturers trying to overcome the problems of business and technology in newly established industries offered the products they randomly found from a variety of sources to a new group who came to the city for to find employment. Cheap imitation of handicrafts that used to be done with manual work guaranteed sales for manufacturers. Because the new group was an ambitious one that aimed for the more qualified lifestyle they saw from the rich bourgeois aristocracy. However, these new fabricated imitation products were sufficient for them because they did not have the cultural accumulation and experience of the upper class.

Although the furniture preferences of city-dwellers vary, the tendency to use new modern style and new materials has important social, political and cultural meanings. The importance of furniture as a code, is synonymous with a new modern identity. Modern designs, since they are linked to the redefinition of the West, have been consumed as a strategy of prestige and privilege (Gürel, 2009). Today, furniture is one of the basic elements that individuals use to convey their messages such as being modern, being distinguished.

Furniture is a bit more specific than the holistic attitude displayed by the living room. Furniture preferences, store where furniture is purchased depend on social origin as much as the level of education. If we can read the whole lifestyle of a group from their furniture, it is not only because of the objective economic and cultural requirements that lead to the choice of those goods. The social relationships objectified by some elements of the family, affect these relationships deeply and unconsciously through physical experiences (Bourdieu, 1989: 123). This is a clear reflection of symbolic capital connoted by furniture.

4.4. Method of the Study

The history of the families in Manisa, especially those owning local property after 1940 was analyzed within the scope of our study. Face to face interviews were held with Manisa's well-known, prominent families and we tried to analyze their position within the economic and social life of the city. Especially the success and from time to time decline stories and family stories of the interviewed families from 1940s

onward were analyzed. Bourdieu's ideas on class analysis and class production have an important place in the theoretical basis of our study. In this multi-dimensional analysis of Bourdieu, social classes are defined by the distribution of capital in many different forms, economic, cultural, social and symbolic, and by the connection of each of these capitals to another in countless ways.

In this study, in addition to written sources prepared by local historians, statistical data and family albums, we also tried to gather information using the method of depth interview. Depth interviews were conducted with the members of the families that were influential at the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, a total of 40 people, 11 men and 29 women, were interviewed. During these interviews, while recording the life stories of those interviewed by oral history method, we obtained information about the history of families, daily life, politics, changes in the city and changes in their own. During the interviews with some authors who have been doing research on the city and different professionals who have been living in Manisa for many years, we have asked about the established gentry families that they know and heard of in Manisa. They were asked to explain why they described these families as 'well-established'. We started to conduct interviews on the basis of certain names repeated during interviews. We also looked into other families whose names were mentioned during the interviews and we tried to contact the ones that might be of interest for our research. In this study, we tried to interview two different generations of the same family.

Families considered to be suitable for the subject of our research have been contacted face to face or by telephone and the general framework of our study was explained. Generally, we contacted the young generation first and extended our request for an interview. Then, through the mediation of the family members, the arrangements to meet the older generation was made. The interviews were conducted face to face, in the living rooms of the interviewees' houses.

We applied 'depth interviewing technique' as it is exploration oriented and open-ended. Our main objective here is to explore the interviewee's feelings, points of view and perspective in depth. For the purpose of not shifting towards a daily conversation

during the depth interviews, from time to time we tried enrich the interview with more detailed questions. This technique focuses on the topic researched and aims to create data by bringing together the views, opinions and assessments of individuals regarding this topic. In addition, by looking at the meanings, thoughts and formations that cannot be directly observed with this technique and that do not reflect on behaviors, but can appear at a certain time, it shows how individuals create, understand their own world and perceive the world, evaluate the social environment surrounding them. In depth interview technique, as the quality of the resource is decisive in the quality of the data obtained, due diligence was exercised in the selection of interviewees. For this reason, while selecting the families to interview, we tried to convey the concepts used in a clear manner to interviewees.

The word gentry has a deep meaning because of the use of the word since the Ottoman Empire period to the present day. First of all, the groups that come to our minds are rich merchants, old and worldly-wise tradesmen, well-known religious figures such as ulema, imam, preachers, and the sheikhs of well-known sect, Islamic lodge and monastery. This group serves both as the representatives of people and as the deputies of officials in conveying the orders of the state to its subjects and in the execution of these orders. Moreover, gentry and notables do not involve only the regional dignitaries, but also countryside officials who are an extension of the central government. Accordingly, the concepts of gentry and notable mean "countryside rulers" which does not derive from the origin. (Ergenç, 1982:106).

The aforementioned word 'gentry', was used in this study to describe large landowners and wealthy merchants in small settlement places. These families were wealthy families with high social status, and they managed to stay strong by holding all kinds of capital in their hands and to be prominent figures the city's economic and social life for many years. Here, the capital is the economic, cultural, social, symbolic capital as used by Bourdieu. At the beginning of the 20th century, the ancestors of the interviewees were those who had large lands and engaged in farming. Today, many of these families have lost their former assets and the main sources of their livelihood

does not depend on esplees. In short, the composition of capital has changed in these families, and it is no longer possible to define them as landowners.

For the landed gentry, the land constitutes the material basis for the continuity of their family assets from 1890 to 1970s. In addition to the economic contribution of the land, property ownership provided a reputation for the gentry as well as the opportunity to reach out and invest in other forms of power, such as politics in the social space of the city. In this way, these families have tried to increase their power in different areas in order to maintain their social positions between generations and to maintain their position as landowners. For example, they invested in education, engaged actively in politics and trade.

All of the families we interviewed are the owners of their homes. None of them live in a rented house. The reason for this is, as we have mentioned before, that the families we interviewed have a certain level of income.

In another technique we used during the interviews, was Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET). This technique is mainly used in the marketing field to understand the consumer. In Kurt Lewin's model, consumer behavior is mainly affected by personal and environmental influences. The dimensions of personal and environmental impacts are resolved in the mind of the consumer, which is defined as a black box (Hatten, 2012: 272). ZMET was developed at Harvard Business School in the 90s. The aim of this technique is to interpret the metaphors and visual materials created by the consumers in order to determine the feelings and opinions of the consumers about a subject. Thanks to this interpretation, black box mentioned by Lewin becomes more obvious. Unlike other research techniques, visual materials are used in this technique and some of these visual materials are requested to be created by the interviewer (Baş & Akturan, 2017:130). ZMET also aims to measure and map the mental structures of the targeted consumers. It aims to depict a more abstract subconscious by going deep into the minds of interviewees. For this purpose, in order to determine the preferences of the interviewees more clearly, some living room pictures were shown and their opinions about these pictures were taken. In addition, at the end of the interviews we

gave the interviewees a camera and said, "I would like to use the photographs of your living room in my work, can you show us your living room through your eyes?" and they were asked to take pictures of their living rooms. Immediately after, the photographs they took were printed and they were asked why they took these photos and why they focused on this point(s) in their living room.

During our meetings, 19 photos from various furniture and decoration magazines, with different styles, reflecting living room furniture and decoration were shown. They were asked to show which of these pictures they could use in their living rooms and to explain why they chose this style. Then they were asked to show the photos that they would never prefer for their living rooms and to explain why they would never use this style. 19 photos selected from magazines were categorized among themselves. While categorizing, five people working in the furniture sector provided us their support. 19 photos are divided into four different groups. I. Group are the photos number 15, 3, 7, 9, 1 and their style is 'rustic, country'. II. Group; are the photos number 8, 4, 5, 18, 2 and their style is classic, avant-garde. III. group are photos number 6, 17, 12, 19 and they exhibit a style of 'retro, Orientalist' influences. IV. Group are photos number 13, 10, 16, 14, 11 and they are considered to belong to 'modern' style.

I.   Group: rustic, country; is a style dominated by nature. It is the choice of those who are fond of comfort. Wood use is common. Natural tones are preferred. Quadratic, plaid, striped fabrics are widely used. Mostly warm colors are used. The ambiance is completed with distressed items. It is warm, friendly, unpretentious and simple.

II.   Group: classic, avant-garde; special furniture highlighting the workmanship are used. Natural colors such as cream, beige are used. Flamboyant and ostentatious chandeliers are complemented with knickknacks made of glass. Quilted is common and usually produced by carving the wood. In the past, as engraving could only be done with manual labor, such furniture was also used as a status indicator. However, factory made furniture is also available now.

III. Group: Retro, Orientalist; has a romantic style. It carries traces of the past. Vivid colors are used; colored patterns are preferred. Influence of the east and embroideries are frequently used. The use of ethnic patterns is common. Lanterns and oil lamps, colored objects, hanging, colored lights are widely used.

IV. Group: Modern; is a style of simplicity and modern cut furniture is preferred. Plain items stand out and sofa suits, L shaped sofas are the most preferred. The use of metal accessories is common. Lighting is usually done with sheetrock applications and cove lighting. It is possible to observe very diverse designs and models. Geometric patterns. Black and white contrast is frequently used.

The pictures were given to the interviewees in a mixed way and no genre, style classification was mentioned. They were asked to distinguish photos between 'I would prefer the furniture in this picture in my living room.' and 'I would never want to have a living room like the one in this photo.' These distinctions are listed after the interview. It has been observed that the photos were selected in accordance with group categories. This improves the accuracy of the categorization we made among groups. It has been seen that some interviewees have chosen photos from two groups, but no interviewee has ever had overlapping in groups that they prefer or not prefer. This shows us that the interviewees have a clear attitude in their preferences.

With this technique, it is aimed to reveal the subconscious thoughts, judgments and feelings of the participants through visual materials. During our study, we asked participants to show us the living room style they would like to have and the living room furniture style they would never use by showing them some photos. Then, by asking why they chose these photos, we tried to examine the factors affecting their furniture style preferences. In this way, we tried to make an assessment of the participants' capital accumulation and their strategies for using these capitals. In fact, although participants are in the same status group, their strategies for using capital are quite different. This difference is related to their positions which they have acquired within their own status groups. In addition, we had the opportunity to find out the

reason for this difference in our interviews by observing whether the choices they made with the photos have similarities to their current living rooms or not.

When we asked participants to take photos of their living room during our interviews, they actually showed us the parts of their living room that they wanted others to see the most. These photographs are a reflection of the living room which they prepared with a big devotion. The participants sometimes photographed the antique objects or tried to take a photo of the living room as a whole. For the participants, living room is a showcase used to show their lifestyle to guests, and the most precious part of this showcase is presented in these photographs at Figure 1-2.

Figure 1: A Photo from Participant 3a's Living Room

Figure 2: A Photo from Participant 10b's Living Room

Figure 1 and 2 presented above are the photographs taken by the participants during our interviews. The participant 3a who photographed Figure 1 are one of our first generation participants. When we asked our participant, who was born in 1933, why she took this photograph, she stated that "she wanted to show how harmonious her living room is". She also added that, "my old sofas are still standing like our family, they are still beautiful after all those years. If you take good care, you keep them together." With these words she tries to explain us the meaning of her family through furniture.

Figure 2 is a photograph taken by participant 10b. Participant 10b is one of our second generation participants born in 1969. When we asked her why she was taking this photograph, she emphasized the harmony of the living room by saying, "people should see that everything I have chosen in my salon complements each other", just like participant 3a. Also participant 10b for this photo added that "my sofas are classic, carved sofas, even if we change their clothes, the skeleton is the same, we have chosen

a set that was suitable for us when we were getting married. " As you can see, it is still the most valuable part of my living room" this explanation shows that the participant 10b with the photo that she took, she wants to show others that she is using products which are "appropriate for her".

Within the scope of Zmet, the participants who photograph Figure 1 and Figure 2 are members of different families. Moreover, they represent different generations in our study. However, they have demonstrated similar characteristics in terms of status representation. This situation shows us that the gentry transfer their unique status between generations, either consciously or subconsciously. The photos taken by participant 13b and 10a are another example of this situation.

Figure 3: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Sewing Machian" Taken by Participant 13b

Figure 4: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Sewing Machian" Taken by Participant 10a

Both photos presented above are taken by the participants in their own living room. For participant 10a, the sewing machine is a very valuable item. She expresses this with the following statements;

> This sewing machine would sew our clothes. We'd find the most different, beautiful models and we'd sew them. Our clothes didn't look like the ones that everyone else was wearing. It's in my living room now, it still works but we don't use it anymore. It is now the apple of my eye, the ornament of my living room.
>
> *Bu dikiş makinası bizim kıyafetlerimizi dikerdi. En farklı, en güzel modelleri bulurduk, dikerdik. Herkesin giydiği aynı şeylere benzemezdi giydiklerimiz. Şimdi salonumda, kullanılır durumda ama kullanmıyoruz. O gözümün nuru artık benim. Salonumun süsü.*

When we asked the participant 13b, who was born in 1981, who photographed the sewing machine in her living room, she gave us the following answer:

> It belongs to my grandmother. It's precious. You are asking why it is in the living room and you wonder why I took its photo. It's not enough to say that is antique, I took the photo to express its preciousness. This sewing

machine is my roots, it is a reminder of my family. Think of it as putting pictures. This sewing machine is like a family photograph in a frame for me. When I look at it, I see my old and big family.

Babannemin dikiş makinası. Kıymetlidir. Neden salonda diyorsunuz . neden fotoğrafını çektim merak ediyorsunuz. Antika demek yetmez onun kıymetini anlatmak için. Bu dikiş makinası benim köklerim, benim ailemin hatırası. Fotoğraf koymak gibi düşünün. Çerçevede bir aile fotoğrafı gibi benim için bu dikiş makinası. Ona baktıkça büyük ve eski ailemi görüyorum.

When we consider the above-mentioned explanations of the participant 13b, we see how big the importance and meaning of the sewing machine which is placed in the living room, is for her. Similarly, the participant 10a speaks of the sewing machine as if it was a friend from the past and expresses how the sewing machine supports them in terms of being different than others.

Zmet has helped us to show in a more tangible way many things, which might have been difficult for us to place. In the final stage of our study, many supporting data have been obtained, as mentioned above, thanks to the assessments of our participants related to the photos that they have taken. In addition, when we told the participants during the interviews that we wanted to see photographs from the past, each of the photographs that they showed us, supported us for the discussions. Some of these photos are presented in the following chapters of our study.

4.5. Organization of the Fieldwork

A pilot work in the field was carried out in spring 2016. In the light of this pilot study, some researchers working on the history of Manisa and the local people of Manisa were interviewed and at first, we tried to identify some of the well-known gentry families. When we asked about gentry families during the pilot interviews, the fact that they mentioned certain names and that these names usually matched, guided us in determining which families to interview. We contacted the family members whose names were mentioned when we asked about the gentry families through acquaintances and respected persons. Appointments were arranged via face-to-face meetings or telephone calls to interview 'gentry families in their living rooms'. The

interviews were conducted in 2017 fall semester. They lasted about 4-5 hours. Voice recording was used with the permission of the interviewees and notes were taken during the interviews.

For our research, we have reached 20 families living in Manisa for at least three generations. In total, 40 members of this 20 established families representing two different generations living in Manisa, were interviewed in the living rooms of their homes. During these interviews, interviewees were asked to tell their life stories in short. They often started telling life stories by mentioning their birth years. In cases where the birth year is not mentioned, the birth year was asked. In this study, in order to clarify the age difference between generations the birth years of the interviewees were stated clearly instead of using a certain age range. The Table 1 shows the birth years of the interviewees according to the generations as well as some additional demographic data.

Table 1: Demographic Information of the Interviewed Generations

1. Gen	Birth year	Sex	Educational status	Occupation	On duty?	2. Gen	Birth year	Sex	Educational status	Occupation	On duty?
1a	1945	W	Primary school	Housewife	No	1b	1964	W	University	City planing expert	No
2a	1943	M	University	Artisan	Yes	2b	1985	W	University/ Phd.	Academician	Yes
3a	1933	W	Primary school	Housewife	No	3b	1953	M	High school	Artisan	Yes
4a	1949	M	High school	Artisan	No	4b	1960	M	University	Pharmacist	Yes
5a	1938	W	Primary school	Tailor	No	5b	1972	W	University	Pharmacist	Yes
6a	1930	W	Primary school	Housewife	No	6b	1953	M	University	Teacher	Yes
7a	1936	W	Primary school	Employee	No	7b	1954	W	University	Pharmacist	Yes
8a	1936	W	Illiterate	Hospital attendant	No	8b	1968	M	High school	Employee	Yes
9a	1956	M	High school	Artisan	No	9b	1973	W	Associate degree	Official	Yes
10a	1947	W	Primary school	Housewife	No	10b	1969	W	University	Banker	No

Table 1. (cont'd)

11a	1929	W	High school	Artisan	No	11b	1956	W	University	Teacher	Yes
12a	1940	W	Primary school	Tailor	No	12b	1962	W	High school	Housewife	No
13a	1951	W	Primary school	Housewife	No	13b	1981	W	University	Social service expert	Yes
14a	1955	W	High school	Housewife	No	14b	1976	W	High school	Housewife	No
15a	1955	W	Primary school	Housewife	No	15b	1975	W	High school	Housewife	No
16a	1944	W	High school	Housewife	No	16b	1965	M	High school	Jeweler	Yes
17a	1955	W	High school	Housewife	No	17b	1978	M	University/MA	Contractor	Yes
18a	1925	W	Illiterate	Farmer	No	18b	1953	M	High school	Artisan	Yes
19a	1938	W	Primary school	Housewife	No	19b	1968	W	High school	Official	Yes
20a	1964	W	Primary school	Artisan	Yes	20b	1982	M	Associate degree	Artisan	Yes

In the selection of the interviewees and in the interview arrangement phase, the criteria of residing in Manisa for at least three generations and of interviewing two different generations of the same family have created a challenging situation for us. Another challenging issue for us in terms of finding interviewees was our request to enter people's homes or even their living rooms.

As it is a semi-structured study, we mainly followed the questions prepared beforehand. Their life stories which included their personal history have opened many windows to us regarding the lives of interviewees. In this way, many of the information we wanted to learn, were provided naturally to us by the interviewees during our interviews which were conducted in the format of a conversation. In general, we asked them to talk about the structure of the house in which they lived as a child, the living room of these houses, the processes of transition to the house where they currently live, the reasons influencing them in the choices they made when selecting and decorating their homes.

4.6. Conclusion

When we first set off for this research, there were many different issues distant from each other. We were talking about "Manisa", "gentry", "furniture" on one side, and concepts such as "consumption" on the "distinctiveness" and "tastes" on the other. Moreover, it was necessary to combine all of these issues that were distant from one another on a theoretical basis. But when we first set off, we saw that all these different issues had a meaningful place in life. In the course of life, they created a harmony within themselves without us noticing it. In this chapter, our aim is to introduce some of the basic concepts that we use in our study and to give an overview of why and how we conducted it.

Consuming and making our presence known through our consumption is one of the most basic behavioral patterns of our era. Consumption has a symbolic value in determining our class positions. Our tastes are determined according to our class position and respectively they determine our class position. To be elite, it is necessary to adopt an elite lifestyle. We need to show this elite lifestyle to others and to those in the group with whom we share our position. This is where the items help us. They transfer our distinctiveness to others. For this study, the living room furniture are the most powerful elements carrying out this message. The living room is a scene set up to reflect our lifestyle to visitors. And the glamour of this scene is the most powerful message and a manifesto that reflects our lifestyle to others.

As mentioned above, living room furniture is a lifestyle manifesto of the elite. At this point, the concept of "gentry" steps in for us. The gentry has always existed in Turkish culture, and it is an indication of distinctiveness. Moreover, being distinguished as a result of being from the gentry is more attractive in the countryside. Gentry families have always lived feeling the effect of being in the limelight throughout generations. They have developed a lifestyle appropriate to their situation and position. Within the scope of our interviews guided with questions, we tried to determine the consumption habits of the gentry families by making an assessment through the living room furniture preferences. These assessments will be presented in detail in next chapters.

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CHAPTER 5

HISTORY OF MANISA AND MANISA'S NOTABLES

5.1. Introduction

Manisa has been the cradle of many civilizations throughout history. The tribes, nations, empires and states who have lived in this region have left their works as a legacy to these days. This heritage, starting from the mythological ages, has been diversified with traces left by the Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Roman and Byzantine civilizations to Manisa. Manisa has also been an important city for the Ottoman Empire. It is one of the few cities where the crown princes to rule the Ottoman Empire were trained. It is obvious that the prominent figures of the city, which we call Manisa gentry, with the influence of the group assigned to train the crown princes, transferred a well-equipped cultural heritage from generation to generation (Bektaş, 2009: 5).

Melih Pekdemir says, "there is and there is not deprivation in the countryside." (Bora, 2005: 86). Manisa is a clear example of this situation. As a small countryside city, Manisa, in a way, is the Anatolian gate of Izmir. In particular, the fact that Gediz river flew into the Gulf of Izmir until the last century, reveals the importance of Manisa's position. The southern transportation line, also known as the ''Royal Road'', ramifies after Sard and reaches Milet, Efes, Izmir and Foça (Bektaş, 2009: 7).

Manisa is a significant city in terms of agriculture and industry. The fact that Manisa, proving its adequacy in the agricultural field with its productive vineyards, cotton fields and with significant tobacco production for a period, was awarded "European most cost-effective City" price in 2004 in Financial Times' "fDi's European city of the future 2004-2005" competition, demonstrates the importance of the city for the industry.

This transition from agricultural society to industrial society has been effective socially as well as economicly. According to Kıray, "in a society every individual does not consume in the same way. The differentiation of consumption according to the social stratification and other status organizations that exist in every society is one of the main characteristics of this issue. People who belong to various layers of a stratified society consume other clothing and nutrients or have different concerns about consumption (2005). Based on this approach of Kıray, our aim in this study is to analyze the transformation of Manisa as a countryside city by looking into this change over certain consumption norms by examining the changes that Manisa gentry went through.

5.2. The History of Manisa

Manisa is an important city in mythological narratives. The first name of the city, before Magnesia ad Sipylum, was recorded as Tantalis. In ancient sources about Manisa and in mythological narratives about Sipylos and its surroundings we encounter with names like King Tantalos, who founded Tantalis city, his son Pelops and his daughter Niobe (Ergül&Bektaş, 1988:15). King Tantalos is the son of Zeus, God of gods. According to the legend, King Tantalos was one of the kings who has been invited to have meals with the gods and one day he invited the gods to have a meal. King Tantalos was trying to present his palace and the beauty of his palace as a more beautiful and better place than where the gods lived. Tantalos, who tried to dazzle the Gods, was trying to show them that he was living a life with higher standards than theirs. Tantalos, who did not believe that the gods knew everything, cooked his son as a meal to the gods. The gods who realized this got angry and Zeus destroyed the Mount Sipylos (mount Spil today) to punish Tantalos (Avan, 2013:72). When we review the mythological literature, we see that Manisa has been the subject of many stories. The main reason for this situation, according to Akşit isas follows; Manisa, as it is today, has always been important due being in a region connecting the East and the West. Manisa, due to its proximity to the Royal Road, the remote distance to the sea and being landlocked for any piracy movement, has always had an important position throughout the history (Akşit, 1983: 23).

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The official history of Manisa, which is one of the most important cities of western Anatolia, dates back to two thousand years B.C. It is not known when and how the city, situated in the part of western Anatolia called Lydia, was established (Emecan, 2007:1). The city, which is thought to have been established by Magnets, was inhabited by Lydians, Hittites and Phrygians respectively. After this period, we see the dominance of Pergamum Kingdom and of the Romans during years 300 B.C. During first centuries A.D., Latin, Eastern Roman and Byzantine dynasties prevailed until the victory of Manzikert in 1071. After this date, with Turks setting foot in Anatolia, raids targeting Western Anatolia extended to the Aegean coast. Saruhanoğulları principality took Manisa under its full control in 1305 and became its sole controller until the 1400's. During the reign of Yıldırım Beyazıt in the Ottoman Empire, Manisa began to gain importance. During the period of Murat II, it became one of the prominent cities of the Ottoman Empire as "the city of Sultan's son" (Altınbilek, 2011:12). The greatest rulers of the Ottoman Empire improved their management skills during the period that they spent in this city. In this city, where they were the governors, they went through a training and internship to learn the 'art of managing a state'. On one hand, during this period they rendered the city prosper by building mosques, complexes, madrasas, inns, hamams, on the other hand they enabled the creation of an environment favoring existence of the intellectual and the savant in the city. Thus, they contributed liveliness to the cultural life of the region (Gökçen, 1939:13). Apart from Manisa, there were other cities ruled by the Sultan's sons in the Ottoman Empire. However, Manisa is the most important one among these cities. This is because Manisa was the city that sent the highest number of Sultan's Sons to the throne. Fatih Sultan Mehmed, Suleiman the Magnificent, Selim II, Murat III, were the crown princes famous for the works they accomplished and the ones who made history as princes raised in Manisa Sanjak (Governorate).

Manisa got ahead of Bursa and Edirne in the 16th century and has become the most popular city due to its location and the concentration of cultural activities. After the conquest of Istanbul, it was considered as the second headquarters of the Empire (Altınbilek. 2011:12).

Manisa, as the sanjak of Sultan's sons, is actually a city where the management skills are put into practice. The fact that the Sultan's sons were residing in Manisa also had an impact on the city. After being a sanjak, it became a political center and developed a vibrant character in the fields of culture, art and economy. Manisa was an important charity center and because of its proximity to Istanbul, it gained great importance during the rise of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan sent his favorite sons to Manisa to prepare them for the throne. Here, the most knowledgeable and valuable teachers trained the favorite sons and prepared them for the throne. Thanks to the valuable teachers sent to educate the Sultan's sons, Manisa became a cultural center and a city with many mosques, madrasas and charity centers. Thanks to the poets, scholar and craftsmen who came and settled in Manisa, many esteemed people were educated and trained in this period (Başaran. 2005: 17).

Evliya Çelebi describes Manisa which he visited between 1671-72 as follows (Zillioglu. 1984:333-37);

> It is an adorned city, founded from East to West, just like Bursa, at the foot of a misty mountain where the Magic Castle is located. It consists of 60 neighborhoods with a total number of 6660 beautiful houses…The city, adorned with palaces in every corner, is a very pleasant one with its clean, two-storey, tile roof houses. These are the houses built on castle mountain and their facades are covered with balconies and windows. These houses overlook the Gediz river flowing through the plain on the north. This plain is fertile and productive one with villages that have prosperous vineyards and vegetable gardens, purple basils, roses and flower gardens. While watching this plain through windows of the houses, one feels alive…In this city, there are five hundred sanctuaries, including mosques, built by sultans, viziers and important personalities…In the Eastern part of the city, there is a big Rumi dervish lodge situated in a high, recreational area. It is a remarkably spacious Mevlevi Lodge. It is a prosperous lodge with its ritual prayer hall and many chambers for the wandering dervish. It was a church in the old days. A city with delightful water and air, beautiful like gardens of Eden, inhabited by dervishes. Every part of the city is visible from this point…There are spacious cafes next to one another at Kalealti Bazaar square. Each of them are fancy cafes, with pools and fountains. Here, all the prominent and educated people of the city meet and have tea. Each of them is composed of four meeting place, one has people playing instruments and singing, one with beautiful ladies who dance, one has storytellers, and one has poets reciting poetry. These cafes are indeed places fostering science and knowledge…But the cafe in Karaköy is better than the one in Kaleiçi. There is no other place like it in the world. This unique cafe, decorated with bird cages, is paradise on earth.

During the period of stagnation and decline of the Ottoman Empire, as in all Imperial lands, problems led Manisa to lose importance. During this period, the city was destroyed as a result of events such as earthquakes and fires and Manisa gradually lost its importance because the reconstruction was difficult under the conditions of the period. The city, occupied by the Greeks during World War I, was liberated from the enemy on September 8 and became a territory of the Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923. When it was liberated from the occupation on September 8, Manisa had been almost completely destroyed. Köklü describes it in this book as follows;

> ... living in fear for their lives for days, people of Manisa have finally gained their freedom and started living under Turkish flag. As the majority of the city burnt down, with the houses, the goods and supply stored in the warehouses were also destroyed. Meanwhile, 40000 sacks of dried grapes burned. Finding food and providing accommodation has started to cause major problems since the first day. As preliminary measures, unburned empty Greek houses in the city were confiscated. Some of the families settled here. Many families left the city and went to live nearby vineyards, gardens, villages and with their relatives residing in other places. The population of Manisa reduced down to ten- fifteen thousand inhabitants. Self-sacrificing Turkish countryman carried food and clothes to Manisa for days. Two-third of Manisa burned down and only a small part of Manisa situated in the coastal areas could be saved. Manisa, which had been built over centuries, was destroyed in three day (Köklü, 1976:103-102).

As we can see, even though Manisa had its glory in the past, it became quite destroyed in the war of independence. Thanks to fertile plains and productive lands, the city came back to life again.

The following statement from Başaran's work conducted in 1950 is worth mentioning:

> The history of Manisa shows that the city has lost the importance that it once had. This is due to both political and economic changes. Because Manisa was the closest city to Istanbul, which was the headquarter of the Ottoman Empire, and was also the first-class city of the Empire for a long time since it was a city where Sultan's sons were educated and trained. Later on, the city lost its political and administrative importance. The economic situation had also recently deteriorated. Even though trade and industry were functioning efficiently thanks to tremendous organization and strict controls, the situation degraded in the 19th century. The domestic industry and trade, which was based on hand labor and that produces only for local consumption, could not compete with the western industry and trade that is based on machine. After a very short time, Manisa's shops and bazaars were seized by the Greek and Armenian, who have worked as an intermediary for the western industry and trade. The fact that İzmir became

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the center of the western industry and trade and the railways constructed from two sides enabling the direct transport of the crops from Gediz and Kumçayı plains to İzmir, disrupted the economy of Manisa, while favoring İzmir. Thus, the city lost the importance it used to have both politically and economicly, and became a second, third-class city (Başaran, 2005:18-19).

Starting with the stagnation period, Manisa's depreciation has been accelerated by Izmir's gaining more value in the 50's as mentioned above. Manisa has become a city in the shadow of Izmir, which has been gradually forgotten and became insignificant. However, the city, taking a significant step towards industrialization with the establishment of Manisa Organized Industrial Zone in 1968, made efforts to achieve the same success in industry that it reached in agriculture with its fertile lands. Stable investments made in the industrial zone led to a rapid growth. The industrial zone, which started its process of opening to Europe in the 2000s, attracted the attention of Europe for investment by being selected "Europe's most cost-effective city" in the "fDi's European City of the Future 2004-2005" competition held by the Financial Times in 2006. Logistics structure of Manisa and low rent costs played a significant role in this choice (http://www.fdiintelligence.com/Archive/Best-in-category-awards-final-results#pluck-comment-tabs).

5.2.1. Geographic Position of Manisa

The surface of Manisa province, located in the Aegean region is 13.810 km2. It lies from 38' 04'-39' 58' north latitude to 27'08'-29'05' east longitude. Altitude varies from 43 meters to 750 meters and it increases as you go east from the city center. Manisa's neighbors are Uşak and Kütahya in the East, Balıkesir in the North, Aydın in the South, Denizli in the Southeast, Denizli in the Southwest and Izmir in the West. The south and north of the province are surrounded with mountains. 2070-meter-high Kumpınar Hill is the highest mountain of the province and is located in the masses of Bozdağ at the borders of Salihli district. Mountainous and highland area starting from western Central Anatolian threshold gradually decreases and reaches the plain (Akşit, 1983:19)

Manisa is quite rich in terms of land forms. All of land forms can be found. The vast majority of the earth forms are mountains that cover more than half of the total area.

After the mountains, there are plateaus and the plains in third place. In general, the geography of Manisa lies in the East-West direction and North-South and Southeast-Northwest direction of the trough formed by cracks. The mountains rise on the edges of the pits. The plains cover a wide area from East to West. Plateaus are mostly at the skirts of the mountains in the Demirci region. As the sediment areas have been filled with alluvial streams, they have become fertile agricultural lands. Agriculturally arid lands are generally located in the East, South, and North. The more you go west of the province, the more fertile agricultural lands are located increasingly. One third of Manisa lands are assessed as agricultural lands. Especially Manisa, Akhisar, Alaşehir and Salihli Plains are among these fertile agricultural zones (Tunç, 2008:2). Book of Travels, the famous work of Evliya Çelebi underlines the fertile land of Manisa with the following saying "butter flows from the Mountains and honey from the orchards". Unfortunately, due to industrialization and accompanying migration and urbanization, two storey houses and residences are built in certain parts of these lands today.

5.2.2. Significance of Manisa

Manisa has always had an important political and economic position as it has been on important trade routes throughout history. Manisa was located on the western Anatolian road from Bursa, the largest commercial center in the 15th century, leading to the Port of Antalya, where Indian and Far East goods entered Anatolia due to their connection with the ports of Alexandria and Tripoli. These commercial routes that are mentioned above, clearly had active commercial traffic, especially in the 16th century. As understood from Emecan's statement in a record dating 17 Cumadelahıre 978 (16 November 1570) according to Islamic calendar, Manisa is the junction point to roads heading to İstanbul and Rumelia by using Gallipoli Port for people coming from Teke, Hamid, Menteşe and Aydın Sanjaks. This road is the nearest route to Istanbul; passing through the Manisa - Akhisar - Balıkesir - Bursa - Mudanya line, preferred by Sultan's sons who were in a hurry to ascend to the throne. Commercial rise of İzmir at the end of 16th century and beginning of 17th resulted in Turgutlu-Manisa-Izmir road which connects Central Anatolia to the Aegean coast to become operational. As understood, in 16th century the roads surround Manisa like a network and opens up to Izmir, Foça,

Urla and Sivrihisar ports which suggests that the city has a relatively open economy, rather than a closed one. Indeed, the records from 16th century Islamic Tax Records confirm this fact, showing that merchants from Chios and especially Venice engaged in commercial activities around Manisa (Emecen, 2013:64-66).

Manisa displayed its assertive structure dating back to mythological ages by sending the highest number of Sultan to the throne as a sanjak in the Ottoman Empire. As of 17th century Manisa region has become a hinterland of İzmir Port developed under the influence of world economy. In addition, all the changes and developments in the Ottomans is reflected to it as it is a city preferred by Sultan's sons to live. In a nutshell, Manisa region reflected the progress made by Ottoman history very well in the 17th century (Nagata 1997: x).

When we take a look at the Ottomans in 18th century; we can say that the impact of the world economy on trade routes such as the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Danube River, and the developments and changes experienced by the Ottoman Empire in itself have led to differences in the structure of social and economic life. As a result of this differentiation, the 'Gentry and Notables' social group gained an ever-growing importance in the Ottoman Empire (Nagata 1997: x).

5.2.3. Structure of Manisa

Extensive information about the history and importance of Manisa is given in detail in the previous sections of our study. In addition to that information, Manisa received the title of Metropolitan City in 2012 and the town which used to be the center of Manisa was divided into two districts as 'Şehzadeler' and 'Yunus Emre' within itself. We noticed that the interviewees described the settlement of the city as "Old Manisa" and "New Manisa" rather than the two cities separated after 2012 during the pilot study we conducted in 2016 and field work in 2017. The area described as old Manisa is the area where urbanization first started by being on the Izmir - Bursa highway and railway and at the skirts of Spil mountain. The maps dating back to 1920 and 1940 provided in the appendix C also reveal that the city was built within these boundaries and that it

was established at the skirts of the mountain. The Manisa sketch of 1935 (figure: 5) depicts Spil mountain and the walls on the mountain skirts (Akar & Avan, 2207:446).
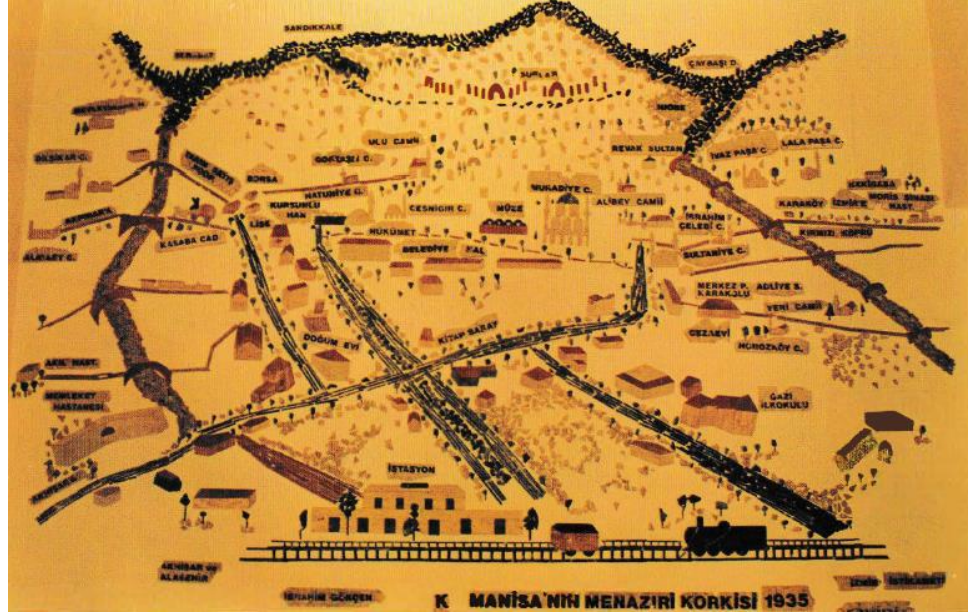
Figure 5: The Manisa Sketch of 1935

A feeling of trust, emerging from the fact that the city is located at the skirts of the mountain, is emphasized during the interviews. For instance, 9a opened the curtain during the interview and showed us the view of the mountain, and he said:

> When I look through the window, I see the Huge Spil Mountain. Then I think to myself, it has my back. That's what the people who founded this city also said. I know as a citizen of this city, mountains have my back. I will not fall. I grew up at the skirt of these mountains. I'm a person of this land.
>
> *Camdan baktığımda Koca Spil'i görüyorum. Arkam sağlam diyorum. Bu şehri kuranlarda öyle demiş. Bende bu şehrin insanı oldukça biliyorum ki arkamda dağlar var. Yıkılmam. Bu dağların eteklerinde büyüdüm ben. Bu toprağın insanıyım.*

Manisa is a very important historical city in terms of its general structure. However, Izmir has great influence on the city and people of Manisa. Observations reveal that it is always overshadowed by İzmir. During our interviews, the case of being overshadowed has been expressed sometimes negatively and sometimes positively.

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For Manisa gentry, it is very important that Manisa is not as big as İzmir. As a result, the status of being "well-known" and "recognized" is attained easier. Manisa is countryside. According to the Turkish Language Institution, this word is defined as anywhere except the capital of the country or the most important cities. Peripherial cities have their unique way of life. Peripheral cities present a reality of humankind; just like centers or metropolitan cities. The ontology of the peripheral cities is shaped by real human nature. Here, people may pose differently, wear different clothes, display disparate looks and colors, but they are basically surrounded by human reality. The countryside build their own culture with the reality of their residents. Many different attitudes get stuck on to the countryside in this construction process. Countryside is essentially shaped by perspectives just like every other spaces and social environments. There is a reality shaped by the point of view of the country side. Just like the center has a perspective, there is the view of the countryside, a perspective, a framework for assessment (Alver, 2013:18-19). Countryside looks into itself, takes a look around and forms a general opinion from these. It produces an outlook, a window, a world. All assessments, calculations and opinions are formed accordingly (Gürbilek, 2005:50).

The outlook of the countryside is also directed at the center to a certain extend. It takes the center into account, examines it and tries to be like it. Countryside is shaped according to the center; the whole structure of the countryside is defined by the style of the center. Countryside is always remembered to be 'retrospective, traditional, conservative, local and indigenous' among all the other dilemmas it represents in life. Countryside is always exposed with the outdated, traditional, cultural products from the villages (clothes, behaviors, attitudes) within the city structure. In fact, the countryside neither resides in the village, nor in the city, nor in the center, nor in the surrounding area. A countryperson is doomed to stay in limbo and approach both sides at different times and feel a belonging to both sides. This state of limbo is sometimes defined as imprisonment, sometimes being outdated and sometimes as not losing one's soul (Çelik, 2017:28).

Ömer Laçiner expresses the relationship between countryside and center in Turkey as follows: "concept of countryside refers to the peripheries that form an organic unity with the center/ metropolis in most societies, hence an ordinary, and normal relationship; however, in Turkey, it tells the story of a tense relationship that includes a strong tone of dominance as well as a highlighted hierarchy." According to Laçiner, the Turkish countryside generally considers itself as being oppressed and humiliated by the center (Bora, 2005:14).

It is a striking fact that those who live in the countryside do not regard themselves as 'countryside person' in anyway in many texts. Position of always being placed below the center, the deprivation and representation of being underdeveloped are effective in this characterization (Tunç, 2008:20). However, significant changes in agriculture were experienced and major industry breakthroughs were made especially with the impact of the changes in Turkish politics in the 1950s. After these breakthroughs, a strong countryside bourgeoisie emerged that influence the Turkish political and economic life. According to Bora, the concept of countryside and belonging to countryside is one of the key elements to consult in analyzing some specificities in the course of Turkey's political-social history (Bora, 2005:15).

The most striking thing encountered in our literature review about the countryside is the fact that almost all readings are short, clear and judgmental and repetitive descriptions of each other. The dichotomic and hesitant attitude is noteworthy in these sharp depictions. A similar attitude is also expressed in the statements of the interviewees during our meetings. 'Manisa is both countryside and also not', 'Manisa is countryside', but it is actually a metropolitan city.', 'Manisa is a metropolitan city but compared to Izmir, it is countryside. Although Manisa is a metropolitan city, it still maintains the countryside spirit. Manisa, as a countryside city sent many sons of the Sultan to the throne during the Ottoman Empire, and after the proclamation of the Republic, it has had an important place in the economy and political life of the country with its achievements first in the field of agriculture and then in industry.

5.3. Gentry in Manisa

Our study investigates the changes experienced from one generation to another within the well-established families living in Manisa. According to the definition of the Turkish Language Institution, the word gentry is defined as wealthy and influential people and the dignitaries of a place. For this reason, the notables are families of the city who are known, recognized and consulted with by others when important decisions are to be made. Interviewee 1b answers following question "How many generations of your family have lived in Manisa?" and the answer is:

> Our family has a relative in a graveyard in Manisa with a gravestone which is 500 years old, our roots are here, we cannot bloom anywhere else, nor can put forth leaves. Everyone knows and trusts us in this region.
>
> *Bizim Manisa'da 500 yıllık mezar taşımız var, köklerimiz burada başka yerde çiçek açamayız, yaprak veremeyiz. Herkes bizi bilir, bize güvenir bu topraklarda.*

An important data for us to distinguish gentry families is that they should be living in Manisa for at least three generations. Families of long descent have a certain amount of cultural and economic accumulation. At this point, Bourdieu (1986)'s four types of capital can be mentioned. It is obvious that economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital play a decisive role in gentry families. Families have a certain amount of income and property from the category of economic capital. The fact of "being known" is the most important benefit of being a gentry family in terms of cultural and social accumulation of the families subject to our study. In addition, these families always enjoyed a privilege thanks to the cultural, social and symbolic capital they have. The emphasis of this privilege is clearly demonstrated in the interview with 13b;

> I got married at the age of 23. I have two sons. I want them to have the opportunities that I have. People know them in the market place. They say it's the grandson of the "Pomak" family. But that order has changed, and I want them to be also known where our reputation has not reached.
>
> *23 yasımda evlendim. İki oğlum var. Onlarında benim sahip olduğum imkanlara sahip olmalarını istiyorum. Çarşıda tanıyor insanlar onları. "Pomakların" torunu gelmiş diyorlar. Ama düzen değişti bizim lakabımızın yetmediği yerlerde de bilinsinler isterim.*

Most of the mentioned families aimed for the 'best education available' for their children and tried their best to meet this purpose. According to 13b;

> I studied in a university and I'm different from my brother and sister. I passed the Public Personnel Selection Examination. I work as a public officer. My mother wanted me to be educated, I studied far away (in Mersin), she came with me and supported me.
>
> Üniversite okudum ben abimden ve ablamdan farklı. Kpss ye girdim şimdi çalışıyorum. Devlette işim. Annem okumamı istedi destekledi uzakta okudum (Mersin'de) benimle geldi okurken yanımda durdu.

One of the first-generation interviewees 5a, a primary school graduate, stated what they did for the education of children:

> I have four children, I made sure that they got education. We had rough times too, but I kept supporting them... If they did not receive education, for how long could they survive with our wealth. They had to made their own efforts. We figured, if they would not study, they could not achieve anything in this day and age. So, we supported them to get education. No one can stop them anymore since they have their family having their back and they are also well educated. They all have good jobs now. Thanks god.
>
> *Benim dört çocuğum var, hepsini okuttum. Zor dönemler yaşadık ama okuttum... Bizler evlatlarımızı okutmazsak eğer onlar nereye kadar bizim varımızla duracaklardı. Kendi emekleri gerekliydi. Okumadan bu devirde hiç bir şey olmaz dedik okuttuk çocukları. Arkalarında aileleri var bide eğitim aldılar mı kimse onlara engel olamaz artık. Hepsi çok iyi yerlerde şimdi. Çok şükür.*

Families included in our research have lived in Manisa for many generations. Even if they go away for a short while due to reasons such as education or obligatory military service, they come back to Manisa and maintain their lives in this city and display a more supportive role for future generations of their family to continue living in the same city. The impact of their position in the city has a great role for the adoption of this attitude. The fact that family members are recognized by the society to which they belong has been useful both in their daily lives and in their business lives. Interviewee 17b explains:

> I went to America for a master's degree and then started a business there. I stayed for 4-5 years. But I than looked in my wardrobe full of new clothes with the tag on, because I would like to wear them at home sometime. So, I came back. The business was already set and was waiting for me. As a

family, we have business operations in a couple of different fields. I am involved in jewelry and contracting operations, keeping myself busy. But I want you to know, I've stripped off all the tags from the clothes..."

Ben yüksek lisans için Amerika'ya gittim sonra iş kurdum orda. 4-5 yıl kadar da kaldım. Ama baktım dolabımda etiketini koparmadığım kıyafetler var içinde bir yerde bunları evimde giymeyi bekliyorum. Döndüm. İşim hazırdı zaten. Bir kaç farklı alanda işlerimiz var bizim ailecek. Kuyum, mütahitlik yapıyorum bir şeyler. Ama şunu bilin artık etiketlerini kopardım tüm kıyafetlerin...

The fact that families have been living in the same place for many years has led to similarities and some clear differences among generations. The similarities seen are often the result of the accumulation of information transfer among generations and the behavior taken as a role model, as well as the continuity of the accepted attitudes. We have observed and especially heard during the interviews that many differences arose because the successors did not adopt, approve or find useful some situations, attitudes and preferences of the predecessors. In addition to all, the changes in the world, Turkey and the city have been conducive in rise of differences among generations directly or indirectly.

Karaosmanoğulları family is one of the first to come to mind when speaking of the gentry of Manisa city where the Sultan's sons were educated in Ottoman Empire. The records of Karaosmanoğulları family members appear for the first time in 17th century in Manisa Sharia Court Records. Famous prolific writer Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu in the Turkish literature belongs to this family and his relatives still reside in Manisa. This family has agreed to participate in our work with great sincerity who are also the subject of one of the most important pieces of work published by the Turkish Historical Society on "gentry and notables" with the title "Notables in History: A Study on Karaosmanoğulları". Other that should be mentioned alongside with Karaosmanoğlu among the established gentry families of Manisa are Yayman, Yorgancı, Çipil families who still live in Manisa.

5.4. Conclusion

Our aim in this section is to reveal the general structure of Manisa before we tackle a smaller part of it, where a more detailed data is given and evaluations are made about the city. We have already stated how effective is ownership of capital in determination of our positions within society in the previous chapters. It was useful in this chapter, where comprehensive information about Manisa is provided, to refer to the general structure to express which economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital plays a determining role more accurately in the separation of individuals as "Manisa Gentry. Every city is sui generis and every city shapes its residents accordingly. As mentioned previously, Bourdieu (1986) asserts that the categorization of social groups according to their involvement in social space would be the right attitude. In that case, it will be useful to develop an approach on different types of capital of Bourdieu in order to examine and understand the strategies used by recognized and leading families to protect and maintain those positions.

Of course, in order to see how they use these capitals, it is necessary to take into account the uniqueness of Manisa as a city. In this chapter, by mentioning Manisa's general features and history, we have tried to provide a general picture of the city structure which actually shapes the Manisa gentry. Thus, with the city's uniqueness, we thought we can better analyze participants' relationship with the capital which is perceived based on their own perception of the city in the next chapters.

For example, the residential environment, which is important for the gentry, actually gained importance with the plans that were put in place during the establishment phase of the city. Due to the geopolitical position of the city, valuable areas became distinct in the following years. When determining their status position, many features of the city, whether they might be aware of them or not, play an important role for the gentry.

CHAPTER 6

THE CONSUMPTION BEHAVIOUR OF MANISA GENTRY TO DISTINGUISH ITSELF FROM THE "OTHERS"

6.1. Introduction

As a status group, "status" is important for the Manisa Gentry, as it is an indicator of respectability and recognition. Of course, this status is shaped by the meaning it has for "others". In other words, their status must be accepted by the majority of the society. That is, it should disclose the status of the gentry as much as possible. One of the easiest ways to show status is consumption. As we mentioned in the previous chapters, individuals give important messages about their lifestyle and class positions through their consumption preferences. For Manisa gentry, the subject of our study, it is vital to show their status, which gives them the state of being distinctive, to sustain this status. For this reason, Manisa gentry aims at giving more than one message with their consumption preferences. A manifesto should be made, so that there would be no questioning of their status by the individuals defined as ''others'', the ones who are not from the gentry. Through this manifesto, Manisa gentry show the differences of their status position from the others who are not from the gentry.

Our aim in this chapter is primarily to show what kind of consumption style does the Manisa gentry has through their tastes and preferences. Their status position as the gentry gives them a certain place by adding a special social honor share to their daily life that the majority of which is shared with the public. Weber's approach is important because it highlights the status groups as real communities that are characterized by a common lifestyle and consumption pattern. Status groups have a common lifestyle that they maintain with a variety of social off-limits strategies designed to exclude

competitors and monopolize a particular status within the community (Turner, 1988:62).

In this approach where lifestyle is at the forefront, we think that it will be useful to look into consumption habits of the general population of Manisa in order to position consumption habits more clearly. We believe that it will be useful to mention some previous studies on Manisa and the social structure of Manisa. In the light of these studies, we aim to look into how Manisa gentry positioned itself in relation to "others" and to analyze consumption habits which have become a status position by starting from the general consumption habits of the people of Manisa.

For Manisa gentry "consuming" is an important symbol of their status position. Especially in relation to the consumption of durable consumer goods, they are very careful and diligent in their tastes and preferences for these products as they are used for a long period of time. For example, furniture preferences are an important consumption instruments as they offer a long term use and also because they give clear messages about the social position of the people. Throughout history, furniture has always been a commodity of high value, being used to reveal the positions of countries, kings, and people. The wealthier parts of society are known to have no boundaries, especially in the past, for spending on furniture; the act that considered as a status indicator. The French King Louis XIV has an important place in the history of furniture. It is known that Louis' interior architecture and furniture expenditures put the country's treasury into trouble, and that the debts he left could only be paid by selling off some colonies (Boyla, 2011:2).

Industrialization and developing technology led the path for widespread furniture production, but it also changed the sector replacing the fine workmanship with mass production using cheap technologies. Widespread production and everyday use of furniture resulted in demands of practicality, durability and easy maintenance. The furniture that has been used as an indicator of splendor, elegance and wealth throughout history, is now being used as a tool of demonstrating the position of its users in the society via the use of furniture and preferences. In short, furniture guides

us to get to know others. People's furniture preferences; which furniture they choose and why gives important clues about their characters, education, beliefs and financial status.

In our study, we aim to show how Manisa gentry distinguishes itself from others through living room furniture preferences based on the strong capability of furniture to give a certain message. We will look into how Manisa gentry positions itself in the society by revealing how this being distinct from others has turned into a manifesto with their consumption preferences.

In the light of the interviews that we conducted during field works, we will try to show how our participants demonstrated their status with their houses by taking the concept of "home" as a status symbol. The messages that Manisa Gentry tries to give with their homes, also with the strong influence of economic capital, will be analyzed in depth. When we evaluate the concept of "home" in terms of status representation, it is not a coincidence that we find ourselves at the doorstep of the "living room". Because the "living room" is the only place to showcase the position of the family to the guests. The living room reflects the most flamboyant state of the lifestyle. The living room is a place prepared for the guest. For this reason, in fact, with the influence of the symbolic capital, living room is diligently decorated by the home owner. Looking at the living room for us is like looking at a space "prepared for the show-off". Every product proffered when decorating the living room gives a practical message. During our interviews with Manisa gentry, they have expressed these messages to us at certain times clearly and sharply, at times in a more allusive manner. These messages will be discussed together with the furniture preferences of the Manisa gentry when decorating their homes and the factors that play a role in these preferences. We will try to give a general picture of the lifestyle of the participants by giving quotations from the interviews and to convey the perspective that this lifestyle, blended also with the theory, has contributed to our study. In this chapter we aim to explain how Manisa gentry differentiates itself from 'others' through living room furniture preferences in the simplest way possible and to present it within a theoretical framework.

6.2. Consumption and Taste Patterns of Manisa Gentry

Consumption is an action involved in every aspect of human life. Consumption is a necessity to ensure the continuity of life. When we wake up in the morning, we consume water to wash our faces; when brushing teeth, in addition to the water, we comsume fancy brushes and toothpastes. We consume fuel and lifespan of vehicles on the way to work. We deplete our lives and our environment, doing all of this. It is possible to reproduce these examples infinitely. In short, it is impossible to live without consuming or to abstain from consumption (Odabaşı, 2013:15). There is not much research on consumption in the field of classical economics until 19th century. The reason of attention paid to the area as of 19th century is the emergence of a kind of equilibrium of consumption norms that started to change and differentiate after 17th century. In this respect, changes happened in the consumption norms as a result of the development of new industrial branches and the production of new consumer goods. In addition to that, the change in the volume of wealth and speed of assets has led to a favorable social stratification in the vertical movement due to the development of commercial life and industrial revolution (Kıray, 2005:14). As Kıray states in her study, "some social structure and stratification studies conducted in recent years enlighten the relationship between consumption and stratification in a very meaningful way in terms of sociology (Kıray, 2005:20).

"Consumption", which is at the center of the life cycle, is an action that reflects social stratification. In fact, "consumers are motivated to mark differences between self and others, to engage in authenticating act redolent of personal style"(Arnold and Price,2000: 158). The fact that the social stratification, which we have addressed since the beginning of our study, can be interpreted through consumption preferences has led us to look into the consumption patterns of Manisa Gentry. By looking into the consumption preferences of Manisa gentry we will examine their embodied tastes and ways of showing their status. Because we know that the tastes and consumption preferences of Manisa Gentry play an important role in their social positioning. During our field work, it was observed that the interviewees built their own status

positions through the statement of "appropriate for us" which they emphasized during the interviews.

For this reason, it will be an important step for us to look into the consumption preferences and tastes of Manisa gentry. The status position, which is embedded even into small wishes which are a part of the daily life, has infiltrated into everything consumed by Manisa gentry. It is a necessity for them to reach the products or practices they are "worthy of" and to present themselves with these preferences. The "status" which shows itself to this extent even in daily consumption preferences, especially in actions targeting long-term consumption, must determine its position in consumption preferences which have a strong capacity to give a message.

For Manisa gentry their status and recognition of this status by others are important. Because this status determines their social position. The relationship between consumption and stratification stated in Kıray's work is in line with our study. Looking into some studies on social stratification in Manisa will guide us in this respect. With these studies, by providing a picture of the general consumption habits in Manisa, it will be easier for us to observe how the gentry specifically identifies what is "appropriate for them".

6.2.1. General Consumption Habits in Manisa

In her book A Social Survey on Manisa city 1950 Fatma Başaran argues that '... whatever we study on a particular segment of population, we have to consider the stratification. That is why we will address the social stratification in Manisa." (Başaran, 2005:60). In this study on Manisa Başaran has focused on stratification in the city as a priority. "No matter which index is considered in stratification, it is necessary to acknowledge that different social strata entail different economic fronts. Social strata have different economic levels. In that regard, there is a close link between the form of stratification in a particular community and the pyramid, which shows the hierarchical ranking of the population of that society in terms of wealth. Hence, we tried to determine the pyramid showing the distribution of wealth among the population in Manisa. As it is not possible to determine the wealth of everyone in

the city one by one due to both financial and certain social reasons, we considered it appropriate to do that in accordance with official tax records." In the light of this information, we can scrutinize the social norms of Manisa at this period of time (Başaran, 2005:63).

Başaran made evaluations on consumption behavior presented by Veblen saying that as the wealth increases the consumption behavior increases too; the higher the strata is, the higher the non-economic wealth and money expenditure will be; and their life will be defined by conspicuous consumption (Veblen; 2003:51). According to this, as a result of special conditions of Manisa in this period, although even the higher strata of the city did not display a conspicuous consumption of money, it could still be observed on special occasions like weddings and circumcision ceremonies. In terms of consumption of time, because Manisa was not a major industrial and commercial center in 1950s, the capitalists themselves were working in the management and the control of their businesses and they did not have a lot of leisure time to spend. Time spent in City Club might be an example of this type of consumption as only higher strata went there, but it is not something observed often (Başaran, 2005:111).

Başaran's study involves evaluations of other consumption norms that reveal the social strata; first the study reveals the number of residents of a household according to professions groups. Then clothing, aesthetic activities and eating styles are analyzed according to profession groups.

The household life is very important in understanding the social life. Stirling's work focuses on the relations of people within the household and states how these relations are steering the social structure (Stirling, 1965:98). Although Başaran does not detail the relations of the household in detail, he provides the information about the household population in order to determine the general outline of its structure. Furthermore, his study points out that the habit of eating while sitting on the floor rather than at the table still continues on a high rate. Similar findings were also found in İbrahim Yasa's study on Hasanoğlan village. Despite the existence of table in many houses in Hasanoğlan, the habit of using the table is not widespread.

> ...the table is kept as a prestige tool in the corner of the rooms in the villages and as a pretentious item with a set of prestige providing items on it. .... the table is an element that has entered the village life as a result of twisted understanding of culture (Yasa, 1969:56).

In her study Başaran does not look at tables. However, the low rates of eating at the table demonstrates that there are still some unaltered and consistent norms for many families living in the city.

Nowadays, a widespread use of tables in both kitchens and living rooms shows that the table has been internalized more and accepted and stopped being perceived as an indicator of prestige.

Aesthetic values are not directly indicative of social status. This has been detailed in Başaran's study. According to Başaran, since women are always in pursuit of beauty, nothing is as natural as a woman dressing up. Dressing up is considered beautiful and desired. However, even though everyone thinks positively about women who apply make-up, everyone has different judgement on how women should apply it, namely on the "style of makeup". It is interesting to observe that old-school make-up tools such as kajal and kohl are less preferred among freelancers and public officers, and newer self-care products such as lipstick, nail polish, compact powder and blush are not preferred much by workers and orchard viticulturists. Cologne is a preferred item of grooming accepted by every strata (Başaran, 2005:128-129).

Başaran provides information about the use of some elements like hats and socks, that are viewed as indicators of modernization. Similarly, Mübeccel Kiray also focuses on the change of clothing habits in her work Ereğli and explains the relationship between the development of industry and the change in clothes. In particular, she investigates modernization through women's clothing. Kıray emphasizes that men have become urbanized earlier in the field of clothing, and women integrated into this change later due to religious and social approaches (Kıray, 1964:100). Kıray's research tells the story of a gradual change from a traditional approach to modernism and the expression of change of status through belongings demonstrates how today's ordinary items were important commodities in 1960's. Ordinary habits like sleeping on a bed, eating at the

table or even using a moisturizing cream were once indicators of status. This type of non-economic comfort equipment that renders a person in the household as a privileged one, also functions as a conspicuous consumption item in the eyes of the others (Kıray, 1964:90-92). These economic and extreme consumption norms reflect the status of people and has the function of attaining a new status through a vertical movement among the strata.

Conclusions from Fatma Başaran's study gives important insights about the common consumption norms of Manisa in that period. As mentioned earlier, Manisa was quite devastated during the Independence War. However, it has recorded a rapid development after the proclamation of the Republic (Başaran, 2005:123). Although a study conducted by Sümer Gürel on Manisa in 1984 details a rapid development period, another data presented by Survey and Research Department of Chamber of Industry of Aegean Region in 1973 shows the level of development much less than the average population of the country. Manisa residents migrated to other cities. Izmir receives an important share of this migration. Due to fertile lands surrounding the city agricultural activity is dominant both in provinces and in the city. The fruitfulness of Gediz plain providing liveliness to the region enables the production of rich and intensive variety of agricultural goods, including very valuable export products like cotton, grapes, and tobacco (Gürel, 1984:29). Newly established Organized Industrial Zone facilitates the shift of some industrial branches to Manisa. Gürel's study conducted in 1980s does not reflect promising approaches in terms of the industry of Manisa. However, Manisa gained momentum in the field of industry in the late 90's and 2000's. Being selected as the most suitable city for industrial investment and the second city for industrial development are strong examples.

All these changes mentioned above have also affected the Manisa gentry. Manisa as a countryside city has changed due to its inner dynamics as well as the instructions and recommendations coming from the center. Cultural and economic environment forged by the period of being the city of Sultan's sons also had an undeniable impact on the structure of gentry families. Later on, the families who continued to reside in the city

have provided invaluable guidance in Manisa's administration, development and change. Today many of these families still have a respectable place in Manisa.

6.2.2. Consumption Preferences of Manisa Gentry

Our study examines how countryside bourgeoisie of Manisa has changed in terms of consumption norms and how this change has differentiated between generations. As it has been emphasized in previous chapters, although Manisa has the status of a countryside, it has never lost its importance throughout history. As a result of this, there is an aristocratic segment in Manisa which enables talking about the 'upper class' structure across each period of the city. It is clear that in terms of commercial capital there was a high increase in demand and supply during the times when Manisa was the city favored by sultan's sons. Without question the commercial structure that intends to serve the center of the Empire must be equipped to respond to a strong demand. Provision of wide range of goods and services has also resulted in differentiation of lifestyles. Within the changing life conditions and the fluidity of history this differentiation has survived until today.

The perception of distinction is revealed especially through the lifestyle and preferences of upper class. The stratification and consumption practices of Manisa people examined in depth by Başaran, have shifted to a different level. We can argue that the main reason for it is the fact that the modern consumers do not accept equality. Although the modern consumers disrupt the class system up to some point, the impacts of wealth or of poverty can never be wiped out. There is a deep gap of expenditure between the rich and the poor. There are differences in the supply of consumer goods as well as the consumer's tendency to present themselves. This point leads us to the point of being "elite". The general population wants to see the elite images of the wealthy consumer, albeit few (Stearns, 2006:6).

The concept of distinctiveness embodies the state of being different from others, which in turn points out to a 'distinct' position. In Distinction, Bourdieu discusses how people develop, reproduce and strengthen their social positions and cultural indicators in the society by designating them according to themselves. In other words, the study points

out that people struggle and compete to legitimize their high-status indicators. According to Bourdieu, people with the same tastes, interests and priorities start to look like each other and exclude people with different tastes and interests per se and automatically (Mağgönül, 2006:119). This allows the opportunity to have a common taste. As individuals group under common denominators and position themselves differently from others, these common social groups are reflected in the taste of the individuals. The things they prefer are the things that are accepted and appreciated by "others" at the point where they positioned themselves. Uses of certain phrases such as "appropriate for us", "expected from us" and "our peers" are frequently used to emphasize these common tastes. The impact of how interviewees position themselves is clearly observed from their choice of husband/wife, the neighborhood of residence, shopping districts, clothing preferences; almost every aspect of their lives is affected by this taste and preference argument. 11b expressed the following during the interview:

> We usually go shopping for clothes in İzmir. We usually select appropriate brands for us in the shopping mall. My children inherited the habit of wearing these brands, they also usually use those brands. These brands suit us with the quality and the taste. We only go to the malls where these brands exist. It is not appropriate for us to wear brands that are available to everyone, everywhere. I have explained this issue to my daughter and also my daughter-in-law. When we were young, my mother used to sew our clothes so what we wear was already unique. I studied at a boarding school in Izmir after the elementary school. We learned about those brands there. We found the appropriate products for ourselves, and my mother-in-law also introduced me to certain brands and tailors.

> *Giyim alışverişinde İzmir'den yapıyoruz genelde. Genellikle AVM bize uygu olan markaları seçiyoruz. Çocuklarımın da bu markaların alışkanlığını verdim onlarda genelde o markaları kullanıyorlar. Sevdiğim, kalitesini beğendiğim, bize yakışan markalar. Bu markaların olduğu AVM lere gidiyoruz. Her yerde olan herkesin ulaşabildiği markaları giymek bize uymaz. Kızıma da gelinime de bunu anlattım. Biz küçükken annem dikerdi zaten kimseye benzemezdi giydiklerimiz. İlk okuldan sonra İzmir'de yatılı okudum. Orda öğrendik bazı markaları. Bize yakışanı bulduk evlendikten sonra kayınvalidemde öğretti bazı markaları, terzileri.*

Being guided by their positions in terms of preferences and tastes individuals make progress in many areas. The freedom of choice, one of the most important advantages of the capitalist system, offers individuals almost unlimited possibilities in the context

of consumption elements. However, at times consciously and at times unconsciously, individuals make choices within the maps of the groups they are a part of.

Nobody can deny the impact of widespread tastes and preferences and the desire to be different from "others" on consumption habits. However, it is also important to acknowledge that tastes and preferences change over time. According to Thompson, "the sons of the manufacturers, the prosecutor and the gentry enjoyed riding on horseback, as well as showing off by attending voluntary balls in their fancy clothes. While a common understanding of unity between aristocracy and the middle class developed, women would choose their husbands from the balls, which would accelerate cross fertilization between landowners and commercial entities, which were the prominent features of the British industrial revolution (Thompson, 1963:552). It is interesting that the remarks of Thompson about England does have similar characteristics with an Anatolia city that has quite different culture at thousands of kilometers distance. Nowadays the frequently used "global world concept" did show it's face at various points of social life during those times too. The newborn class structures and the subtle distintions of status positions make the taste and prefarances confused just like Thompson's middle class and upper class cross fertilization sample. Owing to this cross fertilization, different tastes and positions emerged to serve need to be distinguished from each other. Born in 1951, 13a expresses the life that has changed since her childhood.

> We were farmers, yes, but we enjoyed what we did. We provided housing for our workers, and they did all the hard work. We did whatever we wanted to do, and however we wanted to do it. We had animals. We had everything in the farm and we used to bring them home. I married at the age of 15, my husband was a tailor, but as we have a lot of land he decided to switch to farming. There was a time when we could not trust strangers, so we decided to make it a family business. Farmers and ranch hands were valued at that time. Then the houses were built, a new city was established among the vineyards, gardens. There are big building complexes out there now. We preferred to stay here. I got used to living in here. Our traditional cottage house was transformed into a big apartment. There's a lot of apartments to choose. It is easy to use the toilet, it is easy to regulate the heating. It's all yours when you shut the door. I loved having many guests from morning until evening when I was little, the house was full all the time. But two sofas were enough then. You would set the dining arrangements on the floor. People did not search for any shortcomings back

then, they were not displeased. Everything has changed, now we have the high-fashion armchairs. But the fashion changes overnight, and people do not like these any more. They say they are no longer beautiful. The beautiful thing was people of the past. Now everything is ugly.

Çiftçiydik, evet ama keyifli çiftçilerdik. Zor işleri yatılı amelelerimiz vardı onlar yapardı. Biz ne yapmak istersek nasıl yapmak istersek yapardık. Hayvanlarımız vardı. Her şey olurdu çiftlikte bizde eve gelirken getirirdik. 15 yaşımda evlendim ben eşim terziydi ama sonra toprak bol olunca onların başına geçti rençper oldu. Yabancılara güvenilmez oldu bir vakitten sonra aile işi olsun dedik. Çiftçi, rençper o zaman kıymetli. Sonra evler yapılmaya başladı bağların, bahçelerin oralara yeni bir şehir kuruldu. Koca koca siteler var şimdi oralarda. Biz buralarda kalmayı tercih ettik. Alıştım buraya. Hem bizim yer evi oldu mu sana apartman. Bir sürü daire, bir sürü var seç otur. Tuvalet kolay, ısıtmak kolay. Kapını kapattın mı sana ait. Çok severdim küçükken evin dolu olmasını sabah gelirdi misafir akşama kadar. Ama işte iki divan yetiyordu o zaman. Bir de yere sofra atardın. Açığını aramıyorlardı, burun büküp gitmiyorlardı. Her şey değişti en son moda koltukları koyuyoruz şimdi. Ama yarın değişti bu artık güzel değil diyorlar. Beğenmiyorlar. Eskiden insanlar güzeldi. Şimdi her şey çirkin.

The attendee 13a's sentences about the altered tastes and preferances are also descriptive and comprehensive. It is mentioned the alterations both about social concept and general city life's structure. She talks about her past, experiences and the status at. According to her, in time different lifestyles appeared and correspondingly the city structure changed. She explains clearly how this change affected her and her social life. Surely this change is also corrolated with the reshape of Turkey in time. The proclamation of the Republic in Turkey, the transition to a multi-party system and the free market economy have resulted in many changes within the country. The fact that the families we interviewed were the leading families of a small countryside city makes them the pioneers of this change. The members of the first generation narrated the purchase of electronical devices such as 'tv', 'fridge', and 'washing machine' as a significant change. 11a born in 1929 tells the process of purchasing a refrigerator as follows:

When the fridge first came out, we didn't buy it right away. My mother-in-law did not let it. We could afford it, but she said it would not be appropriate to buy it earlier than 'Nadekçiler' family. She said, they have to buy it first, otherwise it would mean that we disregard them. We were embarrassed. We did not buy it. We waited. She instructed us to buy one when the time is right, but we got one. Three households shared our fridge.

Kids were not allowed to use it. They would ask for our permission first. My elder brother's sons would come to our place to drink cold water at 11 pm.

Buzdolabı çıktığında mesela biz hemen almadık. Aldırmadı kayınvalidem. Durumumuz vardı ama 'Nadekçiler'de' yokken bizim almamız olmaz dedi. Önce onların alması gerekli yoksa onları ezmiş oluruz dedi. Utandık. Almadık. Bekledik. Vakti gelince alın dedi ama bir tane aldık. Üç ev ortak kullandık buzdolabını. Çocuklar açmazdı dolabı. Bizden izin alırlardı. Gece 11 de su içmeye gelirdi üstten abimizin çocukları.

Indeed, Attendee 11a's words imply that Manisa genry has an informal hierarcy and internal structure based on this hierarcy. The main motivation of the hierarcy is a respect chain that has been created by the old rooted families. Such respect chain and old rooted hierarcy is shaped by the closed loop social ties which also become a guidance for their behavior and their act based on social capital that they own. At our research the genry which is previously evaluated at our text from Weberian status concept point of view is locating their status based on their cultural and social capital than economic wealth. Being a genry is something more than being capable to buy any good for them. Sometimes they need trying to sort out what to consume while considering and caring their status. This case is more linked with cultural capital and shapes the tastes more than economic capital.

6.3. "Consumption" as A Status Symbol

Certain social values of items are interlinked with their social meanings, social prestige and value in terms of status. It is obvious that in all societies, goods are used as a show off of power or as a sign of prestige. The social function of goods is an important source of motivation in ownership as a means of providing social position to the individual. Because these values important for society will invest function into goods, the approach to goods and the use of the goods are shaped in a way that will fulfill that function. Exhibition of goods and the utilitarian use is destroying the rules of efficiency approach on behalf of nominal values or out of a concern for social prestige (Bilgin, 2011: 82-83). In short, the goods are evaluated over the prestige they bring to the individual rather than the benefit of their use. Veblen (2005) studied this approach in 19th century which does not comply with the law of demand in the economy. Veblen

investigates the fact that demand for some luxury goods increases when prices rise, and luxury goods are preferred without considering the benefits they provide. The main reason for this situation pointed out by Veblen is that people use luxury goods and items to show off. The wish to pay more money does not come from seeking a better quality in goods, but for being able to advertise wealth. Here, the phenomenon of conspicuous consumption comes into play. When we look at the conspicuous consumption approach, we see that consumption of products that are different and higher than others are considered a status indicator. Veblen also argues that wasting is also an attitude of upper strata, especially of the leisure class who is used to differentiate themselves from others. In short, individuals gain 'reputation' and 'status' in society by being recognized by displaying consumption and wasting behavior and by differentiating themselves from others. The quality difference in eating and other issues has an impact not only on the lifestyle of people with money and plenty of time, but also on educational and intellectual activities. To escape ignorance, they need to adjust their tastes and to know the difference between the good and bad quality. Then they need to learn how to consume that product in order to consume the style that suits them. People who have wealth and enough time would like to make their reputation visible by using expensive consumer goods out in the open and conspicuously (Veblen, 2005:61-63). In short, the rare and precious items, clothes, items, etc. they own bring them a certain position. These consumption preferences should be consumed in the most appropriate way for the continuity of the status. A similar situation is applicable for buildings. The houses where people live demonstrate their position in society. For this reason, every step starting from the outdoor residential area into the home decoration preferences is a sign of status that must be taken diligently.

It is possible to observe the above-mentioned approach of Veblen in many societies. It is a known fact that during the period of Ottoman Empire, individuals tried to get themselves a place in society via conspicuous consumption. As Ayhan Aktar states in his article, the upper strata in the Ottoman Empire tend to differentiate themselves from other segments of society and consolidate their status by means of conspicuous consumption in social life. Magnificent historical buildings (figure: 6) still in use today

dating back to the times when Manisa was an important city in Ottoman Empire demonstrates the transfer of social class awareness to "others" by conspicuous consumption.

Figure 6 : Manisa Government Building (1930s)

The use of buildings as status symbols in Manisa is not limited to public buildings. The city that was founded on the slopes of Spil Mountain gradually shifted towards its lower parts. The Ottoman administration facilitated this shift. In other words, following a urban policy of the that period, the Merkez Efendi, who was a famous doctor and a wise man of the era was assigned to work on this subject. According to the new residential layout, important buildings were constructed in the new area (Bektaş, 2009:35). The houses owned by Manisa gentry families where they spent their childhood are located within this area. The majority of our interviewees consider their homes as a status symbol. During our interviews, gentry families stated that the houses they live in have a high value both in terms of position, furniture and items they use to decorate the inside of this houses. The symbolic value is higher than the economic value.

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6.3.1. Living Space as a Status Symbol

Space is a very important concept in sociology, political science and architecture. There are many different points of view and fields of study on the subject of space. This study will not analyze this topic in depth because of the limitations of the thesis.

According to Lefebre (1992), space entails the relations of production and the social relations of reproduction. Moreover, Lefebre argues that space is a social product based on social values and meanings, which determines spatial perception practices. New spaces created during the production process of the place also create new social relationships. Capitalism is building what it wants to put forward in the production of the space in a structured way. Urban planning and urbanization are the strategic tools of capitalism in the process of construction of the space. The main reason for this is the absolute use of space for social interaction, but social interactions also produce space. According to Lefebre, the important thing is the analysis of how space is produced in capitalist societies and the analysis of contradictions that arise during this process of production. Capital gives a different function to the space, in a capitalist structure the capital space is transformed into a 'commodity'. In short, the city and the structures that form the city are the basic elements that produce the space as well as the products of space.

According to Bektaş, on the way of humanization, the city is the place where life is shaped in respect to other people. It is humanization of the environment, making it more humane. In Turkish House (2018) he says: "Can a pebble be a pebble by itself? Doesn't it get round from the friction of other stones? Isn't it true that pebble can only come into existence among other stones, with others? So are the human beings. How can a person be a person when he/she is alone on the mountain? Human becomes a human with the existence of other people. Cities shape humans into their true forms and as it is said in the old ages, create them. A person needs to cover a great deal of distance before reaching the city. People also learned to preserve what is left from consumption. Hence, one house gave birth to another; and houses to houses. Houses formed streets, streets crossed and spaces emerged, and spaces shaped cities. In short,

a city must be worthy of people. To as many diverse people as possible. For this reason, a city means diversity, and pluralism. It means to be open to new components. A city is the place to reproduce life over and over (p. 61).

A neighborhood comes into life as a result of addition of the settlement units as neighborhood units. A neighborhood has a center proportional to its size. This center is the first step in the purchasing hierarchy. Every neighborhood has its poor and rich but there are no big differences among them. A neighborhood is like a very big family. You can recognize neighborhoods or district from their silhouettes in cities. The silhouettes of Bursa, Manisa and Istanbul are evidences for this (Bektaş, 2018:63-66). When we examine the silhouette of Manisa, we see that it is an important intersection point between the east-west highway and the north-east and south-west direction of the river, parallel to Spil Mountain heights. The city's brightest period is the 14th century when it was the capital of the Saruhan Principality and the 16th century when the sons of Ottoman Sultans were governors of the city. First settlement in and around the top of the castle, began to develop towards the plain in Saruhanoğulları period. Settlement descended to the plain and to the alluvial Coast in the Ottoman era. The city is made up of big or small houses with gardens or courtyards that are located on pieces of lands, which remain among the main roads or the secondary roads that connect main roads to one another with a parallel line or alleys perpendicular to the slope. Because the settlement is on the slope, the houses resemble a very large amphitheater. Today the oldest parts of Manisa are at the top of the slope. Obviously, the settlement was progressing down the slope in later periods towards the plain; and Izmir Avenue and Ulutepe Avenue were the backbone of the city (Bektaş, 2009:38).

According to Bektaş, who studied Manisa and Manisa houses in depth, the oldest houses found during studies looking into houses of any region are150-200 years old and houses younger than 80-90 years old are not covered in these studies. Therefore, sayings of Turkish House and House of Turks connotate a certain oldness in everyone's mind. This date phenomenon was introduced for the first time in the 1950s in the Manisa study. In a way, it also showed what was included in the traditions of

the region. Therefore, we can also clearly see where the change began. (Bektaş, 2009:43).

Home, housing and housing environment are multi-dimensional concepts constituting the space within the scope of our study. Housing is not only a unit of accommodation evaluated in the urban or environmental context, but it is also an expression of the way of life. When the way of life is introduced into the process as a data of the design, it becomes a part of the area of interest of the anthropological, social, cultural, psychological, historical, ecological, etc. design. It is of interest to design. From such a point of view, housing is a cultural process. As the structure of the society changes; institutions, choices of technology, consumption forms, educational management, etc. change as well and new forms of sharing, structuring, life and perception arise (İncedayı, 2004:9). As Lefebre said this situation brings about the differences in reproduction of space.

As the existing social structure becomes complicated with the changes experienced in society and space usage is diversified, differences stand out in both spatial and construction forms of the housing. Different materials and methods replaced the local materials and local methods over time which were acquired easily from the nearby environment in the beginning. Larger scales of the building dimensions are the forms emerging from the way buildings come together with other houses, the external spaces they define together, the circulation and accession schemes within this pattern in addition to the interior layout and utilization. The first generation of families we interviewed were born between 1925-1964. They all gave very similar statements when defining the houses in which they lived during their childhood. One or two storey houses with two or three rooms described as 'traditional cottage houses' heated by stoves with an outdoor toilet and garden. Photographs below are examples of Manisa houses dating back to the 50s (figure:7-8).

Figure 7: Classic Manisa Traditional Cottage House (1950s)

Figure 8: Family Photo Taken in front of a Traditional Cottage House (1950s)

Housing life includes social distinctions and differentiations as a result of the reproduction of space. Class distinctions emerging with the rules of society and economic conditions are developing different ways of life. Lifestyle dimension of housing environment gains concrete outlook with social institutions such as customs and traditions, consumption and recreation habits, and continue to revive the lifestyle of the past in some housing communities (İncedayi, 2004:11). But on the other hand, there are social changes and the follow-up of these changes is very important for some people. 1b gives an example of this change about demolishing and rebuilding the house they used to live:

> The house we had during my childhood was a humongous one. This district was called Bahçelievler (Garden Houses) Because the houses had gardens. People would point to our house. There were white marble walls around it. With special engravings. It had ten rooms. My paternal grandma used to live with us. Living room was on ground floor and it was enormous. My grandmother's room was also on ground floor. People used to come and visit my grandmother and talk. Our living room was furnished according to her taste, she was always ready for guests, and we always had guests. We had a hamam at home (Turkish Bath), the water pipes leading there were beneath our house, keeping it warm.... I tried hard to save our house from demolish. There were already other places we gave to the contractor, I said we should at least keep this. I did not want it to be brought down. I invited my architect friends to meet my father and I begged him. But the apartment blocks were the hype then, they were everywhere. My father said an apartment blocks would be built. If not, people would condemn us. They would judge us, how we could keep that house as it is considering how rich we are. Actually, our home was like a palace. It's a shame that it no longer exists. Instead, this building we are in and the next were built. Two huge apartments blocks...

> *Çocukluğumun geçtiği ev kocaman bir evdi. Bahçelievler denirdi o zaman buralara. Çünkü evler bahçeliydi. Parmakla gösterirdi insanlar evimizi. Beyaz mermer duvarları vardı etrafında. Oymalıydı hem de. On odası vardı. Babaannem bizimle yaşardı. Salon giriş katındaydı ve çok büyüktü. Babaannemin odası da alt kattaydı. İnsanlar gelirdi hep babaannemi görürlerdi, konuşurlardı. Ona göre döşenmişti salonumuzda, hep misafire hazır dururdu ama zaten hep misafir olurdu. Hamamı vardı evimizin hamama giden su boruları evin altından geçtiği için evin yeri de sıcak olurdu.... Evimiz yıkılmasın diye çok uğraştım. Vardı zaten müteahhide verdiğimiz başka yerler burası bari apartman olmasın dedim. Yıkılmasın dedim. Mimar arkadaşlarımı çağardım babamla görüşmeye, yalvardım. Ama apartman yapılıyordu o zaman her yer. Apartman yapılacak dedi babam. Yoksa kınarlarmış bizi. Bu zenginlikle böyle evi tutuyorlar diye. Oysa saray gibiydi bizim evimiz. Yazık oldu. Yerine işte bu oturduğumuz bina ve yanındaki bina yapıldı. Koca iki apartman...*

As the interviewee 1b also mentions, especially in the 80s the 'traditional cottage houses' were rapidly demolished and turned into apartment blocks throughout Turkey. The apartment block is a model that does not correspond to the traditional Turkish house system but is included in the city life as a new house style along with the process of modernization. Kıray (1998: 139) evaluating the emergence of the apartments in line with the industrialization process states that the building is the housing facility of the new middle-class strata belonging to modern industrial society; workers and civil servants. It is stated that the number of houses and apartment blocks increased especially after 1950s and in line with the transition from agriculture to industry and from rural to urban areas, terrace houses and apartment blocks became widespread. However, it is observed that first emergence of the apartment blocks in Turkey were indicators of status and identity at the time (Alver, 2017:80).

Barlas points out in her work examining the trend of construction of apartment blocks that:"....at this time, the apartment fashions began. The newly built apartments had central heating. They were more convenient than the garden houses heated with wood burning stoves. This new apartment life wasn't so easy. After all, people had to move from magnificent garden houses to apartment blocks. The relations with the next-door neighbor started in the same apartment with the acquaintances who used to be far away. Neighborly relations became more European. Apartment blocks were built with flat for land method. Wood mansions turned into apartment buildings instantaneously. Families who used to live together in mansions split up in the apartment buildings. A new way of life emerged for cousins and grandmothers. A more concentric but more distant style. The unity of big families in vast spaces were disrupted... In fact, the apartment life didn't fit in our traditional hospitality. The apartments seemed to have a reduced area for guests for small families (Barlas, 2006:42).

Despite the fact that Kıray and Barlas mention that the apartment buildings are not compatible with Turkish society at all; gated sites with high security levels are advertised frequently in TV commercials and especially newly built zones of cities with the promise of a new life. These new living spaces which emphasize the values we lost as we started to live in apartment buildings and pledge many new opportunities

to individuals. Image is an effective factor in the choice of security gated sites that are seen as new living spaces. Image plays an important role in increasing demand for security gated sites serving in all areas of social life. The image stands out in determining the prestige, status and identity of the mentioned places. The image is used directly to correspond to the social structure of that site, the identity of its inhabitants, the characteristics of life on the site. Especially two concepts stand out in the image of these sites; distinction and status. A certain image and public opinion is necessarily shaped as these security gated sites seem to be allocated to the residence of the elite, and to be built for groups positioning themselves differently from the majority. Status determines the social and spatial position of both the community site and its inhabitants and therefore the material and cultural values. Safety of the family is a priority in the choice of security gated sites. An image is drawn in terms of family life, that it is an ideal environment for kids to grow up. Advertisements imply all kinds of opportunities, convenience and ideal life with the existence of playgrounds and recreation sites, sports facilities, landscaped gardens, education institutions and so forth. This way, the middle and upper classes are increasingly attracted to their homes and community sites, and even their recreational activities are withdrawn from the city life and they spend time with their families and neighbors who are always offering a warm and safe environment and who are alike in all aspects (Alver, 2017:100).

Notwithstanding, gentry families have stated many times that they did not need such level of security in their homes in the past. In fact, they conveyed that they did not need to lock the door when they went out of their houses and that it was enough to put one chair in front of the door when the shop owners left the place for a short amount of time.

6.3.2. Personal goods and Households as status symbol

When we take a look at the history of humanity, it is clear that goods hold an important place for humankind in any society. The convenience brought by the use of goods and the prestige arising from the ownership hold a social value for people. This also creates a world equipped with more goods, along with economic development and welfare

levels in accordance with the periods in which societies live. As societies develop, the need for more goods and increasing population of goods rendered goods to have an indispensable role in human life. As a result of this, social life cannot be dealt without goods alone today. The increasing presence and value of goods in human life has made them a phenomenon within the field of Social Sciences. According to Bilgin, besides the social value, the goods convey a social message. Because they have emerged as the messages of the society which produces them with their kind and forms, easy or difficult to obtain, more or few numbered products that are recorded and reflected on our culture. When goods are evaluated in a communication system, they can be not only the message, but also the communication channel, the physical basis of communication, or the bearer of the message. Goods may also be the subject of communication according to understanding and the value in the eyes of the individual. The conversations about goods in daily life demonstrate this position of them. It is clear that the universe of objects is a universe of many different meanings. This shows that the goods are included in the system of different social groups and values in different dimensions according to the situation (Bilgin, 2011:25-27). What the interviewee 7b says about the items is quite remarkable during one meeting;

> Any guest is welcome to our house, but if they are going to judge me with the goods that I own, they had better not come". What is the value of goods? They cost one penny, may exist today and not tomorrow. But then people come to my house, sit in that chair asking me where you got it, and criticizes me that it's not fashionable anymore. So, what if it is not fashionable today, it may be again tomorrow. We've become slaves of goods, and none of them see it. They live for things, so sad...

> *Evime gelen insan buyursun gelsin, ama beni evimde ki eşya ile değerlendirecekse hiç gelmesin. Eşya dediğin ne ki! üç kuruşluk, bugün var yarın yok. Ama işte insanlar evime geliyor, oturuyor o koltuğa başlıyor onu nerden aldın ama bu artık moda değil. Ne olacak ki yarın gene moda olur. Eşyaların kölesi olduk hiç biri bunu görmüyor. Eşya için yaşıyorlar, ne acı...*

Douglas and Isherwood also examine the use of an item for prestige and social message rather than for benefit it. According to Douglas and Isherwood, the use of each product is social and bears social meaning. Therefore, it is possible to interpret one's life, personality and place in society by considering their use of products

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(Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 12). The fact that consumption is a part of a functioning information system among households rather than within a household is due to the communicative abilities of objects (Douglas & Isherwood,1979: 78). In addition to these symbolic and expressive functions, consumption habits also play an important role in the struggle of modern humans against the anomie of urban life. The goods that act as indicators create unity and solidarity among the people of the same class and distinguish them from others (Simmel, 1957). In this respect, an item that is identified with a certain lifestyle becomes a social area of struggle for the social position of different groups. Just like the fact that having a taste on cultural products is an indicator of class, goods also function as a tool that creates a difference among classes and class factions (Bourdieu, 1974). If we look at the words used by interviewee 3b emphasizing the importance of the social status in the life:

> I had built this house built on my own. Then I decorated it with my wife. I hand-picked all the things you see; the seat, the vase, the little birds... I've set aside time for all of them. You are asking yourself why such a busy man would do that? I did it, because incomers should see me and realize that I do not hold myself back from spending whatsoever for them. When we used to live in old part of Manisa, our living room was small, I said "no way!" to my wife, so I had this house built right away. When my guests arrive, they need to see whose house this is, and they need to know what I'm like from everything they see. If that were not the case, I am an expert of electricity, why would I spend time on nooks and crannies?

> *Bu evi kendim özel yaptırdım. Sonra da hanımla beraber döşedik. Gördüğün bütün eşyaları tek tek seçtim, koltuk, vazo, şu ufak kuşlar... hepsine vakit ayırdım. Bu kadar yoğun bir adam neden yapsın bunu diyorsun değil mi? Çünkü bu salona gelen beni görmeli, onun için hiç bir masraftan kaçınmadığımı bilmeli. Eski Manisa'da otururken salon küçüktü, "olmaz!" dedim hanıma, hemen yaptırdım bu evi. Misafirim geldiğinde kimin evine geldiğini görmeli her baktığı şeyden benim nasıl biri olduğumu anlamalı. Yoksa elektirikçi adam ne işim olur ıncıkla-cıncıkla.*

As Miller points out, in today's world, where images that specifically define the lifestyle are linked to goods and material objects, goods convey a much more powerful social message than ever before. Identities are edited by the ownership of goods and thus the individual identities are consolidated. This is why the way of consumption of an item and its meaning is very important in the study of social dynamics of consumer

habits and in the study of consumer identities and social relationships (Miller 1987: 124).

Bourdieu (1974) emphasizes the importance of social conditions of the individual is going through. According to Bourdieu, what will be consumed and on what rate in industrialized societies is considered as a function of the socio-economic level. Social conditions of individuals determine their possessions and also the ability to buy these possessions in economic reasons, and also the cultural and social appreciation and preference of these possessions. Income is the most important factor determining the degree of accessibility of the consumption object and the range of the consumption area. In addition to that, cultural consumption areas constitute a specific hierarchical system according to social status. Bourdieu links various social segments to different consumption patterns in the socio-economic and corresponding cultural capital levels. In short, lifestyle styles or the way of living preferred by individuals reproduce their social positions symbolically (Bourdieu, 1974: 164).

We observed during our interviews that interviewees often tried to show their own status through the goods or to renew the items before they expire to maintain their status. The interviewee 8b tells the story of renewing the curtains:

> My wife likes to make changes. She makes frequent lists about the items to change in the house. Last time she obsessed about the curtains. I did not understand her at first, because we had new curtains, but she insisted. We went out for curtain shopping, but I realized what we were browsing were not "actually curtains". Apparently even the name is not curtain, it is something like 'rollers' (he means roller blinds). I said:" You can't put move it aside, you can't open it in the morning." But she told me "It is the fashion now", I cannot have anyone talk behind my back because I do not have roller blinds. So, we bought them. They look nice too.
>
> *Hanım değiştirmeyi sever. Evde ne değişecek hemen listeler. En son perdeye taktı geldi gitti perde dedi. Anlamadım önce daha yeni bu perde dedim bak güzel dedim, ama yok değiştirecek. Gittik yeni perde bakmaya, bir şeylere bakıyoruz hanıma döndüm "bunlar perde değil" dedim. Adı başkaymış zaten 'stop' gibi bir şey (stor perde kast ediliyor). "Bunu kenara toplayamazsın, sabah olsa açamazsın dedim". Ama 'moda' dedi. 'Benim salonumda stop (stor) yok dedirtemem' dedi. Aldık tabi. Yakıştı ama.*

All realistic selections are based on the adaptation of oneself to the surrounding objective conditions registered in constructive predispositions of habitus and also the rejection of symbolic profits that are inaccessible under any circumstances and reduction of practices and objects to the technical functions. It is a very unusual behavior that women from the middle class act only by the aesthetic perception concerns in the selection of some goods which are actually clearly defined by their functions like the bourgeois consumers who turn every interior design object into an option for aesthetic choice. A contradiction rises when thoughts such as 'it is required' and 'we have to get it right' are taken into account to 'decorate' certain socially designated places such as especially living room and dining room. When it is the case these places go against the other areas where daily life continues. In other words, according to a similar antithesis that exists between decorative and practical, and according to permanent thought, such as placing trinkets over the fire place, coasters on the sideboard and flower vase on the table. These choices do not require a question, nor a quest. These are stereotypically accepted truths. It is especially an expression of bourgeois formalism. It is the opposite of the art for art's sake crowned by guides on life info, women's magazines, the art of hosting guests, the art of table set-up, and the art of becoming a mother. The choice of 'doing the necessary thing' and 'doing what is being done' is incorporated into the economy based on the search for the 'practical' and the rejection of practical procedures, in a universe with virtually no assurance accept for the minimum guarantees provided (Bourdieu, 1974: 379).

Basic revelation of all scientists having conducted research in this field is that all the things we have and all the things we consume are values that manifest us as mentioned above. However, lifetime of goods has begun to decrease in the design stage with the emergence of consumption society. This situation has made the concern of conveying social messages through goods even more important. The duration of manifestation of ourselves through the goods have decreased quite a lot compared to previous centuries. Even durable consumer goods are no longer transferred from one generation to another. In essence, the concept of wasting has found a new cover for itself in the consumption society which is closely associated with the production and consumption style of a society. Goods die out by falling out of favor before they get a chance to

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wear off. The logic of producing to consume is the basis of this idea. Production companies find it more desirable to produce fashionable items with more sales appeal. Moreover, some features such as durability and ease of use are ignored while considering fashion and sales appeal. Especially in many products such as furniture, which are durable consumer goods, products made by hand in the pre-industrialization period with a certain grandeur expected to be transferred from one generation to another are not accepted by the consumption community. While the furniture was purchased for long-term use in the past, now it is changed several times over a generation. Interviewee 12b answers the question "Do you change your furniture often?":

> I do. It is a thing of past. To wait for your furniture to be ruined by fire or breaking off to get a new one. My son is living far away, I am all alone with my husband. I have nothing else to keep me occupied. I change the furniture whenever I get bored. I spend a lot of time at home and I get suffocated by the same old. First, I try to change the position of the furniture and then if that is not enough, I go for shopping."

> *Değiştiriyorum. Eskidenmiş o, evlenirken döşerdin evini, sonra bekle! Ya yansın ya da kırılsın koltuklar değiştirmek için. Oğlanda gitti zaten kaldık eşimle baş başa. Başka ne uğraşım var. Canım sıkıldı mı değiştiriyorum. Evdeyim hep bunalıyorum aynı şeyi görmekten. Önce bir iki tur şeklini değiştiriyorum eşyaların baktım yetmiyor, gidip bakıyorum ne alsam diye.*

According to Bilgin, groups with different socio-cultural characteristics create different goods compositions for themselves appropriate for their socio-cultural characteristics that could be an infinite number when technological developments are considered. Different groups have disparate goods systems in terms of level of technology and sequence. This difference is in line with the lifestyles or differences of lifestyles according to the groups that people are involved in. Each group produces, receives and disposes of; uses and consumes goods in line with their own lifestyle, characteristics, needs and aspirations. To put it in simple terms; attitudes and beliefs develop a system of values related to goods. The type of consumed goods, the type of consumption and the values of consumption are linked to each other through the practice of consumption among groups. Consumer behavior is not a result of the objective characteristics of various products; but rather is a result of the perception and evaluation of the buyers, users or consumers of such products. Consumers are different

from each other in the way they meet their own needs, in the seeking solutions to meet their needs, in the way they search and process information about products. The socio-demographic characteristics of the consumer (income, occupation, level of education, etc.) is insufficient in explaining this differentiation. For example, people with similar socio-demographic characteristics may differ in their attitudes and behavior; perceptions and representations regarding the same product. Or on the contrary, similar attitudes and behaviors related to the same product may come from different socio-demographic categories. Especially in societies that are changing at an ever-increasing rate such as Turkish society, there are no models of behavior that are crystallized as functions of these variables. The concept of lifestyle including socio-demographic variables, is considered more appropriate in explaining and predicting consumer behavior in that case (Bilgin, 2011: 225).

As Bilgin mentioned above, the interviewees who reside in the New Manisa region exhibited a more modern attitude in the decoration style of their living rooms. We think that the interviewees who reside in the houses in this region make such choices also because of the structure of the houses they live in. New buildings are usually 'latest fashion' buildings in this region.

6.4. Living Room Furniture Preferences and Furniture Usage of Manisa Gentry

It is useful to conceptualize the space of 'living room' to examine the differences among generations of local elites in terms of furniture usage in the living room which is basically the aim of our study. However, prior to the conceptualization of living room, it is necessary to underline the determinant role of the 'household' preferences that the living room is a part of. Primarily, houses provide shelter to people. It's a place where people get away from the outside world, relax and rest. Simultaneously the house is a scene in which people display their identities, appreciation and lifestyles to outsiders (Goffman, 1959). A house encompasses both private and public spaces inside it. This duality is accompanied by a certain level of paradox and uncertainty. This duality that is formal and informal at the same time creates a spatial separation within the 'House'. In order to realize the practice of separating the living space into

sections, some sections of the house are designated to be more formal and public, while others are more intimate in line with the personal needs. According to Goffman, areas of human interaction are mostly divided into "front stage" and "back stage".

The place designated as the front stage is where identity of the family is presented to outsiders. This area hosting the guests harbors the opportunity to exhibit identities and status of family members (Attfield, 2007).

We have to examine at the spatial location of the house to develop an overall understanding of living room space and living room furniture for the focus of this study. Living room is a place where the household members display their status and tastes to the outsiders creating a certain visibility in the perception of almost all societies. Living room demonstrates the socially acceptable preference dimensions of the household (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984).

All these characteristics of the living room, together with the cultural practices carried out in it, have influence on the material qualities of the living room, the furniture and the accessories, and the way in which they coalesce, as well as the furnishing and decoration. Living room in a way is a showcase of social identity and status (Gürel 2009).

Ayata's study on living room usage of middle class revealed that there is a tendency to buy living room furniture above the real income level and living level of the family. This means that the family has the minimum level of financial possibilities to set the living room even under very difficult conditions. Moreover, it can easily be observed that the income level of the families rises in line with the investment made in the living room. Whatever the quality and price of the typical living room items found on almost every apartment floor are couches, dining room and coffee table sets, carpet, chandeliers and curtains. People also try to keep this room as clean and tidy as possible. It is important to maintain this order and cleanliness for a guest who may come at any time (Ayata, 1988: 13).

Since living room furniture is located in the space seen as the public scene of the house, they are objects with high aesthetic taste and class and distinction functions. Living room furniture has the potential to be purchased only for vanity and display and not be used afterwards or used with a different purpose (Attfield, 2007).

As living room and living room furniture is the area to host guests, it is always better taken care of rather than the other spaces. We have asked questions about the living room where the interviewees spent their childhood and its decoration. The rooms of our interviewees who were born before 1970 had 'sedirs' and 'diwans', which were backless sofas with wooden skeletons to sit or lie down on. They explained there were "kıtık cushions" (hard mattresses filled with hay) and cushions were placed on the sedirs, and these cushions were covered with a neatly ornamented or embroidered cover. An example of a sedir is as follows in figure 9:

Figure 9: Photo of a Sedir in a Living Room (1958)

Sedirs still linger strongly in the memory of many interviewees in their childhood living rooms. They mentioned that they were not let in the living room as they might mess up the cushions on the sedir. This reflects the value given to the living room and the effort to keep it tidy. Childhood memories of the interviewee 12a, born in 1940 is given below:

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There was wood sedir with burgundy upholstered cushions on the top. My mother used to stretch its cover very hard. It was too valuable to be sat on. It had very special embroidery on its edges.

Tahtadan sedirler vardı. üzerinde yastıkları vardı bordoydu kumaşları. Annem tef gibi gererdi örtülerini. Oturmaya kıyamazdık. Polis kordonuydu kenarında ki işleri.

Interviewee 4a explained how happy she was as a kid because their house was full of guests all the time, and described the living room where guests were hosted.

There were large windows in our living room. There was sedir next to these large windows. These sedirs surrounded the walls of the living room. That was the seating arrangement of that time. My mother wouldn't let us in as we might have spoiled the cushions. If there were any guests, we'd just go in to greet.

Salonumuzda geniş camlar vardı. Bu geniş camların kenarında sedirler dururdu. Salonun duvarlarını sarıyordu bu sedirler. Koltuk böyle olurdu o yıllarda. Yastıkları bozmayalım diye annem bizi içeri sokmazdı. Misafir varsa selamlamaya girerdik sadece.

Interviewee 15a explained another purpose of sedir/diwan sofas used back then.

There were no armchairs. Diwans were built. They were made of wood, without a back. We sometimes put hay cushions, sometimes cotton; but the cotton ones were slippery. They would cover them as smooth as marble. We would embroider the covers too. They would stiffen and smoothed out with coal iron. For all the guests to admire. So that people interested for our hands in marriage would know how skillful we were.

Koltuk yoktu o vakit. Divan yapılırdı. Tahtadan olurdu, sırtı olmazdı. minder koyardık saman konurdu bazen de pamuk ama pamuk kayardı. Üzerini buz gibi örterdik. Örtüleri de işlerdik. Örtüler kömür ütüsünde kolalanıp ütülenirdi. Eve gelen misafirler görsün. Görücüler marifetli olduğumuzu bilsin diye.

The common point of all these memories is the importance of a fine and pleasant look of those sedirs that were the most important components of the living room; rather than being an item to be kept away. In addition to the use of goods as a status indicator, as we have repeated many times before, the general condition of the living room and the order of it are also very important for family members as they recall the past. Living room always been a place shown ultimate attention, even if there were few items to decorate. Living room is actually a showcase of the house and family life at that point.

It is also an area where the appreciated items of the house are on display (figure 10).Participant 6a;

> It used to be more beautiful, but then the window broke and nobody fixed it. It mired down. The contents date back to my youth. The vase below for instance is a gift from the mayor. I've been keeping it for many years. It should be 40 or 50 years now.
>
> *Bu vitrin daha güzeldi eskiden camı kırıldı yapan olmadı yarım kaldı. İçindekiler hep eski hep gençliğimden. Belediye başkanı vermişti alttaki vazoyu mesela onun hediyesi. Saklıyorum bende yıllardır. Sende 40 yıl ben deyim 50 yıldır.*

Figure 10: A Photo from Participant 6a's Living room

Participant 1b;

> This breakfront dates back to my grandmother, it is antique because she also inherited it from her grandmother. It is very difficult to put it on display as new houses do not have high ceilings like in the past. It is so big that three images could show it all. It is dismantled and forgotten. It cannot step up, can only wait just like me, even if I don't know what we are waiting for..."
>
> *Babaannemden kalma bu konsol antika hatta onunda kayınvalidesininmiş. Sergilemek zor tabi bizim için bunu şimdi öyle yüksek tavanlı evler yok. Bak üç fotoğrafla parça parça çekebildik. Şimdi işte geçmişimde öyle parça parça kenarda duruyor. Kendi gösteremiyor bekliyor sadece benim gibi neyi bekliyorsa...*

Participant 7a;

I used to work in Germany. I wanted to get out of here, and I brought the stuff in the window, carried them here every time I came back. My daughter stayed here with her mother, and I used to work there and turn back. Now as I look at these things, I remember my departures and arrivals. All the effort put into it.

Almanya ya çalışmaya gittim. Buralardan kaçmak istedim orda çalışırken her gelişimde taşıdım bu vitrin deki eşyaları. Kızım burada ananesi ile kalıyordu ben gidip çalışıp geliyordum. Şimdi bu eşyalara bakıyorum yılları gidiş gelişlerimi hatırlıyorum. Verdiğim emekleri.

In the final stage of our interviews, within the scope of ZMET, we asked our interviewees to take photos by handing them a camera and asking them to capture images of living room parts that they like the most and want to show others. Only seven of the interviewees did not take photos of the furniture like armchairs, china cabinet, breakfront etc. These seven people took photos of auxiliary items such as a flower pot, curtains, TV or the scenery outside of the living room. Preference to shoot images of living room furniture means that living room is perceived as a whole with its furniture. That leads to the revelation of a general perception that the gentry families have a high opinion of living room furniture preferences which is one of the starting points of this study.

6.4.1. Importance of Living Room Furniture among Manisa Gentry in Positioning Themselves as Opposed to "Others"

The importance of the living room as a venue is clearly stated in many studies. It is also at a very strategical point in terms of the household positioning itself as opposed to 'others'. This strategic position has been expressed by interviewees many times by sayings like "showcase of my house", "place where I present my life to my guests". Living room is the place where visitors are hosted, and home owner displays their life with idiosyncratic strategies.

We have made a remarkable observation during our interviews that gentry families attach importance to goods they use to furnish and decorate the living rooms as a display of family status. It is very striking that although the strategies used by them

within the scope of the interviews are different, families display their status through the use of some goods.

De Certeau studies daily life strategies and aims to discover the everyday life of ordinary people. He says that consumers who consume the strategy imposed by the powerful are not only consumers, but that the act hides the production within the consumption, and this re-production process often reveals itself as a tactic. According to De Certeau, "By strategy, I mean a game or a reckoning among the relations between the powers which can only be realized at the time of a request or when the subject of the power can be isolated". The strategy considers the existence of a space that can be framed as a property as a preliminary acceptance. This place is a headquarters where it can direct its relations with the outer cluster of targets or threats. As in the business administration concept, all kinds of "strategic" rationality is primarily an "environment", "a special place" that is, a special power and it begins as a wish to distinguish a place" (De Certueu, 2009:112-114).

As previously mentioned, the living room is considered as a headquarter or a castle. Interviewee 3a:

> My home means everything to me. My past, my life. The living room is the heart of this life. People come and be my guests. They stay here for a while, but others come as well. They see me in this living room. My life. One goes and another comes. Sometimes they come over and over again. It is not ok for them to see that I've changed every time. But I cannot stay the same all the time. As I slowly change, my living room changes too. It changes as much as I do…

> *Evim benim herşeyim. Geçmişim, hayatım. Salonum da bu hayatın kalbi. İnsanlar geliyorlar, misafirim oluyorlar. Onlar kısa süre kalıyor burda belki ama başkaları geliyor. Bu salona giren beni görüyor. Hayatımı. Biri gidiyor bir başkası geliyor. Bazem bi daha geliyorlar her geldiğinde başka bir ben görmesi de olmaz. Ama hep aynı da kalamam. Yavaş yavaş ben değiştikçe salonumda değişiyor. Benim kadar değişiyor ama...*

The interviewee born in 1933, acknowledges that the change is inevitable, but states that this change should be within appropriate bounds for him/her. Our interviewee who clearly states that the living room is a reflection of his/her life, benefits from the reflexive structure at the point of displaying himself/herself to others.

Interviewee 11b shared following remarks on how each item was chosen for their living room:

> After all, my family and my husband's family are of certain importance, so are our future guests; we chose our furniture accordingly when we first got married. My sofa suit was custom-made. Then we made some changes as needed. I wanted to put some details on my living room that reflects our family. I put some rare items in the antique side you saw. We also selected special custom-made table and chairs for the dining area. I like the classical style. We are a classical family, we are never out of fashion (she laughs).

> *Sonuçta benim ailem belli eşimin ailesi belli, gelecek konuklarımız belli, buna uygun eşyalar seçmiştik ilk evlendiğimizde. Koltuk takımım özel üretimdi. Sonrasında gerektikçe bazı değişiklikler yaptık. Ailemizi yansıtan ince bazı detaylar koymak istedim salonuma. Gördüğümüz antika büfe içine koydum bazı nadide eşyaları. Yemek bölümü içinde gene özel üretim masa sandalyeler seçtik. Klasik olması hoşuma gidiyor. Biz klasik bir aileyiz, modamız hiç geçmez(gülüyor).*

Many comments of the interviewees previously stated clearly reveal that they manage their living rooms practices intentionally or unintentionally almost like a strategy. Examples that we can increase in number, such as attaining status and/or maintaining a status display, and behaving as expected by others, show us that some of the choices that are considered to be individual actually contain strategic moves. This reveals that the subject of our study, the furniture preferences of Manisa gentry is actually something more than a mere choice.

Interviewees were asked whether they cared about the comments other people make regarding their living room to understand their use of living room and examine the preferences in the living room on a deeper level. 16b who cares about the general comments explains his motivation while decorating the living room:

> It certainly matters what "others think and feel" about our living room because we furnish it to host our guests and present ourselves. I have decorated this living room intricately. We've chosen everything that is appropriate for us to make everything look good.

> *Başkalarının salonumuzla ilgili fikirleri, görüşleri önemli tabi salonu dostlarımızı misafirlerimizi ağırlamak kendimizi göstermek için donatırız. Tek tek emekle yaptım ben bu salonu. Gördüğünüz her şeyi güzel görünsün diye bize yakışan şeyleri seçtik.*

Interviewee 18a born in 1925 expresses how much she cares about the ideas of guests about her living room:

> Of course, I care about what they think, they comment a lot! They rumor about everything in this house in this living room. They sit and lay their eyes on everything from head to foot. They try to figure out whether my couch has a brand or not. Have I hosted them well, that does not matter. Nothing matters, but the brand of my couch. Despite it is very hard to please everyone, and I am older now, I still try.

> *Önemli olmaz mı çok konuşuyor millet! Evine ne almış, salonuna ne koymuş. ah o millet neler demiyor ki. Salona geçip oturuyor sonra baştan aşağıya süzüyor her yeri. Benim koltuğum marka değil bir şey değil. Rahat ettim mi güzel ağırladı mı? Hiç biri önemli değil koltuğu nerden almışım ona bakıyor. Beğendirmek zor elaleme ama işte ömür bitti beğendirmeye uğraşmak bitmedi milleti.*

24 out of 40 respondents expressed that they did not care about the opinions of others about their living room as a general attitude. Almost all 24 interviewees feel that they know better about their houses. They also stated that they are very confident in their ideas and decisions. According to 15b:

> I don't care about others' ideas. Who can say that they know better than I do or have a better taste. I know my style. I don't mind anyone else.

> *Başkalarının fikirleri benim için hiç önemli değil. Onların benden daha iyi bildiği, daha zevkli olduğu ne malum. Ben tarzımı biliyorum. Kimseye aldırış etmiyorum.*

During the interviews we asked certain questions to interviewees about where they got their furniture, whether the preferred custom-made furniture or a special brand. 14 out of 40 bought their living room furniture from Manisa and were not custom-made. However, preference of certain brands has been observed among them. 17 out of 26 remaining interviewees preferred custom made living room furniture. Interviewee 4b explains the process of purchasing living room furniture (figure: 11).

> We bought this furniture 37 years ago, it is all custom made, some parts were shipped from İstanbul and some from İzmir. My father family employed craftsmen, they built it. We placed an order, all of them arrived in 7 or 8 months or maybe one year. I didn't know what it would be like until it arrived home. But I was sure that it was something that would be appropriate for our family. In addition to that, I knew that we wouldn't see

it anywhere else. That was enough to know. We've been using it for 37 years.

37 yıl önce aldık bu mobilyaları hepsi özel yapıldı İstanbuldan bir kısmı bir kısmı İzmirden. Babamların ustaları vardı onlar yaptırdı. Sipariş verildi 7-8 ayda ancak geldi belki bir yılda. Eve gelene kadar görmemiştim nasıl bir şey olacak bilmiyordum. Bizim ailemize uygun bir şey olacağına emindim ama. Başka kimsede görmeyeceğimizi de biliyordum. Bunları bilmek yeterliydi. 37 yıldır da kullanıyoruz.

Figure 11: A Photo from Participant 4b's Living Room

Interviewee 5b having bought the furniture from İzmir explains why she preferred these in the following remarks:

Casa brand furniture was hype back then, it was very expensive too. It had a different modern flair with Italian lines. I fell in love the moment I saw it. You could not find it in Manisa, of course. We went to İzmir to buy it. Everyone was fascinated. It was very difficult for many people to afford it, that's why they could not see it anywhere else. They still ask where I have got this furniture from. As you see, I put my taste into action as I selected this couch.

Casa mobilya yeni çıkmıştı o yıllarda, çok da pahalıydı. İtalyan çizgileri ile farklı modern bir havası vardı. Gördüm bayıldım. Manisa'da yok tabi nerden olacak. Gittik izmirden aldık. Her gelen hayran kalıyordu. Kimsenin gücü kolay kolay getmiyor tabi nerden olsun başka birinde. Hala da sorarlar nerden bu koltuk diye. Zevkimi konuşturdum anlayacağınız seçerken koltukları.

Even though the starting point was different, it was observed that all the interviewees had the same aim to have the furniture that others did not have. The wish to be different

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from others and to show that they have is hard to get is pretty obvious in interviewees responses. Thus, they aim to reveal the fact that they have a high status.

6.5. Conclusion

Distinctiveness is a concept that is shaped by being distinctive from the "others". Individuals reveal their own positions in society according to the positions of others. The concept of gentry has its own unique distinction concept. Interviewees frequently emphasized their position in the Manisa gentry by sayings things like "appropriate for us", "worthy of our family". They are at a different position from the others as they belong to the Manisa gentry and they act according to the requirements of this position. The choices they make, put them in a different position from the others. Our primary aim in this section is to specify the consumption preferences of the general Manisa community based on some of the previous literature written in this area. Thus, the preferences Manisa gentry make at the point of distinction from others will be revealed more clearly. Of course, it is not enough to look at consumption preferences only. The strategies adopted to be distinctive in terms of taste and others is also determinant for our study. In Distinction Bourdieu says 'taste is not liking what others do first'. It is not possible to exhibit Manisa gentry's taste and preferences in every field because of time and financial constraints. However, as we mentioned in previous chapters of our study the living room furniture and decoration preferences have become the cornerstone for us as a venue for presenting the lifestyle. Likewise, another factor is the fact that living room furniture has a period of long-term use. From this point forward, tastes and dislikes of Manisa gentry were examined through the furniture and decoration items. These preferences were analyzed according to Bourdieu's capital types.

When we analyze Manisa Gentry from capital collection point of view, we notice how cultural and social capital affect them remarkably. The interviews, which we have quoted and cited among the text of the previous section (Chapter 6), have traces of these cultural and social capital effects. All the attendees of our interviews live in their own houses. Additionally, through around the whole Manisa, each attendee's

countable economic capital is well known and this knowledge is supported by the clues of attendees inline words as "our other houses", "our family apartments", "our houses at rent" etc. On the other hand, this economic capital cannot be evaluated as the base argument while they position themselves on contrary "to others". When Manisa Gentry talks about their family history and the experiences, the information encountered does explain and highlight, their status is shaped by cultural capital and it is spread by social capital. As for them, Gentry is not something to be granted by "money" where as it is related to roots and heritage. They live and shape their behavior based on taken cultural heritage in other words with their cultural capital. This collection of cultural capital is inherited and bodied from their families and environment in time. It is clearly defined for them by which agencies and objects they are going to rebuild their status. It is sure that the economic capital that they own supports their status but they are not Gentry since they are rich. Because of their status, they are distinguished from others under such respect named as "Gentry". For this reason, their tastes and preferences do not only reflect their economic wealth but more importantly give implications about their heritages or respects. Their livingrooms are the showcases which they perform. Manisa Gentry defines each status steps they have reached by livingroom furnitures; each details such as the "sedir", the covers for "sedir" or handmade sofas and their carvings, the type of woods of the showcase are necessities for their "appropriate for us". It is reasonable about consumption to be inline with such details requires economic capital. However, it is not probable the selection of related tastes and keeping the selection's stability without existence of cultural capital. Just because of this reason, Manisa Gentry keeps the path more through cultural capital while selecting consumption preferences of living roomfurniture.

CHAPTER 7

CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION OF MANISA GENTRY THROUGH CONSUMPTION PATTERNS ACROSS GENERATIONS

7.1. Introduction

In Space for Consumption Miles (2010) states that a city is a unit for an effective increase in consumption. He underlines the impact of consumption on our experience of cities and the citizenship, observed in our daily life and in the public domain. Consumer areas offer consumers opportunities to satisfy their wishes and desires as consumers. In a world in which basic necessities are more readily satisfied than they were in the past and in which consumption generally exceeds a physiological need, the role of consumption as a means of self-actualization becomes increasingly crucial, as does the city as an arena within which that self-actualization can be achieved (Miles, 2010: 164).

Demir (2015) mentions the attitude of 'consumption' in Turkey in the past as follows:

> We used to fold gift papers carefully when we were kids to use them again later. Collars of the shirts were reversed and shirts were fixed over. Socks were repaired, knitwear was woven, shoes were resoled; and every item was renovated for long-term use. Parents and educators underlined the importance of prudence. It was also shameful to try to be superior to others by means of possessions. Today, it's like those days never happened... (Demir, 2015:11).

Interviewee 8a verbalizes the change taking place in Manisa.

> I was born in 1936, and I've been in this neighborhood ever since. Think about what I've seen. There were few houses around here. Nobody was rich in those years. But there were the poor. My dad used to take a look at the debt account at the grocery store and would pay off poor people's debt. But grocery owner wouldn't tell the poor who paid their debt. It was not appropriate to disclose it. Then the traditional cottage houses were destroyed. The apartment blocks were built. Some people became rich all

of a sudden. Grocery stores turned into markets and the procedure of holding debt accounts was not used anymore. However, there are hungry people now in the neighborhood which we did not have in the past.

1936'da doğdum ben o günden beri bu mahalledeyim. Sen düşün ben neler gördüm. Tek tük yer evi vardı buralarda. Kimse zengin değildi o yıllarda. Ama fakirler vardı. Babam bakkalda ki veresiye defterini açtırırdı, yok yoksulun borcunu sildirirdi. Ama söylemezdi bakkal kimin sildiğini. Söylenmezdi. Sonra yer evleri yıkıldı. Apartmanlar yapıldı. Bir anda zengin oldu bazıları. Bakkal market oldu veresiye kalktı kimsenin borcu kalmadı. Ama aç insanlar var şimdi mahallede. eskiden aç kimse olmazdı.

This reveals the change in the relationship between consumption and social stratification in Turkey as Kıray mentioned above. The main reason for the change in Turkey and the world in the 80s was the expansion of liberal economy which started to change and transform many areas. Production and diversity increased with the expansion of mass production. As customer preferences gained importance, an unlimited range of products has been formed according to customer wishes (Buğra,2016:25). This has led to the production of more products than we can consume in daily life and to the differentiation of these products according to different tastes. This change allowed the formation of different social classes within the context of social stratification. Moreover, this unlimited variety of products has caused some social classes to differentiate and divide within themselves. Bocock underlines that this is a situation that is learned later on. Society teaches individuals what to care about, and what to desire. Individuals want these elements of modern consumption, having learned involuntarily (Bocock, 2008:61). Our research has detected that this modern consumption behavior has reflections among the group of interviewees.

7.2. Transformation of Consumption Strategies of Manisa Across Generation: Consuming the Best

Our study touches upon the fact that consumption plays an important role in all aspects of human life. However, we focus on another point which is the high variety of products and easier opportunities for transportation. Individuals supply the products that they want to consume by reaching their equivalent, if necessary. This has also required the development of new strategies, especially for the consumption community, which has created itself via consumption. The diversity of products and

alternatives have brought the spread of products considered as "luxury". The spread of luxury products began to take away their characteristics of being a social status determinant (Simmel, 2015:116). This has caused individuals to set a new strategy and social status, and experiences have begun to gain value as a result of this new strategy. Obtaining products to have social status is no longer a valid perception. The experience gained through the product that brings social status and the reason to choose these products also play important role in the identification of social status. The fact that Bourdieu is not only satisfied with economic capital and has paved the way for other capitals in social sciences also corresponds to real life experiences. Individuals can only gain social status of the products that are bought with economic capital by supporting them with the social, cultural and symbolic capital. The necessity of capital ownership in every sense is the key to opening the social status door.

It can be defined as any object or idea that can be used to 'increase' value through capital, change and transformation and the widespread use that reflects the extent of change in the social sphere. From that point of view, the problem becomes a matter of how these values can be reconciled to the change and transformative forms that can be varied as much as they can in real life, which do not seem measurable. The economy is within a larger social world in a narrow sense of market and value formation (Balkan & Rutz, 2016:48). We give meaning to the products we consume with the frequency of preference and reasons to prefer them. At this point, we are actually who determines the 'values' of the products. Being able to consume the "best" is one of the most basic indicators of the consumer's social position to present to the outside world. Wolfie says in The House of Good Taste:

> It is no longer possible, even to people of only faintly aesthetic taste, to buy chairs merely to sit upon or a clock merely that it should tell the time. Homemakers are determined to have their houses, outside and in, correct according to the best standards. What do we mean by the best standards? Certainly not those of the useless, overcharged House of the average American millionaires, who builds and furnishes his home with a hopeless disregard for tradition. We must accept the standards that the artists and the architects accept, the standards that have come to us from those exceptionally rational people, our ancestors (Wolfie,1913/2008: 3).

We tried to examine the behavior of gentry families in how they transfer elitism and maintain their current position. Our investigation aims to identify the effort to reproduce their position among generations for adaptation or to transfer the produced class understanding to new generations with the purpose of maintaining their existence. It is striking that the gentry families make similar capital definitions introduced by Bourdieu while they establish these strategies consciously or involuntary. Which capital they use from Bourdieu's four capital and the ratio use is determined according to the strategies they prefer. Some gentry families prefer social capital more than others, while others prefer economic capital. Interviewee 20a expresses this situation as follows:

> We've been wealthy since way back, I've never experienced poverty. I remember when I was young, no one would do anything without asking my husband first. They would not buy land or estate. We'd provide material or moral support and give ideas. Now I look around and see everyone buying a lot of stuff without much consideration. But they turn out to be in vain. Because all they want to do is to show off. They do not think about future. Showing off with the newly purchased house or clothes lasts only a day. That is what they do not realize. My husband worked very hard to attain his position, but now there are many people with money in their bank accounts who claim to be 'gentlemen' but there is nothing 'gentlemen' about them.

> *Biz eskiden beri varlıklıyız, yokluk hiç görmedim. Gençken hatırlarım beyime sormadan etrafta kimse iş güç yapmazdı. Arsa, toprak almazdı. Maddi manevi destek verirdik, fikir verirdik. Şimdi bakıyorum herkes ne kolay alıyor. Ama ne oluyor hepsi çöp. Doldurmuyor aldığını, şov yapmak istiyor. Aldığı evle, giydiği kıyafetle şov ancak iki gün sürer. Bunu düşünmüyorlar. Benim beyim boşuna gelmedi buralara ama işte artık cebine para giren herkes 'bey' varsan baksan içlerinde 'beyefendi' yok ama.*

Some of the gentry families adopt the same strategy of maintaining their position by remaining in the safe, well-known territories while others develop their strategies in line with the changing conditions and new elite class practices in general. Some strategies particularly stand out that are developed according to regions they live.

Freedom of choice determines the stratification ladder of consumption society, and also the framework, in which members in other words the consumers, determine the wishes of in their life, as well as the direction of self-improvement efforts and the

image of 'good life'. The wider range of freedom of choice is, and especially the higher the number of free choices a person has, higher the place of that person is in the social hierarchy. The greater the social respect and self-respect he/she hopes for, and the closer he/she is to the ideal of 'good life'. Wealth and income are of course important; the choice without them would be restricted or completely non-existent. Even though the capital role of wealth and income which serves for the purpose of generating more income is not completely out of picture, it has more of a secondary and lower rank. The fundamental importance of wealth and prosperity lies in the expanding choice area of the consumer (Bauman, 2004:50).

Not the ethical but the aesthetic role is often used for complementing the consumer society that offers unlimited opportunities to individuals, to keep them on course, and save them from the crisis. If ethics attach superior value on a properly executed duty, then the aesthetics encourage a supreme experience. Consumption, which is more varied and richer than ever, is not a task to be accomplished by consumers, but it is more like a right to benefit from and enjoy. Consumers should be directed not by ethical principles but by aesthetic interests (Bauman, 2004:51). As the products that differ from the aesthetic values thrive, so do the preferences. The variety offered in the product range is particularly important for a segment that wants to be distinguished from "others". Aesthetic values open new horizons to the consumer in this regard. Interviewee 1a describes during the interview how they chose the 'best' when furnishing their living room.

> I bought my living room furniture from Izmir. There is a shop, they keep up with the latest fashion, they sell good pieces. Any ordinary citizen cannot just go there and buy stuff because of the high price. That is why you cannot see my sofa in anybody's house. It's almost like it is made specially for me. I buy from there all the time. I like to change my furniture often. I've reached a certain age, I do not go visiting people anymore, I host them. I cannot have anyone rumor behind my back; speaking ill about the sofa of long standing 'Sandıkçı' family. I can't host anyone on an old couch, or one that I don't like. My sideboard and china cabinet are already out of solid wood. They are custom made out of rosewood tree, I will not replace them. But from time to time I take a look at my sofa, if they are no longer pretty, I have the new ones placed the next day. I replace them with the prettiest and the best.

Salon mobilyalarımı İzmir'den aldım. Bir dükkanımız var, modayı sıkı takip ediyorlar, çok güzel parçalar satıyorlar. Pahalı bir dükkan öyle herkes alamaz. Bundan sebep kimsede görmem koltuklarımdan başka. Sanki bana özel yapılmış. Oradan alıyorum her zaman. Severim mobilya değiştirmeyi. Ben belli bir yaştayım bana misafirliğe geliyor insanlar artık ben gitmiyorum kimseye. Bunca yılın 'sandıkçıları' nasıl koltukta oturuyor dedirtemem. Eski koltukta, modelini beğenmediğim kanepede oturtamam kimseyi. Zaten vitrinim konsolum masif ağaç. Hepsi gül ağacından özel yapım onları değiştirmem ama koltuklarıma bakarım bir sabah artık güzel değilse hemen ertesi gün yenisini yerleştiririm salonuma. En güzelini, en iyisini koyarım.

Consuming the "best" and having the "best" are the most basic consumer strategies among some of the second-generation interviewees. The New Manisa region, which has emerged later as a region from the housing preferences of the white collar is considered to be the "best" residential area according to some of the second-generation interviewees, especially thanks to the advantages of the housing environment. 15b expresses her diligence and devotion in choosing the "best" as follows:

The houses in Manisa were old, the possibilities were limited, so we decided to move to the new Manisa side. It is more appropriate for us, nothing is old, everything is modern. We witnessed the construction of the most beautiful houses here. My parents and my in-laws prefer to reside in Manisa Center. At first, they advised against moving here, because this region used to be the place for orchards. But as I told you, there are modern houses here. And the stuff I bought can manifest itself only in a place like this. I find myself searching for the most special, and then it is a ridiculous idea to try to fit them into an old and battered looking house. The oldies are behind us. I love modern stuff. Fancy things.

Manisa'da evler eskiydi, imkanlar sınırlıydı, öyle olunca bizde yeni Manisa tarafına taşınmaya karar verdik. Burası bize daha uygundu eski değil her şey modern. En güzel evler burada yapılıyordu görüyorduk. Annemler, eşimin ailesi, Manisa merkezde kalmayı tercih ediyorlar. Başta bize de taşınmayın oraya dediler eskinin bağlık yeri dediler. Ama dedim ya modern evler var burada. Hem aldığım eşya ancak böyle bir yerde kendini gösteriyor. En özelini arayıp buluyorum en modasını sonra eski püskü bir evin içine sığdırmaya çalışmak bana saçma geliyor. Eskiler eskide kaldı. Ben modern şeyler seviyorum. Gösterişli şeyleri.

First and second-generation interviewees have different preferences for "best". The changing living conditions and the different consumption options create an order where "the best" changes constantly. But the only thing that does not change is the family's effort to achieve the "best" under every circumstance. As we mentioned

before, the emergence of new options and the fact that "the best" is usually the fashionable one and that causes the gentry families to manifest a fast consumption flow to assert themselves. The best example of that are the furniture, carpets, curtains that are replaced without wearing off. According to interviewee 12b:

> It's not like my parents' time, in this period goods matter. Nobody visits us for a friendly conversation only. Everyone comes to check out my sofa and carpets. I even had guests picking on my figurines for being old fashioned. I manifest myself, my grandeur in my living room, and my house. I can't keep anything old in my house. They have to be the best. The best brand, the most beautiful model.

> *Annemlerin zamanı gibi değil şimdi eşya önemli. Kimse dost sohbetine gelmiyor. Herkes koltuğuma halıma bakmaya geliyor. Bibloma bile laf eden oldu benim eski moda diye. Ben kendimi gösteriyorum heybetimi gösteriyorum salonumda, evimde. Eski bir şey tutamam evimde. En iyisi olmalı. En iyi marka, en güzel model.*

As mentioned in Chapter V, Manisa gentry's effort to be distinguished from others is obvious, and some of pathways to be distinguished from others are explained during the interviews. The most basic strategy to be different from others is to consume the "best". Bourdieu says that "Bourgeois taste defines itself by negating the taste of necessity of worker class" which demonstrates that the class struggle of life-style competition between groups is a hidden but fundamental dimension. A class is defined by its perceived presence (Bourdieu, 1989:564). Manisa gentries strive to consume "the best" is an accurate strategy in terms of creating a high sense of status within the community.

7.3. Transformation of Manisa Gentry's Taste Patterns: New Generations – New Symbols

In Spaces for Consumption Miles (2010) talks about the emergence of a new form of city in the twentieth century, especially in the past 20 years. This new form of city comes into existence through a post-industrial city and it is a city of dreams. The new form of city has an entrepreneurial attitude towards creating conditions conducive to accumulation of capital. Such developments enabled the consumption city of the twenty first century and the places for consumption have a very important role in the

city life experience. The changing structure of the consumer experience in the city and the emergence of new consumption areas which is an important indicator of this changing structure can be explained in the context of economic processes. The important aspect is the opportunity of diversity and different experience in the newly formed city structure. This opens the path for creative individuals living in the city to express their creative identity freely (Miles 2010:35). This possibility of differentiation provided to individuals allows them to manifest themselves through the new tastes and patterns of choice. Florida (2002) presents a regional development plan of human capital in his study within the context of the newly formed post-industrial city which prefers the flexibility of weak community ties contrary to the constraints imposed by strong social ties. Quality of space is more important than quality of life in this plan and the duty of an effective post-industrial city is to create conditions in which creative classes feel themselves at home (Florida, 2002:284).

Nowadays the concept of residential environment is more frequently uttered with the increased importance attached to the quality of the space. Various dimensions such as location selection, sharing, building, lifestyle, ecological environment, perceptual environment can be mentioned when it comes to 'residential environment'. Despite the environment of residence is a multidimensional concept, it also entails a holistic approach. For example, the selection of places reflects the importance of the accessibility of life-sustaining opportunities in determining the location of the residence throughout history. Position on trade routes or having a sheltered and secure position have carried different meanings in various periods of history and has made the distinguished groups withholding power and prestige privileged (İncedayi, 2004:10).

Individuals develop new symbols to express themselves in the changing social order and the differentiating urban structure. In particular, changing technology has created an opportunity for generations to express themselves with different symbols through wide range of consumption alternatives and new lifestyles. Individuals tend to reflect their social status and positions through lifestyles and symbols as frequently mentioned in previous chapters. Individuals need new symbols to express themselves and the

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status groups which they belong to as a result of the changes and transformations experienced. These symbols, which are sometimes revealed through the goods and sometimes through the space, reflect the structure of the period as an indicator of the way of life.

"Residential environment" is an important symbol for the gentry group that we address. When we mark the homes of interviewees on the Manisa city map (figure:12), we see a certain concentration. We also asked the interviewees about their childhood homes; hence we have information about their previous houses and the area where these houses were located. The skirts of Spil mountain, the region where Manisa was first established is the childhood residence environment of all interviewees. The oldest parts of Manisa is the current top of the hill. As one can see, the settlement was progressing down the slope in later periods towards the plain; and Izmir Avenue and Ulutepe Avenue were the backbone of the city (Bektaş, 2009:38). The fact that İzmir Avenue and Ulutepe Avenue were the backbone of the city stems from the fact that it was at the heart of the bazaar and life.

Figure 12: Household Locations of Interviewees on Manisa City Map

The age range of the interviewees is quite broad. Despite the broad range of age, the places where the interviewees spent their childhood are the places where they point out as "Old and where established Manisa citizens should reside". There are no interviewees who lived outside these boundaries during their childhoods. Interviewee

2a born in 1943 who has lived in the same house (figure:13) since he was born, explains the reasons for living in this area as follows:

> I live in the same house where I was born, and if god wills, I will die here. People used to come to the bazaar from their villages when I was a kid, and we used to serve them hot meal and tea. We invited them to our house. That's what I learned from my family. Our house should be located near the bazaar, and we should always have hot tea at home, ready to serve.
>
> *Doğduğum evdeyim burada öleceğim kısmetse. Ben çocukken köyden çarşı pazar için gelirlerdi, gelene bir sıcak yemek bir çay ikram etmeyelim mi? Evimizde konuk etmeyelim mi? Babamdan böyle gördük biz. Evimiz çarşıda olmalı, çayımız da hep hazır olmalı.*

Figure 13: A Facade Photo of Participant 2a's House

1925-born interviewee 18a, briefly summarizes the reason for living in this region:

> Of course, we are supposed to live in Karaköy. There is no other place appropriate for us.
>
> *Tabi ki Karaköy'de oturacaktık. Başka nerde oturalım ki bizim dengimiz burası.*

11a who owned a shop in Manisa Bazaar for many years says that living in old Manisa is a sign of fidelity. She gives the reason for not moving out of old part of Manisa:

My mother-in-law, the first female tradesperson in Manisa Bazaar, took charge of the shop to take care of her children when her husband died. She was very good at it too. We used to live in the same neighborhood, and then everybody would appreciate her mastery in the business. After that, the bazaar expanded towards İzmir, but our business is still here. Because we belong here. We will not go anywhere, and will continue keeping this place alive. When my mother-in-law took over the shop, the people of Manisa stood behind her. They supported her when there used to be no tradeswoman, how can we turn our back to this bazaar?

Benim kayınvalidem Manisa çarşısının ilk kadın esnafı, eşi ölünce çocuklara bakabilmek için dükkanın idaresini ele almış. Çokta iyi yapıyordu.Aynı mahalledeydik biz o zaman herkes parmakla gösterirdi esnaflığını. Sonra çarşı büyüdü İzmir'e doğru ama bizim işimiz Manisa'da biz buranın insanıyız. Gitmeyiz başka yere bekleriz burayı. Kayınvalidem dükkanın başına geçtiğinde Manisa halkı ona el uzatmış. Hiç kadın esnaf yokken kayınvalideme sahip çıkmışlar biz şimdi bu çarşıya arkamızı dönüp gidelim mi?

Interviewee 11a and her daughter-in-law 11b living close by explain their reason to live in old part of Manisa:

We've been living in this house for 30 years now. We chose this neighborhood because it's the most suitable place for us to live. We are a family of long descend in Manisa, if you ask for the gentry here, everyone will point to us.

Şimdi oturduğumuz evde 30 yıldır oturuyoruz. Bu muhiti seçtik çünkü bizim oturabileceğimiz en uygun yer burası. Manisa'da eskiyiz biz eşraf dediler mi bizi gösterirler.

As mentioned above, the families we interviewed tend to reside in the region called as old Manisa, where they have been living in for many years because they belong to the gentry. Only two of the first-generation interviwees moved to new Manisa. Their reason for moving is the desire to be closer to the family members or children who has moved to that part. Almost half of the second-generation interviewees moved to new Manisa. The proportions are presented more clearly in the chart below.

Table 2: The Distribution of Interviewees Residing in old and new parts of Manisa according to Generations
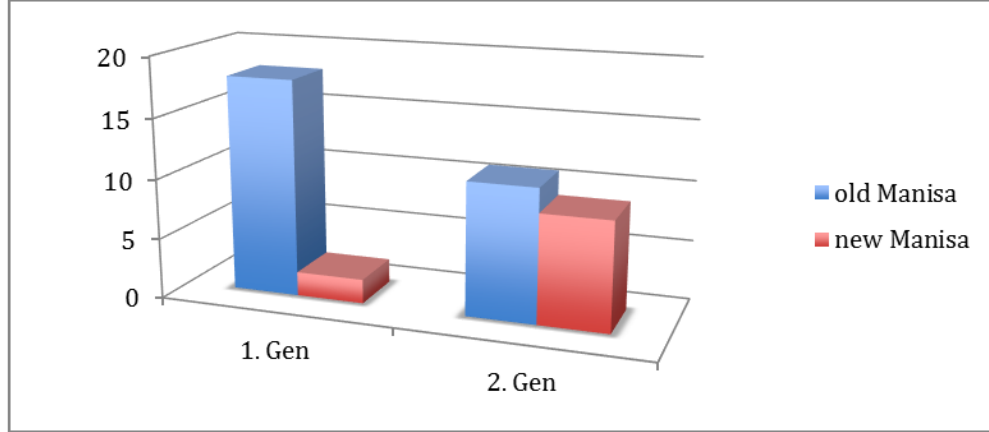
The part that the interviewees describe during the interviews as "New Manisa" is the area closer to Izmir which is located on the upper side of Izmir-Bursa highway, away from the skirts of Spil mountain. This area was formerly a plain with vineyards and gardens. The structures in this region are relatively new, and access to İzmir quite easy. Five-storey buildings were constructed and the settlement increased after 1990s. Increased number of detached houses were built under the scope of cooperative houses in the aftermath of 2000. This area has started to house super luxury villas and multi-storey residences in the later period. 10b stating that she moved to this region in the early 2000s explains why she moved to the new part of Manisa:

> I was expecting back then and was tired of urban life. Back then it was less crowded here. We had some land over here that was purchased a long time ago. We decided to establish a building complex with friends. Some new buildings that we can design as we like. We had it built in a short span of time. There used to be no people around here. I wouldn't believe that there would be a shopping mall close to my house, because there was not even a small grocery store. If we forgot to buy bread on the way back from work, we were in trouble. But I'm glad to have moved here, I had a change to raise my daughter peacefully. We persuaded my mother to move here too. I find it very convenient. My job is already very tiring, and the city traffic was too much.

> *Yeni çocuğum olacaktı, şehir hayatından sıkılmıştım. Daha havadardı o zamanlar bu taraf. Bizim de arsamız vardı vakti zamanında almışız. Bir site kuralım dedik arkadaşlarla. İstediğimiz gibi yapabileceğimiz yeni binalar. Kısa sürede yaptırdık. Eskiden buralarda kimseler yoktu. O zamanlar evine yakın alış veriş merkezi olacak deseler inanmazdım,*

düşünün bakkal yoktu. İşten dönerken ekmek almayı unuttuk mu yanmıştık. Ama iyi ki taşınmışım kızımı burada huzurla büyüttüm. Annemi de aldık bu tarafa. Rahat ettim. İşim zaten çok yoğun birde şehir içinde trafik çok yorucuydu.

The region, which is described as new Manisa, offers different opportunities to consumers with new life means in Manisa province as well. The life that contractors want to provide for the ones considering living in these houses can also be observed in straplines. Some of these slogans are: "Now you will feel as special as the Sultans" (http://www.genctuncerler.com.tr/sultan-konaklari-satilik-ev-insaat-proje-manisa-izmir), "You obtain your distinctiveness with your life choices. The high standard of living and prestige offered by Atlantis park opens the door to an elite life." (http://atlantisevleri.com/Proje/atlantis-2.html access date 24.10.2018).

When we look at the mentioned projects and similar projects on the Manisa city map, we see that they were constructed in the parts of Manisa which are adjacent to İzmir. At this point, it is not surprising that this region was called The New Manisa during our interviews. This area, formerly filled with vineyards and gardens, where cooperative apartment blocks were built in the post-1990 period, was more attractive for such housing projects because of its large land and easy access to Izmir. The common feature of all projects in this region is that they offer 'an elite life' and provide individuals the privilege of being different from others. In short, this newly formed housing environment serves as a new symbol to display one's status. However, during our field work we observed that there were some differences between the infrastructure of the city, the general social structure and what these projects promise and deliver. For example, when we visited one of our interviewees who lives in one of the famous construction project houses which is a smart house, protected by private security - the reason our interviewee chose to live in that house- the vehicle or pedestrian door of the building complex was open, and even though there was a security guard, nobody asked me any questions like who I was and what was the purpose of my visit. The fact that I was able to enter freely and easily is an example of this.

Another interview was conducted in a super luxury building complex on the foothills of Spil mountain, surrounded by high walls, with only five villas and a swimming pool, the interviewee 17b expressed his life in the building complex as follows:

> I am very pleased with my home, and I live in a building complex which everyone envies, and what is more I am able to live here at a young age, just after getting married. There is no traffic problem, I arrive at İzmir in 15 minutes. There's fresh air at the foothills of the mountain. It is all surrounded by nature. But we can't find a security guard for the building complex because there is the risk of encountering a wolf from the forest area nearby. We feel uneasy about going out at night. After all it's out of town and isolated. We're driving everywhere anyway, but there were still scared because it is a wild animal after all. Besides, my wife is afraid of bugs and beetles and mice, so we can't go out to the garden. Therefore, we're always in our house.

> *Evimden çok memnunum, herkesin imrendiği bir sitede oturuyorum üstelik bu yaşımda, daha yeni evlenmişken. Trafik derdi yok İzmir'e 15dk.da varıyorum. Dağın eteklerinde temiz hava var. Her yer yeşil. Ama siteye güvenlik görevlisi bulamıyoruz ormanlık alandan kurt inme tehlikesi olduğu için. Gece dışarı çıkarken tedirgin oluyoruz. Şehrin dışında ve ıssız bir yer sonuçta. Zaten her yere araba ile gidiyoruz ama gene de işte insan bir tırsıyor yabanı hayvan sonuçta. Ayrıca eşim börtü böcekten, fareden de korkuyor ondan bahçeye çıkamıyoruz. Yani evimizin içindeyiz hep.*

We observe that the interviewees who moved to the New Manisa preferred building complexes with private security. Furthermore, these complexes have their own gardens, car parking areas. 7 out of 9 interviewees from the second generation Living in New Manisa preferred to send their children to the schools in İzmir. Moreover, it is stated that some of the children studying in Izmir go to elementary and high school. In other words, these children, aged between 8 and 18, every day go to a school that is located outside the city. The interviewee 5a, who has 3 children, explain the reasons as follows:

> My eldest daughter is in the second year of high school this year. She has already been going to school in Izmir since middle school. We have arranged a shuttle for her little brothers and for couple of our neighbor's children who live in this building complex and in the ones nearby. They travel to school everyday. There are also schools in Manisa, and some of them are even very nice and successful private schools, but why should she study in Manisa when now she can study Izmir with her friends? My eldest daughter studied in Manisa for elementary school, but there is no longer need for that, they all go to school together. My youngest child went to Izmir even for the nursery. You know, if you want to send them to a good

school, they have to start their school life from the nursery of the same school. This is the system of private schools. It is close to our home, you arrive at İzmir in 20 minutes. There is a little traffic in İzmir, but what can we do, it is a little too late to send them to school in Manisa after all this time...

Büyük kızım bu sene lise 2. Sınıfta o zaten ortaokuldan beri İzmir'de okula gidiyor. Küçük kardeşleri ve bu sitede ve çevre sitelerde oturan bir kaç komşu çocuklarımıza bir servis ayarladık. Her sabah gidip geliyorlar. Manisa'da da okullar var hatta bazıları çok güzel, başarılı özel okullar ama şimdi İzmir'de arkadaşları ile okumak varken neden Manisa'da okusun ki. Büyük kızım ilkokulda Manisa'da okudu ama artık gerek yok hepsi birlikte gidiyorlar okula. En küçük numara kreş için bile İzmir'e gitti geldi. E malum iyi bir okula göndermek istiyorsan onun kreşinden başlamalı okul hayatına. Özel okulların sistemi böyle. Evimizde yakın İzmir'e 20 dakika içinde İzmir'e varıyorsun. İzmir'de biraz trafik oluyor ama ne yapacaksın, bu saatten sonra çocukları Manisa'da okutacak değiliz ya...

5a stated that it was necessary for her children to go to Izmir for school every day. The interviewee stated the main reason for this necessity as it would not be appropriate for them to send their children to school in Manisa because of their social position by expressing it firmly "...it is a little too late to send them to school in Manisa after all this time..." When we asked the interviewee 5a, who prefers to live in this area because of its proximity to İzmir and feels the necessity to send her children to school in İzmir "Why don't you move to Izmir? " the interviewee expresses herself as follows;

We are from Manisa, we were born here, we belong here. We're not from İzmir! Everybody knows us in Manisa. The reason they chose our shop is because they trust us, they confide in us. Most people know my parents. We are well-connected here.

Biz Manisalıyız burada doğduk buranın insanıyız. İzmirli değiliz ki! Manisa'da herkes bizi tanır. Bizim dükkanı seçmelerinin sebebi bize güvenmeleri, itimat etmeleri. Çoğu kişi annemi babamı tanır. Bir çevremiz var burada.

The interviewees who live in the area that we call the New Manisa, stated that they often prefer to go to Izmir for their general shopping and leisure activities. In cases where they cannot go to Izmir, they stated that they do want to leave the area where their houses were located, and especially they avoided going to the old Manisa side, where they spent their childhood. They go to old Manisa only when they need to visit the elders. The reasons why they avoid going there are, traffic, parking problem and

the crowded city. When they expressed during the interviews that they avoided the crowd in Manisa and when we asked "Do you think Izmir is more secluded?" we identified that they went to İzmir generally for shopping. The interviewee 15b expressed the reason why she chooses İzmir for shopping as follows;

> A mall opened a few years ago in Manisa, but it cannot meet our needs to be frank, there might be couple of shops only for people living in Manisa. There are almost none of the brands that we prefer in Magnesia (a mall)'.

> *Alışveriş merkezi açıldı Manisa'ya bir kaç yıl önce ama bizim ihtiyaçlarımızı karşılayacak gibi değil açıkçası, ancak Manisa'da yaşayanlar için bir iki şey vardır orda. Alış veriş yaptığımız markaların neredeyse hiç biri yok Magnesia(avm)da.*

This point of view also shows that when we mention the gentry, they are still identified with the brands that can be purchased by individuals from the upper social environment and certain levels of income. When we examined the discourse of the inhabitants of the New Manisa, we noticed that they acted and talked as if they lived in İzmir. In addition, when talking about the old Manisa, part of the city where they spent their childhood, the fact that they talked about that part as 'Manisa' as if they were living outside Manisa province supports our observation. Interviewee 14b's approach in this regard is as follows;

> My parents are in Manisa, but it is literally a nuisance to go there, we do our best not to go. We tell them to come to our place in general. This area (New Manisa region) is comfortable, spacious, besides we take them to İzmir for a change for them.'

> *Annemler Manisa'da ama oraya gitmek dert resmen, gitmemek için elimizden geleni yapıyoruz. Siz bize gelin diyoruz genelde. Buralar (yeni Manisa bölgesi) rahat ferah, hem İzmir'de gezdiriyoruz onları değişiklik oluyor onlar için.*

When we analyze the changing structure of Manisa, especially as Florida (2002) mentioned it is necessary to create a city structure that needs to serve different experiences and various tastes in newly formed post-industrial cities. That is to say, Manisa's efforts to carry this mission is clearly observed by the structures that aim to offer new and different opportunities. The quality of the place has reached now a more important point than the quality of life. And this has led to architecture having a more

important role than ever in its reproduction as the symbol of the city of consumption. The architecture clearly has an effective position in the consumer's relationship with the city and in the consumer's efficient use of the area (Miles, 2010:77).

Furniture preferences change with changes in lifestyle and housing environment. Furniture preferences are expected to vary according to periods and fashion. It is important for us whether or not the interviewees follow the changes in the society in their furniture preferences. In many cases, gentry families of long descent, have a tendency to show the cultural capital inherited from their families, and therefore the furniture style they inherited from their families is the style that "suits" their cultural capital. However, fashion changes in every period and using what is in fashion is also a sign of being distinguished. This indecisiveness causes the choices to be difficult particularly for the new generation. On the one hand there is a furniture style that is known and that is 'appropriate' to them, while on the other hand there is a furniture style that is "fashionable". At this point, in order to evaluate our interviewees' general approaches to furniture preferences, within the scope of ZMET, we wanted interviewees to show us which styles they like by showing them some photos cut from some furniture, home decoration magazines. At this point, our aim is to determine the style they also like, besides the style they use in their own homes.

First, we have categorized 19 photos that we show to interviewees under 4 groups to reflect four furniture styles. The participants often chose the photos of the style they liked and proved that these styles were indeed a preference for them. But five interviewees liked photos from 2 different groups. A new style line has been introduced as 'mix taste' for these interviewees (Table:3). Similarly, when we asked which style they would never prefer, five participants chose photos from two groups as the style that they did not like. A new style line has been introduced for these participants as 'mix taste'. The participants who chose photos from two different styles that we categorized as mix taste are different for both questions.

Table 3: A Distribution of Interviewees' Taste in Preferred or Never Preferred Furniture
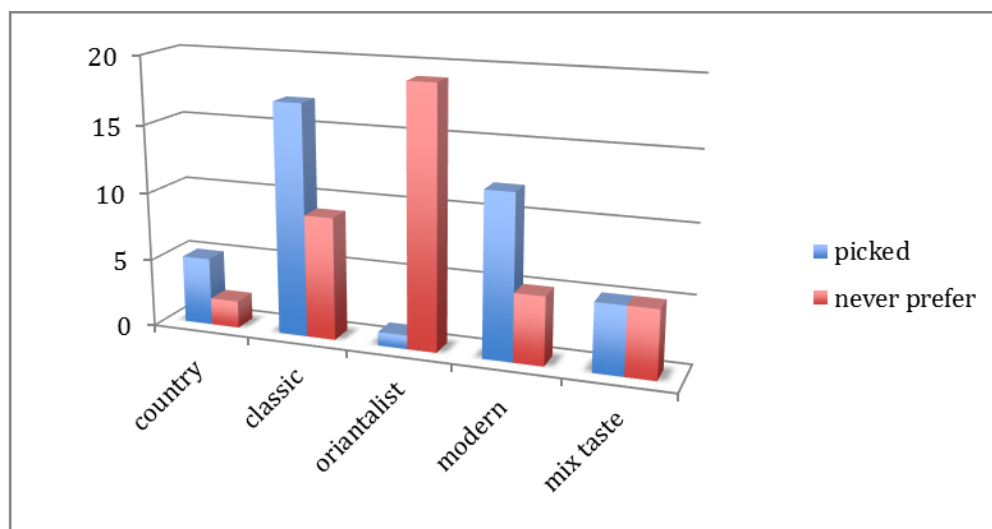
These are furniture produced from solid wood, which we call classic style, with intense manual labor and therefore produced in limited numbers. Aesthetic classic style is also one of the most important features. In classic style furniture, each piece is carefully processed and transformed into a work of art and then assembled to become a single item. It is possible to observe show-off and glory in classical furniture to a great deal and in this kind of furniture detail and class is combined even in the smallest details. The history of the classic furniture variety dates back to ancient times and throughout history and also today, this type of furniture has served as a symbol of privilege and prosperity, as it requires fine craftsmanship. In classic-style furniture ordinariness and simplicity are not features that people look for.

During our interviews, the fact that most of the interviewees chose photos from the group called "classic" as the furniture style they prefer, reflects their effort to escape from this ordinariness and to be different from others. The use of classic furniture style is a choice made based on symbolic values within a strategy for majority of the gentry families, as it is for their preference regarding specific residential areas. This type of furniture creates the perception of wealth and being hard to reach.

The second group, which is the most preferred group among the photos we have shown in the scope of ZMET, was the "modern" style. When we mentioned the reasons of this preference during our interviews, 15b mentioned the following:

> Modern furniture is actually more ostentatious in my opinion, it has a different structure. It is very nice, very comfortable, functional. It adapts better to the life of modern and sophisticated people. Classic cuts look like ornaments to me, but when you use modern furniture, it says I can do the trick...

> *Modern mobilya bence daha gösterişli aslında daha farklı bir yapısı var. hem çok güzel hem çok rahat, kullanışlı. Modern insanın, gelişmiş insanın hayatına daha iyi uyum sağlıyor. Klasik kesimler bana süs eşyası gibi geliyor ama modern mobilya koyduğunda ben bu işten anlıyorum diyor...*

Most of the people who prefer modern furniture stated to have a "modern perspective" as the reason for making this choice. The idea that they will symbolize modern human identity with the choice of modern furniture is a dominant approach in our interviewees who choose modern style. In addition, the sense of comfort and simplicity, which is the greatest promise of modern style, is an important factor for the interviewees who prefer this type of furniture. According to interviewee 16b;

> I chose this photo (figure 14) because I want a comfortable life. I want a neat life and not stuff piling on top of top one another. Look, these sofa makes you peaceful, it is simple, comfortable, neat. Our lives are already very busy. We're always trying to be somewhere on time. I'm sick of explaining things to people. It is as if we send a message everything we do, buy and use. I'm tired of this thought, this effort. I want simplicity.

> *Bu resmi (figüre 10)seçtim çünkü rahat bir yaşam istiyorum. Düzenli bir hayat olsun eşyalar üst üste olmasın. Bak şu koltuklar huzur veriyor insana sade, rahat, düzenli. Hayatlarımız çok yoğun zaten. Hep bir yere yetişmeye çalışıyoruz. Bıktım birine bir şey anlatmaktan. Her yaptığımızla, her aldığımızla, her kullandığımızla bir mesaj veriyoruz sanki. Ben bu düşünceden bu uğraştan yoruldum. Sadelik istiyorum.*

Figure 14: Photo shown to participants within the scope of ZMET

As it can be seen on the table above, Oriental style is the one that will most probably never be preferred by majority of the interviewees. In this regard, retro, oriental style has the eastern influences, the use of mixed colors and patterns can be mentioned as main reasons of not preferring it. Especially eastern influences are a feature that many interviewees clearly stated that they do not like. According to interviewee 6a;

> I don't want them, I see myself in hell first! What is this? The corner for oriental items? We are decorating a living room my dear. People say that we are poor if they see these in our home. It is all odds and ends, cushions everywhere. I don't want it. My living room can't look like a bazaar.

> *İstemem, ölsem ben bunları istemem. Ne bu böyle şark köşesi gibi biz salon yapıyoruz kızım. İnsanlar fakir derler bunları bizim evde görseler. Çar çaput toplamış gelmiş her yer minder. İstemem. Benim salonum böyle Pazar yeri gibi olamaz.*

Interviewee 18b explains the reason for not preferring retro, orientalist as follows:

> I don't understand much about this fashion business, but this is incredible. If our aim is to reach the level of contemporary civilizations this cannot be fashion. I don't know where you got these photos. Even in villages you don't come across this stuff anymore. That's not how you decorate a living room, especially the living rooms of people like us. People do not even want handmade carpets anymore because they are not modern. If I tell her that I will buy this furniture, my wife would kick me out of the house. Anyway, I would be so ashamed to invite anyone to my living room.

Ben çok anlamam bu moda işlerinden ama bu da olacak iş değil. Muasır medeniyetler seviyesine çıkmak amacımız bu moda falan olamaz. Nereden buldunuz bilmem bu resimleri. Köylerde bile bu kadar olmuyor artık. Salon dediğin böyle döşenmez hele bizim gibilerin salonları. Artık el halıları bile istenilmiyor modern değil diye. Bu mobilyayı alacağım desem önce hanım beni evden atar. Zaten utancımdan kimseyi de çağıramam salonuma.

The concept that is fundamentally accepted by the individuals in today's consumption society is that we send a message with every choice we make. Thus, the preferences have become much more meaningful with the symbolic values that they carry. For the gentry families the state of being well-known and reputable into which they were born, carries up the symbolic values to a much more important place. These families taught their children that they will be evaluated with the meaning of their preferences that they would make since their childhood, and in this sense their preferences are more meaningful to them than others. For this reason, they transformed themselves with every change in the society and aimed to consume the most accurate symbols for themselves in line with the strategies they developed.

7.4. Living Room Furniture Preferences as a Strategy Showing the Transformation

Home furniture both exhibits the essence of conspicuous consumption phenomenon of Veblen, and it is also effective in constructing, maintaining and transforming the modern socio-cultural reputation and Western identities as a social message, as pointed out by Bilgin. At the end of the nineteenth century, interior use of Western furniture in elite houses reflects the social changes and the desire to Westernise. This desire has begun to manifest itself in the last period of the Ottoman Empire and has intensified and expanded since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. The choices that individuals make when building interiors of houses do not only show different personal preferences. They also reflect more belonging to a group and significantly embody the acquired appreciation reported by the total conceptual environment of a person; which can also be expressed as Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The habitus, which includes past experiences, concepts, beliefs, education and disposition, pre-determines personal preferences and thus defies the concept of free will. Consumers' preferences or the things they prefer to show indoors of their homes are

the means in which they establish social relations. These preferences represent cultural capital. The existence of cultural capital depends on various conditions such as class and tendency; and the accessibility to different social groups fluctuate. For this reason, prestige is embodied in the material qualities of home furniture. This concept can explain the desire for Western Furniture in the Turkish society. However, explaining how both modern style and new furniture trends and materials became distinctive elements not only between different classes but also within the same socio-economic group requires a closer collaboration with the dynamic structure of cultural capital and habitus (Gürel, 2009:122). In the first Republican years, the attempt to give the message of being Western as a community has turned into a more individual expression with the rise and developments in the welfare level of the country in the following years. Especially in the post-80 period, with the privatisations and the impact of the free market economy, individuals, leaving aside the concern of Westernisation, directed to reveal and show their individual wealth and assets.

Furniture, which is highly mobile, brings to mind a lifestyle that expresses stability and civilization. Furniture, along with the Republic, withholds many meanings as the objects of a distinguished social status, national pride, cultural development and contemporary transformation in the image of houses. As a strategy of privilege and prestige, furniture is most visible in the living room and dining room area, where the owners interact with the guests socially. These spaces, while mediating between the private and public sides of the house, form the places where the identity of the owner is described to the outside. The representative character, which is manifested through material culture, reflects the habitat of the owner. Visual codes are complex in many ways on their own. They include social, class related, sexual and civil identities, but are not limited to them. For this reason, these spaces are the most obvious areas of coverage and exclusions that serve prestige. Modern goods mean to be comfortable with modern tools. Modern houses make us forget about the narrowness we live in by way of cheerful colours, wing chairs, soft cushions and corners that kind of invite people to go to sleep. However, it should not be overlooked that not all the Turkish elite liked the modern look. The so-called 'classic' style, which refers to historical period furniture and antiquities, is still found attractive by a certain segment. On the

other hand, the modern emerged not only among the different classes but also among the top-class consumers themselves, and especially among those who moved to luxury villas and prestigious apartments built in urban centers, as a distinguishing element (Gürel, 2009: 124-131). This group, leaving aside the classic line, has turned to modern and attractive furniture. Whatever style he/she adopts, the culture and family that he/she grows up in has a distinctive influence on their tastes. In Bourdieu's terminology, these spaces show the cultural capital and privileges of the users that reveal their socio-cultural status in connection with a group of people at a certain cultural level. The eclectic-style furniture of the family was bartered away upon moving to the new residence due to being considered unsuitable for the modern building. The furniture purchased afterwards was chosen by taking into consideration the comfort and the modern lines that it carries.

When we look at the practices of using antiques and family heirloom in gentry houses, it is clear that they are used as an important tool revealing the roots of the families. The worth and value of the products they prefer to exhibit in their living rooms are boldly expressed. When interviewees were given a camera and asked "Can you show us your living room through your eyes?" and when we talked about the photographs they took they emphasized the importance they give to family heirloom. The fact that these objects were photographed carefully and with attention clearly shows that the interviewees value the objects they have inherited from their families. Some of the photos of heirloom are included in the appendix B section.

Figure 15: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Copper Barbecue" Taken by Participant 14a

Participant 14a, who took a photo of the "family heirloom copper barbecue" given in photo above figure:15 explains why she took this photograph as follows:

> This barbecue from my grandma is still being used. Don't assume it's not used because I put it in the living room. However, this is where it deserves to be. This barbecue has served us a lot, you cannot find more of these now. No one can make an equal. I want my guests to see it, some may know its value, those who do not wouldn't come to my house anyway.

> *Babaannemden bu mangal hala kullanılır. Salona koydum diye kullanılmaz sanma. Ama hak ettiği yer burası. Bize çok hizmet etti bu mangal şimdi bunlardan yok. Kimse yapamaz bir eşini. Misafirlerim görsün istiyorum, kıymetini bilen bilir anlamayan zaten gelmez evime benim.*

The tendency of exhibiting family heirloom pieces has generally been observed in the first-generation interviewees. The second-generation interviewees mostly have considered this behaviour to be an old-fashioned attitude. 14b, who has been very strict in her attitude about this subject, is the daughter of 14a, who proudly exhibited the family heirloom barbecue and said "some may know its value, those who do not wouldn't come to my house anyway". When we asked 14b "Do you have a piece of family heirloom in your house?" she replied:

No, of course not! There's no room for old things in this latest fashion house. We always chose the most fashionable one. My interior architect friend helped me. But I have some old-fashioned objects, if you like. Nowadays the "distressed" furniture is in fashion, therefore there are distressed objects. But there's nothing old in my house. Anyway, old objects would not suit this latest fashion house. Isn't that right?

Yok tabi ki! Bu son moda evde eski eşyalara yer yok. Tek tek en moda olanı seçtik. İç mimar arkadaşım yardım etti. Ama eski görünüşlü bazı objelerim var isterseniz. Bu dönem moda 'eskitme' onun için eskitme objeler var. Ama eski bir şey yok evimde. Zaten yakışmaz bu son moda eve. Öyle değil mi?

The picture of the living room of 14b (figure 16), who defines her house as a state-of-the-art house, is located below.

Figure 16: A photo of the living room taken by participant 14b

The preferences of the interviewees 14a and 14b differ, even though they are from the same family. The main reason for this is that capital accumulation is a process, each of which has its own rules and is scattered across different areas of institutionalization. These areas can also be understood as competitive relations in which families of similar classes compete with each other in the struggle to reproduce the class. Even

though they belong to the same family, different preferences of the interviewees are caused by being members to the first or second generation. Our focus is according to what strategies the individuals choose the furniture they prefer while decorating their living rooms, consciously or unconsciously, while they are positioning themselves in their status. By continuing to consume what they see from their long-standing families or by choosing new fashion "high-status symbol" products? It was not possible to find an exact answer to this question during our study. Because individuals have a tendency to develop variable strategies in the face of situations they encounter.

When we asked questions about the carpets that our interviewees used to decorate their homes, we can say that the differences in carpet usage are remarkable. In particular, the second-generation interviewees preferred alternative applications in carpet use, leather carpets, hides or furs or machine made carpets with modern lines, and even some of the interviewees indicated that they do not use carpets. The first-generation interviewees impose a different value and meaning on carpets. In particular, for the hand-woven carpets, they have stated the reasons to prefer the carpets according to the regions they were woven. The main reason for interviewees preferring hand woven carpets is that they think that hand woven carpets belonging to certain regions represent the status of the family according to the type of woven yarn and the size of the carpet. In the first edition of the book "The Decoration of Houses", which is considered as the pioneer of the interior decoration books on the use of hand woven carpets, the characteristics of Izmir (Smyrna) region and Turkey and Middle East carpets in general are mentioned. In addition, the authors described the properties of the carpets of Izmir (Smyrna) region in detail and stated how suitable these carpets are for all kinds of decoration.

> These Smyrna carpets are usually well designed; and if their colours be restricted to red and green, with a small mixture of dark blue, they harmonize with almost any style of decoration (Wharton & Codman, 1898:29).

Hand woven carpets, which are considered as a status indicator for our first-generation interviewees, are considered as outdated and cumbersome housewares for our second-generation interviewees. With Wharton's above-mentioned views, we see that hand

woven carpets which are specific to this region are appreciated all around the world. Our first generation participants stated that hand woven carpets are an indispensable piece of the girls' dowry. Interviewee 5b:

> My mother added hand-woven carpets in our dowry. Specially woven. But I wouldn't lay that much a classic carpet in my house that I had decorated with these modern lines. I set those carpets aside at the warehouse. Then I bought this nice animal fur carpet. Just like I saw in the magazines.
>
> *Annem çeyizimize el dokuma halılar koymuştu. Özel dokuma. Ama bu modern çizgilerle döşediğim evimde o kadar klasik bir halı seremezdim yere. Kaldırdım o halıları depoya. Gittim bu güzel postu aldım. Dergilerde gördüğüm gibi.*

The statement made by the participant 5b brings to mind certain points stated in the work of Üstüner and Holt (2009). We observe how home owners with upper class tastes create harmony and order by carefully matching the furniture colors and styles. Sofas, dining table, chairs and carpets are carefully selected to match each other. Most of them have two matching sofas or an L-shaped large sofa. Generally, the colors used are very similar; beige, white, grey. They are not a fan of classic style furniture and antique objects (Üstüner and Holt, 2009: 48). We can see the consumption preferences made to show her status in the living room decoration of participant 5b. The living room of 5b, who says that she has decorated her house with modern lines as seen in magazines, is given in figure 17.

Figure 17: A photo of the living room taken by participant 5b

Hand woven carpets, which are considered as old fashion for second generation interviewees, actually have a different value. For years, hand woven carpets were exhibited as the most valuable part of the living rooms. Participant 8a explains that period as follows;

> There would be a carpet in the house of the gentry. It was a sign showing that they were wealthy. Those who could not afford carpets would use rugs. If that was not possible either, they would just leave the floors empty. You would only have hand woven carpets. This was the case in the past. Now carpets have just become burden.
>
> *Eşrafın evinde halı olurdu. Bu bir işaretti, varlıklı olduğunu gösterirdi. Durumu olmayan kilim sererdi. O da yoksa öylece boş kalırdı. Halı dediğin el dokumasından başka olmazdı. Geçmiş zaman. Şimdi halılar sadece yük.*

As mentioned by 8a, carpets were thought to be an indicator of wealth. Because, they are woven in carpet looms, it takes a lot of time to weave them. Furthermore, there are also hand woven carpets which are priceless due to the yarn quality used. Of course,

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the number of knots and the size of the carpet play a role on the value of the carpet. There are some difficulties in the protection and use of the carpets which are diligently woven. For this reason, as hand woven carpets are perceived as more demanding to take care by the participants who are of certain age, they have started to be seen as a burden over time. The carpets that have become unused stopped being a part of everyday life. For this reason, the ability of the carpets to give messages has decreased. But the reason why some of the families we interviewed do not use hand woven carpets is that they passed them on to the next generation or to their grandchildren.

The hand-woven carpets, which are seen as a status indicator for our first-generation interviewers, are seen as outdated and cumbersome household goods for our second-generation interviewers.

Hart renders the value attached to hand-woven carpets and the change in this value in his study as: "Until twenty years ago, hand-woven carpets, sacks, bags, rugs, and cushions were both indispensable household items and were among the important pieces of the dowry. Although the woven goods could be regarded as traditional in terms of their designs and functions, they always had a potential market value, thus they were always a potential commodity. Especially the carpets were considered valuable, many women would protect the carpets in their dowries with care, and when the family would get pressed for money, they would sell them. Therefore, carpet weaving on Yunt Mountain has never been a commercial period. But today's weaving is very different compared to the first half of the 20th century. Today, it has turned into a small home industry that only aims to produce commercial goods. Later on, the woven goods stopped being indispensable household goods, they lost their characteristics of being the typical pieces of dowries except for their commercial values and began to lose their practical functions gradually. However, on the ideological level, carpets are only valuable if they are described as traditional." (Hart, 2011:34)

Interviewee 14a and interviewee 14b, who are mother and daughter, set an example of what Hart describes above about the loss of value of hand woven carpets. While

Mother 14a stated that hand woven carpets belonging to the region of Milas are diligently protected in her home and how important that carpet is for herself and her family, her daughter 14b clearly expressed to us "I will never have hand woven carpets in my house" clearly stated to us. The main reason for this is that "these carpets are old-fashioned things that old-fashioned people put out for show".

During our interviews, especially the second-generation interviewees did not relate the use of hand woven carpets to the understanding of fashion with old-fashion only. They also stated that they do not prefer to use hand woven carpets because they are difficult to use and they do not fit in their living room decorated with new and modern furniture. When we look at the photos of interviewees 2a and 2b, who are father and daughter (figure: 18 and figure: 19):

Figure 18: A photo of the living room taken by participant 2a

Figure 19: A photo of the living room taken by participant 2b

The living room photographs we have seen above belong to the members of the two generations of the same family. However, these two living rooms, which are very different in style, are designed to give the guests a specific message. These two photographs, which we brought together to indicate the differences of carpets at first, gave us the opportunity to make some assessments about the individuals who made these living room choices. No matter how much a family's first generation interviewee puts forward his lifestyle through a classic line, the second generation of interviewees who followed him remained under the influence of the new consumption elements emerged by capitalism. The "new fashion" and "modern" have become more attractive for the interviewee.

In a capitalist society, hegemony belongs to economic capital in an undisputed manner. The main reason for this is that the logic of economy is dominant as a cultural ideology. Because the forms of value tend to be transformed into the form of value symbolized by money in a capitalist market. This situation also creates deep separations between generations. Bourdieu admits that economic capital is dominant in a capitalist society,

by arguing that social and cultural capitals function as implicit forms of economic capital. But immediately, he also says that cultural and social capitals can never be completely reduced to economic capital (1997:54). The main reason for this is that social, cultural and symbolic capitals have their own effects. This specific "effect" especially shows the difference between generations. Many of the gentry families we interviewed increased their economic capital with the impact of the transition to neoliberal period in the economic area of Turkey. In terms of social, cultural and symbolic capital, the strategies of revealing the accumulated knowledge of each family in the next generation have been differentiated by their own internal dynamics. As mentioned above, some families find it appropriate to follow the footsteps of the previous generation in their general attitudes and preferences, while in some other gentry families the preferences of second generation are not accepted and even clearly rejected. In order to evaluate this situation from the viewpoint of two generations of a family participating in our study (Interviewees 20a/20b and Interviewees 16a/16b) based on the photographs they took of their living rooms, the photos taken by 20a and 20b to represent their living rooms are as follows (figure: 20 and Figure: 21):

Figure 20: A photo of the living room taken by participant 20a

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Figure 21: A photo of the living room taken by participant 20b

The interviewees 20a and 20b chose to decorate their living rooms similarly. The interviewee 20b explains choosing a style close to the style of his mother's home as:

> We like the living room style of my mother. My wife agrees with me. There is one right in everything. And we preferred our living room to be right in order to suit us. We cannot simply go and buy something just because it is in fashion. It would not be appropriate for our family.
>
> *Annemlerin salon tarzını beğeniyoruz. Eşimde benimle hem fikir. Bir şeyin doğrusu vardır. Bize yakışan şekilde salonumuz olması için bizde bu doğruyu tercih ettik. Moda diye gidip bir şey almak bizim için olmaz. Ailemize yakışmaz.*

This statement made us think that the participant 20b made his preference mostly based on the cultural capital when choosing his living room furniture. He mentioned clearly that he would not prefer a product because it is "in fashion". In the light of the cultural capital that he inherited from his family, he expressed his preference to use furnitures which are "appropriate for him". For the participant 20b, the requirement to like a product or practice is not "to be in fashion", but what is "appropriate for his family" and his status group.

However, as we have mentioned before, transfer between generations does not take place in such a similar manner in every family. The interviewees 16a and 16b, images from whose living rooms we see below are mother and son just like interviewees 20a and 20b. However, there are some clear differences in the preferences in the living rooms of 16a and 16b, as can be seen in the pictures. Our second-generation interviewee 16b chose to decorate his living room in a more modern style. When we look at the living room photographs of 16a and 16b (figure: 22 and figure: 23);

Figure 22: A photo of the living room taken by participant 16a

Figure 23: A photo of the living room taken by participant 16b

The interviewee 16b chose to decorate his living room with more modern lines than the previous generation (16a). He has explained the reason for this as follows:

> I live a more modern life. It's not like my mother's time. Life has changed a lot. The things valued before were different. If I had put in old furniture in this living room, it wouldn't be OK ... I say it wouldn't... I'm telling you, I'm a modern person. I'm different from my parents. Sometimes I think of bringing in my mother's antique seats, but then I would need to make a separate room for them. Like an antique room. If I decorate my living room with classical furniture, how can I explain my guests that I am a contemporary man? It's good to follow the fashion. The ones around you better understand your stance.
>
> *Ben daha modern bir hayat yaşıyorum. Annemlerin zamanı gibi değil. Hayat çok değişti. Eskiden kıymet verilenler daha başkaydı. Eski mobilya koysam bu salona olmazdı... olmazdı çünkü... diyorum ya ben modern bir insanım. Annemlerden farklıyım. Bazen düşünüyorum annemlerin antika koltuklarını getirsem diye ama ayrı bir oda hazırlamam gerekir onlar için. Antika odası gibi. Klasik mobilya ile döşersem salonumu nasıl çağdaş bir adam olduğunu anlatırım gelen konuklarıma. Moda olanı takip etmek iyidir. Çevrendeki senin duruşunu daha iyi anlar.*

As we can see from the examples above, the social world is indeed a world created by historical accumulation. This historical accumulation is very effective in the knowledge and experience transferred by the generations to the next ones. In order to be a gentry family in Manisa, the family must have a certain history, have lived in Manisa for many years, have been known by all, and have a certain "power". In order to have this power, it is necessary to have social, cultural and symbolic capital as well, not just economic capital.

Social capital is a way of accumulating value that does not carry any of the monetary costs and risks in the capitalist market, from production to consumption. However, above all, it is a form of socialization which is shaped by family solidarity morality, and it has been widened and modified to accommodate other forms of non-capitalistic value creation. The most important moral values are trustworthiness, honesty, honour, and devotion to other family members. Because their lives depend on you. These values are transferred from generation to generation and continue (Balkan & Rutz, 2006:108).

The cultural ideology of family solidarity is based on a general reciprocity relationship based on the moral traditions of members of greater families. This greater family includes neighbours who are not relatives, close friends, friends of friends and their relatives, their classmates, and their relatives and goes so on. Social networks generally carry out social administrative tasks with mutual support (Balkan & Rutz, 2006:116). The families we interviewed are in a bond with each other because they are recognized people in a small city. They know each other and are in possession of some basic information about each other.

Coleman states the following about the formation of social capital: "Social capital has a particularly important outcome: and that is its impact on human capital creation in the next generation" (Coleman, 1988: 104). When we want to examine social capital, it is important to look at the common efforts of family members who are in contact with each other through social networks. The aim here is to reproduce ties with some of the experiences that connect the family together and provide common benefits.

Social capital reflects the impact of bonds and is a common accumulation that everyone can access. In addition, the concept of social capital is also effective in the complex creations of individuals, what Bourdieu calls individual habitus. Thus, the embodied person is in interaction with the other embodied individuals. The embodied person has the ability to change and adapt to other individuals. Coleman's statement on this issue is: "Social capital is productive just like other forms of capital; it makes it possible for individuals to reach some goals. In the absence of social capital, it will not be possible to achieve these goals" (Coleman, 1988:91).

During the interview, some questions were asked and observations were made to determine the exact location of the interviewees' living rooms in general within their houses. As Sencer Ayata stated in his article about living rooms about the use of the living room, in some houses the living room is closed to the residents and open to visitors. So that in normal days, there were cases where the door of the living room is locked so that the family members cannot use it (Ayata, 1988:14). In line with the questions about the use of "showcase living room" and observations of the houses of interviewees; 23 of the 40 interviewees stated that they do not use their living rooms as a showcase living room, thus, the living room is actively open for the use of the household during the day. The interviewee 4b made the following statement about his/her living room, not being a showcase living room but an active one:

> My parents reserved the living room for guests for years. I am also a guest in this world, who's more a guest than me? It's the broadest part of the house overlooking the street. Why would I sit in the back room? There is no need any way. There are not many people visiting as before. If someone is to come, you can agree on the time beforehand.
>
> *Annemler yıllarca salonu misafire ayırdı. Ben dünya da misafirim benden ala misafir mi var? Evin en geniş yeri caddeye bakıyor. Neden arka odalarda oturayım? Gerek yok zaten eskisi gibi gelen giden yok gelecekse önceden sözleşirsin.*

Interviewee 9a, who suffered as a child from being unable to enter the living room with divan, describes the fact his current living room is open to day-to-day use as:

> We could not enter the living room as a child. It always had to be ready. Though there was nothing to clutter. Two divans only. But my mother

would be angry. He would tell my dad. Now, the living room is fully stuffed, trinkets, cushions, photos. Yet, let the kids in. Well, if you ask if there are no more guests, they do still come of course. I've lots of friends and fellows, they wouldn't fit on sofas, but let them fit in the hearts. My house should be known with life in it. What do I insinuate my guests in a living room with sofas looking brand-new? There are very few people sit on my sofas, no one comes to visit me. Don't you come either to my house, I don't like guests, I won't have clutter in my house. Therefore, I make myself comfortable in my living room so that others also make themselves comfortable.

Salona giremezdik çocukken. Hep hazır olmalıydı salon. Dağıtacak hiç bir şey yoktu oysa. İki tane sedir. Ama işte kızardı annem. Babama söylerdi. Şimdi her taraf eşya salonda biblolar, minderler, fotoğraflar. Gene de girsin çoluk çocuk. Misafir gelmiyor mu dersen geliyor tabi. Dostum, ahbabım çoktur, koltuklara sığmaz ama işte yüreklere sığsın. Yaşandığı belli olsun benim evimde. Yepyeni duran koltuklu bir salonda ben misafire ne demiş oluyorum; benim koltuklarıma çok az oturan var, bana misafir gelmez. Sen de gelme ben misafir sevmem, gelme benim evim dağılmasın, bundan dolayı herkes rahat etsin diye önce ben rahat ediyorum salonumda.

When we look at the distribution of interviewees to use their living rooms as "display living rooms" among generations, it has been observed that the first-generation interviewees are more inclined to use their living rooms openly by letting the household members freely in the living room in the daily life.

Table 4: Distribution of Interviewees Using The Living Rooms As "Showcase Living Room" Among Generations
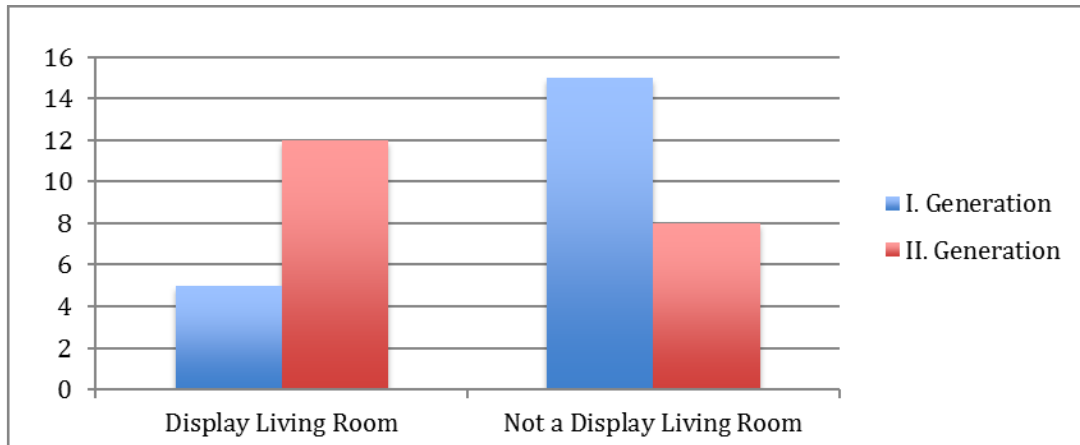
The main reason why our first-generation interviewees prefer to actively use their living rooms is that children who are considered to be the factors that will clutter the

room have left home. However, it is to be stated that despite the complaints from the second-generation interviewees about their mother's use of the living room as a "showcase room" in their childhood, they themselves still do not actively use the living room with the concern of having guests any time and to be able to maintain the living room ready for the guests.

In addition for the living room to being open to the use of family members, another question about the frequency of hosting guests has been asked to the interviewees: 18 interviewees stated that they frequently (at least once a week) host guests in their living room. When we assess the frequency of hosting guests in the living room on the basis of generations, it is observed that the first-generation interviewees host guests in their houses frequently, whereas most of the second generation interviewees have stated that they rarely host guests in their living rooms. The frequency of use of the living room according to generations is given in the table below.

Table 5: The Frequency of Use of The Living Room According to Generations
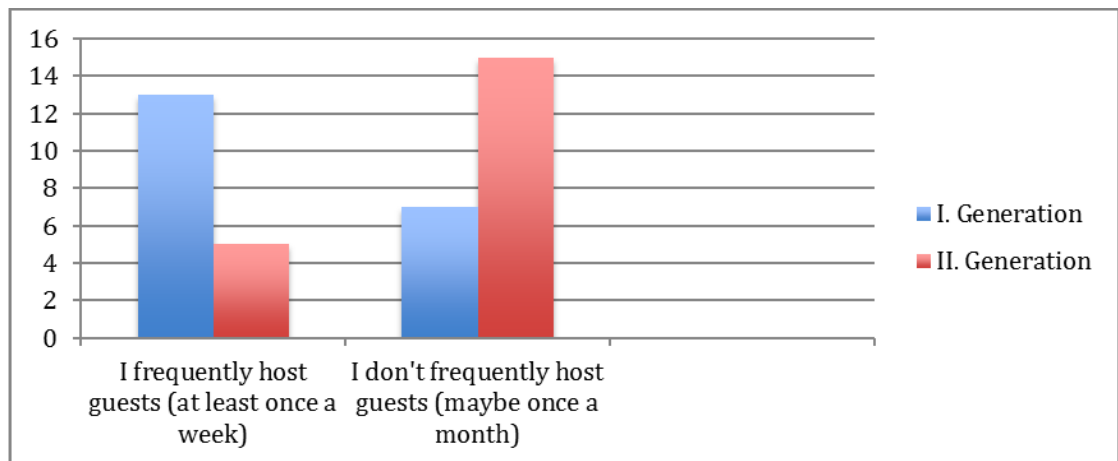
When we look at the living room usage habits and the frequency of hosting guests, it has been found out that most of the first-generation interviewees open the use of the living room to all the household members and also they often accept guests in their

living rooms. During the interview, interviewee 6a conveyed this preference as follows:

> I have lived a very beautiful life, houses overflowing with people... there were no stairs like this, no tall buildings, no need for appointments. We would just visit each other, everybody was on the same floor, we were all on the land. Now we're lined up, side by side, looking down on each other... I want my house to be stuffed again. Let people come, sit, chat, talk, company for each other. Otherwise time just doesn't flow...

> *Ben çok güzel yaşadım hayatı, evler dolup taşardı insanla... böyle merdivenler, yüksek binalar, randevu istemeler yoktu. Çıkar gelirdik birbirimize herkes aynı kattaydı o zaman, hepimiz toprağın üstündeydik. Şimdi dizildik yan yana, yukardan bakıyoruz birbirimize... benim evim gene dolsun taşsın istiyorum. İnsanlar gelsin oturalım, sohbet edelim, konuşalım, yarenlik edelim. Başka türlü geçmiyor zaman...*

In accordance with the answers given to the questions; when we look at the habits of hosting guests, it is observed that the comfort of use in furniture preferences has been kept in the forefront in recent years among first generation interviewees. Furthermore, first generation interviewees prefer to host guests in their houses more. Some interviewees have said that they are over a certain age, as the reasons for hosting guests in their homes, for example 11a:

> I was born in 1929, I saw and travelled what I was supposed to see and travel, now let them come and listen to what I saw and travelled. I'm over the age to stride through the gates of the neighbours.

> *Ben 1929 yılında doğmuşum, gezeceğimi gezdim göreceğimi gördüm şimdi gelsinler benden dinlesinler gezdiklerimi gördüklerimi. Komşu kapısı arşınlayacak yaşı geçtim ben.*

2 of the second-generation interviewees, (5b and 16b), whose living rooms are both open to the use of family members and who frequently host guests, have similar use of their living rooms as to their preceding generations. In other words, the transfer of living room practices between generations took place in these two families. However, when we look at the neighbourhood where their houses are located, we see that the first-generation members of these two families continue living in the old town, whereas their second generation members have moved to the new part of Manisa.

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Despite the transfer of living room usage practices, the neighbourhood of the houses of these families has become different.

Our study aims to look at the differences among generations. We have given the responses from the interviewees that are showing the styles of furniture they would prefer or they would never prefer based on the photos we had shown them within the scope of ZMET. However, it has attracted our attention that these answers bear significant differences between generations. For this reason, it is useful to look at the answers that the interviewees have expressed in their preferences among the generations as well. As we stated above, when we look at the pictures preferred and not preferred by the first and second generation interviewees, certain clusters are noteworthy. These clusters have revealed the preference differences between generations. In addition, significant clusters have appeared according to the groups made by the interviewees from the same generation as 'I would use the furniture in this picture in my living room.' and 'I would never want to have a living room like the one in this picture.'

Table 6: Furniture Preferences According to Generations

Furniture styles	I. Generation		II. Generation	
	Could be	Never	Could be	Never
Rustic, country (1)	2	3	5	1
Classic, avant-garde (2)	15	1	5	10
Retro, oriental(3)	2	13	-	9
Modern (4)	3	6	12	1

15 people from the first-generation interviewees have chosen the pictures from the second group where there are "classic, avant-garde" style furniture as "I would prefer the furniture in this picture in my living room". 3 people from the first-generation interviewees have preferred the 'modern' style, while two people each have preferred 'rustic, country' and 'retro, orientalist' style furniture. Among the interviewees' preferences, the cluster of 'classic, avant-garde' style is too big to be underestimated,

and its difference to the following preferences is remarkable. Considering the average age of the interviewees, preference for classic furniture is to be expected. There is also a symbolic value that classic furniture carries at the point of being "different from others". The classical style is perceived by most of the first-generation interviewees as a status symbol. According to interviewee 2a:

> As you can see, my furniture set is antique, not because I can't afford new furniture, but because I can't buy anything like that. You cannot find anything like this any longer. There are not even masters of this left. Thus, I wouldn't replace my furniture, but if you want me to choose from the pictures, I would again choose the classic sets. We're a deep-rooted family. We always want to have the rare one. Therefore, I'd again choose hand-carved, elaborate sets.

> *Gördüğünüz gibi koltuk takımın antika, yeni mobilya alamadığım için değil tabi ki ama bunun gibisini alamayacağım için. Artık yok böylesi olamazda. Ustaları bile kalmadı. Değiştirmem anlayacağınız koltuklarımı ama madem resimlerden seçmemi isteniz gene klasik takımları seçerim. Biz köklü bir aileyiz. Nadir olana sahip olmak isteriz. Onun için gene el oyması, ince işçilik isteyen takımlar seçerdim.*

Regardless of the generation, most of our interviewees chose "I would never like to have a living room like this" for 'retro, country' style pictures. However, in the first-generation interviewees, the 'modern' style ranked the second style in undesired-unpreferred styles with 6 interviewees. However, when we look at the preferences of the second-generation interviewees, 12 people have chosen modern style furniture as usable. The most preferred style of furniture by the young generation, the 'modern' one, is not preferred by the first generation because of its simplicity and because it does not reflect the values of the family. Interviewee 1a:

> I wouldn't accept this much of a simple thing in my living room. What is this, a family room? I'm going to host guests here. Let the people know they're coming to my house. My sofas must be ostentatious.

> *Ben bu kadar sade bir şey salonuma koymam. Oturma odasımı canım burası. Misafir ağırlıyacağım ben burada. Gelenler benim evime geldiklerini anlasınlar. Gösterişli olmalı benim koltuklarım.*

As opposed to some interviewees speaking of the comfort of modern style furniture, some interviewees state that comfort should not actually be a desirable feature for the living room furniture. Interviewee 19a conveyed this situation as follows:

> The living room sofa does not have to be comfortable, it has to be beautiful. It would reveal the guests that it was purchased because was admired. It's not as if the guests would sleep here. I have hosted so many elites in this living room. If the sofa is to be in the living room, it should live up to the living room. It's got to be carved, it's got to be fancy. If I'm to get a sofa for comfort, I would take it to the bedroom.

> *Salon koltuğu dediğin rahat olmaz, güzel olur. Misafire der ki beni alan özendi de aldı. Yatacak hali yok ya gelen misafirin. Ben bu salonda kimleri kimleri ağarladım. Koltuk salonda duracaksa ona göre olmalı. Oymalı olmalı, süslü olmalı. Rahat olsun diye koltuk alacaksam yatak odasına alırım.*

As for the second-generation interviewees, whom we consider as the new generation, we observe that they prefer the modern style for being more convenient and comfortable. When asked why they wanted to choose the modern style, interviewees often expressed that they had modern lines, that they were comfortable and simple, and that they were also easy to use. For interviewee 17b:

> We are modern individuals. I sit in my living room in the evenings. It doesn't mean anything if I come home from work and I can't sit comfortably."

> *Modern bireyleriz biz. Salonumda oturuyorum akşamları. İşten geldiğimde rahat oturamadıktan sonra bir anlamı yok.*

10 people have stated that they would never want to have a living room like in this picture for classical and avant-garde furniture.

When we look at intergenerational differences, it is revealed that the preferences of the second-generation members of 8 families whose first-generation members have chosen classical and avant-garde furniture, show that the second generations would never want classical and avant-garde furniture in their living rooms. It is important whether this choice is made consciously or unconsciously. Although they prefer classical, avant-garde furniture pictures among the different style salon furniture displayed by 12 people from the audience, the furniture they currently use in their salon is more modern and simple.

When we look at the preferences of the second-generation interviewees, all of the interviewees living in the region with more luxurious and state-of-the-art housing,

called the New Manisa Region, have chosen the pictures in the group of modern furniture as "I would prefer the furniture in this picture in my living room".

As mentioned above, living room furniture preferences of the interviewees shed light on us in terms of determining their tastes. In addition, during our interviews, we had the chance to see the furniture the interviewees use in their own homes. It has been surprising for us that most interviewees have stated that they would prefer to use a different furniture style than the furniture they use in their home. Because when we asked if they were satisfied with the furniture they used during our interviews, almost all the interviewees stated that they were satisfied. Besides, during the interviews when we asked who had the final word in the furniture shopping, mostly they have answered as "mine". The minority who stated that themselves are not deciding on furniture shopping have stated that a family decision was made, and not by a single person. As we have been emphasizing from the beginning of our study, the gentry families have a certain economic capital and are particularly keen to be attentive about the issues such as furniture spending. Many interviewees have opened heartedly expressed that they have replaced their furniture just because they wanted to replace it, before the end of life of the furniture. In the light of all this information, it is surprising for us to see that families do not use the style of furniture they prefer in their homes.

Table 7: A Comparison of Participants' Living Room Furniture Against Their Taste in Furniture Style They Claim They Would Have Preffered
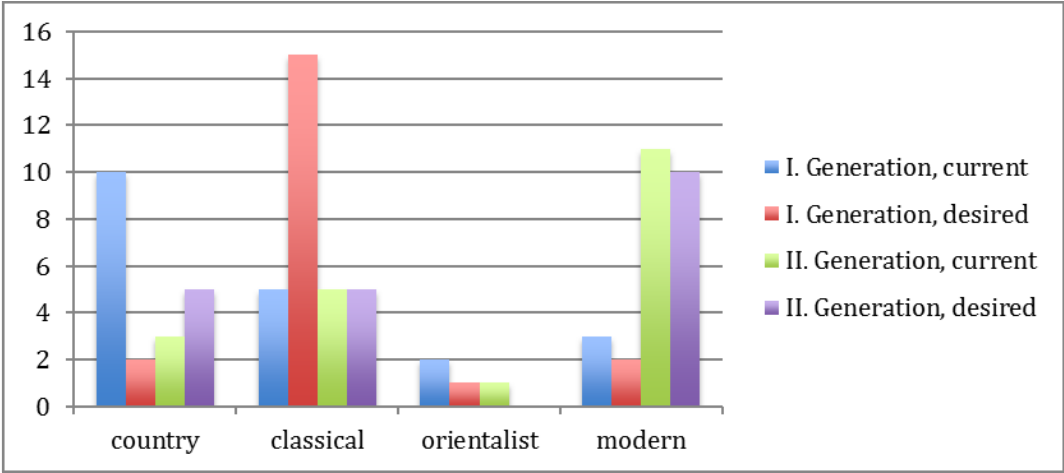
As can be seen in the graph above, especially for the first-generation interviewees, the current furniture styles used are different from the ones they would prefer to use. As for the second-generation interviewees, the furniture styles they use and they said they would prefer match with each other. Thus, it is considered that the second-generation interviewees are more conscious in terms of their tastes and preferences.

7.5. Conclusion

In this section, we target to work on change and transformation strategies of Manisa gentry. Among these strategies, the most attractive output is that Manisa gentry has a tendency to trust cultural capital more in their preferences and tastes while they compare themselves regarding self and others' position.

As we have stated from the very beginning, the "gentry" as the main source of our study is a long-term process. The heritage transferred from the families is very important for the gentry. The older the roots of "status honour" are, the more valuable gentry becomes. The heritage transferred from each type of capital is thus very valuable in this sense. However, the world is changing and elements of importance for societies are differentiating. This creates a duality in terms of gentry families. On the one hand, they should protect their capital heritage, which makes them known, but on the other hand, they should not stoop themselves to a lower position than the others. In other words, they must both remain connected to their old roots and be open to fashionable changes and to rivet their elite status. At this point, the gentry families need to develop a transformation strategy. With each new generation, the gentry must keep itself in the status group on the one hand, and on the other hand it must adapt itself to the elite strategies of the new generations.

However, this section will emphasize that it is visible of new strategies born by new generation does create difference at capital understanding which has affect over preferance and taste. It has been seen that currently a new consumption preferances comes alive as "fashionable". This case is more visible at the gentry families that their tastes are more affected by economic capitals. Some gentry families are starting to re-build their "status" by economic capital with the help of "fashinable trend", triggered

by social change and "new riches". Some old rooted families among the Manisa gentry prefer to stress the importance of family wealth rather than their heritage by consuming fashinable and popular goods. For such families, "appropriate for us" products and practices become the ones which are owned with high prices, expensive and fashines.

During our interviews, it has been observed that the gentry families have implemented some transformation strategies in order to adapt to the new generation of elites. These transformation strategies are slightly different from the symbolic values they consume in everyday life who have short message duration. These transformations are larger items of consumption. They also have longer visibility. These transformation strategies are almost like a manifesto with a longer lasting effect and stronger meanings, rather than small symbolic messages. These long-term visible transformations reveal themselves in the living room furniture preferences and housing environment choices. In fact, it would not be wrong to claim that the first item of the transformation manifesto is the living room furniture preferences. Because the living room is a display for those who come from outside the house, it is like a canvas that carries fine messages in the furniture preferences and tries to express their status honour in the smallest details. The housing environment cannot go more than to reveal the rough outer lines of this canvas.

In this part of our study, our aim is to reveal transformation strategies that affect Manisa gentry to take position within its own status group. Respectively, the differences between the generations observed during our interviews are specifically discussed in this section along with its reasons.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

We think that the sociological understanding of small town studies is one of the missing points which needs to be focused in Turkey. Particularly in terms of social stratification, there are unique dynamics of small towns which are crucial and needs to be examined. From that perspective, as sociologists to capture the characteristics of startification in small towns and to analyze the social structure more deeply, gentry appears as a group to be studied. Representing the local elite in small towns, it has been the subject of our study to determine the general structure and dynamics of the community to fill the gap regarding the sociological studies in Turkey. Hence, parallel to the assumptions of the thesis research the gentry in Manisa has an important position in the social structure of the town. Analysing the consumption preferences of gentry living in Manisa, we have manifested their significant existence in the social stratification in the society, in a small town in Turkey.

Wherever we go in Turkey, when we ask about the gentry of that city, we are provided with certain names. It is not certain based on what these names are determined. Sometimes these people are the ones working in the local administration level and sometimes they are tradesmen. Most of them have an economic accumulation. However, their position's foundation is more than this economic accumulation. For the group we call the gentry, respectability and recognition are a priority. They are individuals who have deep roots in these lands, who are consulted for their opinion and people trust their decisions. The power provided by this trust and respectability to the families is indisputably accepted by those living in that city. The position of the gentry is considered as an example and it is followed by people.

But how do the gentry acquire the power and position that they have? When we make an assessment based on social strata, we see that the gentry manifest a stance, which

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is different than the bipolar class discrimination. The gentry neither fully rules nor is fully ruled. The gentry, who sometimes is the land owner and sometimes the farmer, while they are distinct in terms of the work they do and assets they own and with their positions, they rather gain this status with their respectability. Positioning based on status leads us to Max Weber's work.

According to Weber, the position of class appears as typical facilities that people have for goods, living conditions and personal experiences. What is meant by the typical facilities that people have is the fact that the degree and type of power of spending goods or skills in order to provide income in a given economic order is determined by the type or absence of such power. What we want to express by power is the chance of more than one person to realize their own will in a social action, even against the resistance of others involved in that action. Economic power is important to individuals, but people simply do not seek power to enrich themselves economicly. Power, including economic power, has a value on its own. The social honour to be provided by power is very attractive to many. Because social honour is the foundation of political and economic power. The distribution of social honour among typical groups in society constitutes the social order. On the other hand, social order greatly affects the economic order and is also influenced by it (Weber 1991:268).

Weber's concept of power mentioned above has significantly helped us to understand the group we worked with - the gentry of Manisa. The Manisa gentry consists of well-recognised, well respected and influential families of long descent. This recognition and respect provides families with a very high level of capital accumulation that Bourdieu deals with. According to Bourdieu, capital is not simply a tool that facilitates access to production and consumption practices. It provides an accumulation of attitudes that provide norms, behaviors, tastes and social respect (Bourdieu, 1986: 3). It is possible to mention four different types of capital for Bourdieu. Economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals. In our study, detailed descriptions of these capitals are provided. The usage rate of each capital affects the consumer preferences of individuals.

Various scientists have different opinions on consumption, which currently have major importance in our lives. Today, consumption happens because we are convinced that we need more than meeting the biological or physiological needs. Consumption society and individuals' perception of success have also started to change. What, how and with whom they consume plays an important role in the evaluation of success. While people classify each other, they consider the consumption habits of others. Today's general perception is 'you are what you consume' (Todd, 2012; 46). According to Bourdieu, who addressed consumption preferences and tastes in his studies, people consciously or unconsciously lean on consumption to form their identity, personality, and choose the appropriate product for this purpose (Bourdieu, 1989: 262).

Starting from the general approaches on consumption when we look into consumption norms, besides having differences in home, clothing, food and leisure activities and the values determined in relation to them between the societies, there are differences within the society as well. What applies to all societies is the fact that each individual does not consume in the same way. Consumption differs according to the social stratification and other status organizations that exist in a society. In the various layers of a stratified society, individuals wear different clothes and consume different nutrients or have different concerns about consumption (Kıray, 2005:13).

With their concerns, individuals send a message with their consumer preferences. While this concern is present for every individual in society, the meaning of consumption preferences is much more valuable for the gentry who is positioned based on status. For the gentry, consumption is a tool used to show their status. They manifest that they are different from others by presenting their tastes and lifestyles.

When we proceed with Bourdieu's concepts of capital, economic capital is available at sufficient levels for gentry families. However, as their position is mostly based on their respectability, in our study, it is observed that the impact of cultural capital is stronger. For this reason, their lifestyles and tastes have a moral meaning beyond material values. Rather than having economic capital, they aim to use this capital in a way "appropriate for them" with the impact of their cultural capital. Families tend to

exhibit their status gained with this accumulation. For this reason, they try to impress their friends, fellows and rivals by inviting them to their homes to exhibit and prove their capital accumulation (Veblen, 2005:63). Thus, the furniture used in their homes. For this reason, it would be useful to state which capital of Bourdieu is used to give a meaning to some basic concepts such as home, living room and furniture. Giving a meaning to these concepts was identified in the light of the information obtained during the field work. We do not claim that no capital is used in this assessment, for which we have adapted top to bottom approach. In our study we will try to point out with the influence which capital the gentry shows their preferences while making choices about the house, living room and furniture. By doing so, we think that we can determine based on which capitals the participants are developing more significant strategies when interpreting the contents of our field interviews.

Figure 24 : Types of Capital Which the Gentry Shows Their Preferences While Making Choices

The house is not just a tool to meet a need, but a tool and indicator of a certain relationship, a certain social structure (Castells, 1997:38). The existence of the house itself means that a certain life will come to light, it will render that life livable and it will provide a place and a space for that life. The house is not only a building but also a space designed for people. Therefore, the house is a cultural process and a unity of material and spiritual values (İncedayı, 2004: 9).

As a space, house is a commodity whose value can be clearly determined in terms of economic capital. In addition, also the material used in the construction of the house is one of the important factors defining the value of the house. The "house" provides the owner with an economic capital with its measurable material value. During our interviews, it was observed that all of the participants spent their childhood in houses located in the same area. This area, as we discussed in Chapter V, which is related to the history of Manisa, is the most valuable area of Manisa in terms of settlement area. In addition, during our interviews, many participants expressed that they live in houses which match their status by saying "it is not appropriate for us to live in another place other than here". In addition to economic capital, we see that living these houses which are appropriate for them" is a necessity of the social network to which they belong. It is important to be intertwined with social capital bonds for the gentry who builds their respectability and status on being well-known and recognition. Especially during interviews the fact that the participants mentioned neighbor relations and having guests in their houses all the time underlines the social capital.

The living room is an area that does not play an active role in the daily use of the house, although it occupies a larger area in general than the other rooms. The living room, prepared by the family members, waits to be seen by the guests. The living room is a space prepared for the guests, not for the family living in the house. The variety and order of the items present in the living room reveals the social level of the family. Placing items and decorating the living room, above all, is closely related to the race for wealth and respect among families. Living room items shows the family's financial strength, respectability. Living room items attract attention for being symbolic consumption (Ayata, 1988: 14). The living room, personality, family, environment and stratification structures can be considered as an example reflecting a small part of the changes in the civilization process (Ayata, 1988: 24).

In our study, in which we consider being gentry as a status group, we see that the gentry manifest their status through the living room. In the interviews we conducted, we clearly observed that; The living rooms, including their children, have always been an important place for the children of gentry families to show their way of life to the

guests. People from outside can get the most accurate information about the family's status and social position by looking at their living room furniture preferences. Aware of the ability of the living room furniture to deliver this powerful message, gentry families pay extra attention to the preferences of the living room furniture. At this point, their economic capital accumulation has allowed them to make different choices from the "others". Moreover, not only their economic capital but also their social and symbolic capital have been significant in the preferences of the gentry families. However,when we look at the proportion of capital accumulation in living room preferences, we see the dominant traces of cultural capital. Because in living room decoration preferences, one of the most basic characteristics of the preferences for these families is that "it should be appropriate for us". In proportion with their honour status, the family tends to prefer and consume what is becoming them. They aim to show that they prefer the products that are suitable for their families, rather than only showing that they can buy a product with economic means. Sometimes they aim to show that they make preferences that are "appropriate for them" with an object that is rare and sometimes with an antique piece that reflects the deep roots of the family.

After looking into the house and living room of the gentry, we think it would be useful to make some evaluations on the furniture. Furniture has quite an important place in contemporary modern world. A life without furniture is unimaginable in a house or an office. Furniture has been an indispensable product from the very beginning of a settled life. As a matter of fact, furniture is not a vital necessity. Although there is no apparent need to have furniture to meet the basic needs, it has always been important for people in terms of space they inhibit in. Furniture is preferred because it is thought to provide convenience. Another important and old task that furniture has always played is bringing prestige to its owner. Throughout the history thrones are used as tools to emphasize the supremacy of Kings. The size of the throne was the most basic indicator used to show the majesty of the king. Palaces are furnished with the most beautiful furniture in order to reinforce the prestige of the countries in the eyes of the visitors. The fact that furniture is made of the best quality material, shows the economic capital in terms of being flamboyant. Especially for the first generation participants, it is a requirement that the furniture is made of the most durable and high

quality material. The fact that furniture is considered in the durable consumption product class is also important in terms of the capacity of the furniture to reflect economic capital. For our first generation participants, the long-term use of a furniture purchased during a period of limited means and even passing it to next generations is a feature reflecting the status. For the second generation, this is a strategy based mostly on having the "best" product. Furniture, due to all messages it needs to convey and because of its features, is a product with which economic and symbolic capital is a priority for the gentry.

For our study, we chose to examine a group which positions itself with the status position in Manisa. As a status group, Manisa gentry draws attention to the fact of being different than others as mentioned above and always builds its existence on the notion of "appropriate for us". The aim of the notion of "appropriate for us" is to draw attention to what they own and to show their status to others. Although we see this positioning in all types of behavior or consumption preferences, our study aims to focus on the strong message that the living room furniture and decoration preferences have. We found it appropriate to conduct a field work in order to understand and convey this message correctly.

One of the most basic steps for us was to determine who gentry families are, therefore we first identified some names as "Manisa Gentry" with a pilot study. We started conducting our field work with these names. During our interviews, we observed many times that, due to their strong social ties and having status position based on social capital, gentry families mentioned the names of other gentry families and even legitimized their status as the gentry through these relationships. Besides, by asking them "who else's name you can mention as the gentry?" we have set the limits of the sample to be interviewed. At the point where the names of the gentry families began to be repeated, we had the opportunity to meet 40 people from a total of 20 families. Two different generations of each family were visited in their homes and face to face interviews were held in their living rooms.

These interviews started by them telling their life stories in short. We asked them to provide some information on their family life, the house where they spent their childhood and their living room. Thus, it is examined why their families were considered as the gentry. It was conveyed by all our participants that their family elders were very respectable people that everyone came to ask their opinion on anything, that their homes and their living rooms were always full of guests. During our interviews, it was observed that the participants made an emphasis on the position they have, such as "appropriate for us" and "our peers". For the gentry, it is very important to consume and act in accordance with the status they have. They even state that "others" have this expectation from them as well. But first of all, it will be useful to understand how the gentry position themselves in relation to "others". As mentioned earlier, it is very important to maintain the state and status of being distinct from others for the gentry. During our interviews, it was determined that the gentry made their decisions by considering this distinction in their consumption preferences and tastes. It has an impact on their residential area to the living room furniture preferences. "Appropriate for us" is the most important value in their consumption strategies. Thus, the difference with the "others" will be revealed by legitimizing their status.

It is necessary for the gentry to own a house in a place that is appropriate for them to be dressed, to eat, to drink and to decorate their living in a way that is suitable for them. Participant 3b by saying "You are asking yourself why such a busy man would do that?" I did it, because incomers should see me and realize that I do not hold myself back from spending whatever for them", emphasizes that he manifests his position through the living room. Because in this way the guests can see the status position of the gentry. The gentry can maintain their status as the gentry the extent to which they can meet this expectation. During our interviews, one participant who handed their house to a contractor, even though they did not need to do so, to have an apartment building to be constructed instead explains the reason "My father said an apartment blocks would be built. If not, people would condemn us. They would judge us, how we could keep that house as it is considering how rich we are.(1b)". For the gentry, it is important to stay in their status groups, to live in areas appropriate for them and to

consume in appropriate places. They can maintain their status only by preserving their presence in this group.

Since their childhood, the position of the living room within the family has always been special for the gentry. Many have mentioned the limitations related to the use of the living room set by the family elderly. The living room, always ready for the guests, is always kept neat and tidy. With the impact of the economic structure of the country even when the production or use of a wide variety of products did not exist, the gentry families tried to make the "divan" placed in their living rooms to make it as luxurious as possible with the use of auxiliary objects and handcrafts. The divans adorned with rare fabrics and embroideries have become "appropriate for them" and assume the duty of showing that the gentry has a different position than the others. In the next period, with the production of hand carved armchair sets, divans were replaced by luxury sofa sets. The use of these hand-carved sets, which are usually manufactured by specialized craftsmen, has provided the gentry with opportunity to move towards conspicuous consumer products. During our interviews, participants expressed their preference for furniture sets that "nobody has", "are rare", "are custom made". When we asked why they had such a preference, they stated that "it is not appropriate for them to use what everyone has." This situation demonstrates their efforts to show their status with their furniture preferences. The remarks of the participant 11b clearly demonstrates this; "After all, my family and my husband's family are of certain importance, so our future guests; we chose our furniture accordingly when we first got married. My sofa suit was custom-made." As can be seen from this quotation, the gentry tries to prepare an appropriate living room, taking into consideration the status of her own family, her husband's family and the guests who will come to their homes. Their starting point is to choose what is appropriate for them in their preferences of living room furniture.

It is important to emphasize that the gentry use rare pieces and prefer custom made products when decorating the living room. Participant 5b, "You could not find it in Manisa, of course. We went to İzmir to buy it. Everyone was fascinated. It was very difficult for many people to afford it, that's why they could not see it anywhere else."

By stating this she underlines that nobody else in Manisa can have the living room sofa that she has.

As we have mentioned before, two generations of gentry families have been interviewed in our study. Our aim here was to be able to observe the positioning of the gentry itself with others and to find the opportunity to observe the transformation experienced between generations. The transformation between generations is useful for us to observe the transformation strategies of the gentry. In today's world, tactics and strategies can no longer be fixed within a certain community. They even go out of their orbit and go into circulation. We will try to address the changes and transformations of the two generations that we have discussed in our study with the tactics and strategies that have gone out of this orbit. With the impact of capitalism, the various consumption choices offered by the world of consumption are forcing individuals in terms of messages to give with their preferences. The individual must consider the message to be given by the preference and act accordingly. Having many different products brings together also having many different message capabilities. They have put the consumers in the position of a migrant in a system that is too large to belong to them but too tightly woven to escape. The tactics show us that the mind cannot be considered separate from the daily struggles and the pleasures that are articulated to these struggles. Strategies, on the other hand, store their relationships with power, protected by a space or an institution owned, and supports them in this way, behind objective calculations. First of all, the strategy requires the existence of an area, the framework of which has been drawn as a certain belonging (De Certeau, 2009:55). In this case, we can say that it is a strategy of being different from the others for Manisa gentry which dates back to old times and which was adopted to protect their status. However, with the increase of consumption options and the emergence of new classes, the fact that these strategies have started to change caught our attention during our interviews.

When we look at the transformation strategies of Manisa gentry through the living room furniture preferences, the state of positioning themselves with their differences from the "others", as in the old generations, is still present. However, with social

changes new class positions are emerging and new consumption variables such as "best" and "latest fashion" are emerging. Gentry families must now both be different from others to show their status and consume the best, the latest fashion.

When we look at the transformation strategies of Manisa gentry over living room furniture preferences, the situation of positioning themselves in different ways from the "others", as in the old generations, is still present. However, new class positions emerge with social changes and new consumption variables such as "the best" and "the latest fashion" appear. In order to exhibit their status, gentry families must now be different from others and must consume the best and the latest fashion.

The consumption of the latest fashion in living room furniture - which are considered among durable consumer goods - and the complementary elements for the living room decoration, is rather difficult and costly due to the relatively long the duration of use. This stems from considering furniture based on symbolic capital. Even though it used to be purchased by targeting durable consumption, today furniture is replaced before its product life ends in order to have the latest fashion furniture, in a setting where the fashionable one is perceived as "the best" with the impact of symbolic value. However, during our interviews, it has been observed that some families tend to change their living room furniture in order to do what is fashionable and by this way preserve their status. However, in some gentry families, although their economic capital accumulation is high, it has been observed that they have chosen living room furniture with the purpose of realizing it as "appropriate for us", which they learned from the previous generation, in order to emphasize their ties to their roots. However, the general trend is that the consumption of the latest fashion transforms into "appropriate for us". What we are trying to explain is that, although the families who use old hand carved sofas or living room items still exist, it has been observed that a group of gentry families tend to consume what is fashionable. They explain their consumption of the fashionable as "the best" in terms of the furniture sector of today. The perception of the best is the latest fashion is a view that we came across during our interviews. The participant 8b was surprised when his wife said that she wants to change the curtains after a very short period of time. However, when his wife explained the reason why

she wants to change them by saying "but they are in fashion," participant 8b understood and agreed with his wife and they changed the curtains. As we can see in this example, having the what is in fashion is a new strategy for the gentry.

The younger generation, which we regard as the second-generation, has a more modern approach, starting from the housing environment with the influence of the "new rich" emerging from social changes, to the finest detail of the living room furniture. They reveal this "modern" consumer preferences by modernising their style of living room furniture. As we held the interviews in the living room of the participants, we had the chance to see their living rooms. In addition, when we asked questions about the style of their living rooms during the interviews, they told us their opinion on their living rooms and based on which style they made their preferences for their living room furniture. On the other hand, we used some pictures in order to show the furniture styles that the participants would prefer to use in the halls or they would never use in their living rooms. Some examples of these images are included in appendix B. When we analyze how they categorize these pictures and the furniture they have, second generation interviewees are more stable and clear in their furniture preferences. During our interviews, the first-generation interviewees did not generally choose furniture in their living rooms, which is appropriate for the style of furniture they liked and preferred. The table 8 presented below shows comparison of the furniture style that the 1st generation interviewees use in their current living rooms and their classification of the photos that were shown to them within the framework of ZMET. Table 8 clearly shows the incompatibility between the styles of furniture that 1st Generation participants desire and currently use.

Table 8: Comparison of 1th Generation Current And Desired Living Room Furniture Style
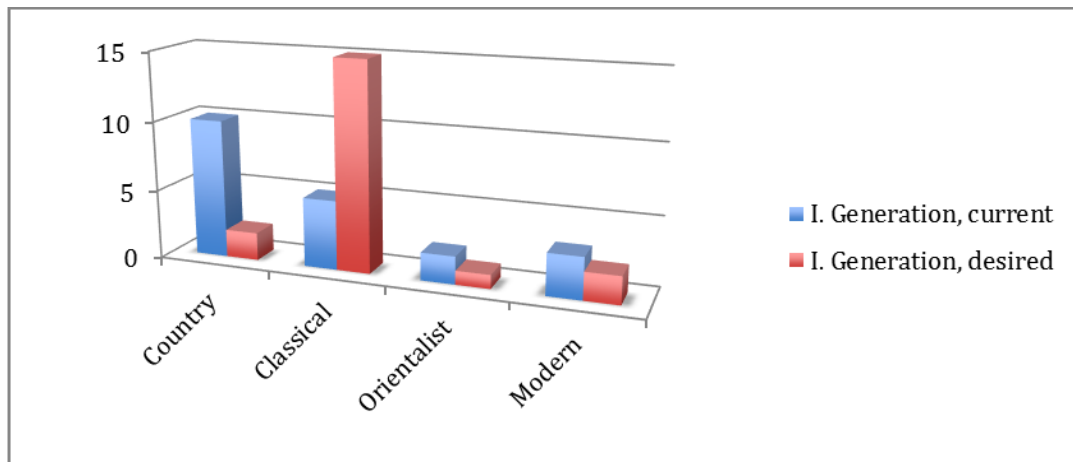
Even though they have the opportunity to buy the products they want in terms of economic capital, first generation family members, as they are of old age, expressed that they opted for products which offer ease of use. They have stated that they prefer country style furniture because its more comfortable to use. The fact that modern furniture is not very popular among first generation participants is clearly explained by interviewee 19a as follows: "The living room sofa does not have to be comfortable, it has to be beautiful. It would reveal the guests that it was purchased because was admired. It's not as if the guests would sleep here."

Out of 20 first generation participants 15 said that they would prefer using classic furniture style in their living rooms. When we asked why they prefer such furniture, they made explained it by saying "appropriate for us", "reflecting our style". Some of the first generation participants said that they passed on their old, antique sofas to their children and even to their grandchildren. The fact that some of the first generation members' living room furniture are demanded and used by the second generation family members, shows that this furniture style has the values of the status group for also the next generations.

For the first generation participants, there are striking differences in the living room furniture style which is wanted and used. However, it was observed that the second-generation interviewees decorate their current living rooms according to their

preferred style. This shows us that the second-generation interviewees have more accurately revealed their tastes by way of their preferences of living room furniture. Table 9 presented below shows the coherence between the furniture they desire to have and the furniture they currently use.

Table 9: Comparison of 2nd Generation Current and Desired Living Room Furniture Style
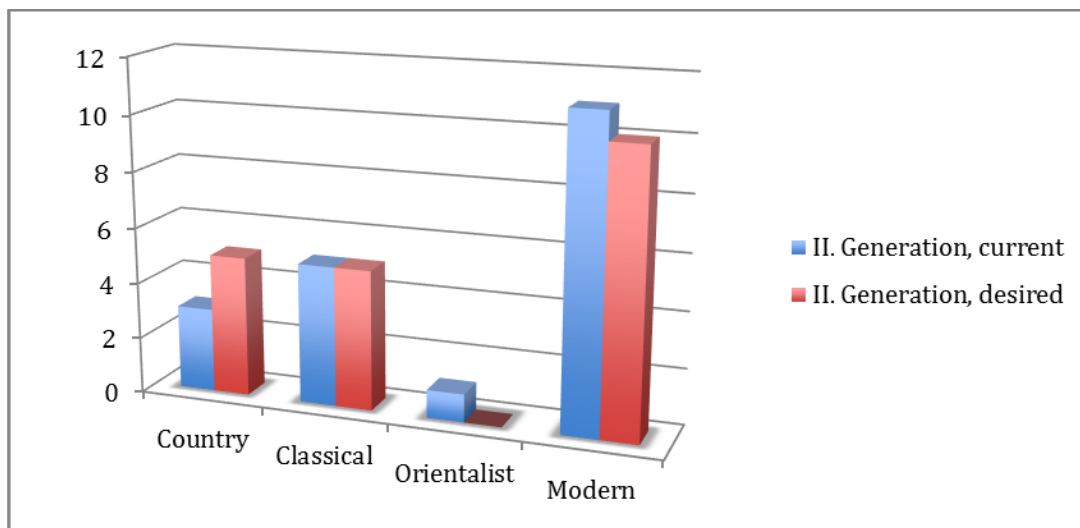
We have expressed in previous chapters of our study that, with the changes and transformations that the second generation went through, they tend towards a more modern style. They have stated that they generally prefer modern style living room furniture because of their comfort and as they represent modern people. The remarks of the interviewee 17b "We are modern individuals. I sit in my living room in the evenings. It doesn't mean anything if I come home from work and I can't sit comfortably." expresses the reasons why new generation prefer modern furniture in their living rooms.

With the claim of modernization and westernization, residences, building complexes with high walls which are the new face of the city, offer "the good life" to the inhabitants preferring this kind of life. Manisa too had its share of these structures that represent this new modern lifestyle. 11 participants interviewed live in these new modern areas located in the west part of the city. As this area, which represents the

luxurious lifestyle of the city, is an area of orchards and gardens, almost all families interviewed have lands in this area. 9 people out of 11 who live in New Manisa are the members of the second generation families. These families have expressed the necessity to decorate the luxurious living rooms of the modern areas that they prefer to live in with modern furniture. We have two participants who prefer classic furniture for their living room even though they live in New Manisa.

Figure 25: A Photo of the Living room taken by participant 14b

As it can also be seen in the figure: 25, participant 14b decorated her living room with classic furniture. However, she stated that she chose classic furniture also because it is in fashion. Participant 14b expressed that she consulted an interior designer "We always choose the most fashionable one." With this remarks she emphasizes that she does not fall behind the living room trends and that she preferred the classic furniture style as it is in fashion.

Based on all these views, the "gentry" as the main source of our study is a long-term process. The heritage transferred from the families is very important for the gentry. The older the roots of "status honour" are, the more valuable gentry becomes. The heritage transferred from each type of capital is thus very valuable in this sense. The

power of economic capital on its own cannot be enough to sustain the existence of the gentry. Because the gentry needs a structure that will support their preferences and that shapes the foundations of their tastes. The respectability provided by being from the gentry, which is inherited from generation to generation, is not an easily achieved value. However, the world is changing and elements of importance for societies are differentiating. This creates a duality in terms of gentry families. On the one hand, they should protect their capital heritage, which makes them known, but on the other hand, they should not stoop themselves to a lower position than the others. In other words, they must both remain connected to their old roots and be open to fashionable changes and to rivet their elite status. At this point, the gentry families need to develop a transformation strategy. With each new generation, the gentry must keep itself in the status group on the one hand, and on the other hand it must adapt itself to the elite strategies of the new generations.

During our interviews, it has been observed that the gentry families have implemented some transformation strategies in order to adapt to the new generation of elites. These transformation strategies are slightly different from the symbolic values they consume in everyday life who have short message duration. These transformations are larger items of consumption. They also have longer visibility. These transformation strategies are almost like a manifesto with a longer lasting effect and stronger meanings, rather than small symbolic messages. These long-term visible transformations reveal themselves in the living room furniture preferences and housing environment choices. In fact, it would not be wrong to claim that the first item of the transformation manifesto is the living room furniture preferences. Because the living room is a display for those who come from outside the house, it is like a canvas that carries fine messages in the furniture preferences and tries to express their status honour in the smallest details. The housing environment cannot go more than to reveal the rough outer lines of this canvas.

In the light of the interviews conducted, we have observed that, even though being from the gentry is not considered to be a meaningful position, it has a respectability feature and it carries a value in the eyes of the people living in that city. Gentry

families do not prefer to go outside the borders of the area where they are recognized. For this reason, it is important for them to live in Manisa where they have roots. On the other hand, with the strategies that they develop, they rebuild their status with the products they consume in order to show "others" that they are from the gentry. In this process, the fundamental thing that does not change for the gentry is their efforts to show that they are different from others. The gentry has always made preferences with the idea of "appropriate for us" and "appropriate for our status" in their tastes and preferences and has developed practices accordingly. "Appropriate for us", sometimes are the items reflecting their roots and sometimes shows itself with the consumption of "the best", "the latest fashion". But Manisa gentry never stopped doing what is appropriate for them.

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APPENDICES

A. METU HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL PAGE

Sayı: 28620816 / 185

05 NİSAN 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Sibel KALAYCIOĞLU;

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız doktora öğrencisi Günce DEMİR' in *"Yerel Elitlerinlerin Kuşaklar Arası Farkları; Manisa Eşrafı Örneği"* başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2017-SOS-061** protokol numarası ile **30.06.2017 – 30.12.2017** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye
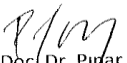
Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

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B. SELECTED PHOTOS

Figure 26: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Cross Stitch and Ewer" Taken by Participant 1a

Figure 27: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Tray" Taken by Participant 1b

Figure 28: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Wooden Wall Clock" Taken by Participant 1a

Figure 29: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Hand Carving Wooden Chair (from 19th. Century)" Taken by Paticipant 16a

Figure 30: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Console" Taken by Participant 1b

Figure 31: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Carpet" Taken by Participant 1a

Figure 32: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Console" Taken by Participant 2a

Figure 33: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Cross Stitch Handkerchief" Taken by
Participant 11b

Figure 34: A Photo of the "Family Heirloom Wooden Wall Clock" Taken by Participant 20b

C. MAPS OF 1920s and 1940s MANISA

MANİSA 1920

K

1 Hükümet
2 Belediye
3 Adliye
4 İdadi
5 Gureba Hastahanesi
6 Reji
7 Bedesten
8 Akıl Hastahanesi
9 Elektrik Fabrikası
10 Mevlevihane
11 Çifot Camii
12 Dilşikar Camii
13 Alaybey Camii
14 Hüsrevoğlu Camii
15 Nişancıpaşa Camii
16 Sarabat Camii
17 Ulu Camii
18 Hatuniye Camii
19 Çaşnigir Camii
20 Türbe Camii

21 Sultan Camii
22 Dış Medrese
23 Sultan Hamamı
24 Darüşşifa
25 Muradiye Cami
26 Alibey Cami
27 Derviş Ali Camii
28 Yarhasanlar Camii
29 Yeni Camii
30 Molla Şaban Camii
31 Velioğlu Camii
32 Ayni Ali Camii
33 Kuyucılan Camii
34 Karaköy Camii
35 İvazpaşa Camii
36 Lalapaşa Camii
37 Arapalanı Camii
38 Şeyh Fenari Camii
39 Hacı Yahya Camii
40 Kışla

41 İbrahim Çelebi Camii
42 Kısık Mescidi
43 Terzioğlu Türbesi
44 Yirmiki Sultanlar Türbesi
45 Saruhan Bey Türbesi
46 İshak Çelebi Türbesi
47 Ayni Ali Türbesi
48 Revak Sultan Türbesi
49 Sinanbey Medresesi
50 Çukur Hamamı
51 Darphane
52 Kurşunlu Mektebi
53 İstasyon
54 Belediye Gazinosu
55 Askeri Mahfel
56 Saray Köşkü
57 Göktaşlı Camii

0 50 100 150 200 m

I   İmaret
Md   Medrese
M   Mektep
C   Cami
Ha   Han
H   Hamam
K   Kilise
F   Fabrika

KAYNAK, Nusret Köklü "DÜNKÜ MANİSA" Ankara, 1970.

MANİSA 1940

K

İNÖNÜ
ŞEHİTLER
PEKER
SAKARYA
DİNÇER
YARHASAN
ANAFARTA
ALAYBEY
ARDA
AKGÜN
NECATİ
UTKU
AKINCILAR
MİMARSİNAN
KUYUALAN
EGE
İBRAHİM ÇELEBİ
TEVFİK
GÖKLENS
KOCA TEPE
BAYINDIRLIK
SARUHAN
İSHAK G.
TOPÇU ASIM
TUNCA
AYNAK
ADAKALE
DERE
ULUS
MUTLU
GEDİZ

ÖLÇEK
0 400m 200m 300m

C CAMİ
E EĞİTİM
S SAĞLIK
R RESMİ

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D. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS / GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

1.Kişisel sorular

1.1. Çocukluğunuzdan başlayarak kısa hayat hikâyenizi anlatabilir misiniz? Ailenizi, çocukluğunuzun geçtiği evi/evleri, ev ve aile hayatınızı, nasıl bir çocukluk geçirdiğinizi.

- Eğitim durumunuz ve mesleğiniz hakkında bilgi verir misiniz?
- Anneniz, babanız ve kardeşlerinizin eğitim durumu ve meslekleri hakkında bilgi verir misiniz?
- Eşiniz ve çocuklarınızdan bahseder misiniz? Eğitim durumları ve meslekleri hakkında bilgi verir misiniz?

1.2. Aileniz kaç kuşaktır Manisa Eşrafından? Ailenizin Lakabı var mı? Kimlerden olarak bilinirsiniz?

- Ailenizin Manisa Eşrafından olarak tanınmasının temel sebebi nedir?
- Ailenizin Manisa Eşrafından olarak duruşunu nasıl tanımlarsınız?
- Aileniz Manisa genelinde yerel karar vermede aktif rol oynar mı?
- Aileniz Manisa'da siyasal ve politik hayatta aktif rol oynar mı?

2. Ev hayatı ve tercihler hakkında sorular

2.1.Şu anda oturduğunuz evde kaç yıldır ikamet ediyorsunuz?

- Kullanmakta olduğunuz mobilyaları kaç yıldır kullanıyorsunuz? Nereden almıştınız? İçlerinde özel yapım ya da aile yadigârı olan parçalar var mı? Gösterebilir misiniz?
- Evinizde ne sıklıkla değişiklik yaparsınız? Evin şeklini değiştirmek, mobilya değiştirmek vb. Genellikle hangi sebeplerden değişiklik yaparsınız?

2.2.Ev dekorasyonu denildiğinde aklınıza ilk neler geliyor?

- Evinizi yerleştirirken bir uzmandan, tanıdığınızdan, televizyon programlarından vb. destek aldınız mı? Özellikle Mobilya seçiminizde

sizi kimler ve neler etkiler? (dükkânlar, dergiler, tv programları, kataloglar, komşular, arkadaşlar vb.)

- Mobilya alışverişlerinizde son söz kime ait?
- Evinizi yerleştirirken en çok dikkat ve özeni hangi kısma gösterirsiniz/ gösterdiniz?
- Mobilya seçimlerinizde sizin için güzellik ve albeni mi yoksa kullanım ve kolaylık mı daha etkili rol oynar? (el oyması koltuklar vs. sandıklı çekyatlar ya da koltukların leke tutmayan, çıkartılabilen kumaşla döşenmesi vb.)

2.3. Salonunuzu dekore ederken kullandığınız perde, aydınlatma, halı, döşeme gibi tercihlerinizde sizin için önemli olan noktalar nelerdir?

- Perde seçerken sizin için önemli olan noktalar nelerdir? Ne tarz perde tercih edersiniz?
- Aydınlatma seçerken sizin için önemli olan noktalar nelerdir? Salonunuzda ne tarz aydınlatmalardan faydalandınız? Neden?
- Halı seçiminizde nelere dikkat edersiniz? El dokuma halınız var mı? Hangi yöreye ait?
- Salon dekorasyonunda ne tarz objeler (duvar süsü, tablo, fotoğraf, el işlemeleri, antika eşyalar vb.) kullanmayı tercih ettiniz? Neden? İçlerinde aile yadigârı olan parçalar var mı?

2.4. Şu anda mobilyalarınızda bir değişiklik yapacak olsanız göstermiş olduğum tarzlardan size en yakın gelenler hangileri? Neden?

- Seçtiğiniz tarzın görünüşü mü, kullanışı mı sizin için daha ön planda?
- Ev dekorasyonu konusunda en beğendiğiniz ve hiç beğenmediniz tarzları gösterebilir misiniz?
- Salonumu asla böyle döşemem dediğiniz tarz var mı? Gösterir misiniz?

2.5. Salonunuz da en çok beğendiğiniz, övündüğünü parçalar neler? (koltuk, vitrin, konsol, sandık vb)

- Salonunuzda beğenmediğiniz, sizi rahatsız eden parçalar var mı? Neler?
- Evinize misafir beklediğinizde salona dair yapacaklarınız neler olur?(temizlik, düzenleme, mobilyalarda değişiklik). Beklenmedik misafir geldiğinde ne yaparsınız? Evinizin dekorasyonunu misafire nasıl yansıtırsınız?
- Komşularınızın, akrabalarınızın, dostlarınızın salonlarında sizin için dikkat çekici noktalar neler?(mobilya tercihleri, dekorasyon şekilleri, objeler, renk uyumu vb.)

2.6.Çocukluğunuzun geçtiği ev ile şu an yaşadığınız ev arasında benzerlikler var mı? Bahseder misiniz? Bu iki ev arasında farklar var mı? Sizi en çok etkileyen farklar neler?

2.7.Şu anda salonunuzun dekorasyonu sizi tatmin ediyor mu? Diğer insanların bu konuda ki görüşleri, yargıları sizin için önemli mi?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Personal Questions

   1.1. Can you tell your short life story starting from your childhood? What kind of childhood did you spend? How was your family, home / homes, home and family life of your childhood?
      - Could you tell us about your education and your occupation?
      - Could you tell us about the education and occupations of your mother, father and siblings?
      - Could you tell us about your spouse and children? Can you tell us about their education and occupations?

   1.2. How many generations has your family been from Manisa? Does your family have a nickname? Who are you known to be?
      - What is the main reason why your family is known as Manisa Gentry?
      - How would you describe your family's position as Manisa Gentry?
      - Does your family play an active role in local decision making across Manisa?
      - Does your family play an active role in political and political life in Manisa?

2. Questions about home life and preferences

   2.1. How many years have you been living in your home?
      - How long have you been using the furniture you are using? Where did you get it? Are there any parts that are custom made or family heirlooms? Can you show me?
      - How often do you change your home? Change the shape of the house, change the furniture etc. Why do you usually make changes?

   2.2. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you say home decoration?
      - When you place your home, you will find a specialist, an acquaintance, television programs, etc. received support? In particular, who and what affects you in your choice of furniture? (shops, magazines, tv programs, catalogs, neighbors, friends, etc.)

- Who has the last word in your furniture purchases?
- In which part do you show / show your best care when placing your home?
- Do you choose a beauty or allure or a more effective role in your furniture choices? (hand-carved seats, etc.)

2.3. What are the points that are important to you in your preferences such as curtain, lighting, carpet, flooring?

- What are the points that are important to you when choosing curtains? What kind of curtain do you prefer?
- What are the important points for you when choosing lighting? What kind of lighting have you used in your hall? Why is that?
- What do you pay attention to when choosing a carpet? Do you have hand-woven carpets? Which region?
- What kind of objects (wall ornaments, paintings, photographs, hand embroideries, antique items, etc.)? Why is that? Are there any fragments of family heirlooms in them?

2.4. If you are going to make a change in your furniture right now, what are the ones that come closest to you? Why is that?

- Is the appearance of the style you choose is more important for you?
- Can you show your favorite styles about home decoration and the styles you don't like?
- Is there a style you always call my living room? Can you show me?

2.5. What are the parts that you like the most and boast of? (seat, showcase, console, crate etc.)

- Are there parts that you don't like in your room? What?
- What are the things you will do when you are waiting for a guest in your home (cleaning, arranging, changing furniture)? What do you do when you have an unexpected guest? How do you reflect the decoration of your home to the guest?
- What are the highlights for you in the halls of your neighbors, relatives, friends (furniture preferences, decoration shapes, objects, color harmony, etc.)

2.6. Are there similarities between your childhood home and the home you are living at? Will you tell me? Are there differences between these two houses? What are the differences that affect you the most?

2.7. Does your room decoration satisfy you now? Are other people's opinions and judgments important to you?

E. CURRICULUM VITA

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Demir Günce
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 15 November 1982 , Kayseri
Marital Status: Married
Phone: +90 5334331856
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	Celal Bayar University/ Management and Organization	2007
BS	Adnan Menderes University/ Department of Sociology	2004
High School	Dündar Çiloğlu Anatolian High School	2000

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2010- Present	METU/ Department of Sociology	Research Assistant
2008- 2010	Kırıkkale University/ Department of Sociology	Research Assistant
2004-2007	Celal Bayar University/ Graduate School of Social Sciences	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

English

F. TÜRKÇE ÖZET/ TURKISH SUMMARY

Çalışmamızda, Manisa Eşrafının "tüketim tercihleri" ile kendilerini ifade edişlerini incelemeye çalıştık. Ele aldığımız salon mobilya tercileri ile Manisa Eşrafının ortaya koydukları "bize yakışan", "dengimiz olan" tavrı bizim için taşıdığı güçlü mesaj kapasitesi ile adeta bir manifesto olarak düşünülmüştür. Özellikle salon mobilya tercihleri ve beğenileri, hem dayanıklı tüketim malı olmaları hem de hane dışından gelenlerin kabul edildiği bir mekân da yer alıyor olması sebebi ile bu manifestonun oluşmasında oldukça önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Çalışmamız dâhilinde eşrafın kendi kuşakları arasında ve toplumsal değişimin etkisi ile toplumun diğer konumları arasındaki ilişkisini bu manifesto üzerinden görmek ve göstermek hedeflenmektedir. Yaptığımız görgül araştırma ile bu tüketim manifestosunu oluşturan en güçlü ayak olarak ele aldığımız "salon mobilyası" kullanımını incelemeye çalıştık. Böylece Manisa Eşrafı olarak ele aldığımız grubun, salonlarını dekore ederken yaptıkları tüketim tercihleri ve beğenileri ile kendilerini çevrelerinde bulananlara nasıl sunduklarını ortaya koyabileceğimizi düşünmekteyiz.

Çalışmamız dâhilinde öncelikle ele aldığımız soruları şu şekilde sıralayabiliriz; Manisa Eşrafını bir statü grubu olarak ele alınabilir mi? Eğer Manisa Eşrafı statü gurubu olarak ele alınabiliyor ise, bu statü gurubu, Manisa eşrafından olmayanlara karşı kendilerini nasıl konumlandırıyorlar? Tüketim tercihleri bu noktada etkili mi? Manisa eşrafı olarak ele aldığımız statü grubu için "salon" nasıl bir mekân? Manisa Eşrafının salon pratikleri, salon kullanımları ve salon mobilya tercihleri nasıl? Manisa eşrafının salon dekorasyon ve mobilya tercihlerinde statü konumu açısından bir değişim ve dönüşüm söz konusu mu? Bu değişim ve dönüşümün arkasında yatan dinamikler neler?

Yukarıda belirttiğimiz sorular çalışmamızın ana kurgusunun temelleridir. Manisa Eşrafı, tüketim, tercihler, salon, mobilya gibi birbiri ile uzak noktalarda durduğunu

düşündüğümüz kavramlar, çalışmamız ilerledikçe bir ahenk içersin de anlamlı bir bütün oluşturmuştur.

Çalışmamızın çıkış noktasında Türk Toplumunun önemli bir değeri olan "eşraf" kavramı yer almaktadır. Türkiye'nin herhangi bir köşesinde, o kentin eşrafını sorduğumuzda bize belli aile isimleri verilmektedir. Bu isimlerin neye göre belirlendiği bir kesinlik göstermemektedir. Kimi zaman yerel idarede yer alan bu isimler, kimi zaman esnaf olarak çalışmaktadır. Çoğunun ekonomik anlamda bir birikimi vardır. Ancak sahip oldukları konumları bu ekonomik birikimden daha fazlası üzerine yükselmektedir. Bu aileler genellikle, yörenin köklü, hatırı sayılır aileleridir. Yöre halkı üzerinde bu ailelerin belirleyici bir etkisi mevcuttur. Herkesin tanıdığı ve bildiği bu ailelere üye olmak önemli bir statü kazandırmaktadır. Eşraf dediğimiz grup için saygınlık ve bilinirlik ön plandadır. Onlar bu topraklarda kök salmış, fikirleri alınan, kararlarına güvenilen bireylerdir. Bu güven ve saygınlığın ailelere sağladığı güç, o kentte yaşayanlar için tartışmasız kabul gören bir durumdadır. Eşrafın sahip olduğu konum örnek alınan, takip edilen bir noktadadır. Kısacası, kendine has özellikleri ile eşraflık toplumsal yapı içinde önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Peki ama eşraf sahip olduğu gücü ve konumu nasıl elde etmektedir? Bu sorudan hareket ederek çalışmamızın ikinci bölümünde sosyal sınıf pozisyonları üzerine geliştirilen temel teorilere değinmeyi uygun bulduk. Sosyal sınıf teorilerinden söz edildiğinde ilk akla gelen isimlerden biri olan Marx'ın iki kutuplu sınıf teorisine değinilmiştir. Toplumsal tabakalar üzerinden bir değerlendirme yaptığımızda eşrafın, Marx'ın dile getirdiği iki kutuplu sınıfsal ayrımdan farklı bir duruşu gözlenmektedir. Eşraf ne bütünüyle yöneten ne de bütünüyle yönetilen durumdadır. Kimi zaman toprak sahibi, kimi zaman çiftçi olarak karşımıza çıkan eşraf, yaptıkları işler ya da sahip oldukları varlıklar ve konumları açısından belirleyici olmakla birlikte daha çok saygınlıkları ile bu statüyü kazanmaktadırlar. Çalışmamızda Manisa eşrafı bir statü grubu olarak ele alınarak, sahip oldukları bu statünün kuşaklar arası aktarımında farklı sermaye birikimleri üzerinden geliştirdikleri stratejilerin, tüketim alışkanlıkları üzerinden salon mobilya tercihlerine nasıl yansıdığına bakılması amaçlanmaktadır. Yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi Türkiye'de "eşraf" kavramının taşıdığı değerin sahip

oldukları statüye dayandığını düşünmekteyiz. Bu sebeple, Weber'in sınıf üzerine yaptığı çalışmalarda değindiği statü grubu üzerinden "eşraf" kavramını ele almayı hedeflemekteyiz.

Weber'e göre; bireylerin sınıf konumları, kişilerin mal, yaşam koşulları ve kişisel yaşantılar için sahip oldukları olanaklar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bireylerin sahip oldukları olanaklar ile anlatılmak istenen, belirli bir ekonomik düzen içerisinde kazanç sağlamak üzere mal ya da beceri harcama gücünün derecesi ve türü ya da bu güce sahip olup olmama durumuna göre belirleniyor olmasıdır. Güç kavramı ile ele aldığımız nokta; birden fazla kişinin bir toplumsal eylem içinde, o eyleme katılan başkalarının direnişine karşı da olsa, kendi iradelerini gerçekleştirme şansıdır(Weber,1996:268). Ekonomiye dayalı güç bireyler için önemlidir ancak bireyler sadece kendilerini ekonomik olarak zenginleştirmek için iktidar arayışında olmazlar. Güç kavramı, ekonomik güç de dâhil olmak üzere kendi başına bir değer taşımaktadır. Güce sahip olma hali ile birlikte ortaya çıkan, sosyal onur pek çok kişi için oldukça çekicidir. Bunun temel sebebi sosyal onurun siyasal ve ekonomik gücün temelini oluşturuyor olmasıdır. Sosyal onurun toplumdaki belirli gruplar arasındaki paylaşımı sosyal düzeni belirlemektedir. Öte yandan sosyal düzen büyük ölçüde ekonomik düzeni etkilerken aynı zamanda ekonomik düzende de etkilenmektedir(Weber 1996:268).

Weber'e göre statü grubu, sınıf kavramının aksine genellikle dağınık bir yapı göstermektedir. Bireylerin üyesi oldukları sınıflardan kaynaklanan ayrımlar ile sahip oldukları statüden yola çıkarak ortaya çıkan ayrıcalıklar çok çeşitli biçimlerde bağlantılı olabilir. Ancak statü grubundan yola çıktığımızda yaşam koşullarının "toplumsal onur" ölçüsü tarafından belirlenen somut, pozitif ya da negatif öğeleri anlatılmaya çalışılır. Bu noktadan hareketle bireyler her şeyden önce, belirli bir yaşam tarzına sahip olma beklentisi taşımaktadır(weber,1991;211). Statü, Weber'in değindiği gibi 'yaşam tarzı' üzerinden kendini göstermektedir; diğer bir değişle, bireylerin sahip oldukları yatkınlıklar, hayat görüşleri, konuşma biçimleri ve giyim-kuşam gibi kültürel pratiklerin toplamı olarak kavramlaştırılabilir. Bu noktada, 'habitus'tan söz

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etmek gerekir. Habitus Weber tarafından da kullanılan bir kavram olmasına karşın Bourdieu tarafından daha derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Bourdieu'ya göre, Habitus; bir bireyin, toplumsal alanı algılayışındı organize eden beğeni, yatkınlık ve pratiklerin oluşturduğu yelpaze tarafından ortaya koyma ve biçimlenme sürecidir. Statü denildiğinde, belli ölçülerde bireysel tarzı içerir ve hatta bu tarzın ta kendisidir. Bir grubun, toplumsal sistem içindeki konumu, bu grubun beğenileri tarafından ifade edilir. Öyle ki bu beğeniler saki yaşam tarzının pratikteki yüzleridir(Turner, 1988:66-67).

Yukarıda ele aldığı statü kavramı ve bireylerin belli bir yaşam tarzına sahip olması beklentisi, çalışmamızda Manisa Eşrafı olarak ele aldığımız grubu anlamaya çalışırken bize oldukça yardımcı olmuştur. Manisa eşrafı kökleri eskilere dayanan, Manisa genelinde, saygınlığı olan, bilinen, tanınan sözü geçen ailelerdir. Bu bilinirlik ve saygınlık hali eşraf ailelere Bourdieu'nun ele aldığı farklı sermaye birikimleri noktasında oldukça yüklü bir birikim sağlamaktadır. Bourdieu'ya göre sermaye sadece üretim ve tüketim pratiklerine erişimi kolaylaştıran bir araç değildir. Normları, davranışları, beğenileri, sosyal saygınlık getiren tutumları geliştiren bir birikim sağlamaktadır(Bourdieu, 1986;3). Bourdieu için dört farklı sermaye türünden söz etmek mümkündür. Bu sermaye türleri, ekonomik, kültürel, sosyal ve sembolik sermaye olarak sıralanır. Ekonomik sermaye maddi olarak ölçülebilen, parasal yatırımlara ve parasal birikimlere imkân sağlayan bir sermaye türüdür. Maddi olarak ölçülebilir olması zenginliğin oranının sayısal veriler üzerinden net bir şekilde belirlenmesine imkân sağlar. Ancak Bourdieu için bu sermaye tipi tek başına yaşam tarzı üzerinden belirleyici olarak ele alınmaz. Diğer sermaye türlerinin etkisi ile maddi zenginliğin kullanım şekilleri bireylerin gerçek konumlarını belirlemektedir. Bu noktadan hareketle diyebiliriz ki; Bourdieu'ya göre bireylerin sahip oldukları kültürel sermaye, sınıf konumları açısından oldukça belirleyicidir. Kültürel sermaye için eğitim formel bir yoldur. Eğitim ve okullar aracılığı ile elde edilen diplomalar, belgeler kültürel sermayeye objektif bir görünüm sağlar. Kültürel sermayeye 'okul' dışında katkı sağlayan bir diğer önemli kurum ise 'aile'dir. Bireyin aile hayatı içerisinde kazandığı niteliklerde kültürel sermaye için şekillendiricidir. Bireyler ailelerinden

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edindikleri entelektüel birikim, terbiye, davranış kalıpları sayesinde belli bir kültürel birikime sahip olurlar. Okul ve aileden aldıkları birikim ile bireylerin toplum içinde sahip oldukları konum belirlenir. Sosyal sermaye ise daha çok ilişkiler üzerinden ortaya konan bir kavramdır. Sosyal sermaye kavramı, kurumsallaşmış, birbirini tanıma ilişkilerinden ortaya çıkan, uzun soluklu bir ilişki ağına sahip olmayla ilişkilidir. Birbirini tanıyan, bir şekilde aralarında bağ olduğunu düşünen bireyler kendi gibi olanlar ile bir arada olmaya yatkındırlar. Sosyal sermayelerinin benzer düzeyde olduğunu düşündükleri bireyler ile benzer bir hayat tarzı benimseme eğilimindedirler. Sembolik sermaye ele aldığımız diğer üç sermayeyi de içinde barındırır. Uzmanlaşma açısından özellikle önem taşıyan bu tarz sermaye gösterge değerine sahip soyut bir yapıdadır.

Bourdieu'ya göre her bireyin kendine has sermaye birikimi vardır. Sadece ekonomik sermayenin bireylerin konumlarını açıklamada yeterli olmayacağını dile getiren Bourdieu'ya göre(1986); bireyler sahip oldukları sermaye oranlarına göre yaşam tarzlarını belirlerler. Hatta üyesi oldukları ailenin geçmişinden gelen birikimlerinin de etkisi ile bireyler toplum içinde belirli konumlara dâhil olarak doğarlar. Sonrasında da içinde bulundukları toplumun sağladığı imkânlar dâhilinde, sermaye birikimlerinin genel hatlarını oluşturlar. Bir diğer değişle toplum içinde ki tabakalaşmış yapı ailelerin sermaye oluşumlarında etkilidir. Bunun nedeni gruplar arası bir ayrımın aslında toplumun her kesimi tarafından istenilen bir şey olmasıdır. İnsanlar kendi gibi olanlarla daha çabuk biraradalık geliştirir. Kendi gibi olanların yanında kendini daha rahat hisseder. Ayrıca diğerleri ile mesafesini bilmek ister. Bu yüzden sadece kendi grup özelliklerini değil diğer grupların özelliklerini de gözler. Kendinden düşük grupların davranış ve tercihlerinden kaçınma eğilimi gösterirken, kendine göre üstte gördüğü grupları örnek alma, öykünme eğilimindedir. Bu noktadan hareketle bireyler tüketim tercihleri ile yaşam tarzlarının içinde barındırdığı farklılıkları ortaya koyarlar. Bourdieu bireylerin sahip oldukları farklı sermaye tipleri ve bu sermayeleri kullanım oranlarının, gündelik hayatın parçası olan yeme-içme, iç dekorasyon, giyim kuşam gibi, sınıfsal konum ve statü pozisyonları ile açıkça gözlenebileceğini belirtmektedir. Özellikle statü endişesi taşıyan bir grup için bu sermayelerin ortaya konma şekli

oldukça belirleyicidir. Öte yandan yaşanan toplumsal değişimlerinde beğeni ve tercihler üzerinden yansımaları kaçınılmazdır. Bir diğer değişle, her bir sermayenin kullanım oranı bireylerin tüketim tercihlerini etkilemekte ve bize bireylerin bulundukları toplumsal konum hakkında bilgi vermektedir.

Çalışmamızın dayandığı temel noktalardan biri, tüketim toplumu olarak nitelenen günümüz dünyasında, bireylerin kendilerini ait hissettikleri pozisyonlara göre şekillenen tüketim tercihleridir. Bu sebeple çalışmamızın üçüncü bölümünde genel tüketim teorileri incelenmiştir. Tüketimin yaşamın her alanında karşımıza çıkıyor olması, tüketim tercihleri ile karşımızdakilere bir mesaj iletiyor olmamız beğeni ve tercihleri bizim için büyük birer simge konumuna taşımaktadır. Beğeni ve tercihlerimiz bizim ait olduğumuz toplumsal konuma göre şekillenmektedir. Bireyler kendilerini tercihleri ile dış dünyaya göstermektedir. Yedikleri yemekten giydikleri giysilere, okudukları kitaplardan, izledikleri dizilere kadar tükettikleri her ürün ya da hizmet onların dış dünyaya verdikleri bir mesajdır. Bu mesajlar onların toplum içinde ait oldukları sınıflara, gruplara, pozisyonlara göre değişmektedir. Bu değişimin nedeni bireylerin bulundukları mevkiye göre tutum takınmasının ve bu pozisyonlara uygun olan ürünleri tüketmesinin onlardan beklenilen temel davranış olmasıdır.

Bugün yaşamımızda oldukça öneme sahip olan 'tüketim' konusunda çeşitli bilim insanları farklı görüşler öne sürmektedir. Günümüz de tüketim biyolojik ya da fizyolojik ihtiyaçları karşılamanın dışında daha çok ihtiyaç duyduğumuza inandırıldığımız için gerçekleşmektedir. Tüketim toplumu ile bireylerin başarı algıları da değişmeye başlamıştır. Neyi, nasıl ve kiminle tükettiği başarı değerlendirmesinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. İnsanlar birbirlerini sınıflarken diğerlerinin tüketim alışkanlıklarını ve tüketim tercihlerini göz önünde bulundururlar. Hatta günümüzde "Ne tüketiyorsan o'sun" şeklinde genel bir yargı oluşmuştur(Todd, 2012: 46). Çalışmalarında tüketim tercihleri ve beğeniler üzerine değinmiş Bourdieu'ya göre; bireyler tüketim tercihleri ile, kimi zaman bilinçli kimi zaman bilinçsiz bir şekilde, kimliklerini ortaya koyarlar. Tüketim tercihleri ve beğeniler bireyleri kendi konumlarına uygun ürünü seçmeye yönlendirmektedir (Bourdieu, 1989: 262).

Tüketim konusundaki genel yaklaşımlardan yola çıkarak tüketim normlarına gelindiğinde ev, giyim, besin ve boş zaman geçirme faaliyetlerinin ve bunlarla ilgili olarak belirlenen değerlerin toplumlararası farklılaşmasından yanı sıra toplum içinde de farklılaşması söz konusudur. Bütün toplumlar için geçerli olan şey her bireyin aynı biçimde tüketmediği gerçeğidir. Tüketim, bir toplumda var olan toplumsal tabakalaşmaya ve diğer statü organizasyonlarına göre farklılaşmaktadır. Tabakalaşmış bir toplumun çeşitli tabakalarında bireyler farklı farklı giyinir ve farklı besin maddeleri tüketir veya tüketim konusunda değişik endişeler taşımaktadır(Kıray, 2005:13).

Taşıdıkları endişeler ile bireyler tüketim tercihleri ile bir mesaj verirler. Toplumda var olan her birey için bu endişe söz konusuyken, statü üzerinden konumlanan eşraf için tüketim tercihlerinin taşıdığı anlam çok daha kıymetlidir. Eşraf için statüsünü göstermede tüketim bir araçtır. Beğenileri ve hayat tarzı ile kendini ortaya koyarak, diğerlerinden farklı olduğunu ortaya koyarlar. İnsan'ın var olabilmek için tüketmesi gereklidir. Temelde zorunlu olan tüketme ihtiyacı belli bir noktadan sonra bireylerin kendini ifade etmek için kullandıkları bir araç haline gelmiştir. Bireyler tüketerek hem kendi tercihlerini ortaya koymuşlar hem de "diğerleri" ile farklarını göz önüne sermişlerdir. Diğerlerinden farklı olma isteği özellikle kendini "diğerleri"nden daha üst bir pozisyonda gördüğünde daha baskın bir hale gelmektedir.

Çalışmamız kapsamında yaptığımız saha araştırmasına değinecek olursak; Manisa'da bulunan özellikle 1940 sonrası yerli mülkiyet sahibi ailelerin tarihi incelenmiştir. Manisa'nın tanınan, önde gelen aileleri ile doğrudan görüşmeler yapılmış, kentin ekonomik ve sosyal hayatı bulundukları konum incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Görüşme yapılan ailelerin özellikle 1940 lardan günümüze süregelen başarı, kimi zaman da düşüş hikâyeleri ve aile yaşamları incelenmiştir. Bourdieu'nun sınıf analizi ve sınıf üretimi üzerine olan düşünceleri çalışmamızın teorik temelinde önemli yer tutmaktadır. Bourdie'nun bu çok boyutlu analizinde sosyal sınıflar pek çok farklı formdaki sermayenin, ekonomik, kültürel, sosyal ve sembolik, dağılımı ve sayısız yollarla bu sermayelerin her birinin bir diğeri ile bağlantısıyla tanımlanır.

Bu çalışmada yerli tarihçilerin hazırladığı yazılı kaynaklar, istatistiki veriler ve aile albümlerinin yanı sıra derinlemesine görüşme metodu kullanılarak bilgi toplamaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmamız kapsamında 2016 yılı baharında sahaya gidilerek pilot çalışma yapılmıştır. Bu pilot çalışma ışığında, Manisa yerli halkı ve Manisa tarihi üzerine çalışan bazı araştırmacılar ile görüşmeler yapılarak, öncelikle bazı bilinen eşraf ailelerin tespitine çalışılmıştır. Kent hakkında araştırmalar yapan bazı yazarlar ve uzun yıllardır Manisa'da yaşayan farklı meslek mensubu ve farklı yaşlarda kişiler ile yapılan görüşmeler sırasında, Manisa genelinde tanıdıkları, duydukları köklü eşraf aileler sorulmuştur. Bu aileleri neden 'köklü' olarak tanımlandıklarını anlatmaları istenmiştir. Yapılan görüşmelerde tekrarlanan belli başlı isimlerden öncelikle yola çıkarak görüşmeler yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu görüşmeler sırasında adı geçen başka ailelerde incelenerek araştırmamıza konu olabilecek olanları ile iletişime geçilmeye çalışılmıştır. Pilot görüşme yaptığımız kişilerin eşraf aileler sorulduğunda belli başlı isimleri dile getirmeleri ve bu söylenen isimlerin genellikle örtüşmesi ilk aşamada hangi aileler ile görüşeceğimiz konusunda bize yol gösterici olmuştur. Bu noktadan hareketle kentin 20.yy başında söz sahibi olan ailelerin üyeleri ile derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Neredeyse görüşme yaptığımız herkes tarafından eşraf aile sorulduğunda adı geçen ailelerin üyeleri ile tanıdıklar ve hatırı sayılan kişiler aracılığıyla iletişime geçilmiştir. Çalışmamızda aynı aileye mensup iki farklı kuşak ile görüşülmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Araştırmaya konu olacağı düşünülen aileler yüz yüze ya da telefon ile iletişime geçilerek çalışmamızın genel çerçevesi aktarılmıştır. Genellikle önce genç kuşağa ulaşılarak görüşme talebimiz aktarılmıştır. Akabinde aile üyelerinin arabuluculuğu sayesinde bir önceki kuşakla görüşme ayarlanmıştır. Yüzyüze ya da telefon görüşmesi ile 'eşraf ailelerin evinin salonunda' görüşmek üzere randevu ayarlanmıştır. Görüşmeler kişilerin kendi evlerin salonlarında bireysel olarak yüz yüze gerçekleştirilmiştir. Saha çalışmamız 2017 güz aylarında yapılmıştır. Görüşmeler yaklaşık 4-5 saat sürmüştür. Kişilerin izni alınarak ses kaydı yapılmış ve görüşmeler sırasında notlar alınmıştır.

Yukarıda değindiğimiz aşamalar takip edilerek araştırmamız için en az üç kuşaktır Manisa'da yaşayan 20 aileye ulaşılmıştır. Bu ailelere mensup 11 erkek, 29 kadın olmak üzere toplam 40 kişi ile görüşülmüştür. Bu görüşmeler sırasında sözlü tarih metodu ile görüşülenlerin hayat hikâyeleri kayıt altına alınırken, ailelerin tarihi, gündelik yaşam, politika, kentteki değişim ve kendi hayatlarında yaşanan değişimler hakkında bilgi edinilmiştir. Görüşmeler sırasında eşraf aileler için sosyal bağların kuvvetli olması ve sosyal sermaye üzerinden yapılanan bir statü konumu içinde yer almaları sebebi ile kendileri gibi eşraf statüsünde yer alan ailelerin isimlerine sıklıkla söz ettikleri ve hatta bu ilişkiler üzerinden eşraflıklarını meşrulaştırdıklarını pek çok kez gözlemledik. Bunun yanı sıra "başka eşraf aile olarak kimleri sayarsınız?" şeklinde bir soru yönelterek görüşme yapacağımız örneklemin sınırlarını belirledik. Söylenen eşraf ailelerin isimlerinin tekrarlamaya başladığı noktada toplam 20 aile ile görüşme imkânı bulunmuştur. Bu 20 köklü ailenin Manisa'da ikamet eden iki farklı kuşağını temsil eden üyesi ile yani toplamda 40 kişi ile yüz yüze ve yaşamakta oldukları evlerinin salonlarında görüşülmüştür.

Çalışmamız için Manisa'da statü konumu ile pozisyon alan bir kesimi irdelemeyi seçtik. Bir statü grubu olarak Manisa Eşrafı yukarıda belirttiğimiz gibi diğerlerinden ayrılma noktasına dikkat çeker ve hep "bize yakışan" kurgusu üzerine varlığını inşa eder. "Bize yakışan" kurgusunda amaç kendinin sahip olduklarına dikkat çekmek ve statü konumunu diğerlerine göstermektir. Eşrafın her tür davranışında ya da tüketim tercihlerinde bu konumlanmayı görmemize karşın bizim çalışmamız için salon mobilyalarının ve dekorasyon tercihlerinin taşıdığı güçlü bir mesaja bakmak hedeflenmiştir. Bu sebeple çalışmamızda Zaltman Metafor belirleme tekniği uygulanmıştır. Bu teknik ile katılımcıların bilinçaltında yatan düşünce, yargı gibi hislerin görsel materyaller ile ortaya çıkartılması amaçlanmaktadır. Çalışmamız sırasında katılımcılara bazı resimler göstererek sahip olmayı istedikleri salon tarzını ve asla kullanmayacakları salon mobilya tarzını, bize göstermelerini talep ettik. Sonrasında bu resimleri neden seçtiklerini sorarak mobilya tarzı tercihlerinde etkili olan faktörleri irdelemeye çalıştık. Böylece katılımcıların sermaye birikimleri ve bu sermayeleri kullanma stratejileri hakkında bir değerlendirme imkânı elde etmeye

çalıştık. Öyle ki katılımcıların aynı statü grubunda yer almalarına karşın sermaye kullanım stratejileri oldukça farklıdır. Bu fark onların kendi statü grupları içinde edindikleri konumlarla ilintilidir. Ayrıca katılımcıların gösterdiğimiz resimler arasından yaptıkları seçimlerin gerçek hayatta kullanıyor oldukları salon ile benzerlik göstermesi ya da göstermemesi üzerine yaptığımız gözlemler ile bu farkı yakaladığımız görüşmelerde bu durumunun nedeni öğrenmeye fırsatı yakaladık.

Katılımcılarımız ile yaptığımız görüşmelere kısaca değinecek olursak, görüşmeler katılımcıların kısa hayat hikâyelerini anlatmaları istenerek başlamıştır. Hayat hikâyelerini anlatmaya genellikle doğum yıllarını belirterek başlamışlardır. Görüşmeler sırasında, yarı yapılandırılmış bir çalışma olduğu için, önceden hazırladığımız soru formuna temelde bağlı kalınmıştır. Kişisel tarihlerini anlattıkları hayat hikâyeleri görüşmecilerin hayatları ile ilgili bize pek çok pencere açmıştır. Sohbet şeklinde geçen görüşmelerimizde bu sayede öğrenmek istediğimiz pek çok bilgi kendi seyrinde katılımcı tarafından bize aktarılmıştır. Genel olarak, aile hayatları çocukluklarının geçtiği ev, salonları hakkında bizi bilgilendirmeleri istenmiştir. Çocukluklarının geçtiği evin yapısından yola çıkarak bize yaşadıkları evleri bu evlerin salonlarını, şu anda oturdukları eve geçiş süreçleri, evlerini seçerken ve evlerini döşerken yaptıkları tercihlerde onları etkileyen sebepleri anlatmaları istenmiştir. Böylece ailelerinin neden eşraf olarak algılandığı irdelenmiştir. Bütün katılımcılarımız tarafından, aile büyüklerinin çok saygın insanlar olduğu, herkesin onlara her konuda fikir sormak için geldiği, evlerinin, salonlarının hep misafirlerle dolu olduğu aktarılmıştır. Görüşmelerimiz sırasında katılımcıların "bize yakışan", "dengimiz olan" gibi sahip oldukları konuma atıfta bulunan bir vurgu yaptıkları gözlenmiştir. Eşraf için onların sahip oldukları statüye uygun tüketmek ve davranmak oldukça önemlidir. Hatta "diğerlerinin"de bu beklenti içinde olduklarını belirtmektedirler. Ancak öncelikle eşrafın kendini "diğerleri" ile nasıl konumlandırdığını anlamak faydalı olacaktır. Daha öncede belirttiğimiz gibi eşraf için diğerlerinden ayrılma hali ve statüsünü sürdürebilmek oldukça önemlidir. Görüşmelerimiz sırasında eşrafın tüketim tercih ve beğenilerinde bu ayrılma halini gözeterek adımlar attığı belirlenmiştir. Seçikleri konut çevresinden, salon mobilya tercihlerine kadar etkisini göstermektedir.

"bize yakışan" eşrafın tüketim stratejilerinde en öncelikli değerdir. Böylece sahip oldukları statü meşrulaşarak "diğerleri" ile arasındaki fark ifşa olacaktır.

Çalışmamız da bir seçkinlik hali taşıyan eşraf aileleri, üst sınıf kesitine ait olarak ele alınmıştır. Eşraf aileler kökleri eskiye dayanan, sadece ekonomik sermaye olarak değil Bourdieu'nun değindiği diğer sermaye türleri açısından da birikimi olan ailelerdir. Bu anlamda eşraf ailelerin kendilerini "diğerlerinden" ayırırken ne tarz tüketim tercihlerine yöneldiklerini belirlemeye çalıştık. Tüketim konusunun yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi yaşamın her alanında karşımıza çıkıyor olması bazı sınırlar belirlememize sebep olmuştur. Çalışmamızda eşraf ailelerin salonu, hangi tüketim tercih ve beğenileri ile dekore ettiklerine bakarak onların hem "diğerleri" ile, hem de kendi içlerindeki konumları incelenecektir.

Eşrafın kendinden beklenen, ona yakışan yerde ev sahibi olması, ona yakışan şekilde giyinmesi, yemesi, içmesi, salonunu döşemesi gereklidir. Çünkü bu şekilde eve gelen misafirler, eşrafın sahip olduğu statü konumunu görebilirler. Eşrafta bu beklentiyi karşıladığı oradan eşraflığını sürdürebilmektedir. Görüşmelerimiz sırasında hiç ihtiyaçları olmadığı halde evleri müteahhide verilerek apartman yapılan bir katılımcımız bunun sebebini sadece diğer insanların onlar hakkında kötü düşüneceklerinden çekinmeleri şeklinde açıklamıştır. Eşraf için kendi statü grupları içinde kalmak, ona uygun yerlerde ikamet etmek, ona uygun tüketmek önemlidir. Ancak bu grubun içindeki dâhiliyetlerini koruyarak statülerinin devamlılıklarını sağlayabilirler.

Bourdieu'nun sermaye kavramları üzerinden gittiğimizde eşraf aileler için ekonomik sermaye yeterli oranda mevcuttur. Ancak onların sahip oldukları konum daha çok saygınlık üzerine inşa olduğu için bizim çalışmamızda kültürel sermayelerinin etkisinin daha kuvvetli olduğu gözlenmiştir. Bu sebepledir ki hayat tarzları ve beğenileri maddi değerlerden öte manevi bir anlam taşımaktadır. Ekonomik sermayeye sahip olmalarından ziyade bu sermayeyi kültürel sermayelerinin etkisi ile "kendilerine yakışan" şekilde kullanmayı hedeflerler. Eşraf aileler sahip oldukları bu

birikim ile elde ettikleri statülerini sergileme eğilimdedirler. Bu sebeple sermaye birikimlerini dışa göstermek ve kanıtlamak için dostlarını, arkadaşlarını ve rakiplerini evlerine davet ederek onları etkilemeye çalışırlar(Veblen,2005:63). Böylece evlerinde özellikle salonlarında kullandıkları mobilyalar oldukça önemli bir statü göstergesine dönüşür. Bu sebeple çalışmamızda ev, salon ve mobilya gibi bazı temel kavramların Bourdieu'nun daha çok hangi sermayesi ile içlerinin doldurulduğunu belirtmek faydalı olacaktır. Bu kavramların içlerinin doldurulma hali tamamen saha çalışması sırasında edinilen bilgiler ışığında belirlenmiştir. Bütünden parçaya doğru yol aldığımız bu değerlendirmemizde hiç bir sermayenin kullanılmadığı iddiasında bulunmamaktayız. Amacımız sadece öznemiz olan eşrafın, dışardan içeri doğru evi, salonu ve mobilyası hakkında tercihler yaparken daha çok hangi sermayelerin etkisi ile beğenilerini ortaya koyduğuna değinmeye çalışmaktır.

Ev kavramından söz ettiğimizde hayat tarzı, değerler dünyası, kültürel yapı gibi bazı kavramların üzerine değinmek faydalı olacaktır. Özellikle hayat tarzı kavramı ile ev birbirini bütünlercesine farklı bir bağ ile vurgulanmaktadır. Gerçekte ev, sadece bir ihtiyacı karşılamaya dönük araç olmayıp belli bir ilişkinin, belli bir toplumsal yapılaşmanın aracı ve göstergesidir(Castells, 1997;38). Evin öncelikli varlığı, doğrudan belli bir hayatın gün yüzüne çıkarması, onu yaşanır kılması, ona yer ve mekân olması anlamına gelir. Ev sadece bir yapı ve bina değildir; insana dönük düzenlenen bir mekandır. Dolayısıyla ev bir kültür sürecidir, maddi ve manevi değerler birlikteliğidir(İncedayı, 2004; 9).

Mekân olarak ev, ekonomik sermaye açısından değeri açık olarak belirlenebilecek bir metadır. Ayrıca evi yaparken kullanılan malzemelerde maddi anlamda evin değerini belirleyen önemli noktalardır. "Ev" sahibine taşıdığı ölçülebilir maddi değer ile bir ekonomik sermaye sağlamaktadır. Görüşmelerimiz sırasında hepsinin de aynı bölgede yer alan evlerde çocukluğunu geçirdiği gözlenmiştir. Bu bölge Manisa tarihi üzerine değindiğimiz V. bölümde 'de ele aldığımız şekilde Manisa'nın yerleşim bölgesi olarak en kıymetli alanlarıdır. Ayrıca görüşmelerimiz sırasında pek çok katılımcı "buradan başka yerde oturmak bize yakışmaz" gibi söylemler ile kendi statülerine uygun evlerde oturduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Ekonomik sermayenin yanı sıra bu "kendine yakışan"

evlerde oturmak parçası oldukları sosyal ağında bir gerekliliği olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bilinirlik, tanınırlık üzerine saygınlığını ve statüsünü inşa eden eşraf için sosyal sermaye bağları ile iç içe olmak önemlidir. Özellikle katılımcıların görüşmeleri sırasında komşuluk ilişkileri ve evlerinin sürekli ziyaretçilerle dolu olması, sosyal sermayenin altını çizmektedir.

Salon genel ev içerisinde diğer odalara nazaran daha geniş bir alan kaplamasına karşın evin gündelik kullanımında aktif rol oynamayan bir alandır. Salon, bireylerin hayat tarzlarını ve tercihlerini hane dışından gelenlere göstermek için kullandıkları mekândır. Bir diğer değişle salon, ev halkı tarafından hazırlanmış bir şekilde onu görecek misafirlerini bekler. Salon ev halkı için değil eve dışarıdan gelenler için hazırlanmış bir alandır. Salonda bulanan eşyaların çeşitliliği ve düzeni ev halkının toplumsal düzeyini ortaya koyar. Salonun doldurulması ve süslenmesi hepsinden önce aileler arasında ki zenginlik ve saygınlık yarışı ile yakından ilişkilidir. Salon eşyası ailenin maddi gücünü, saygınlığını gösterir. Bu yönü ile her zaman en iyi şekilde olmasına ve aileyi en yüksek düzeyde temsil etmesine çalışılır. Salon mobilyaları ve salonu dekore etmekte kullanılan yardımcı unsurlar dikkatle ve özenle seçilir. Salon, hane dışından gelenlere ailenin statüsünü, toplum içerisindeki sosyal sınıf pozisyonunu gösterir. Salon eşyaları sembolik tüketim olma yönünden dikkat çeker(Ayata,1988:14). Salon, kişilik, aile, çevre, tabakalaşma yapılarında uygarlaşma süreci doğrultusunda meydana gelen değişmelerin küçük bir bölümünü yansıtan bir örnek olarak düşünülebilir(Ayata,1988: 24). Ailenin seçkinlik düzeyi arttıkça salon dekorasyonu, en kısa sürede, bu artışı gösterecek şekilde tekrar düzenlenir. Salon dekorasyonundaki tercihler sadece ailenin seçkinlik düzeyini göstermekle kalmaz aynı zamanda seçkinliği elde ediş biçimleri konusunda da bize ipuçları sunar. Kökten zengin olanlar ile sonradan zenginlik elde edenlerin beğeni tercihlerindeki farklar salon dekorasyonu konunda da kendini yoğun şekilde hissettirir. Bu sebeple biz çalışmamızda bir statü grubu olarak ele aldığımız "Eşraf aileler"in salon mobilyası tercihlerine yönelmeyi uygun bulduk.

Eşraf olmayı bir statü grubu olarak ele aldığımız çalışmamızda, salon üzerinden eşrafın statüsünü yansıttığını görmekteyiz. Yaptığımız görüşmeler sırasında açık

şekilde görülmüştür ki; eşraf aileleri için çocukluklarının geçtiği dönemlerde dahil salonları hep misafire hayat tarzını göstermek anlamında önemli bir alan olmuştur. Dışarıdan gelen insanlar ailenin statüsü ve sosyal konumu hakkında en keskin bilgiyi salon mobilya tercihlerine bakarak edinebilirler. Salon mobilyasının bu güçlü mesaj verme yeteneğinin farkında olan eşraf aileler salon mobilya tercihleri konusunda ekstra bir özen göstermektedirler. Bu noktada sahip oldukları ekonomik sermaye birikimleride onların "diğerleri"nden farklı tercihler yapabilmelerinde onlara imkân sağlamıştır. Üstelik sadece ekonomik sermayeleri değil sosyal, toplumsal ve sembolik sermayeleride yaptıkları tercihlerde eşraf aileleri için önem arz etmiştir. Ancak sermaye birikimlerinin salon tercihlerindeki oranlarına baktığımızda kültürel sermayenin baskın izlerini görmekteyiz. Çünkü salon dekorasyon tercihlerinde, Bu aileler için tercihlerinin en temel özelliklerinden biri "bize yakışan" olmasıdır. Ailenin taşıdığı statü onuru ile orantılı olarak aile kendine yakışanı tercih etme ve tüketme eğilimdedir. Ekonomik olarak bir ürünü alabiliyor olduklarını göstermekten öte, ailelerine yakışan ürünleri tercih ettiklerini göstermeyi amaç edinmişlerdir. Kimi zaman nadir bulunan bir obje ile kimi zaman ailenin köklerini yansıtan bir antika parça ile "kendilerine yakışan" tercihlerde bulunduklarını göstermeyi hedeflerler.

Eşrafın evine ve salonuna baktıktan sonra mobilya üzerinden bazı değerlendirmeler yapmanın faydalı olacağı düşüncesindeyiz. Günümüz modern yaşamında mobilya oldukça önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Mobilyasız bir ev, iş yeri kısacası mobilyasız bir hayat düşünülemez. Yerleşik hayata geçildiği andan itibaren mobilya insanlar için vazgeçilmez bir ürün olmuştur. Aslında mobilyanın insanlar için yaşamsal bir gerekliliği yoktur. Temel ihtiyaçların hiç biri için mobilyanın bir zorunluluğu olmasa da kullanıldığı alanlar düşünüldüğünde insanlar için her zaman önemli olmuştur. Mobilya kolaylık sunduğu düşünüldüğünden tercih edilmektedir. Masada yemek yemek, eşyalarımızı bir dolaba yerleştirmek, koltukta oturmak ve yatakta yatmak daha pratik ve rahat gelmektedir. Tüm bunların yanı sıra mobilya insanlara sunduğu rahatlık ve pratiklikten öte başka belirleyici görevlerde üstlenmektedir. Kişinin diğerlerinden ayrı tutmak istediği özel alanını belirlemede mobilya önemli bir yer tutar. Örneğin bir masada çalıştığınızda bu masa sizin başkalarına karşı konumunuzu belirlemede

etkilidir. Ayrıca mobilyanın bir başka önemli ve eskiye dayanan görevi sahibine kazandırdığı saygınlıktır. Tarih boyunca tahtlar kralların yüceliğini vurgulamak için kullanılan bir araçtır. Tahtın büyüklüğü, kralın ihtişamını çevresindekilere göstermek için kullanılan en temel gösterge olmuştur. Sarayın dekorasyonu açısından da iyi ve kaliteli mobilya toplum içinde hep üstünlüğün bir göstergesi olmuştur. Mobilya en iyi kalite malzemeden yapılması, gösterişli olması açısından ekonomik sermayeni ortaya koymaktadır. Eşraf için mobilyanın en dayanıklı ve en kaliteli malzemeden yapılması özellikle birinci kuşak katılımcılarımız için bir gerekliliktir. Dayanıklı tüketim malı sınıfında değerlendiriliyor olması mobilyanın ekonomik sermaye yansıtma kapasitesi açısından da önemlidir. Birinci kuşak katılımcılarımız için imkânların sınırlı olduğu bir dönemde alınan bir mobilyanın uzun soluklu kullanımı hatta bir sonar ki kuşağa aktarımı statüyü gösteren bir özelliktir. Ikinci kuşak için ise bu durum daha çok "en iyi" olan ürüne sahip olmak üzerine kurulan bir stratejidir. Mobilya iletmesi gereken tüm mesajlarından ve özelliklerinden dolayı, eşraf için ekonomik ve sembolik sermayenin ön planda gözlendiği bir üründür.

Manisa eşrafı için çocukluklarından beri salonun ve salon mobilyasının aile içindeki konumu dikkat çekici olmuştur. Pek çoğu aile büyüklerinin salon kullanımı konusunda ortaya koyduğu sınırlılıkları belirtmişlerdir. Misafir için her zaman hazır tutulan salon, hep düzenli ve toplu tutulmaktadır. Ülkenin ekonomik yapısının etkisi ile çok çeşitli ürünlerin üretimi ya da kullanımı olmadığı dönemlerde bile eşraf aileler salonlarında bulunan "sedir"in düzeni için kullanabilecekleri yardımcı öğeler ve el işleri ile bu sediri mümkün olan en lüks hale getirmeye çalışmışlardır. Nadir bulunan kumaşlar ve işlemeler ile süslenen sedirler "kendilerine yakışan" bir yapı kazanarak, eşrafın diğerlerinden farklı bir konumda olduğunu gösterme görevini yüklenirler. Sonra ki dönemde el oyma koltuk takımlarının üretimi ile sedirler yerini lüks koltuk takımlarına bırakmıştır. Genellikle özel ustalar tarafından imal edilen bu el oyması takımların kullanımı eşrafa kendini uygun gösterişçi tüketim ürünlerine yönelme imkânı sunmuştur. Görüşmelerimiz sırasında katılımcılar "kimse de olmayan", "nadir bulunan", "özel yapım" mobilya takımları tercih ettiklerini dile getirmişlerdir. Neden böyle bir tercihleri olduğunu sorduğumuzda "herkeste olanı kullanmanın onlara uygun

olmayacağını" belirtmişlerdir. Bu durum mobilya tercihlerinde statülerini gösterme çabalarını ortaya koymaktadır. Salon için yapacakları tercihlerde kendilerine uygun olanı seçmek için yola çıkarlar. Manisa eşrafı için salonunu dekore ederken nadir parçalar kullandıklarını, özel yapım ürünler tercih ettiklerinin vurgusu önemlidir.

Daha önce dile getirdiğimiz üzere, çalışmamız sırasında eşraf ailelerin iki kuşağı ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Burada amacımız hem eşrafın kendini diğerleri ile konumlandırmasını görmek hem de kuşaklararasında yaşanan dönüşümü gözlemleme imkânı bulabilmektir. Kuşaklararasındaki dönüşüm bizim için eşrafın dönüşüm stratejilerini gözlememek adına da faydalı olmaktadır. Günümüz dünyasında artık taktiklerin ve stratejilerin, belirli bir topluluk içinde sabitlenmeleri mümkün değildir. Hatta yörüngelerinden çıkmakta, dolaşıma açılmaktadırlar. Biz de çalışmamızda ele aldığımız iki kuşak üzerinden eşrafın ortaya koyduğu değişim ve dönüşümleri bu yörüngesinden çıkmış taktik ve stratejiler ile ele almaya çalışacağız. Kapitalizmin etkisi ile tüketim dünyasının sunduğu çok çeşitli tüketim seçenekleri bireylerin tercihleri ile verecekleri mesajlar konusunda zorlamaktadır. Her tercihin ortaya koyacağı mesaj düşünülmeli buna göre yönelimde bulunulmalıdır. Çok farklı ürünlerin olması çok farklı mesaj kabiliyetini de beraberinde getirmektedir. Tüketicileri, onlara ait olamayacak kadar geniş ama içinden kaçıp kurtulamayacakları kadar sık dokunmuş bir sistemde göçmen konumuna getirmiştir. Taktikler bize, aklın, günlük mücadelelerden ve bu mücadelelere eklemlenen zevklerden ayrı düşünülmeyeceğini gösterirler. Öte yandan stratejiler, ait olunan bir mekân ya da bir kurum aracılığıyla korunan ve onları bu biçimde destekleyen erkle ilişkilerini, nesnel hesaplamalar ardına saklar. Strateji herşeyden önce belirli bir aidiyet olarak çerçevesi çizilmiş bir alanın varlığını gerektirmektedir(De Certeau, 2004:55).Bu durumda Manisa eşrafı için eskiden beri gelen ve statülerini korumak için benimsedikleri bir diğerlerinden farklı olma stratejisi olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Ancak tüketim seçeneklerinin artması ve yeni sınıfların ortaya çıkması ile bu stratejilerin değişmeye başladığı görüşmelerimiz sırasında dikkatimizi çekmiştir.

Manisa eşrafının dönüşüm stratejilerine salon mobilya tercihlerine baktığımızda eski kuşaklarda olduğu gibi kendilerini "diğerleri"nden farklıları üzerinden konumlandırma durumu hala mevcuttur. Ancak toplumsal değişmeler ile yeni sınıf pozisyonları oluşmakta ve "en iyi", "en son moda" gibi yeni tüketim değişkenleri ortaya çıkmaktadır. Eşraf aileler statülerini göstermek için artık hem diğerlerinden farklı olmalı hem de en iyi olanı, en son moda olanı tüketmelidir.

Özellikle dayanıklı tüketim malları sınıfında ele alınan, salon mobilyası ve salon dekorasyonunu tamamlayıcı ögeler için en son moda olanı tüketme durumu, kullanım süresinin göreli uzun olması sebebi ile, oldukça zor ve maliyetlidir. Bu durum mobilyanın sembolik sermaye üzerinden değerlendirilmesinden de kaynaklanmaktadır. Eskiden dayanıklı tüketim hedeflenerek alınsa bile günümüzde mobilya sembolik değerin etkisi ile moda olanın "en iyi" olarak algılandığı bir düzende en son moda olan mobilyaya sahip olmak hedefi ile tüketim ömrünü doldurmadan değiştirilmektedir. Ama görüşmelerimiz sırasında bazı ailelerin moda olanı yapmak ve bu sayede statü onurunu korumak adına salon mobilyalarını değiştirme eğilimde oldukları görülmektedir. Fakat bazı eşraf ailelerinde, ekonomik sermaye birikimleri yüksek olmasına karşın, köklerine olan bağlarına vurgu yapmak adına bir önceki kuşaktan öğrendikleri "bize yakışan"ı yapma düşüncesi ile salon mobilyası tercihlerini belirledikleri gözlenmiştir. Ancak genel eğilim moda olanı tüketme durumunun "bize yakışan" haline dönüşmesidir. Bu durumla ifade etmeye çalıştığımız, her ne kadar eskiden kalma el oyması koltukları ya da salon gereçlerini kullanan eşraf aileler hala varlıklarını sürdürseler de, bir grup Eşraf ailenin moda olanı tüketmeye daha meyilli olduğu gözlenmiştir. Moda olanı tüketmelerini günümüz mobilya sektörü açısından "en iyi" olan üzerinden açıklamaktadırlar. En son moda en iyi olandır algısı görüşmelerimiz sırasında karşımıza çıkan bir düşünce tarzıdır. Katılımcı 8b çok kısa bir süre içerisinde hanımından gelen perde değiştirme isteğini şaşkınlıkla karşılamıştır. Ancak eşi bu değişim talebini "ama moda" diyerek açıkladığında katılımcı 8b, eşini haklı görmüş ve perdelerini değiştirmişlerdir. Bu örnekte de gördüğümüz üzere moda olana sahip olmak eşraf için yeni bir stratejidir.

II. Kuşak olarak ele aldığımız genç nesil, toplumsal değişimler ile ortaya çıkan "yeni zenginlerin" de etkisi ile konut çevresinden başlayarak, salon mobilyalarının en ince ayrıntısına kadar modern bir yaklaşıma daha sıcak bakmaktadır. Bu "modern" tüketim tercihlerini de salon mobilya tarzlarını "modern"leştirerek ortaya koymaktadırlar. Görüşmelerimizin katılımcıların salonlarında yapılması sayesinde katılımcıların salonlarını görme şansımı olmuştur. Ayrıca görüşmeler esnasında salonlarının tarzı hakkında sorular sorduğumuzda bize kendi salonları hakkında düşüncelerini ve nasıl bir tarz üzerinden salon mobilyası tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Öte yandan çalışmamızda kullandığımız ZMET ile katılımcıların salonların da kullanmayı tercih edecekleri ya da salonlarında asla kullanmam dedikleri mobilya tarzlarını göstermeleri için bazı resimlerden destek alınmıştır. Bu resimlerden bazı örneklere figure 14-15'de yer verilmiştir. Bu resimleri kategorilendirmeleri ve sahip oldukları mobilyalara baktığımızda, II. Kuşak katılımcılar mobilya tercihlerinde daha istikrarlı ve net bir duruş sergilemektedirler. Yaptığımız görümeler sırasında birinci kuşak katılımcılar salonlarında, genel olarak beğendikleri ve tercih ettikleri mobilya tarzına uygun mobilyalar tercih etmemişlerdir.

Ekonomik sermaye olarak istedikleri ürünleri alacak imkânlara sahip olsalar bile I. Kuşak aile üyeleri, ileri yaşta olmalarından dolayı kullanım rahatlığı sunan ürünlere yöneldiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Daha rahat kullanımından dolayı country tarz mobilya tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir.

20 I. kuşak katılımcılarımızdan, 15'i klasik mobilya tarzını salonumda kullanmayı tercih ederim demiştir. Bu tarz mobilyayı neden tercih ettiklerini sorduğumuzda "bize yakışan", "tarzımızı yansıtan" şeklinde açıklamalarda bulunmuşlardır. I. Kuşak katılımcılardan bazıları da sahip oldukları eski antika değeri taşıyan koltuklarını çocuklarına hatta torunlarına aktardığını ifade etmiştir. Bazı birinci kuşak üyelerin salon mobilyalarının ikinci kuşak aile üyeleri tarafından talep edilip, kullanılıyor olması bu tarz mobilyanın sonra ki kuşaklar için de statü grubu değerlerini yansıttığına işaret etmektedir.

I. kuşak katılımcılar için istenilen ve kullanılan salon mobilyası tarzları arasında ki farklılıklar dikkat çekicidir. Ancak ikinci kuşak katılımcıların mevcut salonları beğendikleri ve tercih ettikleri tarza göre döşedikleri gözlenmiştir. Bu durum bize, ikinci kuşak katılımcıların salon mobilya tercihleri üzerinden, beğenilerini daha doğru ortaya koyduklarını göstermektedir.

II. Kuşağın yaşadığı değişim ve dönüşümler ışığında daha modern bir tarza yöneldiklerini çalışmamızın önceki aşamalarında dile getirmiştik. Rahatlığı ve modern insanı temsil ettiği gerekçeleri ile genellikle modern tarz salon mobilyası tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir.

Modernleşme ve batılılaşma iddiası ile yeni yaşam alanları sunan şehrin yeni yüzü rezidanslar, yüksek duvarlı siteler, böyle bir hayatı tercih eden sakinlerine "iyi bir yaşam" sunmayı vadederler(Üstünel & Holt, 2009: 47). Manisa'da bu yeni modern hayat tarzını temsil eden yapılardan nasibini almıştır. Görüşme yaptığımız katılımcılarımızdan 11'inin kentin batı tarafında oluşan yeni modern yaşam alanlarında ikamet ettiği gözlenmiştir. Kentin lüks hayat tarzı temsil eden bu bölge eşrafın eskiden beri sahip olduğu bağlık bahçelik alanlar olduğu için aslında görüşme yaptığımız hemen hemen bütün ailelerin bölgede arsaları mevcuttur. Yeni Manisa tarafında ikamet eden 11 kişinin dokuzu II. Kuşak ailelerin üyesidir. Bu aileler seçtikleri modern yaşam alanlarının lüks salonlarını modern mobilyalar ile döşemenin gerekliliğini dile getirmişlerdir. Yeni Manisa tarafında oturmasına karşın salon mobilyasını klasik tarz seçen iki katılımcılarımız vardır.

Bu katılımcılardan 14b'nin figüre 25'te yer alan salon fotoğrafında da görüldüğü üzere klasik mobilya tarzı ile salonunu döşemiştir. Ancak aynı zamanda klasik tarz moda olduğu için bu tarz mobilya seçtiğini belirtmiştir. İç mimar desteği aldığını belirten katılımcımız her zaman en moda olanı seçmesinden duyduğu büyük mutluluğu bizlere aktarmıştır. Moda olanı takip eden katılımcımız salonun trendlerin gerisinde kalmadığını, klasik mobilya tarzını aslında moda olduğu için tercih ettiğini vurgulamaktadır.

Tüm bu değerlendirmeler yola çıktığımızda "eşraflık" en başından beri dile getirdiğimiz üzere uzun soluklu bir süreçtir. Ailelerinden aktarılan miras eşraflıkta çok önemlidir. "statü onurun"un kökenleri ne kadar eskiye dayanıyorsa eşraflıkta o kadar kıymet artmaktadır. Her sermaye türünden aktarılan miras bu anlamda çok değerlidir. Sadece ekonomik sermayenin gücü eşrafın varlığını sürdürebilmesinde yeterli olamaz. Çünkü eşraflık kültürel sermaye ile bireyin tercihlerinin arkasını dolduran ve beğenilerini temelden kurgulayan bir yapıya ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılan eşraflığın sağladığı saygınık kolay elde edilebilen bir değer değildir. Ancak dünya değişmekte, toplumlar için önem adleden unsurlar farklılaşmaktadır. Bu durum eşraf aileleri açısından bir ikilik yaratır. Bir tarafta onlara bilinir, tanınır olma durumunu getiren sermaye miraslarını korumaları gerekirken diğer bir tarafta kendilerini diğerlerinden daha alt bir pozisyona düşürmemeleri gerekir. Yani hem eski köklerine bağlı kalmalı hem de moda olan, seçkinliklerini perçinleyecek değişimlere açık olmaları gereklidir. Bu noktada eşraf ailelerin bir dönüşüm stratejisi geliştirmesi gereklidir. Her yeni kuşakla birlikte eşraf kendini bir yandan statü grubu içinde tutmalı diğer taraftan ise yeni nesillerin seçkinlik stratejilerine uyum sağlamalıdır.

Görüşmelerimiz sırasında eşraf ailelerin, yeni nesil seçkinlere uyum sağlamak adına bazı dönüşüm stratejileri uyguladıkları gözlenmiştir. Bu dönüşüm stratejileri, gündelik hayatta tükettikleri, mesaj süresi kısa olan sembolik değerlerden biraz daha farklıdır. Bu dönüşümler daha büyük tüketim kalemleridir. Ayrıca daha uzun süre görünürlükleri vardır. Bu dönüşüm stratejileri, küçük sembolik mesajlardan öte etkisi daha uzun süren ve güçlü anlamlar taşıyan adeta bir manifesto gibidir. Bu uzun süre görünürlüğü olan dönüşümler kendini en net şekilde salon mobilya tercihlerinde ve konut çevresi seçimlerinde ortaya koymaktadır. Hatta dönüşüm manifestosunun ilk maddesi salon mobilyası tercihleri demek hiçte yanlış olmaz. Çünkü salonun ev dışından gelenlere kendi hayat tarzını sergilediğin bir vitrin olması sebebi ile mobilya tercihleri içerisinde ince mesajlar da taşıyan, statü onurunu en ufak detaylarla bile ifade edilmeye çalışıldığı bir tuval gibidir. Konut çevresi bu tuvalin kaba dış hatlarını ortaya koymaktan öteye gidememektedir.

Yaptığımız görüşmeler ışığında eşraf olmak günümüzde çok da anlamlı bir konum olarak değerlendirilmese de, o kentte yaşayan yerli halk için saygınlık taşıyan bir noktadadır ve kıymetlidir. Eşraf aileler tanınırlığa sahip oldukları bölge sınırlarına çıkmayı tercih etmemektedirler. Bu sebeple kök saldıkları Manisa'da yaşamak onlar için önemlidir. Öte yandan geliştirdikleri stratejiler ile eşraf olduklarını "diğerlerine" göstermek adına tükettikleri ürünlerle statülerini yeniden inşa ederler. Bu süreçte eşraf için değişmeyen temel şey diğerlerinden farklı olduklarını ortaya koyma çabalarıdır. Eşraf her zaman beğeni ve tercihlerinde "bize yakışan", "dengimiz olan" düşüncesi ile tercihler yapmış ve pratiklerini bu doğrultuda oluşturmuştur. "Bize yakışan" kimi zaman köklerini yansıtan parçalar olurken kimi zaman da "en iyi", "en son moda" olanı tüketerek kendini göstermiştir. Ama Manisa Eşrafı ona yakışandan asla ödün vermemiştir.

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