AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Sibel Seda Dazkır for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Design and Human Environment presented on June 12, 2013.

Title: The Design, Meaning and Use of the Turkish Salon

Abstract approved:

This exploratory study was focused on the design, meaning and use of the Turkish salon (the sitting room for guests). The findings provided an understanding of the different aspects of people’s experiences of their salons. Socially and personally constructed meanings were examined to gain a deeper understanding of the respondents’ perspectives. Thirty one respondents participated in the study. They were recruited from two cities in Turkey: Erbaa and Ankara. The data were collected in the respondents’ salons via in-depth interviews, audio and video recordings, sketches, and observations. The interviews lasted from one to three and a half hours. The qualitative data analysis revealed themes which were grouped under three main categories: environment, person, and setting. Those interrelated dimensions were discussed in detail to have a better understanding of people’s relationship with their salons.

Environment related dimensions were conformity, influence of others, influence of changing socio-economic environment and rise of consumerism. Person related dimensions were satisfaction with the setting, interest in home decoration, demographics such as age and income level, personalization and meaningful objects, and place attachment. Setting related dimensions included physical characteristics of the setting such as color, size, and comfort, and use of the room such as how often and why they use the salon.

The findings of this study supported the idea that consumption behaviors influence people’s relationship with places. With the changing economic conditions, people live more
comfortably, afford items easier, and there is more variety of products to reflect self or create the ideal salon environment compared to the past. Many respondents believed that rise in consumerism, spending unnecessarily, being allured by market pervasiveness, and being able to own products easily make people inappreciative, unhappy, and dissatisfied with what they have, and cause “israf” (wastefulness or prodigality).

The respondents’ narratives confirmed that they tried to create an environment that satisfied them; they cared about their salon designs. Some respondents revealed being influenced by trends and other people’s salons indicating the influence of the market and others on salon design. A greater percentage of the respondents from Erbaa reported paying attention to others’ salon designs compared to the respondents from Ankara. Although some spouses influenced the selection of furniture, women were more in charge of their salon designs than men. Having children influenced how often they used their salons, their purchase decisions, or when they would replace their furniture. Frequency and profile of the guests influenced use of their salons.

The majority of the respondents from both Erbaa and Ankara displayed or revealed interest in home decoration through their effort to design and personalize their salons, their knowledge about furniture styles, paying attention to others’ salons, watching home design TV shows, and visiting furniture stores as leisure activity. Socio-economic status influenced some of the respondents’ salon designs regarding originality and price of their salon furniture and décor. Other factors such as their approach to consumerism, their taste, and family status influenced their salon design in a greater degree revealing the individualistic nature of domestic interiors. Although the findings provide insight on the relationship between demographic characteristics and salon design and use, the sampling method and sample size make it impossible to draw conclusions regarding the relationship between demographic characteristics and salon design and meaning.

The respondents from both Erbaa and Ankara personalized the settings to reflect their self. They designed the rooms to reflect their taste, values, beliefs, culture, experiences, family, occupation, hobbies, and so forth. They displayed meaningful objects such as souvenirs, gifts, and family photographs. Personalization of the rooms provided control over the settings, a sense of connection to their salons, and sense of belonging. Physical characteristics of the setting, especially aesthetic appeal and usability influenced the respondents’ satisfaction with the rooms. Although it was possible to observe patterns regarding the type of decorative items that they used, the meanings and stories behind how they acquired the objects made their design process unique and individualistic. The majority
of respondents expressed sense of belonging and attachment to their salons and homes. Spending time in the setting, sharing the place with loved ones, feeling comfortable, sense of belonging, being satisfied with the setting, sense of freedom, reflecting own taste, personalization, and memories influenced the respondents’ attachment to their salons in Ankara. The respondents from Erbaa added more intangible aspects to this list such as sincerity, happiness, coziness, effort in creating the room, familiarity, and feeling at peace.

Exploring the meaning of place and objects in this study provided an understanding of everyday human life experience. This study provided rich information about the relationship between people and their salons. The findings indicated that design, meaning, and use of salons were shaped by the dynamic relationship between many individual, psychological, social, socio-cultural, socio-economic, and setting related variables. The findings confirmed that salons were designed by both personal and social point of view. The respondents created sense of place personally and socially. Studying the Turkish salon provided an understanding of how the socio-economic and socio-cultural changes were perceived by the respondents in their domestic space. The results indicate that political, cultural, religious, and economic environments influence society’s perception of buying and decorating.

Findings of this study contribute to different fields such as interior design by providing information on design process and design preferences of the respondents; industrial design by providing information on the meanings of objects, respondents’ interaction with objects, and preferences for furniture and accessories; environmental psychology by providing information on how the respondents’ behavior and emotions were influenced by the design of the setting and vice versa; and cultural anthropology by revealing information on the meanings of everyday life surroundings, and the influence of socio-cultural environment on salon creation.
The Design, Meaning, and Use of the Turkish Salon

by
Sibel Seda Dazlı

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Major Professor, representing Design and Human Environment

Chair of the School of Design and Human Environment

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

Sibel Seda Dazkırı, Author
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Exploring the meaning of objects and places provides an understanding of the important aspects of everyday human experience. The meaning of objects and places are both complex and rich concepts with contextual significance. People express meanings and the self through the objects showcased in home environments. Stokowsky (2002) explained that people are the creators of places; sense of place is personally and socially constructed. A multitude of interrelated contextual meanings are evident within one space, including elements that reflect the physical, psychological, environmental, societal, and cultural spheres. Accordingly, it is necessary to evaluate the people-place relationship not only in the setting and person context but also in its broader economic, politic, historic, and social context.

One’s attitudes and feelings towards his or her home environment can influence his or her well-being, behavior, and identity formation. Studying the design, meaning, and use of home interiors provides rich information on a range of cultural, socio-demographic, and psychological dimensions about the inhabitants (Lawrence, 1987; Wilson & Mackenzie, 2000). More specifically, a study of domestic space may yield salient information in regard to the inhabitants' values, family, lifestyle, social position, material culture, and consumption habits (Miller, 2001). The living room has a vital role in the study of the home environment because it reflects how the inhabitant communicates self to the society. It is an intersection of public and private areas inside the home (Rechavi, 2009). With this qualitative study, I explored how the creation, meaning, and use of the Turkish Salon (sitting room designed for guests) reflect the inhabitants and their socio-cultural environment in Turkey.

Turkey is located in Southeastern Europe and Western Asia. It has a secular, democratic, and parliamentary political system (“Constitution of the Republic of Turkey”, 1982). “It is one of the largest non-Arab Muslim countries with its territory and population on two continents – Asia and Europe –“(Alexander, Brenner & Tutuncuoglu Krause, 2008, p. 3). Turkey has a dynamic socio-cultural environment that has undergone many changes since 1923. The transformations of the Turkish house and living room affirm that those changes have influenced the families and their living rooms throughout the 20th century.
and cultural globalization are some of the causes of those changes (Cevik, 2002; Gurel, 2009a; Kasaba & Bozdogan, 2000; Ozdemir & Gencosmanoglu, 2007; Tanglay, 2007).

**Specific Aims**

In this study, I explored the meaning, design, and use of the salon environment in Turkey. I interviewed 31 married Turkish women in their salons in two different cities in Turkey. Audio and video recordings of those in-depth interviews, observations, still photographs, and sketches of the settings were utilized to investigate the relationship between people and their salons. For this research project, I applied a naturalistic approach and explored the in-depth meanings of personal and social aspects of the salon.

**Research Questions**

I started this study with a general research question: What does influence the meaning, use, and decoration of the salon environment in Turkey? As I continued reviewing the existing literature, more questions emerged: What does influence the relationship between people and their salons at both personal and societal levels? How does the salon environment reflect the material culture, consumption habits, traditions, values, belief systems, social structure, ideals, and social transformation of its inhabitants in Turkey? How do Westernization and perception of modernity influence the salon design and meaning?

**Theoretical Background**

**Environment and people: An interdisciplinary approach.** Environmental psychologists study the relationship between people and their environment. Gunther (2009) explained that the relationship between the environment and human behavior is shaped by the dynamic relationship of many individual, social, and setting related variables. Many environmental psychologists investigated domestic interiors (e.g., Altman & Low, 1992; Bechtel, 1997; Cooper-Marcus, 1995; Hayward, 1975; Manzo, 2005; Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Rechavi, 2009; Seamon, 1979; Smith, 1994; Wilson & Mackenzie, 2000). Our cognitions, emotions, and behaviors influence how we perceive a place (Altman & Low, 1992; Stedman, 2002; Steele, 1981). Some of the concepts environmental psychologists explored in regard to domestic interiors are meaning of home, well-being, satisfaction, identity development, and place attachment (e.g., Cooper-Marcus, 1995; Lawrence, 1987; Manzo, 2005).

Sociologists and social anthropologists examine the manifestation of social class and power relations in the society. In terms of interiors, they investigate how the domestic interiors reflect the social structure (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984; Chapman, 1955; Davis, 1955;
Douglas & Isherwood, 1996; Halle, 1993). Anthropologists study home to explore culturally constructed meanings and patterns or the holistic interpretation of everyday life activities (e.g., Cieraad, 1999; Makovicky, 2007; Miller, 2001). Bechtel (1997) explained that anthropologists “recognize that material goods are often the defining qualities of life” (p. 193). These three perspectives offer different ways to view the intersection between the individual and their home environment. Gunther (2009) argued that incorporating different perspectives is necessary for the future studies. With this research, I applied these different perspectives to explore the meaning, design, and use of the salon environment in Turkey.

The living room / salon. For this research study, the salon denotes a place where people entertain their guests at home. This could also include other areas such as the living room, family room, great room, parlor, sitting room or lounge. The salon or living room is usually designed and decorated with careful attention as a place for conversation and activity with family and friends. It serves as a symbol of both how people see themselves and how they want others to see them (Gurel, 2009a; Smith, 1994). Accordingly, salons and living rooms are decorated from both an individual and social point of view. Studying the living room environment provides rich and complex information about the characteristics of its inhabitants (Cooper-Marcus, 1995; Miller, 2001; Money, 2007).

The Turkish salon. It is essential to explore the socio-cultural, political, economic, and religious environments to better understand their possible influences on the domestic interiors and human behavior relationship. There have been many influences on the dynamic culture of the Republic of Turkey. Some of those are: the state implemented modernization process via Westernization and secularization efforts (Bozdogan, 2001; Cevik, 2002), the struggle between the Islamic identity and the understanding of modern identity (Saktanber, 2007), changing perceptions of modernity (Cinar, 2005), urbanization (Kasaba & Bozdogan, 2000), opening to a liberal economy in 1980 (Kasaba & Bozdogan, 2000; Tanglay, 2007), new consumer values (Sandikci & Ger, 2000), and new class structures (Kaya, 2008; Sandikci & Ger, 2002).

The living room and its furniture style reflected the socio-cultural transformation and social position in Turkey (Cevik, 2002; Gurel, 2009a). During the Westernization process, the use and design of the domestic space changed in terms of life style and family structure. Thus, the forming of the house in Turkey transformed (Ozdemir & Gencosmanoglu, 2007). According to Gurel (2009b), in mid 20th century, women were expected to represent the modernization process in the domestic sphere. They were in charge of the representation of
the family, home décor, and self to the outside world. Studying the salon would provide information about the dynamics of the socio-cultural environment in Turkey through the material culture of the salon. Traditions, economic environment, conformity, consumer goods as status markers, exposure to local and global trends, advanced technology, and availability of resources could have an impact on the selection of the material objects in the home environment.

**Significance of the Study**

Although there has been a considerable amount of research on domestic interiors (e.g., Altman & Low, 1992; Bechtel, 1997; Bourdieu, 1984; Chapman, 1955; Cieraad, 1999; Cooper-Marcus, 1995; Davis, 1955; Douglas & Isherwood, 1996; Gurel, 2009a; Gurel, 2009b; Halle, 1993; Hayward, 1975; Lawrence, 1987; Makovicky, 2007; Manzo, 2005; Miller, 2001; Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Rechavi, 2009; Seamon, 1979; Smith, 1994; Wilson & Mackenzie, 2000), the literature lacks an extensive qualitative study on contemporary domestic Turkish interiors. Gunther (2009) emphasized the necessity of developing a global perspective in future environmental psychology studies. Creating an etic and culture-general perspective could be possible via learning more about the existing different cultures. Studying the home making process provides an understanding of the meaningful aspects of the home-inhabitant relationship. It also provides information about the people’s consumer attitudes and their perceptions of the outside world. How larger socio-economic, religious and political environments influence the use and selection of objects in salons or living rooms could aid designers and marketers to better identify consumer needs in Turkey and allow them to incorporate such aspects in goods such as furniture, art, and accessories.

The significance of studying today’s Turkish society is based on its rich and complex historic, religious, and cultural characteristics. Turkish socio-cultural environment has changed significantly since 1923. Studying the Turkish salon provides an understanding of how those socio-cultural changes have been perceived and/or appropriated by the participants in the domestic space. Findings from this study have the potential to contribute to a multitude of fields, including interior design, industrial design, environmental psychology, and consumer studies. This research also contributes to the existing knowledge on studies of cultural anthropology by investigating the meanings of everyday life surroundings, and the influence of culture on salon creation.

Learning about the different appearances of domestic interiors in an international perspective is important because of the interconnectedness of our world. As Jackson (1997)
described, we need a heightened awareness and appreciation of different lifestyles and approaches. Learning about new approaches provides more consumer choices. Physical and social dimensions of domestic interiors provide rich information about the culture, family, gender roles, technology, economic development, and available resources of the region. It allows us to discover meanings and the process in which the home environment creates satisfaction for its users.

Definitions

**Culture.** I define culture as everything (e.g., behaviors, meanings of activities, traditions, events, habits, gestures, the way people communicate with each other, worldviews, values, art, interior decoration styles, the use of domestic space, family structure, social relations, and societal structure) that is shared by the members of a society. Those patterns can be observed among different individuals of the society in less or more degrees (This definition is derived from different definitions found in the literature. See Handwerker, 2001; Geertz, 1973; Pedersen, Tripple & Keiser, 1988; and Tylor, 1871).

**Environment.** It encompasses both built and natural settings and social settings. “The circumstances, objects, or conditions by which one is surrounded” and “The aggregate of social and cultural conditions that influence the life of an individual or community” (“Merriam-Webster Online”, n.d.).

**Home.** "Physically, psychologically, and socially constructed in both 'real' and 'ideal' forms" (Sommerville, 1997, p. 226). Perception of home and its meanings depend on social, personal, and psychological dimensions (Lawrence, 1987). Some meanings of home found in the literature are refuge (Bechtel, 2007), warmth, privacy, security (Smith, 1994), and continuity (Smith, 1994; Tognoli, 1987). In this study, it is expected that home will be related to the participants’ residences. In Turkish, both home and house refer to “ev”.

**Salon.** It is used in Turkish to refer to a sitting room inside the home usually used by the household members for entertaining guests. Salons in Turkey usually have seating units, a console, a dining table, and one or two display units. Salon functions like a parlor. A living room can function as a salon. Some people have a separate living room and a salon in their residences, and some people have one room that functions as both a living room and a salon.

**Society.** Large and loose associations of human beings whose members are often strangers to one another (Tuan, 2001). Tonnies (1957) defined society as a group of people
with consensual association to meet their individual goals. Tonnies (1957/1887) described society to be sustained with political and legal institutions, and a product of capitalist urban settings. For this study, Turkish society can be defined as a group of people loosely related to each other through sharing the same geography and political institution (citizenship).

**Socio-cultural.** It refers to dispositions, values, and norms that are shared by the members of a specific cultural and social group. Those values and norms influence a person’s thinking, perceptions, behaviors and actions.
Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Exploration of domestic environments requires discussing a broad range of topics from the larger historic, socio-cultural, economic, and political environments to emotions, meanings, and personal experiences. I start this chapter by providing information about Turkey and its socio-cultural and socio-economic environments. Social structure and holistic aspects of the home environment and possessions will be discussed in the following sections. The other sections introduce and discuss the previous studies on the home and living room in general. Then, I focus on the Turkish house and salon. Finally, the literature findings are summarized and discussed in the last section.

Brief Information about Turkey

Turkey is located in Western Asia and Southeastern Europe. It is possible to define the country as Middle-Eastern, European, and Mediterranean due to its geographic location. Its geographical location and its position between the East and the West attributes to its rich cultural environment. Ankara, located in central Anatolia, is the capital city of Turkey. Turkey’s population is 74,724,269 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2012). The unemployment rate is 10.5% (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2013). According to Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), 2% of males and 9.7% of females over the age of 15 are illiterate (the ratios were 10% and 31% respectively in 1990). Ten percent of males and 5.4% of females have higher education degrees. Labor force participation rate for males is 70.6%, and for females it is 39.6%. Average size of households is 4.5 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2011). According to the data from IMF (International Monetary Fund, 2010) Turkey’s Gross domestic purchasing power parity (GDP, PPP) per capita is $13,464. Turkey is a member of G-20 major economies. According to The World Bank (2013), “Turkey is the 18th largest economy in the world. In less than a decade, per capita income in the country has nearly tripled. Turkey has advanced considerably in global competitiveness rankings during the past decade.”

History of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey (in Turkish: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti) was established in October, 1923, “under the firm control and leadership of Mustafa Kemal” (Metz, 1995, p. xxv). Turkish Republic is the successor of the Ottoman Empire. After World War I, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the Turkish people fought for independence from their occupiers. As a result, the allies were expelled, and the Ottoman Sultanate was abolished. With Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the allies officially recognized the present day Turkey (Metz, 1995). Ataturk declared an independent Republic in 1923, and he implemented a series of radical social, political, and economic reforms aiming to transform
the country into a modern European state (Alexander, Brenner & Tutuncuoglu-Krause, 2008). For example, Arabic script was replaced with the Latin alphabet; religion was separated from the state; European clothing was encouraged among the public; women gained universal suffrage right in 1934; and the Islamic religious orders were suppressed. Ataturk is a very influential figure in the Turkish history and society. He believed that authoritarianism was necessary to implement the reforms and modernize the society during the early years of the republican era (rather than trusting the people to make progressive choices at the polls). He led a single party state, however, he made efforts to establish an opposing party (Alexander, Brenner & Tutuncuoglu-Krause, 2008, pp. 5-6).

Ataturk died in 1938 but his policies were influential as his right-hand man acquired the leader position from his death until 1950. In 1945, for the first time multiple political parties entered the elections. In 1950, the opposing party won the elections by gaining 88% of the votes. The new government promoted privatization and industrial activities. However, the government faced public unrest and protests. In 1960, the first military coup took place for the reasons that the governing party was drifting apart from the Ataturk principles. Elections were held, and the civil government was re-established in 1961. Privatization and international investment were once more promoted with the central right government of Demirel in 1965 (Metz, 1995).

Clashes and violence between far left (i.e., communists) and far right (i.e., ultra-nationalists and Islamists) movements created chaos and paralyzed the government. Islamist groups became more powerful denouncing Ataturk principles. The events created turbulence and public unrest resulting in the second military coup in 1971. After about a year of martial law, civil government was formed in 1972. This time, the new constitution repelled some of the liberal reforms that were granted in 1961 constitution. Despite introducing security and economic development measures, the unrest between the right and left wing continued. The third and the last military coup took place in 1980. Over 123,000 people were put behind bars during the last military coup. Limitations on private sector, foreign trade, and foreign investment influenced the Turkish economy until 1980. Starting in 1980, Turgut Ozal implemented a series of economic reforms with the help of IMF. For the first time, Turkish economy opened to liberal market economy (Alexander, Brenner & Tutuncuoglu-Krause, 2008). Since 1980, Turkish economy was transformed from state governed and local to capitalist. This led to rapid economic growth; however, major economic crises in 1994, 1999, and 2001 severed this development.
Perception of modernity, industrialization, and urbanization. The founders of the Republic of Turkey wanted to create a new, secular Western state unlike the former Ottoman Empire. They brought a series of radical social reforms to Westernize the society. Kasaba and Bozdogan (2000) claimed that the growing power of Islamist groups in politics and Turkey’s growing participation in the international economy would differentiate Turkey of the 21st century from that of the 20th century.

In the early years of the republic, Islam was seen as the most significant threat to the new state, and secularism was promoted rigorously as the ideal and modern political system. Urbanization of Turkey strengthened the mainstream Islamist politics in time because large numbers of conservative people from rural areas migrated to urban areas and became active participants of the industrialization of the society and polity. Yesilada and Noordijk (2010) claimed that the Turkish public has become more conservative during the period of 1995-2005, and religiosity has become more visible. Religiosity is a complex matter for Turks and shows significant variation based on gender. “Being labeled both young and Muslim still presents a difficult situation in Turkey because of the ways in which both secularism and modernity have been understood by large sections of polity and society, in spite of emerging trends of reconciliation between the two” (Saktanber, 2007, p. 419). Expression of religiosity contradicted with the notion of modernity for the elite. An increasing section of the society at present does not have the same understanding.

Another area of change mentioned by Kasaba and Bozdogan (2000) is Turkey’s growing participation in the international economy. The shift to a liberal economic system after 1980 along with globalization resulted in social, cultural, and economic transformations in Turkey. The neo-liberalism process accelerated social mobility and consumerism and relaxed class stratification (Tanglay, 2007). However, new forms of wealth and poverty emerged within the cities and accompanied social and spatial segregation (Candan & Kolluoglu, 2008). According to Sandikci and Ger (2002), different consumption groups appeared in order to legitimize and differentiate identity. Consumerism became an important characteristic of the new elites of big cities (Tanglay, 2007).

Social Structure and Material Culture

Material objects reflect our personality, social class, income level, those with whom we want to be associated, whether or not we conform to the popular trends, our educational background, ideology, values, culture, and do forth. Some of the theories about materials and social class revolve around power struggle in the society and reproduction of social
classes (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004; Warner, 1949; Veblen, 1899). Others focus more on the holistic meanings of the material objects (e.g., Cooper-Marcus, 1995; Miller, 2001).

Veblen (1899) explained that elites are involved in endless consumption to raise their status. This conspicuous consumption creates a trickledown effect; the tastes established by the elites are mimicked by the lower classes. Warner (1949) believed that consumption goods and activities mark status. People use such markers to exclude status inferiors. The theories on popular culture and mass culture that are in line with the Frankfurt School suggest that popular culture is bad taste dumped on masses only to increase the profits of companies. Lower classes are manipulated into consuming more, and they are accepted as passive receptors of dominant messages. According to this theory, elites and lower classes can be distinguished by their taste for popular culture which in turn, can influence the preferences for the material objects they own.

On the basis of these theories, displaying a certain style of furnishing, artwork, or accessories would have the purpose of differentiating the inhabitants from other social classes. Bourdieu (1984) focused on not only economic capital and status but also on cultural capital. He (1984) believed that people continuously struggle to maintain their symbolic capital (status) using their cultural, economic (financial sources), and social capitals (networks, relationships, and organizational affiliations). Cultural capital includes a set of socially rare and distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices. Taste and aesthetic dispositions distinguish one from lower classes.

Hubbard (1996) claimed that education and social position influence how someone perceives an environment. Wilson and Mackenzie (2000) showed photographs of domestic interiors to 36 participants and asked them to classify those images regarding the characteristics of their owners. The most frequently used constructs to classify the inhabitants of those interiors were age, social class, and family status. Bechtel (1997) explained that display of wealth has been a part of the American culture since Veblen’s (1899) theories on conspicuous consumption. Davis (1955) studied the living room environment as a symbol of status and social judgment. According to Davis (1955), living rooms are constituted of mass produced items, and they reflect the differences between the inhabitants’ tastes.

Bourdieu (1984) explained that the relationship between the judgments and the practices define “Habitus.” Habitus is built into the body during childhood. Accordingly,
habitus is closely related to the environment where one grows up and the social and economic capital of the parents. Agents related to habitus function below the level of consciousness, and they have effect on our systems of aesthetics and social capital. One’s habitus and social and cultural capitals will influence the style of the materials he or she owns and how he carries himself.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) claimed that formal education has replaced the old mechanism of direct inheritance. Members of the dominant class invested on their children’s cultural capital to ensure their success. This required them to be familiar with prestigious forms of culture. Accordingly, they believed that the school as an institution created class boundaries. Aesthetic taste is internalized at an early age with education and thus it creates distinction. In other words, Bourdieu claimed that cultural capital marks status and creates distinction. It secures respect from others through the consumption of objects that are intellectually difficult. Examples of such cultural capital may include the ability to comment on an abstract painting. Those with high cultural capital look down on popular culture. Accordingly, the elite class would differentiate themselves from the lower classes with the objects they have, artwork, and interior decoration of their houses.

Bourdieu (1984) found strong associations among family socioeconomic status, educational achievement, and taste in France in the 1960s (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Some scholars, such as Halle (1997) and Holt (1997) criticized the usefulness of Bourdieu’s theory in regard to how social class is reproduced in the U.S. DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004) believed that culture as a sign of distinction was specific to France or Europe. According to Peterson (1997), today’s cultural capitalists are those who are familiar with high culture, popular culture, and everything in between. This is a result of geographic mobility and people working or interacting with others with various social networks. The difference between Bourdieu and DiMaggio (1987, 1991) is that Bourdieu believed that each social class can be associated with separate tastes. DiMaggio argues that popular culture is common among all classes but only elites have taste for high culture. High culture as a high class status marker is also diminishing as the institutional world is less willing to insist on sharp boundaries between high and popular culture.

Halle (1993) studied art and culture in the house. He criticized studying objects and taste as mere reflections of economic conditions, production or class struggle. He explained that we should also look at meanings of those materials. The author (1993) criticized the Frankfurt School’s theory on mass culture as being simplistic and condescending because it
sees the consumers as only passive receptors. Halle further explained that 1) members of
different classes can relate to art in similar ways, 2) cultural capital is not as difficult to obtain
as Bourdieu suggests, and 3) the idea that art plays an important role in class distinction is
questionable.

Halle (1993) classified theories relating art to status and class domination into three
categories: 1) art as status, 2) art and culture as ideological domination, and 3) art as cultural
capital. Art as status sees art ownership as an attempt to display elites’ superiority over
others. Halle (1993) highlighted the empirical problems of adopting this theory. People would
not admit that they have the artwork to express their superiority over others. For this reason,
this theory lacks evidence, and we as researchers should avoid projecting our status desires
onto the topic. The second approach Halle criticized is art and culture as ideological
domination. This approach focuses on popular culture and mass culture. Mass culture is
seen as a standardized culture dominated by the advertising industry. Halle (1993) criticized
this view as simplistic and condescending. He argued that there is a lack of evidence
supporting that people actively or passively accept meanings.

The third theory that links culture to power is about cultural capital. Bourdieu’s theory
of taste and distinction is an example of this category. Halle (1993) criticized this approach
as well. The reason behind wealthy people’s ownership of valuable art might be just because
they can afford it. In other words, this might be due to their economic capital, not necessarily
due to their cultural capital. Additionally, Halle (1993) argued that high culture is not that
widespread among the dominant classes in both the United States and France. Studies
showed that the dominant classes do not show a great interest in high culture as Bourdieu
suggested. As a result, Halle (1993) claimed that none of those three approaches on power,
status, or economic reasons solely explain people’s taste in art.

As a result of his fieldwork in upper, middle, and working class neighborhoods in
New York, Halle (1993) found it difficult to create a relationship between class and taste. He
suggested that it is a complex relationship. For example, Halle (1993) found that landscape
pictures were popular in home decoration among all social classes. However, although they
were popular among all classes, upper class residents owned more expensive and original
artwork, and they knew the artist’s name. On the other hand, working class art owners rarely
knew the artist of the artwork they had. Also, abstract art was found in upper class urban
houses more. Working class houses had more pictures of family members and religious
persons. To sum up, Halle (1993) confirmed that the three theories on the relationship
between art and social class regarding power struggle and reproduction only provide partial truths. Paintings can serve as status symbols but the Frankfurt School’s view on ideological domination enforced by large corporations received very little support in his study.

Those different approaches discuss material possessions and home interiors from a sociological point of view. Bourdieu (1984) focused on an elitist approach on culture. He believed that education system reproduces the social structure by distinguishing elites from the lower classes with their taste for high culture. The Frankfurt School’s ideology focused on capitalism and popular culture. They believed that the lower classes were manipulated by the elites (with their high economic power and ownership of companies) to consume more. Thus, conformity to popular culture would distinguish a person from elite classes. According to Halle (1993), although home possessions such as artwork can indicate social class, we should also look at the meanings because the relationship between social class and domestic environments is complex. According to Peterson (1997), today’s cultural capitalists are different, and they are knowledgeable about both popular culture and high culture. Finally, studies on home interiors and living rooms also suggest that showcasing materials in the domestic sphere can be means of displaying wealth or social status.

**Holistic Approach in the Study of Materials and Domestic Interiors**

Miller and his doctoral students focused on the mundane everyday lives of their respondents in the book *Home Possessions* (2001). They explored the importance and meaning of objects in the domestic environments in different cultures via in-depth interviews in the respondents’ home environments. Miller (2001) criticized the consumer oriented cultural studies of 1980s and 1990s for lacking fieldwork. He (2001) examined the symbolic qualities of the material possessions without trying to create generalizable theories. He investigated how those possessions are organized and how routines, habits, behaviors, meanings, and cultural norms are situated around them. He interpreted personalities, life histories, and emotional ties with the objects and the home environment. He (2001) studied the home interiors with no effort of categorizing the observations into social class structure or cultural patterns. He used an interpretive inquiry paradigm focusing on individual meanings.

Miller (2001) sees home and home-making as a process. Miller and his students interpreted their observations and interview data with regard to how the reproduction of home space reflected their respondents’ ongoing negotiation with fashion, changing life circumstances, past memories, and future hopes. The respondents reorganized the domestic artifacts in accordance with past experiences, present imperatives, and future desires. For
example, in Clarke’s (2001) chapter, the inhabitants imagined what their neighbors might say when they decorated the interior space. Thus, home is not only a private area but it also has social aspects. Homes accommodate the desires of their inhabitants, but they are also situated within changing social contexts. The meanings extracted from the interviews indicated the importance of social relations in the home environment; some respondents cared about their self representation to others through their home décor, even though they did not have many visitors. One respondent talked about the styles she learned from the magazines thus, providing an example of how media can influence taste and style.

In *Comfort of Things* (2008) Miller continued examining the symbolic qualities of materials. He claimed that the closer our relationships are with objects, the closer our relationships are with people. For example, Miller (2008) narrated George’s apartment. It was barely decorated; it only had the most necessary furnishings such as carpets and seating units. The place was not personalized. George’s life story revealed that he never had responsibility for his own life. He was always led by his parents, his teachers, and his employers. As an older man he was just waiting to die. This shows that even people who seem to not decorate their home space may reflect their identity with their domestic environment. The author observed the opposite with the Clarke family. The Clarke couple’s house was full of meaningful objects and decorations. They had strong ties with the community. They were involved in a lot of social and family activities. Their concern for things showed a concern for people. In another interview, a Jamaican woman’s home was described as displaying many souvenirs, pictures, family photos, cards, and religious symbols. The living room belonging to this woman had plastic, bright, artificial flowers on display. Such things can be considered as objects that are not tasteful. However, they had special meanings for her; she made those artificial paper flowers when she was a child to earn money. She had postcards from the sunny places she visited to brighten up the place and bring back the good memories of the vacations.

Cooper-Marcus (1995) interviewed 60 people from different backgrounds in their homes over a period of 25 years. She asked the respondents the way they felt about their houses and homes. The author (1995) encouraged the respondents to express their feelings about home through picture drawing and role playing. The author emphasized the importance of deep, individual emotional relationship with the home environment and how life cycle played a crucial role in this relationship. According to Cooper-Marcus (1995), there is a need for the home environment to nurture the soul. Home reflects who we are and our inner psychological self. The home’s physical aspects and its role on individuation
throughout different life stages influence the identity of its dwellers. Our relationship with home starts from childhood, and our feeling towards home is influenced by our experiences with a wide range of other settings (Cooper-Marcus, 1995).

**Personalization and meaningful objects.** McCracken (1986) explained that consumer goods offer more than their commercial and utilitarian values. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) argued that people express values and attitudes – their selves - with the kinds of products they select for themselves, their home, and their environment. The objects are symbols with meanings that people use as a vessel to describe who they are in a tangible way (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981). “Things embody goals, make skills manifest, and shape the identities of their users” (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p. 1). The objects reflect their users’ life stories and memories (Miller, 2008).

Douglas and Isherwood (1996) claimed that consumer goods carry and communicate cultural meaning. Hodder (1994) explained that objects communicate information about their users’ religious beliefs, social characteristics, and feelings. Physical characteristics of settings such as forms, materials, colors, and spatial configurations convey meanings (Miller & Schlitt, 1985).

Objects can elicit emotions. Pleasure with products is defined by Jordan (2000) as the emotional (how a product affects a person’s mood), hedonic (sensory and aesthetic pleasures associated with products), and practical benefits associated with products. Norman (2002) also talked about the emotions that can be triggered by products. He claimed that attractive things work better. Demirbilek and Şener (2003) explained that people’s emotional responses to products vary between different generations, social groups, nationalities and cultures.

Products are expressive objects that have been shaped for special uses. Krippendorff and Butter (1984) mentioned how the interaction between artifacts and their users can enhance opportunities for self-expression. Forlizzi (1997) explained:

> People take a designed object and redefine it for themselves, varying the meanings over the course of many transactions, changing in response to increasing age, emerging goals, and situations of use. It is not the design of an object that makes it special, but what a person does with it — the interaction — that makes it special. (p. 32).

Personalization is the intentional decoration or modification of an environment by its occupants to reflect their identities. Bechtel (1997) discussed how personalization can be used for marking a territory. Possessions play an important role on personalization process.
Bechtel (1997) noted that personalization may have more functions than defining territory such as contributing to identity development. Similarly, Baillie and Goeters (1997) explained that people establish their identity through personalization of space. Hiss (1990) argued that settings where people spend their time influence who they are and who they become.

According to Altman (1975), personalization can ease the negative effects of the environment. It is also linked to psychological well being (Donald, 1994; Scheiberg, 1990; Wells, 2000). Personalization allows the inhabitants to express one’s emotions and personality (Donald, 1994; Harris, 1991; Scheiberg, 1990), reminds the inhabitants of their lives outside of the place (Harris, 1991), makes places more pleasing to its inhabitants (Carrere & Evans, 1994; Carreere, Evans & Stokols, 1991), and enhances a person’s attachment to his/her environment (Goodrich, 1986).

According to Altman and Werner (1985), when people attach psychological, social, and cultural meanings to objects and places; it creates a bond known as place attachment and place identity. Clemons, Banning, and McKelfresh (2004) claimed that people consciously or unconsciously convey information about self through personalization of their homes. The authors further explained that home environments create a sense of place for their residents. According to Hiss (1990), sense of place occurs when one feels sense of belonging to an environment and feels secure in it.

Sebba and Churchman (1983) interviewed people about the territories in the home environment. Forty percent of fathers and 18% of mothers participating in the study expressed that no place at home represented them indicating differences between the genders and place attachment. The authors explained that being responsible for a particular area at home and caring for it creates feeling of control over it.

**People and Places**

It is necessary to examine the relationship between people and their environment with its physical, social, and personal aspects including its broader historic, economic, and political contexts. Winkel, Seagart, and Evans (2009) argued that “psychological processes are embedded in physical, economic, and social contexts” (pp. 318 - 319). The authors explained that understanding the inhabitant’s larger ecological units including cultures, social groups, and geographic terrains and the “person-based variables” such as gender, personality, and life stage “can shape the nature of human responses to and actions taken with regard to the physical environment” (Winkel, Seagart & Evans, 2009, p. 319).
Werner, Altman, and Oxley (1985) argued that many environmental psychologists adopted a transactional perspective to study the home. "Transactional processes in homes occur at the level of action and at the level of meaning; they can be events, activities, meanings, evaluations, or any other psychological process" (p. 3). Major aspects of transactional perspective are: people/psychological processes (i.e., individual, culture, and family relations), environmental properties (i.e., social aspects such as family and physical aspects such as a room), and temporal qualities. This perspective assumes that people and their environments “cannot be defined separately,” and they are “mutually defining” (p. 2).

How someone perceives a place can be unique at a specific time and place (Lang, 1992; Massey, 1994; Smaldone, Harris & Sanyal, 2005) as moods, social interactions, and experiences are unfixed entities that influence how we engage with and react to an environment. Stokowski (2002) explained that people are the creators of places, and sense of place is personally and socially constructed. Accordingly, many social and personal factors contribute to people-place relationship such as culture (Albrow, 1997; Lang, 1992), gender (Hartsock, 1983; Manzo, 2003; Massey, 1994), education level (Hubbard, 1996), social position (Hubbard, 1996; Manzo, 2003), age, personality, and experiences (Manzo, 2003), affective appraisal (Russell & Pratt, 1980), values, attitudes, beliefs and belief systems (Bechtel, 1997), and consumption behaviors (Douglas & Isherwood, 1996; Featherstone, 1991; Lury, 1996; McCracken, 1990). Places can trigger pleasant feelings in people, and they can be sources of comfort, sense of security, sense of belonging, attachment, self-expression, control, and freedom to be oneself (Gunter, 2000; Moore, 2000; Smith, 1994; Tognoli, 1987).

Gunther (2009) explained that scholars from different disciplines have been interested in the environment - behavior relationship. Psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, architecture, industrial design, and ergonomics are some of the disciplines that can include studies on domestic interiors. Bechtel (1997) exemplified the interdisciplinary nature of environment - behavior research by listing the many names it has taken so far: Architectural psychology, psychological architecture, socio-architecture, environmental psychology, ecological psychology, environmental sociology, environmental anthropology, design research, and environmental design.

Home

Bechtel (1997) argued that home has been an important place in human life throughout history. He suggested that “meaning of home varies with time and culture” (p.
He referred to meanings of home as refuge, and a place for restoration and privacy. Smith (1994) investigated the essential qualities of home. As a result of her interviews with 23 respondents, she identified the qualities of continuity, privacy, self-expression, personal identity, social relationships, warmth, and a suitable physical structure to be related to the concept of home. In addition to those concepts, Hayward (1975) argued that the concept of home also embraces concepts of childhood home, personalization, family, behavior, and the dwelling. Lawrence (1987) suggested that cultural, socio-demographic, and psychological dimensions shape our perception of home. According to Oswald and Wahl (2005), many environmental psychology studies related to meaning of home emphasize identity-related aspects of place (e.g., Altman & Low, 1992; Després, 1991; Howell, 1983; Neisser, 1988).

Major conclusions that can be drawn from environmental psychology are that individuals experience the meaning of home in a variety of domains and that the meaning of home involves a transactional relationship between persons and their environment that evolves over time leading to behavioral, emotional and cognitive bonding within a meaningful physical and social setting. (Oswald & Wahl, 2005, p. 11)

Miller (2001) explained that it is important to understand the processes in which home and its inhabitants transform each other. Cooper-Marcus (1995) focused on the individual emotional attachment to home and how life cycles influence the meaning of home. Manzo (2005) explained that many studies focus on the positive attributes of home environment such as home as a source of belonging, regeneration, warmth, appropriation, and rootedness. Norberg-Schulz (1985) argued that everybody needs a fixed place, referring to home environment. However, Miller (2001) explained that home and the inhabitant transform each other, and he (2001) sees home and home-making as a process instead of a source of stability and fixity.

Seamon (1979) explained that with home experience, we take being comfortable in and familiar with the everyday world for granted. Rootedness, appropriation, control over place, regeneration, at-easiness, and warmth are associated with the home experience. Manzo (2005) further explained that “socio-political underpinnings of our emotional relationships to places, particularly the impact of gender, race, class and sexuality” suggest a need for further research incorporating “the full magnitude of the human experience into the current discourse on people–place relationships” (p. 67). Although many studies focus on positive connotations of home experience, Manzo (2003, 2005) argued that we should also consider negative aspects of this relationship (e.g., home can be a source of stress).
The study of the material culture of the home provides information on appropriation of the larger world in the private domain. Studying the home provides information on couples’ perception of family and domestic gender roles. For example, in Smith’s (1994) study on perception of home, women identified security, sense of belonging, and dissatisfaction with their domestic role more often than men. Smith (1994) assessed that people decorate to create a warm and secure atmosphere at home. The home environment serves as a symbol of both how people see themselves and how they want others to see them. The living room is both a public and personal place inside the home (Rechavi, 2009), and it is mostly used to communicate self and social identity to guests (Amaturo, Costagliola & Ragone, 1987). Thus, living room creation would not only illuminate the owners’ aesthetic values but also reflect their interpretation of the social activities that would happen there (Bonnes et al., 1987).

Rechavi (2009) investigated the living room use, and she found that her respondents used the living room for both public activities such as entertaining their guests and for private activities such as “reading a book, looking out a window or even just sitting and thinking” (p. 200). She explained that the meaningful objects in the living room contribute to the private aspect of the room.

Some objects that are in the living room relate to the lives of the dwellers and help elicit memories and thoughts about loved ones, places that the dwellers have been to or perhaps would like to go to and things that the dwellers have done. In so doing, such objects enable the dwellers to be in the living room by themselves but feel connected to the world outside. (Rechavi, 2009, p. 200)

Lawrence (1987) pointed out that for each individual, the design, meaning, and use of home interiors are intimately related to a range of cultural and socio-demographic (e.g., age, gender, household structure, and religious beliefs) factors. Wilson and Mackenzie (2000) found that inhabitants’ age, occupation, wealth, personality, aspirations, hobbies, social class, family status, and lifestyles can be interpreted by looking at their living rooms. Makovicky (2007) explained that contemporary home is a place of contention, and the practices of consumption and decoration are implicated in the negotiation of gender identity, kinship, and social relations. For example, Makovicky’s (2007) subjects stored objects signifying their personal characteristics, and she found conformity as an important role in living room décor.
The Turkish House and the Living Room

According to Alsac (1998), the traditional Turkish house was a result of the rural-agricultural way of living in the Ottoman towns and villages. It didn’t change much until the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 and until after society began to change radically. Families became smaller, and women became more independent and more active in social life. The “oda” (multi functional room) was transformed into rooms with specific functions. This occurred during the second half of the 19th century as a result of admiration for European lifestyles. The traditional Turkish house was influenced by Islamic culture to accommodate gender segregation (Cevik, 2002; Ozdemir & Gencosmanoglu, 2007). Ozdemir and Gencosmanoglu (2007) explained that “baş oda,” where men of the house accepted their guests became today’s “salon” (a sitting room designed for entertaining guests) with a new purpose of entertaining both women and men at the same time. Ozdemir and Gencosmanoglu (2007) explained that “the structure of the families, life styles, customs, traditions, habits and religions take great roles in the spatial organization of the house” (p. 1447). The authors (2007) claimed that the use of traditional elements in housing design was involved to different degrees throughout the history of the Turkish republic. Turkish houses were designed under the influence of Western designs, changing economic and social conditions, changing needs, and architects’ effort to integrate some traditional or local elements into their designs. Ozdemir and Gencosmanoglu (2007) concluded that “the meaning, existence, and the elements of space in the Turkish house” have metamorphosed “because of the acculturation to new lifestyles and living standards.” These metamorphoses continue “in combination with tradition and modernity” (p.1451).

Cavuser (1998) claimed that the Turkish “salon” is the most privileged room inside the home, and it represents the family to the outside world. It has the best furnishings in the house, and it is always kept clean and in good order. Social and cultural transformations influenced the living room conception, usage, furnishings, and décor as well as housing design during the first decades of the Republic (Gurel, 2009a). During the 1930s, houses and rooms were designed without regard to the social traditions: they became more European in style (i.e., simpler and more functional). Turks abandoned their traditional comfortable built-in furniture and adopted European furniture to reflect their new European identity. This new style of furniture was only available to the upper class and thus created a social distinction between different income groups (Gurel, 2009a). Gurel (2009b) explained that the concrete apartments embodied the ideas of civilization, Westernization, modernization, and urbanization in Turkey in the 1960s. They were designed for the nuclear
modern family of the middle and upper middle classes, and they reflected the European aesthetic as an expression of modernization. Starting in the 1950s, although furniture designers and architects continued to promote modern style furniture as the correct form of living, the upper class started to use 19th century Europe’s antique furniture to reflect their luxurious, wealthy life. The living rooms became places like museums with eclectic furnishings (Gurel, 2009a). Consequently, furniture style created distinctions among the elites.

In summary, the existing body of literature suggests that the use, meaning, and decoration of the house and living room reflect the inhabitants’ demographics and their social and cultural environment. Turkey has a dynamic socio-cultural environment that has undergone many changes since 1923, and those changes have influenced the families and their living rooms throughout the 20th century. According to Gurel (2009a), Westernization and living room furnishing created social distinction in Turkey during the first 40 years of the Republic. Some researchers have focused on the living room environment and social status (such as Bourdieu, 1984; Laumann & House, 1970). However, due to advanced technology, increasing effects of globalization, industrialization, and mass media, the living room decoration and furnishing could be seen less structured and more personal self-expressive (e.g., Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004). Whether or not consumption and living room décor still signifies social class is not clear. The living room reflects both social and personal aspects. Domestic interiors provide a means for self expression. People design their living rooms to entertain their guests and communicate self to them through the objects and furnishings in the setting. The objects dwellers use to decorate the setting make the room personalized by reflecting meanings and feelings associated with their private lives. The personalization process provides control over the setting, sense of belonging, and place attachment.
Chapter 3: Research Methods

Qualitative research methods were utilized to investigate the design, meaning, and use of the salon environment. The IRB approval was obtained for the study from the Oregon State University’s research office in August 2010 (IRB notification of exemption#: 4698). I conducted a small scale pilot study on living rooms, and an initial interview guide was developed during this study (IRB study #: 4528, obtained in March, 2010). Although the information collected through this previous study was not included in the current research, I gained experience with interviewing and visual data collecting skills in the living room environment through this small scale research project.

Why Qualitative Research Design?

Creswell (2007) explained that an inductive approach is open-ended, flexible, and exploratory compared to a deductive approach. Studying socially constructed meanings and mechanisms that underlie the social relations requires qualitative research methods, such as participant observation because understanding rich meanings requires the researcher to look at participants from their perspectives which is possible with in-depth interviews. It is possible to search for new meanings and collect rich data using an inductive qualitative research approach.

Sampling

Creswell (2007) explained that qualitative researchers would determine sampling criteria or select research sites to increase variety. For example, recruiting respondents with different income and education levels, in different life stages or with different social positions would increase variety of subjectivities and perspectives. Reinharz and Chase (2001) claimed that women share some similarities when considering gender as a sampling category. For example, in Western societies they are likely to grow up with some negative notions about female bodies, earn less than men, perform more than half of the domestic and nurturing work at home when partnered with a man, and bear children. However, class, race, sexual orientation, educational background, family values, and physical conditions can greatly influence individual experiences.

Warren (2001) discussed that the respondents in a qualitative interview study can be chosen among key informants, via snowball, or convenience sampling methods. For this study, I recruited some of the respondents myself, but the majority of them were recruited via purposive, snowball sampling and via key informants. Because home is a private domain, it
is important for the respondents to feel comfortable inviting the interviewer over, consent to recording interviews and taking photographs, and sharing rich personal information about themselves. This sampling made it easy to reach the respondents, build trust, and obtain rich and trustworthy data from them. The respondents were recruited from different income levels, educational backgrounds, occupations, neighborhoods, and ages to increase diversity of perspectives and to investigate possible relationship between social class, income level, demographic characteristics, and the living room design. A sampling method that required recruiting respondents with similar backgrounds such as from similar age or income levels would enable the researchers to draw generalizations, search for concept saturation, and investigate whether or not having similar backgrounds influence their responses about the phenomenon under investigation.

I first arrived in Ankara, Turkey. During my first week in Ankara, I conducted a pilot interview with a respondent that I reached via a key informant to practice and refine the interview guide. The following three weeks, I interviewed 15 married female respondents in their living rooms or salons (depending whether or not they had separate living room and salon) in Ankara. The last three weeks were spent in the second research location, in Erbaa, interviewing sixteen married female respondents.

**Why married women?** Researchers suggest that women feel more comfortable than men speaking with strangers, making them more open to being interviewed. Also, women are more willing to talk to women than to men (Reinharz & Chase, 2001). Researchers indicate that women are more interested in interior decoration than men are, and they are mostly seen as the home-maker or in charge of the representation of the family to the outside world (Cevik, 2002; Clarke, 2001; Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004; Gurel, 2009b). Accordingly, married females were recruited for this study. Bechtel (1997) explained that in all cultures, men claim a superior status over women, and it is possible to see reflection of this ideology in "religion, law, and custom" (p. 524). Despite this, "ironically, in Western civilization, the house is seen as the place where women are most dominant" (p. 524).

Cevik (2002) described how industrialization influenced the concept of home and women’s role as being in charge of home. With the shift from agricultural to industrial society, the Victorian era men wished to return to their comfortable and attractive homes after a hard day of work. Women were expected to stay at home and commit to the domestic duties such as providing a clean and pleasant environment. Women were in charge of home decoration
and domestic consumption. The transition of home from a place of work and production to a place of recreation as a result of industrialization might have a similar influence on Turkish homes. In today’s Turkey, women’s traditional role as home-maker might be influenced by whether or not they are employed, their ideology, and their interest in home-making.

In Turkey, the majority of people live with their parents until they get married (except for those who study or work outside their hometown), and they invest in home making when they get married. In addition, traditionally the groom and his family pay for most of the furniture of the newlyweds’ home. Knowing this, single women with the hope of a future marriage in mind, may prefer not to invest in furniture. One other reason for recruiting married female women was to investigate the dynamics between the couples in regard to home creating decisions and domestic gender roles.

Hackney (2006) analyzed the domestic consumer magazines from the 1920s and 1930s in Britain. She argued that women around the world have been targeted for marketing purposes; they play an important role in regard to domestic consumption. Hackney (2006) explained that housewives were seen as the “agents of modernity” in the early decades of the 20th century in Britain (p. 26). She stated that ideas of modern style and simpler designs were promoted as modern living to English women by editors of some home magazines. Hackney (2006) explained:

Magazine home craft mediated the modern through a feminine interior aesthetic that prioritized comfort, creativity and cleanliness, combining new ideals of progressive living with desires for intimacy, stability and permanence. (pp. 30-31)

O’Shea (1996) defined modernity as the “negotiation of one’s life and one’s identity within a complex and fast-changing world” (p. 11). Berman (1988) explained that modernization started in the Western world with the social and economic transformations and spread around the world. The modern life has been fed by technological advances and industrialization that resulted in new forms of social and corporate power; discoveries in the physical sciences that changed our ideas about our existence and the universe; increased geographic mobility and urbanization; “systems of mass communication” that connected diverse individuals together; and capitalist market (p. 16).

The media targets women not only to sell products but also ideas (Tanglay, 2007). Giles (2004) studied domestic identities, femininity, class, and modernity. The author (2004) argued that women’s lives have been transformed by industrialization, urbanization, and different family forms. During the first half of the century, the domestic service declined, and
middle-class housewives became more involved in a growing home-oriented consumer culture while working-class housewives could also create their ideal homes in Britain (Giles, 2004).

Durakbasa and Ilyasoglu (2001) interviewed women of the upper class who lived during the early years of the Republic of Turkey. Those women were expected to represent the modernism in Turkey, and they had to cope with the tensions between concept of modernity and tradition. Despite their active social life and participation in professional life as an engineer or teacher, those women were also obligated to the dependent wife role. In 1960s, Gurel (2009b) explained that the modern urban Turkish woman was conceptualized as a home maker, a mother, and an attractive feminine figure. She was expected to be in charge of the appearance of the home and the family. Women actively contributed to defining modern home. Thus, they had an important role on the history of the built environment.

By interviewing married females, I aimed to explore the role of women in construction of the perceptions of home by examining their salon décor, use, and meaning. In addition, recruiting married participants permitted studying the dynamics between couples in regard to purchase decisions, home making, and domestic gender roles, which in turn, contribute to the understanding of the use of the domestic space and the meanings associated with it.

Data Collection

I collected the data via in-depth, semi-structured interviews, still photographs, field notes, sketches, and video footage in the respondents’ salons. This not only enabled me to cover the topics of interest by asking questions related to the objectives of this study, but it also allowed the respondents to talk about other topics. It permitted new questions and themes to emerge as a result of what the interviewees said. Interviews enable the researcher to access others’ perspectives, observations, and personal experiences. The subjects hold information about others, household compositions, beliefs, feelings, and activities (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). Qualitative interviewing is a kind of guided conversation in which the interviewer carefully listens to hear the meaning of what is being conveyed (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Gubrium and Holstein (2001) explained that as the researchers became more aware of the interview’s role for the production of meaning, the interviewing process has become more interactional. The subject constructs the information and produces knowledge. “[The subject’s] participation in the process is not viewed in terms of standardization or constraint;
neutrality is not figured to be necessary or achievable” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001, p. 15). Interviewer’s participation in the production of the knowledge is not considered as contamination of the data. Warren (2001) explained that it is important for the qualitative interviewer “to remain flexible and attentive to the variety of meanings that may emerge as the interview progresses. This … includes being alert to developing meanings that may render previously designed questions irrelevant in light of the changing context of meanings” (p.87). Uhrenfeldt, Paterson, and Hall (2007) explained that the interviewer should use emphatic skills such as paraphrasing, prompting, or encouraging the respondent to make sure the respondent does not have anything to add to her response.

I started the interviews by collecting demographic information such as about their age, duration of marriage, occupation, parents’ occupations, education level, and length of stay in the current residence. During the interviews, I asked the respondents about: how much and how they use their salon; social relations that take place in the room; process of salon creation; whether or not and why they were satisfied with the room; how they describe and perceive the place; their childhood house and salon; their ideal salon; whether or not they follow the decoration trends seen on printed, online, and TV media; and their opinions on religiosity, modernity, and socio-economic changes in Turkey. I also asked them about their favorite objects and the most meaningful objects in the room, if they get inspired by others’ salons, if they consider what others would think of their salon when they designed it, how they decided on their furniture, what they think about changing furniture frequently, and so forth. I took notes during the interviews. My questions derived from my literature review. The open-ended, semi-structured nature of the interviews enabled me to ask new questions as new topics emerged during the course of the conversations.

At the end of the interview, I went over the information they provided as a means of member checking, which also enabled them to talk more on the subjects and provide further insights on subject matters. At the end of the interviews, I asked each respondent for a tour in their salon during which they explained each object they have in the room. The respondents also showed me their living rooms briefly (if they had a separate living room). After we went over the objects in their salons, the respondents left the room so, I could take photographs and video footages of their salons and their objects.

I recorded the interviews (with the consent of the respondents) with a digital voice recorder and a camcorder. This enabled me to focus on the flow of the interview. Witcher (2010) highlighted the problematic nature of transcriptions as they do not capture emotions,
tone, and other nonverbal cues such as gestures. Accordingly, it is important to have audio and video recordings of the interviews to fully capture the meanings and emotional contexts. Pink (2006) emphasized the importance of using video footage in the study of home environments because the photographs fail to capture the sensory information such as noises that have meaningful qualities to the inhabitants. She also argued that using a camcorder type of video recorder allows the researcher to actually see the environment by not blocking his or her view. Immediately after the interviews, I recorded my impressions and initial interpretations of the data I collected during my visits.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim. The field notes were supplemented with sketches, interviewee profiles, still photographs, and observations of the rooms. Please see Figure 1 for an example of a salon sketch illustrating the furniture layout. The visual data and observations were used to triangulate the interview data.

![Figure 1. Working sketch of ID6's salon.](image)

**Research Site**

Erbaa and Ankara are the two research sites of this study. It is important to take up a residence in the research site, build rapport with the community, and learn about the local people and their everyday life (Malinowsky, 1929). I selected these two research sites to
increase the diversity of perspectives by recruiting respondents from different cities with
different characteristics. I am a native of Turkey. I lived in both research locations for many
years, and I have a large social network there. Thus, I am familiar with the environment and
the people. I assumed the location where people grow up and reside influences their identity,
their consumption habits, social relations, and the way they decorate their salons.
Accordingly, the two research sites were chosen on the basis of their contrasting
characteristics.

Figure 2. Map of Turkey illustrating locations of Erbaa and Ankara.
Note. Adapted from “Turkey location map” by NordNordWest, from
Documentation License.

Erbaa has a population of 60,201 (“Turkish Statistical Institute”, 2012). It is a city
located in the central northern part of Turkey. Erbaa is a district of Tokat province. According
to the official website of Erbaa District (http://www.tokat.gov.tr), Erbaa is a developing city
with balanced agriculture and industrial economies. Ankara has a population of 4,842,136
(“Turkish Statistical Institute”, 2012). It is the national capital city. It is a developed, large
settlement located in central region of Turkey. The two cities have different characteristics in
terms of their population size, cultural environment, diversity, education resources, and level
of industrialization and urbanization. The literacy rate in Ankara was reported as 97.4%
(95.6% for women and 99.3% for men) and 96.6% (94.5% for women and 98.6% for men) in
Tokat province by Turkish Statistical Institute (2012). The distance between Ankara and
Erbaa is 411 km (255.4 miles).
In the early years of the Republic, Ankara was planned to reflect the social, economic, cultural, and governmental changes. Ankara was constructed as a model city of Turkey. Turkoglu-Onge (2007) explained, “The aim was the creation of a modern cultural environment with new institutions, socio-cultural practices, and a new physical landscape” (p. 72). Turkoglu-Onge (2007) further explained that Ankara has a complex urban structure at present. Erkip (2005) argued that the increasing number of shopping malls in Ankara are indicators of “spatial transformations under the influence of global forces, which may also give clues about changes in the Turkish urban lifestyle” (p. 89), referring to the “increasing control of corporate and global capital versus national values” (p. 93).

Cinar (2005) examined how Ankara’s design and planning of public spaces, buildings, and monuments have changed since early 20th century as the perception of modernity and the vision of the nation changed. During the early decades of the republic, the downtown area in the Ulus district was designed around the monument of the founder of Turkey, Ataturk. Significant landmarks of the central public space were the parliament building and ethnography museum. A transition to democracy (from the former monarchy...
and theocracy of Ottoman Empire) and high culture were envisioned as the modernity phase. Beginning in the 1950s, after the election of the Democrat Party, this notion of modernity was challenged with economic development. The city center was moved to Kizilay which included many business centers. After embracing liberal market economy in 1980 and opening to global market huge shopping malls and skyscrapers surrounded the cityscape.

I did not aim to focus on investigating each city’s population characteristics and urban identities. Instead, I aimed to understand the moderating effect of being a resident of a big metropolitan city versus a small city on the salon design and meaning. Ankara residents could be more exposed to consumerism because they have big shopping malls and a higher number of retail stores available to them compared to the Erbaa residents. Ankara has better education resources, many movie theaters, shops, theaters, film and music events, and many universities. Such resources and opportunities might be influential in creating a different socio-cultural environment for the Ankara residents compared to the Erbaa residents.

Figure 4. Still photographs from Ankara. 

**Data Analysis**

First, the biographical sketches of all participants were constructed using the demographic information and the visual data. Please see Appendix B. The data from the interviews were transcribed verbatim, and they were read several times for coding purposes. According to Humble (2009), there are three types of qualitative content analyses:
summative (counting of words or content and interpretation of the quantification), conventional (categories emerge out of the analysis rather than through preconceived categories being imposed on the data), and directed (deductive in nature, involves the application of conceptual categories to a new context). I used the first two types of analysis techniques. I counted the use of same or similar words or phrases to investigate patterns that emerged in data. “Quantitative strategies can be used to confirm ideas or contribute to more trustworthy analysis” (Miles & Huberman, 2004). Categories emerged out of the data analysis.

Many themes and summaries were written on an MS Office Excel sheet. Those summaries and themes were read several times. I used color coding to sort my findings. Emerging themes were grouped under sub-categories, and those sub-categories were also grouped under broader categories. For example, family and friends emerged as people who influenced the perception and meaning of the salon design. They were grouped under the sub-category “others.” “Others” as an emerging theme was categorized under “environmental aspects.” Color, furniture style, materials, and size of the rooms emerged as patterns that influenced many respondents’ perceptions of their salons. These concepts were discussed under “physical characteristics of the setting,” which was categorized under “setting.” I went back and forth between the initial codes and the categories that they were grouped under to verify the coding method and search for other themes that could emerge from the data.

The open-ended, exploratory, and inductive nature of the study design allowed analyzing emerging themes in an unstructured way and synthesizing the findings to examine the relationship between the themes. The coded themes were used to create theme maps to discuss the relationships between different concepts. The maps do not illustrate the importance of concepts in relation to each other; they simply present the connections between the concepts. The visual data collected via video footage, photographs, observations, and sketches assisted the interpretation and discussion of the interview data.

Reflexivity

Witcher (2010) questioned the researcher’s reflexivity and position as an insider or outsider during the interviewing process. He explained that the emic/insider perspective provides insider’s knowledge that can be advantageous for the understanding and interpretation of human behavior and local language and meaning. It also has great advantage regarding transcription process. The etic/outsider perspective has the advantage
of evaluating human behavior from an objective, neutral position. An insider position can build rapport with the respondent easier than an outsider position, which in turn influences the quality and richness of the interview data. However, the respondents may be reluctant to talk about personal matters or reveal some certain information to someone that has close ties to other community members. In this case, an outsider position might be more advantageous to extract information from the interviewees.

Although I agree that an outsider’s perspective might allow the researchers see what the insiders’ taken for granted actions and behaviors are, I disagree that an outsider can be neutral. Each person and each researcher has their own subjectivities and experiences influencing their interpretation of life. Witcher (2010) explained a third category of researcher position: relative perspective. According to Hayano (1979) researchers recognize that it is unrealistic to categorize oneself as an absolute insider or outsider. The relative perspective acknowledges both insider and outsider positions.

I am an insider as I am from Turkey, and I lived in both research sites for many years. This allowed me to collect extensive, rich data in a short period of time. However, I have been living out of Turkey for years. I am also an outsider: I have different education background from my respondents. There were age differences between me and many of my respondents. My childhood home did not have a separate salon and living room because we did not have enough number of rooms to accommodate them separately in our house. Growing up without the experience of a separate salon at home provided me with the objectivity of an outsider.

**Establishing Validity**

Lincoln and Guba (1985) explained that it is possible to provide trustworthiness in a study that is guided by the naturalist inquiry paradigm. The issue of trustworthiness in qualitative research is related to persuading the audience and the self that the research study and its findings are worth paying attention to. Providing trustworthiness of research findings in a naturalistic inquiry paradigm is very different when compared with a positivist inquiry paradigm.

Golafshani (2003) explained that in qualitative research reliability and validity are not viewed separately. Terms such as trustworthiness, credibility, and transferability can all refer to validity and reliability. Member checking, making sure the interviews are correctly transcribed, assessing possible bias, documenting and explaining the procedure in detail, peer reviews, and collecting rich data. These are some of the ways the researchers can
utilize to provide trustworthiness in qualitative research. The researcher’s skills and effort are also important for providing credibility and dependability. It is important that the researcher vigorously and carefully analyzes the data.

I used a triangulation technique to provide trustworthiness. Multiple methods such as observation, in-depth interviews, video and audio recordings of the home visits, still photographs, and sketches were used to collect data. I paid attention to let my respondents finish their responses before moving on to the next question during the interviews. I rephrased some of my questions to make sure that the respondents provided detailed explanations. I tried to be alert about the opportunities that would lead to new topics related to the research topics. At the end of the interviews, I briefly went over my notes regarding the information they provided to eliminate possible misunderstandings and make sure that my interpretations of their statements are correct. Member checking was also performed by contacting two respondents by phone after the data analysis was completed. I summarized my findings to those two respondents and asked them about their opinions regarding my interpretations.

I spent sufficient time in each residence, with each respondent making sure that I allowed them to finish their responses and that I asked all my questions and gathered all the information that is necessary. I practiced my interviewing skills by performing a pilot interview. I video-recorded the pilot interview session and studied it to learn about my mistakes. The pilot interview in the field let me test if the vocabulary I used was easy to understand for my respondents. Sometimes researchers use terms that are not familiar to the laymen.

I collected detailed rich data from my observations and interviews. Other methods that I used to provide validity were keeping records of my procedures to provide transparency, explaining my procedures to the audience in detail, and paying attention to potential bias that would derive from my ethnicity, education level, and gender. Reflexivity is necessary to make the research findings trustworthy. I read the transcriptions many times, and I constantly compared them with each other. I was very careful and patient while analyzing the data.
Chapter 4: Findings

A total of 31 women were interviewed in their salons. Sixteen of the respondents were from Erbaa, and 15 of them were recruited from Ankara. Please see Figure 5. The average age of the respondents was 48 years. The age of the respondents ranged between 20 and 77 (only two of them were younger than 25, two thirds of them were 50 or older). Ten of the respondents were housewives with no work experience, nine of them were employed, and 12 of them were retired from their jobs. Twenty five (80.6%) of the respondents had both a salon and a living room in their residences, and the rest had one room that served as both a living room and salon. Eighteen percent (n = 6) of the respondents were renters in their current home, and the majority of the respondents (82%, n = 28) owned their residence. In Ankara two of the respondents were renters, and 13 (86.6%) of them owned their apartment unit. In Erbaa, two of the respondents were renters, and 14 (87.5%) of them had home ownership. Please see Table 1 for more information about the respondents’ demographic characteristics.

Figure 5. Photographs of the respondents.
*Note.* The first row presents nine respondents from Erbaa (N = 16), and the second row presents nine respondents from Ankara (N = 15). The respondents provided consent for being photographed. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.

Many themes emerged as a result of the data analysis to find out what influenced the meaning, design, and use of the Turkish Salon. The themes that were more related to each other were grouped under three major concepts: setting, person, and environment. Note that these themes are interrelated. Scholars identified and discussed some main categories regarding people-place relationship. Those are the physical setting (physical characteristics of the environment), the person (psychological, social attributes, conceptions, meaning, educational background, gender, culture, preferences, and etc.), and the activities (Canter,
1977; Relph, 1976; Sack, 1997; Stedman, 2002; Stokols & Schumaker, 1981). Gustafson (2001) and Sixsmith (1986) used self, environment/physical setting and social as the three categories that emerge in the study of meanings of place. I chose to include “activities” under “setting” aspect of people-place relationship, and I discussed socio-cultural, socio-economic influences, and the influence of others in a separate category: “environment.” As a result, I had three main categories: person, setting, and environment.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ankara (N = 15)</th>
<th>Erbaa (N = 16)</th>
<th>Total (N = 31)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average age</td>
<td>48.6 years</td>
<td>47.7 years</td>
<td>48.2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>1 widow, 14 married (Median duration of marriage = 24 yrs)</td>
<td>1 separated, 15 married (Median duration of marriage = 26 yrs)</td>
<td>29 married, 1 widow, 1 separated (Median duration of marriage = 25 yrs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>2 less than high school, 7 high school, 6 some college degree</td>
<td>3 less than high school, 6 high school, 7 some college degree</td>
<td>5 less than high school, 13 high school, 13 some college degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profession</td>
<td>5 retired, 6 currently employed, 4 housewives</td>
<td>7 retired, 3 currently employed, 6 housewives</td>
<td>12 retired, 9 currently employed, 10 housewives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>10 had children living with them</td>
<td>8 had children living with them</td>
<td>18 had children living with them, 9 had children no longer living with them, 4 had no children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this study, the themes that were categorized under “setting” were use and activities and physical characteristics of the setting including aesthetic preferences and functional concerns about the setting. The “person” category of emergent themes were: satisfaction with the room, interest in home decoration, demographics, personalization and meaningful objects, and place attachment. The “environment” category of emergent themes were: conformity, rise of consumerism and liberal economy, and other people.
Environment

The environmental aspects include influence of other people, and socio-cultural and economic environments on salon design. Conformity, rise in consumerism, and liberal economy influenced the design, meaning, and use of the respondents’ salons.

Conformity. Furniture is usually sold in sets in Turkey such as a salon set or a bedroom set. A salon or living room seating set usually includes four pieces: two armchairs and two sofas or one sofa, one love chair, and two armchairs. The respondents had similar types of furniture in their salons. The salons usually included a seating set and a dining set. A dining set usually includes a console (sometimes with a mirror) and one or two display cases housing dinnerware, glasses, silverware, and decorative display items such as pictures, knick knacks, figurines, ornamental vases, and souvenirs. Please see Figure 7 for examples. ID13 from Ankara and ID18 from Erbaa were the only ones who did not have a dining table in their salons because they did not have enough space for it. Other exceptions were ID26 and ID28 who did not have any display units other than their entertainment centers. ID26 had only a corner sofa; she did not have a four-piece seating set. ID18 had a three-piece seating set instead of the conventional four-piece set.

Figure 6. Themes related to conformity

The reason the respondents had similar type of furniture in their salon would be a consequence of the furniture dealers who sell the furniture in sets. However, many respondents expressed that they could customize their furniture. Some respondents
explained that they felt the need to buy the display units and the console because it was the norm, and everybody had them. ID9 from Ankara reported, "We buy furniture not because we need them or for their usability; we buy them because we see it in our friends’ home, and we want to have it, too." ID10 had classical style seating units. She explained that they were popular when she bought them in the 1980s. She reported, “They were must-have items at that time; everyone had them including us. Maybe Turks have a longing for palace like homes. When we first bought those, our salon seemed like a palace room to us.”

![Figure 7. Views from the respondents’ display units.](image)

*Note.* In clockwise order: souvenirs in ID5’s display case; ID3’s silverware including elephant trinkets; ID18’s souvenir house model, an ornamental picture from Kaaba, and Islamic books. ID24’s old copperware, embroidered heirloom tablecloth, and her grandchild’s dinosaur toy. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.

The majority of the respondents had intricate crystal glasses, bowls, and vases which were very popular during the early 1990s. One respondent explained “I would like to get rid of my crystals, but I cannot because I paid so much money for them. I bought them because everybody had them.” ID4 explained:

You get influenced from others. I pay attention to what others have. Before we bought our previous seating set, all my friends had classical style seating units. So, I insisted and persuaded my husband that we buy the classical style as well.
ID3 reported that they bought many items during her husband’s military service in Cyprus. She explained:

At that time, in the early 1980s, household items and electronic goods that were not available or very expensive in Turkey were more affordable and available in Cyprus. We bought many things that we did not really need or root for just because everyone else bought them. For example, [I bought] English dinnerware with daisy patterns. I do not like them but I bought them anyways.

Some other items that were observed in the majority of salons were “nazar boncuğu” (evil eye pendant) and ornamental textiles. See Figures 8 and 10. The evil eye bead has a traditional meaning (according to some, it also has a religious meaning). It is believed to protect a person or a place from the evil eye. Such items reflect the respondents’ beliefs or their interest in traditions. However, observing what others in their social circle have inspired some respondents to decorate with similar items. Finding similar things in different homes was more likely to happen in Erbaa compared to Ankara. For example, elephant shaped trinkets, which became popular in recent years, were found in the majority of salons in Erbaa. The respondents reported that those trinkets symbolized luck and prosperity. See Figure 9. ID27 explained:

In Erbaa, I see that people have fancy and luxurious salons. Even when you walk on the streets, you see all those fancy draperies on windows. I visited family and friends in Izmir and Ankara. Their salons are not like that; they are more modest. When I walk the streets there, I don’t see that fanciness on windows. I feel like, in Erbaa people are influenced or impressed by each other more. They are more into home décor, and they like showing off.

ID29 reported:

I have friends from both elite class and peasants. The people from elite class around here do not talk about politics or social agenda. All they talk about is who owns what, where to buy things, and etc. I think, people in Erbaa are more pretentious and ostentatious. When I visit my friends out of town, I see they have more modest homes. Here, everyone knows each other. When one buys or does something, the others want to follow. It is like people are in a competition with each other. I know people who replace their furniture very often. I use the same salon furniture for almost three decades!
Figure 8. Accessories from five different respondents’ salons.  
*Note.* In clockwise order: heirlooms, traditional items including a samovar and crystals in ID7’s salon; souvenirs from ID4’s salon/living room; a souvenir doll from ID8’s salon; “telkari” (filigree) sandals on a hand carved wooden chest from ID10’s salon; decorative evil eye bead from ID31’s salon. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.

Figure 9. Elephant trinkets as accessories. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.
In summary, it was possible to observe similar types of furniture and decorative items such as the evil eye bead, “telkari” sandals, ornamental tablecloths, furniture sets, souvenirs, and elephant trinkets in the respondents’ salons. Although it makes sense for the respondents to display their souvenirs, gift items, and items with trendy styles, some respondents revealed that they were influenced by others with the selection of such objects. For example, ID1 had oversized liquor bottles displayed in her salon. She bought them during her husband’s military service in Cyprus in the mid 1980s. She moved 15 times in five different cities, and she carried them to every salon she had despite the fact that no one in
her household drinks. I asked her why they had such unusual decorative items in their salon especially if they never drink. She explained that it was the trend to buy them at the time; every officer family who served in Cyprus had them. Some respondents had difficulty getting rid of some of the items they purchased many years ago, although they no longer found them appealing or necessary. They did not reveal any meanings, aesthetic appeal, or sentimental values associated with such objects, but they still kept them. ID1 explained that she accumulated so many items over the years that even though she preferred simplicity, she could not let some of them go such as her expensive French crystals.

Rise of consumerism and liberal economy. I asked the respondents about their childhood homes and salons and availability and style of home furniture in the past. I asked them what they think about the changing economic conditions and their influence on people and their home interiors. As our conversations continued, I asked them whether or not they are happy about the rise of consumerism and having more affordable and available consumer goods compared to the past. My other questions included if they would change their salon furniture often, if they know people who replace their furniture very often, and what they think about people who replace their salon furniture often even though it is not necessary.

The majority of the respondents confirmed that people have more possessions now compared to the past, and purchasing power has increased. Many respondents explained that not many people had armchairs at the time of their childhood. Only those with high income levels or those who could travel out of town owned armchairs. ID27 revealed that it took them a year to pay for a refrigerator although her husband and she were both employed. Similarly, 51 year-old ID25 reported that a TV was a luxury item in 1983 when she got married, and it took them one year to pay for it. She explained that not everyone had a salon seating set or armchairs when she got married. Many people had a “divan” (a type of couch without a backrest) and “kanepe” (a type of sofa bed). ID25 was the only one who talked about the influence of the political turmoil on people's buying decisions and interiors:

Armchairs were a luxury item before then. They became popular in the 1980s. In the 1970s, because of the political turmoil, people were not that into furniture. There was restlessness in the society. There was no money. You could not find many things that are available in the market now. People had prosperity and sense of security after Özal (the prime minister of Turkey between 1983 and 1989). I am happy with the change [in the economy]; it brought prosperity and abundance of products. From scarcity of necessities, we turned into finding luxury items easily. Our parents and grandparents experienced wars, and they were saving-oriented people. Now, it is better
from a materialistic point of view, but it is worse from a spiritual point of view; people cannot take the pleasure in [their possessions] as much compared to the past.

ID1 explained:

In the past, there was less variety [of products]. We even used to make our own clothes. Now, everything is abundant and affordable, but the new generation does not know how to be satisfied with what they have; they take it for granted. I used to be very happy even with a lipstick. The new generation has everything, and yet they are not as happy.

When I asked the respondents about whether or not they found the increased affordability and availability of consumer goods a positive change, seven respondents (23%) (six from Ankara and one from Erbaa) reported that they believe it had both favorable and unfavorable consequences on the society. Eleven respondents (35%) (three from Ankara and eight from Erbaa) responded positively, and 12 participants (39%) (five from Ankara and seven from Erbaa) responded negatively. A 20 year-old respondent had no opinions about it. Please see Table 2. Only three (10%) respondents (two from Ankara and one from Erbaa) reported that they would change their salon furniture very often. Five out of eleven respondents who viewed the socio-economic change positively in overall added that they believe it also has some negative effects on people. For example, ID23 argued that it is better now compared to the past because people can buy everything with their credit cards and in installments. However, she believed that one should know how to restrain self from spending unnecessarily. She sometimes warned her friends who spent too much because “one should spend money in moderation,” she explained. ID31 explained:

It is better now. Everyone lives more comfortably. Everyone can afford [consumer products]. People can pay in installments. Yes, there is a little prodigality; I am against it. It is just too much spending. I would not replace my furniture that often even if I were very rich. Money has become a virtue. New generation longs for living comfortably. There is no effort for saving. In our time, we used to be “kanaatkar” (abstinent) and content with what we had.

Some respondents preferred to use the same seating units for over 20 years, whereas others preferred to change them more frequently. This did not necessarily mean that those who purchased new furniture had better economic conditions or cared more about the aesthetic qualities of the room. Some of the respondents had a negative attitude towards too much consumerism, and they were in favor of using the existing furniture as long as it is in good condition; one should not buy new furniture just to follow the decoration trends. Some of them wanted to change their furniture because they believed that they used it long
enough. For example, ID15 used her salon furniture for nine years. She was not happy with their style anymore. Her furniture was still in good shape, but she explained, “my children grew up on them. It is time to replace them.”

Table 2. Do you see the change in economic environment and its influence on people’s consumption habits positively or negatively?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ankara</th>
<th>Erbaa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both negative and positive</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>7 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>7 (44%)</td>
<td>12 (39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
<td>11 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15 (100%)</td>
<td>16 (100%)</td>
<td>31 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The positive aspects of changing economic conditions on society that were mentioned by the respondents were increase in variety \((n = 13)\), affordability \((n = 16)\), and availability \((n = 9)\) of furniture and consumer products, and the fact that everyone can have everything \((n = 6)\). One respondent explained that because of market competition the products are of higher quality now. Fifty year-old ID2, who sees the change in economic conditions in a positively reported:

Özal (the prime minister of Turkey between 1983 and 1989) opened up our horizon. We would have started watching colored TV in the 90s instead of the 80s, if it wasn’t for him. He raised our living standards. Yes, we have become a consumption oriented society but we also started living a more comfortable life. We did not have much in the past. You could not find many things, at least not in every city. People used to ask their friends and relatives who lived in Cyprus or Germany to bring stuff for them. Only rich people could own some particular brand products. Now, there is more variety [of consumer goods], and purchasing power has increased. Instead of buying golden bracelets for savings, people prefer to spend their money for living more comfortably. When I was a kid, people waited for the fall to do their shopping or even have their weddings because that was when they sold their produce, and had a big sum of money. Now, because of credit cards, people can buy things anytime they want. Poor is still poor, but the difference between different socioeconomic groups has been diminished.

Thirty one year-old ID21 from Erbaa reported that she sees “doyumsuzluk” (not being content with what you have) at herself because she would replace her furniture if she could
afford it even if she did not need to. She explained that she is happy with the increased variety and affordability of furniture. Twenty four year-old ID12 from Ankara also perceived the change in economic conditions positively. When I asked her about whether it caused “doyumsuzluk” (not being content with what you have), she responded:

ID12: But everything is a lot cheaper now; you can buy ten items for the same money that you used for buying one in the past. People did not have much in the past because they [consumer products] were not available. Now it is abundant, and I am very happy about this. We buy things without thinking whether or not they are necessary.

Interviewer: What about “israf” (prodigality) or wastefulness?
ID12: Yes, it is prodigality but that is fine with me.
Interviewer: Do you think people should try to restrain themselves from spending too much?
ID12: but there are discounts and special offers [laughs].
Interviewer: Would you replace your furniture even though they are not old or even if it is not necessary?
ID12: I would. Furniture is not bought for using until it is broken or for sitting on it many years. My parents replace their furniture very often, too. My mother buys new seating units every other year. She replaces them when she notices a little scratch on it. I think, I have the same attitude; I get bored [with my furniture] very easily, and I’d like to replace it often. Even when we lived in the shanty, mom replaced her kanepes (a type of sofa) every three years or so because we used them a lot.

The rapid rise of consumerism in Turkey influenced many of the respondents’ consumer values. Many of the older respondents criticized the younger generation for spending too much, wasting their money, and not saving for their future. Saving was a big virtue in the old times when economic conditions were worse and when availability of consumer goods was low. For some respondents, the virtue of saving was related to religiosity or the culture it created in the society. “Israf” or wasting sources whether it is money, food, or consumer goods is seen as a sin in Islam. Many respondents expressed that they believe spending too much or unnecessarily is israf.

The negative aspects of the changing economic conditions and increased consumerism on society that were mentioned by the respondents were: “doyumsuzluk” (not being content with what you have) \((n = 15)\), unhappiness \((n = 9)\), “israflik” (wastefulness or prodigality) \((n = 8)\), marital conflicts cased by financial problems \((n = 7)\), “özentilik” (being pretentious or a wannabe) \((n = 7)\), spending unnecessarily \((n = 6)\), and “değer bilmememe” (being unappreciative). Seven respondents talked about the influence of credits cards and
sales in installments, and five respondents talked about the influence of technology. Sixty one year-old ID15 believed that the society had become very consumerist. She thought that despite the advantages of rise in affordability and variety of consumer products, it had a heavy toll on the society. She emphasized the fact that the income level of many families did not rise but their expenses did. She further explained:

Income per capita is not that high in Turkey. So, what happens is people have difficulty paying their credit card bills and bank loans, and they end up having financial problems. Whenever you go out, you desire to buy something. The social life involves shopping malls now. So many shopping malls popped up in Ankara in the last five years. Even though one cannot afford it, he or she ends up buying stuff because their children insist on it, and they are allured by discounts and installment payments.

Fifty three year-old ID5 from Ankara reported:

What fits my budget is what I would buy regardless of fashion. That is my personality. I cannot get on well with people who keep spending their money to get what is fashionable. Such as my neighbors, they are so keen on buying new things. They replace their furniture and their curtains just because they are bored with the existing ones. It was not like this before. This has been going on for the last five or six years. One should not spend this much; people should know how to make use of what they already have. That much spending and shopping ruined marriages. I know people among my neighbors and relatives who got divorced because of financial problems. The new generation is in a very bad condition; they spend too much. They have everything but they are not happy. The economy boomed all of a sudden. In the past, we could not even find coffee cups. We used to order such things from Turkish immigrants living in Germany. Now people buy coffee cups every other year.

Forty three year-old ID6 reported that she was not influenced by the changing economic environment. She mentioned that she still did not own a plasma TV, and her salon furniture was 15 years old. She explained that she never had notions such as replacing her furniture because of boredom, and she was not very consumerist. Instead of buying readymade things, she and her husband preferred making their own furniture and décor. She made her own table lamps, and she and her husband made their own pieces of wall art. She was against “israf” and unnecessary expenses. She related people who are keen on replacing their furniture very often and spending too much to being “özenti” (desire to imitate or have what others have or being a wannabe). She further explained:

Maybe it comes from childhood; it is something to do with familiarity with a certain lifestyle. My family was well-off. Even 40 years ago, we lived in a nice apartment in a nice neighborhood in Ankara. For his time and age, my father was highly educated, and he was employed in high rank bureaucratic
positions. Growing up, we experienced everything [consumer products] at home and in our social environment. If you do not grow up rooting for things that you do not have... maybe it is something to do with growing up in a family with high income level or growing up in Ankara. We never aspired for things. Still, things were recycled at home. People used to economize. For example, we used to have those colorful patchwork rugs and bedspreads; they used to make those using old wool socks and sweaters.

ID3 and ID21 talked about the influence of technology on home design. ID3 had been using the same salon furniture for 15 years. She emphasized the influence of technology on their home budget. They could replace their salon furniture, but instead, they preferred spending their money on replacing their TV and car. She laughed and added, “I guess because men are in charge and they have the money, buying electronic goods gets the upper hand.” ID21 emphasized the influence of TV and Internet on purchase decisions. She had the opportunity to learn about different styles via TV and Internet. She could order items online or she could ask the local stores to bring a style she saw on the Internet, which in turn allowed her to not be restricted to products that were available in Erbaa.

In summary, when the respondents’ childhood homes and living rooms were examined, it was evident that socio-economic conditions greatly influenced ownership of seating units, such as armchairs, as well as many other consumer goods. Traditional seating units, such as sedir and divan were more commonly used before the 1980s. The respondents confirmed that there is a rise in consumerism in the society. Political and economic environment influenced consumption habits and domestic interiors. The type of furniture and the respondents’ ability to afford replacing their furniture changed compared to the past.

The respondents had different opinions about the rise of consumerism. The changing economic conditions made consumer products more affordable and available, and this influenced domestic interiors. Many people can afford items that used to be considered a luxury. The change in the marketplace made life more comfortable for people. It also made it easier for consumers to design their salon with more options and reflect their self easier through their salon designs. However, it created a gap between generations by turning a savings oriented society into a consumerist society. Some respondents criticized unnecessary expenses, spending too much and “israf.” Relying on credit cards, market competition, and allure of discounts made some consumers spend too much and have financial problems, which in turn caused financial problems and marital problems. The convenience of buying or replacing furniture and other consumer goods caused
“doyumsuzluk” (not being content with what you have), “özentilik” (pretention or desire to have what others have), materialism, “israf” (wastefulness or prodigality), being unappreciative of what you have, and unhappiness among some people.

Others/social relations. I asked the respondents who decided on their existing and previous furniture, whether or not their husbands were involved in their salon design process, whether or not they paid attention to others’ homes and salons, if they get influenced or inspired by others’ home interiors, and if they considered what their guests would think about their salons when they designed them. The social relations influenced how frequent the respondents used their salons. Some respondents such as ID1 did not have visitors often, and she did not use her salon frequently. Some respondents such as ID16 and ID29 preferred to entertain their close friends and neighbors in their living rooms or kitchens rather than in their salons.

Figure 11. Theme map showing the relationship between concepts related to economic environment.
Whether or not they had children living with them influenced how the respondents used their salons. For example, ID21 did not allow her children to use the room because she wanted her furniture to stay in good shape, and she wanted to keep the room clean for prospective guests. As a consequence, she kept the room closed most of the time. ID1 and ID16 used their living rooms as salons until their children left home. They had separate salons and living rooms after their children left home because they did not have enough number of rooms in their apartments to have both rooms. ID29’s husband wanted to wait a few more years before they buy new salon furniture because of their son’s impending wedding and its expenses. ID10 used her salon often because her children and grandchildren visited very often, and they needed a more spacious room when they visited. She planned to replace her classical style seating units with more comfortable armchairs and sofas but she decided to wait a few more years until her grandchildren are older. Similarly, ID15 planned to replace her salon furniture that she did not like anymore in a few years, when her children become older. ID5 used her living room for accommodating her grandchildren who visited often and stayed overnight. For this reason, they used the salon as a family room instead of the living room.

“Ozentilik” (desire to have what others have or being a wannabe) was mentioned by some respondents such as ID9, ID27, and ID29 (please see section on conformity). Twenty one out of 31 respondents reported that their husbands were interested in home furniture, and they would express their preferences or taste. Ten respondents reported that their husbands were not interested in furniture. Nonetheless, 7 out of those 10 respondents whose husbands were not interested in furniture bought their furniture together with their husbands because the high price of the furniture required them to make the purchase decisions together. Twenty six respondents reported deciding on their salon furniture together with their husbands, and the other five respondents bought their furniture by themselves without the presence of their husbands.

When the respondents showed me around their salons, and when we went over how and why they purchased their furniture and accessories, it was possible to see the strong role of women as home makers in the salon creation process. ID9 explained that she buys the trivial stuff and knick-knacks her, but she and her husband purchase expensive furniture together. She reported, “I might buy something else if he is not there, but he acknowledges in what price range I can buy.” ID11 explained that her husband likes going to the furniture stores, and he is interested in furniture shopping more than she is. He would replace their existing furniture right away if she agreed but she thinks they should save their money
instead. Some respondents such as ID6, ID7, ID12, and ID18 reported that although their husbands were interested in furniture and although they went to the store to buy the furniture together, their husbands let them decide. ID1 reported that her husband trusted her taste when it comes to home design, but they discuss and buy furniture together. ID12 explained:

He is very interested in our home décor. He even has his own “şark” room (a room designed with oriental and traditional art and objects). He likes authentic, old, and traditional stuff. We purchased our salon furniture together but I am more dominant. We usually decide together though. We decide whether or not we can afford it at the time. Sometimes we decide to wait [for buying it]. Because we both work, we decide together.

Figure 12. Theme map showing the relationship between concepts related to other people.

ID14 visited stores and decided on what she wanted for her salon furniture. Then, she went to the store together with her husband, and he liked them as well. Her husband lets her decide when it comes to home decoration because he knows that she is knowledgeable about it. Her husband and she do not have difficulty selecting their furniture because their tastes are alike. ID14 believes that she and her husband should decide together because
they are equals in their marriage. “We live together, and we both earn money. So, I believe we should be equals, and we should both have right to speak our minds. The man does not have the final say,” ID14 added.

ID2 and ID4 reported that their husbands were influential when selecting comfortable furniture for their salons. ID4’s previous seating set was a classical style, and she reported that her husband hated it. ID5 explained that her and her husband’s tastes are very different from each other. He was more influential selecting their previous salon furniture, but this time she selected the furniture and designed her salon by herself. ID16’s husband preferred spending money on going out and dining rather than on home making. She had many home design projects in her mind that she would like to put into action, but her husband always postponed or prevented those from happening. ID3 explained that electronic goods such as the TV and their car always get priority when it comes to expenses. They could replace her 15 year-old salon furniture, but they end up spending their money on other things. She joked about men being in charge of the budget and deciding on expenses.

Sixty percent ($n = 9$) of the respondents from Ankara and 81% ($n = 13$) of the respondents from Erbaa reported that they pay attention to other people’s salon décors when they visit them at their homes. Four of those respondents from Erbaa reported that only certain characteristics of others’ salons stand out to them. Some explained that even if they pay attention, they later forget what it was like. ID1 reported considering what others would think of her salon when she designed it. However, she contradicted herself by not agreeing that her salon represented her to their guests. She believed that how she entertains her guests and how she treats them is more important regarding representation. I asked her why she had a nicely decorated salon for her guests, and she replied, “for convenience and comfort.” ID2 reported that she does not get inspiration from others’ salons, or she does not pay attention to what others’ salons look like. She believed that people have different tastes and budgets. She explained, “I do not care what others would think of my salon. I design my salon for myself; for my own comfort. The guests come to visit me, not my furniture.”

ID4 reported that she pays attention to what accessories and ornamental items others have in their salons because those are what appeal to her the most. She explained, “In the 1980s, I insisted that we bought a classical style seating set because all our friends had them. You get influenced from others.” ID7 reported that she decorated her salon only for herself to make it reflect her own taste. She believed the setting represented her. She did not care what others would think of her salon; she did not try to impress others with her
salon. ID9 reported that she notices details about others’ salons only if they are very ugly or very pleasant. “Once, I realized that I did not know the color of my friend’s salon carpet despite visiting her almost every day,” she exemplified.

ID24 reported that she would only notice old stuff or heirlooms in others’ salons because she loves old items. She has many heirlooms in her own salon such as a piece of embroidery from her great grandmother and two armchairs from her husband’s great grandmother. ID10 believed that by using her embroidered tablecloths that she made herself, and by entertaining her guests well she could please her guests and make them feel comfortable. ID12 explained:

I wanted my salon to be perfect. I do not want anyone visiting my salon to think that something is missing or out of place. Because I worked at a furniture store, I understand from home furniture. I can tell when someone’s furniture looks appropriate and pleasant in her salon, or when it looks too simple or out of harmony. You realize that they paid too much for a piece of furniture that is not worth the money. I never get inspired by others’ salon designs. I like doing whatever I want, and I like guiding people instead of being inspired by them. In this neighborhood, people do not understand much from furniture or design. Majority of them are housewives so, they buy whatever their father in-laws tell them to buy. You know better when you are employed, especially if you worked in the [furniture] business.

ID14 reported that she would pay attention to others’ salons, especially to her neighbors’ salons, whose apartments have the same layout as hers. She would look at the positioning of their furniture, and she would apply it in her own salon if she sees something she likes. ID25 reported that she used to pay attention to aesthetics when she visited others’ salons but now, she pays more attention to usability and functionality. ID27 and ID31 reported that they also pay attention to others’ salons, but they forget about them later. ID29 reported being very interested in home decoration. She is very attentive to others’ salon designs. She reported that her friends would come to her for design advice, and she would go to home décor stores with them to select furniture, accessories, or home textiles. She loved her salon furniture when she bought them 28 years ago. She explained that her seating units were very expensive, and not many people had furniture like hers. She enjoys being the first to possess things. “I remember I wanted people to come visit me so, they could see my salon,” she reported.

Objects associated with others influenced the respondents’ feelings towards their salons and their design process. Some respondents thought that they should display the gifts they receive to make the people who presented them happy. Some gifts such as a floor lamp
or a vase were meaningful for them because they were associated with their loved ones such as close friends. Some souvenirs reminded them of their time spent with their loved ones outside the room. Family heirlooms, family pictures or picture of a deceased parent were identified as the most meaningful objects in the salons by some of the respondents. Spending time with the family members in the salon influenced their feelings about the place according to some respondents. When I asked the respondents what makes them feel attached to their salons, the majority of them answered as family. ID28 explained:

What makes you happy in a place is love; sharing it with your loved ones. It doesn’t matter how this room looks like unless you get to spend time in it with your family and friends. If there is no peace and happiness in your family, it doesn’t matter how beautiful your home looks like…The reason people keep changing their salon furniture is I think, because there are some underlying psychological reasons. They search for happiness and feeling content in the wrong place. They try to fill the hole in their souls with materials.

In summary, others influenced the respondents’ salon design and use or their relationship with the setting. For example, ID9 expressed a loss of interest in her salon design after her mother passed away because it felt too worldly to care much about materials. Spouses influenced selecting furniture, but individual reports and observations indicated that women were more in charge of their salon designs. Although they decided on furniture, the majority pursued their husband’s approval before finalizing the furniture purchase. Having young children living with them or whether or not their children left home also influenced how often they used their salon or when they would replace their furniture. In ID28’s case, she preferred not to have seating units with wood armrests for safety of her children.

For some respondents, frequency of visitors influenced how often they used their salons. The respondents from Erbaa had guests more frequently, but it did not necessarily mean they used their salons more often than Ankara residents. They would entertain their frequent visitors in the kitchen or in the living room. The respondents from Erbaa reported paying attention to others’ salon décors more than the respondents from Ankara. Some respondents explained that in a small city like Erbaa, people are influenced by each other more commonly compared to the people living in big cities.

Some respondents claimed that they did not care about what others thought of their salons, and they designed their salons to please themselves rather than impress guests. Some respondents revealed that they would like to please their guests by creating a nice
setting. They would not want their guests to think anything is out of place in their salons. Some respondents cared about keeping the room clean and neat for prospective guests.

Some of them reported using the room rarely or only when they had guests. Their efforts to design their salons despite the fact that they rarely used the rooms for themselves indicate that they care about showcasing a pleasant setting to their guests. This would indicate that they value their guests and want to entertain them in a nice setting. This would also indicate that they want to impress their guests with their salon design, or they do not want to feel inferior by not conforming to the norms of designing a fancy salon with fancy furniture and accessories.

**Person**

The respondents' interest in home decoration, their demographic characteristics such as income level and duration of marriage, their satisfaction with their salons, how they feel about the rooms, meaningful objects that they used for decorating the settings, and whether or not they feel attached to the rooms are personal aspects that influenced the design of their salon and their relationship with it. Only two (one from Ankara and one from Erbaa) out of 31 respondents reported that they were not happy with their salons. Both of them had aesthetic reasons for their dissatisfaction.

ID15 was not happy with her salon because she no longer liked the style of her existing salon furniture. ID16 was not happy with her salon because she did not like her seating units and the size of her salon. Until three years before the interview, ID16's salon and living room were not separate. Her children left home a long time ago so, she no longer needed three bedrooms. She turned one of the bedrooms into a living room and opened it to the kitchen. She had many friends, neighbors, and relatives visiting her unannounced daily. She wanted to have a living room next to the kitchen to entertain such guests. She did not want to leave them alone in the salon when she prepared food and drinks for them in the kitchen. She moved her seating units from the salon to the new living room. ID16 further explained:

I could not afford to buy new seating units for my salon without a bank loan at the time. I thought it was not that necessary so, I decided to wait. I used my salon as a dining room for three years. Then finally, I decided to buy a seating set [for my salon]. I knew what I wanted. We went to a furniture store, and I selected one from the catalogue. I was very specific about what I wanted. You get to buy a seating set only once in a decade or so. I really wanted to create a nice salon, and I was excited about it. I called the manufacturer to make sure they got what color I wanted. I am so unlucky
when it comes to such things. They delivered the furniture, and it was not the color I wanted. I was so upset that I couldn’t help start crying. So, they took it back. They wanted to send me new ones but I refused. After waiting such a long time, I couldn’t believe this happened to me. I was so frustrated, I just went to another furniture store and bought whatever they had available in the store and ones that were closest to what I wanted.

After this frustrating shopping experience, ID16 felt sad about her current salon because after waiting for such a long time, she could not create her ideal salon. Please see Figure 13. ID16’s salon design experience reflects the influence of personal taste for color and style, influence of income level, the environment (because she could not find what she wanted in the local stores), the size of the room which influenced her desire for light colors to make it look more spacious, usability (because she wanted her sofas to be convertible), and others (because the furniture dealers sent her wrong colored seating units; she wanted sofa beds for frequently visiting relatives from out of town; and she wanted to have a living room open to the kitchen for her close friends and relatives who visited her very often).

Figure 13. A view from ID16’s salon. Photograph by Sibel Seda Dazkir.

The other respondents revealed that they were happy with their salons because they liked their furniture, size of the salon, accessories, colors, simplicity of their salons, overall atmosphere, usability such as multi functional sofas that can convert to bed for overnight guests, and comfort. They liked and valued family photographs and meaningful objects such as souvenirs and gifts from family and friends. For example, ID5 and ID22 reported loving everything in their salons; they could not identify something that they would like to get rid of
or change. ID5 picked everything in her salon with careful planning; she loved the harmony of colors in the room as well as its usability. However, many respondents had aspects that they did not like or prefer changing such as desire for a larger salon and replacing their furniture because they longed for change or having new furniture.

**Interest in home decoration.** The observation of the salons and the analysis of interview data indicated that all of the respondents made an effort to design their rooms to create a pleasant environment for themselves or/and for their guests, which in turn revealed their interest in home decoration. Some indicators of such an effort were their attention to color harmonies, using decorative accessories such as vases, knick knacks, tablecloths, and artwork, and their efforts to personalize the rooms with family photographs or meaningful objects such as gifts, heirlooms, and souvenirs.

To understand how much they are interested in home decoration, I asked the respondents whether or not they liked visiting home furniture and decoration stores in their leisure time. Only two respondents from Ankara and three respondents from Erbaa answered negatively. Those respondents who answered negatively explained that they only visit such stores if they need to buy something for their homes. Some respondents provided conflicting statements. For example, ID2 reported that she was not interested in decoration. As the conversation continued, she said she followed the furniture trends, visited home décor stores, knew about good quality furniture, and provided advice and suggestions to relatives who needed to purchase salon furniture.

I asked the respondents whether or not they watch TV programs about home decoration and buy home decoration magazines. Four of the respondents from Ankara and two of the respondents from Erbaa answered negatively. Six respondents from Ankara and three respondents from Erbaa reported buying home design magazines. Another three respondents from Erbaa reported that they used to buy such magazines when they were younger. The responses indicate that print home magazines were not popular among the respondents.

In summary, 87% of the respondents from Ankara and 81% of the respondents from Erbaa reported that they visited home furniture stores as a leisure activity, and the majority of the respondents from both cities reported that they liked watching home design TV shows. Respondents from both Erbaa and Ankara revealed interest in home decoration and furniture. The age of the respondents and how long they were married might have influenced
their interest in home making. Please see demographics section in the following pages for more information.

**Personalization and meaningful objects.** Personalization provides expression of self, control over the place, and sense of belonging for the respondents. I asked the respondents what they like and value the most in their salons, what their favorite objects are, and if there is anything that is meaningful or special for them in their salons. When we toured the room, the respondents provided information about their furniture, furnishings, and accessories in detail.

The respondents personalized the settings to reflect their own taste. They decorated the rooms with personal objects such as with family pictures, souvenirs, heirlooms, self-made crafts or artwork, and hand-made embroidered cloths. Some respondents expressed a meaningful connection to the objects because they found them aesthetically appealing. Many respondents had decorative souvenirs that their children or friends brought as gifts. Many residences in Erbaa had display items or wall art that had religious scripts on it. This might be a result of a stronger influence of religiosity on salon décor in Erbaa. Please see Figure 14 for examples of decorative accessories with religious script.

Fifteen respondents identified their favorite objects in their salons on the basis of their aesthetic appeal and usability such as comfort. Six respondents’ favorite items in their salons were something that was a gift from a loved one such as from their children. Eight respondents reported their favorite objects as family pictures or pictures of their late parents. Three respondents talked about other meanings related to beliefs such as a religious meanings or an object that is believed to bring the person luck. Two respondents identified their favorite objects as items that they made themselves.

ID3 expressed that it is difficult for her to pick a favorite item in the room: “Every single one of them has a memory and meaning for me.” ID7 and ID28 reported that although they were happy with their salons, there were no special items for them in the rooms. ID22 also could not identify what she liked the most in her room. She explained “I have never thought about it [the most meaningful object in the room]. I love everything about this room because I feel pleased here, and I cheer up (içim açılıyor) when I enter this room.” ID7 identified what she likes the most in the rooms as her puzzle pictures on the wall. She had gifts from her friends and students, and she used them in the room as accessories. Those had memories attached to them. She also had a samovar from her father and a porcelain
bowl that her father gave to her mother as a gift when she was born. Still, she claimed that there is nothing that has a special meaning for her in her salon. She explained:

There are a few small things that are nostalgic such as the heirlooms and an oil lamp of old times, but not much. Such things [items from the past] are not in line with my taste. Things from the past don’t appeal to me that much. I don’t live in the past. I also don’t feel much attachment to objects. For example, if I were to move out of this place, it wouldn’t be difficult for me; I like change.

The following examples reveal the uniqueness of each respondent’s relationship with their salons. Those are examples of meaningful objects that create a sense of connection to the setting and make it more appealing and meaningful for them. ID4 and ID16 reported that they liked the family photographs in their salons the most. They especially enjoyed looking at their grandchildren’s photographs. ID19 liked her late grandmother’s picture, and ID25 and ID21 liked their parents’ old pictures the most. ID6 liked her table lamps the most because she selected the form/cast and dyed it herself at a local workshop. She valued her stacking tables very much: “They are outdated but I still keep them because they are gifts from a friend that I dearly love.” ID12 loved her elephant shaped ornaments because she believed they brought her family good luck. Around the time when she received them as a gift, she gave birth to her daughter, and her husband found employment.

Figure 14. Decorative items with religious meanings. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.

ID10 valued her ornamental tablecloths that she made and the gifts from her friends. ID13’s meaningful object in her salon was the side table that her father made for her as a wedding gift. ID14 explained that there was nothing that she did not like in her salon because she would not keep something that she does not like in there. She explained how she
carefully planned and designed her salon. Still, when asked, she paused and thought about what she liked the most in the room. She decided on her chandeliers because they are gifts from her children. ID18’s favorite items in the room were her daughters’ gifts: decorative artificial flowers.

ID17 had difficulty deciding on her favorite object in the room because there were many gifts that she valued. She loved her daisies (artificial flowers) so much that she said she could not do without them in the room. The side table was also important for her because she helped the person who made it by buying it; it reminds her of the good deed. She did not buy it because she needed it; she bought it so that person can earn money. ID20 liked her new display case the most. She found it appealing, and she could not help herself staring at it fondly whenever she entered the room. ID23 liked the landscape painting her nephew painted and gave her as a present. She liked relaxing in her salon and looking at it: “I dream that I am sitting on the grass there [as depicted on the painting] and drinking my tea.” ID30’s favorite object was her intricate porcelain chandelier that had many rose shaped parts. The chandelier is handmade and each rose was inscribed with one of 99 names of Allah.

I asked the respondents whether or not they had any heirlooms in their salons. Some respondents such as ID14 and ID15 explained that they did not like having heirlooms in their salons. ID15 explained, “I do not like antique objects that other people used. I believe that such objects have energy of their own. I want things that only belong to me.” ID24 had the opposite attitude towards old or used objects. She loved them due to the life experience that they reflect. She is very attached to all of her belongings, and she could not let them go even if they are broken.

Other respondents had heirlooms such as ornamental tablecloths that were made by their grandmothers, chairs from their mother in-law’s mother, and decorative metal or porcelain plates from their mothers. ID9 had several heirloom items such as her father in-law’s pipe, a silver fork and spoon from her husband’s circumcision celebration when he was a child, tea cups from her husband’s grandmother, and more. ID3 had a handmade embroidered piece of cloth from her grandmother’s mother in-law. She created a decorative table lamp using it as a shade, and she loved it very much.

There were items that reflected the respondents’ occupation, travels, hobbies, interests, and beliefs. For example, the respondents who worked as a teacher had gifts from their students (once a year it is customary for students to bring gifts to their teachers during
teachers’ day). ID1 had a sword displayed on the wall signifying her husband’s occupation. Such swords are traditionally given to the graduates of military school for officers. Some had awards displayed reflecting their career achievements.

Souvenirs reflected their or their loved ones’ travels. For example, ID4 had decorative elephant shaped trinkets that her son brought from Pakistan as gifts. ID8’s favorite objects in the room were the porcelain figurines her nephew brought from Japan. ID7 had masks from Venice, and ID6 had pillow covers that she bought from her travel to Syria a few years ago. She also had porcelain dinnerware from Britain that she loved very much. Some respondents valued their belongings that they bought from cities in Turkey; cities that are famous for particular items made in there. For example, ID3 ordered her carpet from Kayseri. She explained:

Those carpets are special. They are not synthetic like the contemporary carpets. They are made of a particular part of sheep’s wool. They are very bright despite all those years of use and cleaning. The more you wipe clean them, the brighter they become.

ID2 had hunting knives displayed in a glass display case and hung on the wall signifying her husband’s hunting hobby. ID3 had many traditional hand crafted tablecloths. She had at least three different sets that she alternately used in her salon on the dining table, console, side table, and coffee table signifying her interest in such handiwork. See Figure 15. ID10 explained, “I feel more content in this room if this room is appealing to me.” She has a handmade wood carved chest and “telkari” (filigree) ornamental sandals in her salon revealing her interest and taste in local and traditional arts and culture. See Figure 8 and Figure 10. She further explained:

I like handiwork very much. For example, when I knit that pillow cover, and place it over there [on the armchair], it makes me feel very pleased and happy…I even make alterations, additions on things that I buy. I believe it also makes my guests happy [when I display my own handiwork in the room].

ID14 loved roses because of her practice of Reiki (She explained that Reiki is about life energy and healing). She explained that the rose symbolizes forgiveness and reminds her of innocence. That is why she had a canvas wall art with a rose print on it. She also loved crystals because of their association with Reiki. She believed that the crystals reflect positive energy. That is why she picked her chandeliers with crystal floral shapes. ID14 had framed photographs of herself with her grandchildren and her husband on the walls. She explained:
I believe this salon reflects me. When you look at this room, you see a person from Zodiac element of Earth because of the colors, and you see a person who loves flowers. You will think that we love our grandchildren and that we have a happy marriage [because of the photographs]. For example, there are little Buddha sculptures on the end table showing my tolerance for different religious beliefs. Each little sculpture represents a different concept such as love, happiness, tranquility, money, health and success. I bought them for good luck.

Figure 15. ID3’s traditional ornamental table clothes with three different styles. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.

Some salon décor elements reflected respondents’ political views or ideology. For example, there were an arch and arrows displayed on one of ID13’s salon walls. She explained that her husband was a nationalist, and he loved those objects because they
signify ancient Turks and their archery. ID7 had a framed photograph on her console from her wedding. The photograph was taken with a prominent Turkish politician. Many respondents had items with Ataturk’s image on them such as a wall art, a vase and a display item. See Figure 16 for examples. For many people in Turkey, Ataturk (the founder of modern Turkey) signifies ideals such as progressiveness, modernism, and secularism. Many people are also thankful to him for his leadership during the national independence war and the establishment of Turkish Republic in the early 20th century.

Figure 16. Salon décor with Ataturk’s image. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.

In summary, the majority of the respondents referred to the physical characteristics of the settings when they were asked about whether or not they were satisfied with their salons. The interview data and the observations revealed that the respondents cared about the design of their salons. Age of respondents and their duration of marriage influenced how many times they designed their salons and what style of furniture they used or would like to use. Please see section on demographics for more information. However, personal taste and taste of spouses as well as their attitude towards consumerism also influenced the creation of the setting.

Personalization of the salons provided control over the settings. Respondents decorated their salons with gifts from family and friends, photographs of family, self made ornamental objects and textiles, and souvenirs. The majority of the respondents reported having a favorite or meaningful object in the room. Their salons and meaningful objects reflected similarities such as souvenirs and family pictures. However, their hobbies, taste, beliefs, and experiences made the personalization process unique for each respondent.
Their salons reflected their self such as their interest in home decoration, their taste, their demographics such as their occupation and income level, beliefs, their social relations, and travels through meaningful objects and gifts that they displayed in their salon.

Figure 17. Theme map showing the relationship between concepts related to personalization and meaningful objects.

**Place Attachment.** I asked the respondents how they feel about their salons, what makes it feel like home, what makes them happy when they come home, what makes them miss their home when they are away, and if they feel attached to the setting. Among all of the responses, sense of belonging \((n = 17)\), feeling comfortable \((n = 16)\), reflecting own taste \((n = 13)\), tranquility or feeling peaceful \((n = 10)\), and spending time \((n = 8)\) were the most frequently mentioned aspects followed by happiness \((n = 6)\), love \((n = 6)\), and memories \((n = 5)\).

Only two respondents (ID7 and ID16) reported that they do not feel any attachment to their salons. ID7 explained that she does not feel attached to objects, and she would not feel worried if she had to move out from her current home because she likes change. ID16 explained, “Maybe there is something wrong with me. I don’t feel any attachment to anything or anywhere.” I asked her why she did not feel attached because she talked so fondly of her childhood home. She replied:

My childhood home was quite different; it was a warm and sincere environment. We were a very close family. I do not know why; I do not feel
attached to anything now because everything is worldly and temporary… Maybe it is because of living alone. When my children were home [at my previous residence], I worked all day, and I was very busy. I did not like that house. I was not happy with its location because it was right next to my in-laws and far away from my family and friends. I bought this apartment unit and my children left home [for college]. We did not get to spend time as a family here.

When I asked ID16 about her previous salon seating units and if she felt any sense of belonging to them, she responded positively. She explained that spending time in the room makes a difference. She used her previous seating set very much because her living room and salon were not separate, and she used those seating units for seven years before moving them to her living room. ID16 had a frustrating experience when she ordered her current seating set after waiting three years to buy seating units for her salon. She expressed dissatisfaction with the design of her salon (Please see the previous section for more information). Her frustration might have influenced her sense of detachment and lack of belonging to her salon.

Time spent in the place, family, personalization of the place, and whether or not they were satisfied with the setting, comfort, feeling at ease, sense of belonging, ownership of possessions, memories, being content with what you have, reflection of their own taste and design preferences, and the social environment influenced the respondents’ attachment to their salons in Ankara. In addition to those listed above, the respondents from Erbaa added coziness, sincerity, habits, familiarity, serenity or feeling at peace, happiness, sense of freedom, and “alı teri ve emek” (effort spent on creating the room).

Fourteen respondents (eight from Ankara and six from Erbaa) talked about how sense of belonging and ownership of the place and possessions made them feel attached to their salons and homes. ID12 explained, “This is my place, I bought everything. I decided on everything. My belongings give me a sense of comfort and peace.” ID9 reported that she misses her home very much when she goes on vacation for a month. “I miss even broken things that I plan to throw away.” ID10 revealed that even when she visits her son’s home, she misses her own home very much; she longs for her own furniture.

Objects with meanings such as gifts, souvenirs, and heirlooms also created a sense of place attachment. ID11 explained, “There are things that I keep in this room although I do not like them. I cannot throw them away because they have meanings; many of them are gifts. I become attached to them. I would feel sorry if I throw them away.” Please see the previous section on meaningful objects.
Nine respondents (six from Ankara and three from Erbaa) explained that they feel attached to their salons because they reflected their taste. Seven respondents referred to spending time in the place as the source of attachment. ID14 reported that she felt attached to her salon because it was furnished with her own possessions referring to the influence of ownership, and those possessions reflected her. She further explained that she had difficulty getting used to her new home when she first moved in: “It takes time to create your own order.” ID11 explained:

I feel attached [to this place] more and more as I spend more time here. I feel like I cannot live in another place. I would feel depressed when things change. I spent so much time here; it makes me feel attached to this place.

When I asked the respondents about what makes it feel like home and what makes them happy about coming home or missing their home, they talked about comfort, sense of belonging, family, feeling at peace and ease, happiness, love, the social environment such as neighbors, “emek” or effort put into designing the place and buying the furniture, familiarity, warmth, coziness, respect, tidiness and order, and spending time alone. When asked about what makes her feel attached to her salon, ID15 replied, “I do not know. It is just a feeling. The people living here, my family [makes me feel attached].” When I asked her what makes her happy about coming home, she explained:

I like leaving work stress behind when I come home. I like feeling at peace and the tranquility when I’m home. It is like a therapy. Of course, family and happiness for sure [also make me feel elated when I come home].

ID17 revealed that she likes her home very much, even though there are things that bothered her. Feeling at ease, being able to do whatever she wants to (freedom), and feeling comfortable make her feel attached to her home and salon. ID23 emphasized the importance of effort while creating the salon. It is important for her to be able to design the room in the way that pleases her. She does not like crowded museum-like salons with many accessories and display cases. It was crucial for her to create a room that is simple and spaciously comfortable. When she talked about effort, she did not only refer to the effort of designing the room but also paying for the furniture via installments for many months.

ID24 spent so much time with her possessions, the memories and the life experience made it very difficult for her to let them go. She believed that happiness and peace in the family, good relationships with neighbors, love, and respect make a house home. ID27 explained, “Any place that you share with your loved ones would create warmth, and it would allow you to get used to and love that place.” ID29 reported:
I feel relieved, and I cheer up when I enter this room. It’s like the person entering here instantly feels the tranquility. I feel content when I lie down here [on the couch]. From the view through the window to its cleanliness, everything influences its ambience. It takes me away when I lie down and watch the sky through the window… what makes a house home is its cleanliness. It can be an old house, but it should be clean. It [cleanliness] shows itself. It should be neat and symmetrical…I miss my home very much when I travel out of town, I especially miss its spaciousness.

In summary, the majority of respondents both in Erbaa and Ankara expressed sense of belonging and attachment to their salons and homes. The respondents talked about intangible aspects such as feeling relaxed, content, comfortable, spending time with family, familiarity, sense of belonging, and ownership that made them feel attached. Meanings associated with objects such as souvenirs, gifts, and heirlooms influenced their sense of belonging to the room. Those meanings helped them personalize the setting and reflect self. Many respondents referred to their control over the place through ownership and the effort of creating the setting when asked about what makes them feel attached.

Figure 18. Theme map showing the relationship between concepts related to place attachment.
**Respondents’ demographics.** How do income level, education level, occupation, age, duration of stay in the current residency, family status, and length of marriage influence the respondents’ usage and design of their salons? The sampling method and the small sample size make it difficult to draw conclusions regarding the relationship between interest in home décor, age, and other demographic characteristics. Income level appeared to influence the shaping of some respondents’ salons. For example, ID3, ID4, and ID29 reported that they would like to change their existing seating units but they could not afford it at the time. ID9, ID4, and ID14 could not buy the furniture they liked the most in the store because of their high price.

During the interviews, I did not ask the respondents about their household income to avoid creating any discomfort because it was important for me to make them feel comfortable during the interviews. However, I asked them whether or not they had income sources other than their salary or pension, if they had price concerns when they bought their furniture, whether or not they rent their current residence, if they owned other residences, and how they categorized themselves regarding their socio-economic status. I also asked the respondents about their, their husband’s, and their parents’ occupation and education level. How the respondents defined middle class varied. Observation of the settings, where they bought their furniture, and the neighborhood where the respondents lived enabled me to evaluate their socio-economic status and its possible influence on their salon design.

Some respondents claimed that the boundaries between classes disappeared because today anyone can afford anything with loans and discounts. Only one respondent made an indirect reference to social class and its influence on salon design. That respondent explained that being raised in a well-off family in an elite social environment in Ankara protected her from the influence of too much consumerism, in other words consumption craziness. She reported being against replacing furniture very often because she believed the sudden boom in consumerism caused many people to spend too much, and it caused “özentilik” (desire to imitate or have what others have or being a wannabe).

The respondents’ and their husbands’ occupations influenced their income level and whether or not they could afford buying new furniture or buying the furniture they wanted, which in turn influenced their attachment and satisfaction with the setting for some respondents. However, 70% of the respondents reported that they would not restrict themselves from buying the seating set they want because of its high price. They justified the expense with the intent of using them for many years.
Eleven respondents from Ankara reported themselves as middle-class, and they thought their salons reflected their income levels. It is very likely that many of the respondents preferred to act modestly when I asked them about their economic status. For example, ID6 reported herself as middle class. She lived in a four storey, seven-bedroom villa, and her salon reflected interest in art and décor. Her seating units were custom made, and she and her husband liked making their own pieces of artwork. She was employed as a teacher at a private school, and her husband was an engineer. They both had a college degree, and they both had parents with education degrees higher than the other respondents. Please see Figure 19.

Ten respondents from Erbaa reported their economic status as middle class, two as below middle class, and four as above middle class. Only one of the respondents, ID16, thought that her salon reflected a different economic class. She identified herself as below middle class and her salon as middle-class. ID23 categorized her salon as middle-class because she reported observing similar furniture and furnishings in other people’s homes making it mediocre. A few days before our interview, ID25 visited some very poor village households for work. This experience made her realize how much she had. Although she believed her salon was designed modestly, her visits made her think that she is above middle-class. Some respondents’ perceptions of socio-economic status and what status their salons reflected were influenced not only by their income levels but also by others’. The respondents could compare their salons with others they know in their social network and make judgments about what socio-economic status their salons reflected.

Only three of the respondents’ (ID9, ID14, and ID15) mothers had education levels above eighth-grade and employment outside the working class. All those three respondents resided in Ankara. Eleven of the respondents’ mothers had no education, and 15 of them had elementary school level education. One of the respondents whose mother had a college degree was 37 years old, and the other respondent whose mother had a high school degree was a Turkish immigrant from Bulgaria (her mother was born and raised in Soviet Bulgaria). Sixty one-year-old ID14’s mother who had a high school degree and worked as a teacher was an exception in her generation because of her education level and occupation.

The three respondents’ (whose mothers had at least high school level education) salons all reflected a style above middle class. They had expensive furniture bought from high-end furniture stores, and they had original artwork. Eight of the respondents (including the three mentioned above) had fathers who did not have a working class occupation. Six of
these respondents lived in expensive neighborhoods, and their salons had expensive furniture. In short, although it is not possible to generalize the socio-economic status and its relationship with salon décor with a small sample and without bias in this study, the data analysis revealed that the respondents’, their spouses’, and their parents’ educational and occupational backgrounds influenced some of the respondents’ salons regarding the quality, originality and price of the furniture, artwork, and accessories they had.

Figure 19. Salons of respondents with higher socio-economic status compared to many other respondents. Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir. 
*Note.* From top to bottom; views from ID9, ID6, and ID30’s salons.
Only six respondents owned original artwork in their salons; one was made by the respondent, and the others were gifts. Only two respondents (ID9 and ID14) reported that they wanted to buy an original painting for their salons, but they could not afford them or preferred not to pay a high price for them. Regarding their taste in abstract art, all of the respondents revealed a dislike for abstract art and preference for landscape and nature related artwork.

Furniture style (classical versus modern) emerged as an important aspect for the respondents’ selection of furniture for their salons. Age influenced what style of furniture the respondents had in their salons and their preference for furniture style. None of the younger respondents ever had or preferred to have classical style furniture in their salons. Whereas, majority of the older respondents wished to have classical style furniture in their salons, and they owned classical style furniture in current or previous salons. The average age of 31 respondents was 48 years. The respondents who were younger than 50 ($n = 11$) had an average age of 35, and they all had modern style furniture in their salons at the time of the interviews. None of them preferred having classical style furniture. Twelve out of 20 respondents who were 50 or older ($M_{age} = 56$) had modern style furniture. Six of those said they would prefer to have classical style if they had the opportunity. In short, all of the respondents in the younger age group and the majority of the respondents in the older age group (younger than 50 versus older than 50) had modern style seating units in their existing salons. None of the respondents in the younger age group and more than half of the respondents in the older age group wished to have classical style seating units. The majority of the respondents in the older age group, and less than one fifth of respondents in the younger age group owned classical style seating units at least once since they were married. In fact, the reason some of the respondents had modern style seating units in their existing salons was because their previous seating units were in classical style, and they wanted something different when they bought the current ones.

In average, the respondents who were 50 or older bought seating units 2.6 times since they were married, used their first seating units for 16 years, and used their current seating units for 10.6 years. Eighty five percent ($n = 17$) of them bought seating units for their salons more than once. Their average duration of marriage was 32.2 years. In average, the respondents who were younger than 50 bought seating units 1.5 times, used their first seating units for at least 11 years and used their current seating units for 5.8 years since they were married. Forty six percent of them ($n = 5$) bought seating units for their salon more than once. Their average duration of marriage was 13 years.
All four respondents who were married for less than 10 years ($M = 3.8$ years) were younger than 40 ($M_{age} = 22$ years), and they bought salon furniture only once during their marriage. Six of the respondents who were younger than 50 ($M_{age} = 37.5$), and who were married for more than 10 years ($M = 17$ years) bought seating units 1.7 times in average. They used their current seating units for 7.8 years and their first seating units for 12.8 years in average. Sixty seven percent ($n = 4$) of them bought seating units for their salons more than once. See Tables 3 and 4. 

Nine (six from Ankara and three from Erbaa) out of 31 respondents were employed at the time of the interviews. Some of the respondents with employment reported that they were too busy to take care of cleaning many accessories and knickknacks in their salons. For this reason, they preferred practicality and simplicity in the rooms. The respondents who were employed ($n = 9$) used their existing salon seating units for 8.9 years in average. Six of those respondents were married for more than ten years ($M = 24.8$ years), and they were older than 40 ($M_{age} = 50$ years). These six respondents used their existing furniture for 11 years, bought seating units two times, and used their first seating units for 18 years in average. The other three respondents who were employed were married for less than ten years ($M = 3.8$ years), and were younger than 40 ($M_{age} = 27$ years). They used their only and existing seating units for 3.75 years in average.

Ten respondents were housewives with no work experience, and 12 respondents were retired. The retired respondents ($M_{age} = 58$ years) were married for 34 years in average. They used their existing salon seating units for 12 years, bought salon seating units for three times, and used their first seating units for 15 years in average. The ten respondents who had no work experience ($M_{age} = 41$ years) were married for 22 years in average. They used their existing salon seating units for 6 years, bought salon seating units for two times, and used their first seating units for 13 years in average. When the four respondents who were married for less than ten years were excluded from the sample, how many times the respondents bought seating units throughout their marriage and how long they used their first seating units in average showed similarities among housewives ($n = 9$), employed ($n = 6$) and retired ($n = 12$) respondents (twice, twice, and three times; 15, 18, and 15 years respectively). See Table 3 and Table 4. Examples of how occupation may influence salon design were given by ID14 and ID3 as they explained that they had to move every four years during the first ten to fifteen years of their marriage because of their husbands’ jobs. They changed their first seating units because they moved so many times that the seating units were ruined during transportation.
The majority of the respondents in all three groups (housewives with no work experience, employed, and retired respondents) watched home design TV shows \((n = 6, n = 7, \text{ and } n = 11\) respectively or \(60\%, 78\%, \text{ and } 92\%\) respectively), and visited home furniture and décor stores as a leisure activity \((n = 7, n = 8, \text{ and } n = 11\) respectively or \(70\%, 89\%, \text{ and } 92\%\) respectively). Eleven respondents openly and directly expressed that they love home decoration, and they are very interested in it. Among those 11 respondents, two were employed, three were housewives, and six were retired.

In summary, the majority of the respondents reported themselves as middle-class. However, their perception of middle-class, their salon designs, and how often they replaced their furniture, whether or not they followed trends, and whether or not they had price concerns varied. Although income level had an influence on being able to afford high quality salon furniture or being able to replace their furniture, other factors such as their approach to consumerism, their perception of others’ salons, and their interest in home design also influenced their salon designs. For example, ID1, ID7, and ID12 wanted to buy new salon furniture because they were bored with their existing seating units. On the contrary, ID10 was against the idea of buying new furniture because of boredom. She believed it was a waste of money, and one should spend his or her money on helping others rather than satisfying their desire for new furniture. ID29 used her existing salon furniture for 28 years. She was very happy with her furniture, and she still liked their style and quality, but she thought it was the time to buy new ones. Her husband wanted to wait a few more years before buying new salon furniture because their son planned to get married soon, and they would help paying for his wedding. He thought it would be difficult with their budget to buy furniture at the same time of the wedding. ID24 used her only and existing salon furniture for 30 years. She was happy with her furniture, and she was very attached to them just like many other possessions she had in her apartment.

Age of the respondents influenced how many times they bought seating units for their salons as the majority of the younger respondents bought furniture only once. The older the respondents, the more experience they had with home making. They are more likely to have bought furniture more than once for their salons. Although age seems to have influenced how many times the respondents replaced their salon furniture, personal characteristics such as their income level and attitude towards consumerism, and other factors such as occupation, changing trends, whether or not they had children, events and income level also influenced how many times the respondents bought furniture.
Table 3. Length of furniture use in Ankara.

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<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years w/the current set</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years w/the 1st set</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Years w/the 2nd set</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years w/the 4th set</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* “Set” refers to seating units bought as a set that usually includes two sofas and two armchairs. “e” refers to “employed”, “h” to “housewife with no work experience”, and “r” to “retired.”
Table 4. Length of furniture use in Erbbaa.

| Respondent ID Number | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | Mean |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| Age                 | 56 | 59 | 51 | 40 | 53 | 31 | 40 | 53 | 55 | 55 | 27 | 51 | 48 | 53 | 42 | 50 | 47.8 |
| Years in marriage   | 34 | 35 | 31 | 20 | 33 | 13 | 20 | 29 | 30 | 28 | 1  | 34 | 26 | 32 | 23 | 25 | 25.9 |
| Occupation          | r  | r  | h  | h  | h  | h  | r  | r  | e  | e  | r  | r  | r  | h  | e  |     |      |
| Years w/ the current set | 1  | 2  | 0  | 7  | 1  | 4  | 3.5| 5  | 30 | 6  | 1  | 5  | 2  | 28 | 7  | 25 | 7.92 |
| Number of sets      | 4  | 3  | 2  | 2  | 3  | 2  | 2  | 3  | 1  | 1  | 4  | 2  | 1  | 2  | 1  | 2.25 |
| Years w/the 1st set | 17 | 11 | 31 | 9  | 12 | 10 | 17 | 15 | 30 | 22 | 1  | 8  | 24 | 28 | 15 | 25 | 17.2 |
| Years w/the 2nd set | 9  | 17 | 0  | 7  | 22 | 4  | 3  | 12 | 9  | 20 | 2  | 7  | 9.31|
| Years w/the 3rd set | 7  | 2  | 1  | 5  | 6  | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 3.67|
| Years w/the 4th set | 1  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 5  |    |    |    | 2.75|

*Note.* “Set” refers to seating units bought as a set which usually includes two sofas and two armchairs. “e” refers to “employed”, “h” to “housewife with no work experience”, and “r” to “retired”.
How much the respondents were interested in home decoration depended on their age, duration of marriage, occupation, income level, and their personality. For example, ID15 was not happy with her existing salon furniture. She did not find them aesthetically pleasing anymore, and she planned to replace them in a few years. She justified her plans to buy new salon furniture with the fact that her children grew up with them. She regretted her decision to buy distressed wood finish furniture when she designed her salon nine years ago. She explained:

If you are not interested in home decoration before you got married, you do not have much information about this matter [how to choose furniture]. You begin to pay attention [to furniture and home decor] when you have your own house. Your taste emerges in time.

ID9 from Ankara was married for thirty years. She worked as a school administrator, and her husband was a retired judge. She comes from an educated family, and she lived in a wealthy neighborhood. She had two children aged 14 and 12. She described her salon as ordinary and middle-class. During our interview, she revealed that she hired an interior designer to assist the design of her current salon. She also explained that she was emotionally worn out because of illnesses and deaths in her family. Since her mother's death, she felt like it is meaningless to put that much effort on home décor because it feels too “dünyevi” (worldly). She reported:

I used to be very keen on interior decoration and home making since I was a kid. I used to follow furniture trends. Anyone who visited my previous apartment loved it. It was a really nice place. It took me 10 years to design that salon. Its lighting and everything was in place. I liked that salon very much, I felt a sense of belonging to my furniture and accessories... I like everything here in this salon, I am happy with my home design...There is nothing I particularly like or find sentimental here though. I don’t know, I don’t care as much. I am very busy at work; I work seven days a week until 7 pm. It’s been a year and I still did not get to clean that drawer.

**Setting**

**Use and activities.** Among the respondents who had a living room and a salon \((n = 25)\), salon was usually seen as a quiet, spacious, and neat room. The respondents used the room mainly for entertaining guests. They also used the room for other activities such as taking a nap, reading, relaxing, watching TV, eating/dining, knitting, reading newspapers or books, accommodating overnight guests on sofa beds, and reading Koran and praying (only mentioned by the respondents from Erbaa). Other than entertaining guests, the activities that were mentioned the most were reading \((n = 9)\), watching TV \((n = 8)\), and eating \((n = 6)\).
Watching TV was mentioned by the respondents from Ankara the most frequently (45%, \( n = 5 \)), and reading newspapers or books was mentioned by the respondents from Erbaa the most frequently (50%, \( n = 7 \)). It should be noted that 55% of the respondents from Ankara and 21% of the respondents from Erbaa had a TV in their salons.

The type of activities and how often they used the room depended on frequency and closeness of their guests, whether or not they had children living with them, whether or not they had a TV in the room, whether or not they were employed, how busy or social they were, and personal characteristics such as enjoying quiet time, reading, watching TV, interest in knitting or embroidery, and religiosity in the case of praying. When I asked the respondents why they had a separate salon and living room instead of having one room that served as both a salon and a living room, they explained that it is easier to keep the room clean and ready for prospective guests when the two rooms are separate. The living room is used by the family casually, and it could sometimes be disorganized. Please see Table 5.

Many respondents expressed that they used the living room as a family room, and they used the salon when they entertained guests. How much they used their salons varied. Six of the respondents from Ankara (40%) reported having guests frequently. Four of those had both a living room and a salon in their residences. Out of 11 Ankara residents who had both a living room and a salon, two of them (18%) explained that they rarely used their salons. They only used the room when they had guests, and they did not have guests frequently (less than once a week).

ID5 reported using her salon more often than her living room because she used the living room to accommodate her toddler grandchildren, who visited her frequently and stayed overnight. ID10 used her salon frequently because they needed a more spacious room when her children and grandchildren visited them. She had visitors more than once a week, and she did not use the room only when they had guests. She and her husband liked sitting in the salon because it is more comfortably spacious/open and refreshing. ID15 started using her salon as a family room when she had kids because their living room was very small and they needed a wider, more spacious room to accommodate the whole family. They only used the small living room when family members wanted to watch different programs on TV. Salons are usually wider than the living rooms as they are designed to accommodate a dining area in addition to a sitting area. One respondent (ID14) explained why she and her husband spent their day in the salon rather than in the living room, “I prefer to spend my day and sit in a big spacious room…this is my home, and I should be able to use the most
beautiful room for myself." ID6 used her salon frequently because she is against the idea of using the salon only for guests. She explained that she liked being comfortable around her guests:

A person who visits me at home is someone that I love and feel close. I do not need to hide anything from that person, or I do not need to show that person myself differently. They should see the casual, comfortable side of me.

Table 5. Summary of results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of respondents who had:</th>
<th>Ankara N = 15</th>
<th>Erbaa N = 16</th>
<th>Total N = 31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a separate salon and a living room (LR)</td>
<td>11 (73%)</td>
<td>14 (87%)</td>
<td>25 (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one room serving as both LR and salon guests frequently</td>
<td>4 (27%)</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>6 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a separate salon &amp; used it frequently</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>13 (81%)</td>
<td>19 (61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a separate salon with a TV in it</td>
<td>7 (47%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>10 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a separate salon with a TV in it &amp; used the room frequently</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>7 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children living with them</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>9 (56%)</td>
<td>18 (58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>had a separate salon &amp; children living with them</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
<td>13 (42%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I asked the respondents from Erbaa how much they used their salons, how often they had guests, and where they entertained their guests. Thirteen of the respondents (80%) reported entertaining guests frequently. Twelve of those who reported entertaining guests frequently had both a living room and a salon in their residences. Out of 14 Erbaa residents who had both a living room and a salon, three of them (21%) explained that they rarely used their salons. None of those three respondents had a TV in their salons. One of them, ID18, reported not entertaining guests frequently. She explained that when they have a large number of guests, they accepted men in the salon and women in the living room. Having women in the living room, which is located by the kitchen, makes it more convenient for her
because she uses the kitchen to prepare food and drinks for the guests. Her responses indicate the influence of floor plan, convenience, and gender roles on the use of the salon. In fact, she is the only responder to reveal the influence of gender on the use of salon. ID27 and ID29 who also reported using their salons rarely had guests frequently. However, their guests were usually close friends, and they opted to be entertained in the living room or on the balcony rather than in the salon.

Three of the respondents from Erbaa (ID16, ID17, and ID23) who had both a living room and a salon reported using their salons frequently and having guests frequently. Only ID23 entertained her guests in the salon every day, and only her salon did not have a TV among the three. The other two reported entertaining guests both in the living room and the salon. They reported using the salon not only for guests but also for other activities such as watching TV, which explains the frequency of usage despite not having guests frequently. For example, ID16’s husband used the dining table in the salon to take care of paperwork. ID17’s husband liked using their salon daily for watching TV, taking naps, reading

Figure 20. Still photographs of salons (on the left) and living rooms (on the right). Photographs by Sibel Seda Dazkir.
Note. In clockwise order: ID25’s salon, ID25’s living room, ID29’s living room, and ID29’s salon.
newspaper, whereas ID17 preferred spending time in the living room which is open to the kitchen. She liked lying down on the sofa and watching TV while she cooked. She explained that her husband preferred hanging out in the salon because of his heart condition; he preferred the salon because it is more spaciuously comfortable for him, which makes him feel at ease.

I asked the respondents if they entertained their guests always in the salon and how they decided where to entertain them. Among the respondents from Ankara, only ID1 explained that she entertained close relatives in the living room and all the other guests in the salon. Salon, kitchen, and balcony were the three areas where the respondents from Erbaa reported entertaining their guests. ID20 and ID22 entertained all of their guests in the salon. Half of the respondents revealed that the profile of the guests (such as how close they are) influence where they are being entertained. ID16, ID24, and ID27 explained that the guests decide where they want to be entertained. ID16 and ID24 explained that many of their close friends prefer to be entertained in the living room because it is next to the kitchen; and it makes it more convenient for the respondents to serve tea and snacks for their guests. ID18, ID19, ID25, and ID30 explained that the number of guests influence where they entertain their guests. ID25 explained, “How often we see each other and the number of guests influence whether I entertain them in the salon or in the living room.” ID24 and ID31 entertained their guests in the living room if they desired to watch TV during their visit.

In summary, many respondents used their salons and living rooms for similar activities such as reading, watching TV, and spending time with family. The respondents who had a separate salon and living room reported activities such as taking a nap, studying, and praying only in their salons but not in their living rooms signifying the quiet, spacious, and tranquil attributes to the salon (when it is not in use for entertaining guests). Only 40% of the respondents who had a separate salon used the setting frequently. Although some respondents entertained all of their guests in their salons regardless of who they are, nine respondents reported not using their salons very often despite having visitors frequently.

Some respondents used their salons mainly for entertaining their guests, some used it as a family room, and some did not use it at all revealing different approaches and context of use. The use of the room was not limited to entertaining guests for most of the respondents. However, how often and how they used the room varied among the respondents. Different factors such as family status (visiting grandchildren, size of the family, keeping the room closed to protect it from children’s’ harm, having a separate salon only
after their children left home), interest in reading or watching TV, convenience (such as proximity to kitchen or comfortable seating units), social relations, frequency of guests, unique situations (such as preference for a spacious room because of a heart condition), and perception of hospitality influenced how they used their salons, which in turn influenced their relationship with the place because the time spent in the room might influence how the respondents feel about the setting.

Religiosity was one of the attributes that emerged as a difference between the respondents from Erbaa and Ankara. Four respondents from Erbaa revealed that they used their salons for praying. The respondents from Erbaa reported having guests more frequently but using their salons less frequently compared to the respondents from Ankara. The reason why the respondents from Ankara used their salons more frequently would be because of the fact that more respondents from Ankara had a TV in their salons. The respondents from Erbaa had visitors more frequently, and many revealed that their close friends and neighbors would visit them almost every day indicating a more social life compared to the respondents from Ankara.

**Physical characteristics of the setting.** The physical characteristics of the setting include the finishes, colors, texture, materials, size, form, and so forth. When I asked the respondents how they selected their seating units in their salons or whether or not they were satisfied with their salons, they mentioned attributes such as form, comfort, color and color harmony, functionality and usability, materials, texture and patterns, style/look, day lighting, brightness, proximity to kitchen, quietness, durability, and safety. Physical characteristics of the setting included utilitarian aspects and aesthetic preferences. Such aspects of the setting influenced the respondents’ satisfaction with their salons. Their responses provided insight on the Turkish salons, the design process, and what they cared about within salon design process. The responses also provide insights on what attributes they would pay attention to when they buy furniture, which would be useful for furniture marketers. See Table 6 for the list of physical attributes mentioned by the respondents.

For example, ID1 from Ankara was attracted to the swan-like shape of her seating units’ armrests, indicating the influence of form in purchase decisions. ID2 liked that her salon received plenty of day lighting making it warmer in the winter and allowing them to save in heating expenses, indicating the influence of functionality and affordability. She liked her sofa because it converts to a bed when she has guests overnight. She also liked that the seating units had drawers that she could use for storage. ID3 reported:
We do not spend much time in this room; it is the least used room in our home. We are social but we usually meet our friends outside so, we do not have many guests visiting us. I love my furniture, I really do. It is just too busy with all the patterns on the upholstery, curtains, and the carpet. I am not happy with the size of the room, too. I wish it was bigger and more spacious.

Another example of how physical characteristics of the setting influenced the respondents’ perception of the room and their feelings towards the room is explained by ID5:

We use this room everyday as a family… I love this room because I love my seating units and carpets. I love their harmony. I selected everything in this room, and it reflects my taste; it reflects both classical and sportsy styles, and it is simple and a little showy. I like the usability of this room. It is large enough to accommodate my guests, it is quiet, and it receives plenty of daylight.

During the interviews, style/look of the furniture was the most frequently mentioned physical attribute. Thirty (97%) of the respondents mentioned that style influenced how they selected their furniture, how they decorated their salons, or how they would like to decorate their salons. It was mentioned by 14 (93%) of the respondents in Ankara and 16 (100%) of the respondents in Erbaa. For example, ID15 from Ankara explained that when she got married, she and her husband liked the “eskîtte” (distressed wood finish) style of their salon furniture. However, she did not like this style anymore, and she would like to replace them with modern style furniture in a few years, after her children become older. ID20 from Erbaa explained that she liked “agir dürüşlü” (serious looking) furniture. She further explained that “It should be ostentatious/showy but it should also be easy to clean…seating units with carved wood frame are difficult to wipe-clean.” The respondents had preferences towards modern/contemporary style or the “classical style” furniture. The classical style usually referred to “bergere” style seating units with exposed curved wood frame and upholstered back. The classical style furniture was also named as Italian style by some of the respondents. Twenty three of the respondents had modern style furniture, three of them described their furniture as a mixture of modern and classical, and five of them had classical style furniture.

Sixty seven percent (n = 10) of the respondents from Ankara and 81% (n = 13) of the respondents from Erbaa had modern style seating units. During the interviews, the respondents revealed that classical style furniture was fashionable in the 1980s, and high-end classical style seating units, also known as palace style, are becoming fashionable again. None of the respondents younger than 40 had classical style furniture at the time of
the interviews. Please see section on demographics for more information on the relationship between age and furniture style preference.

Table 6. Summary of physical attributes mentioned by the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Ankara</th>
<th>Erbaa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>color</td>
<td>13 (87%)</td>
<td>15 (94%)</td>
<td>28 (90%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>style / look</td>
<td>14 (93%)</td>
<td>16 (100%)</td>
<td>30 (97%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comfort</td>
<td>11 (73%)</td>
<td>10 (62%)</td>
<td>21 (68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>12 (75%)</td>
<td>21 (68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>size</td>
<td>10 (67%)</td>
<td>10 (62%)</td>
<td>20 (64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harmony</td>
<td>11 (73%)</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
<td>19 (61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>converts to bed</td>
<td>7 (47%)</td>
<td>9 (56%)</td>
<td>16 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleaning concerns</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>9 (56%)</td>
<td>15 (48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simplicity</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
<td>13 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trendy / fashionable</td>
<td>7 (47%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>11 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being bored / change</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
<td>11 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old / broken</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>10 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patterns</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
<td>8 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>busy / crowded</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>7 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brightness</td>
<td>4 (27%)</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>6 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durable / sturdy</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>5 (16%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 15 (100%) | 16 (100%) | 31 (100%) |

Please see Figure 21 for examples of classical style furniture from the respondents’ salons. ID10 from Ankara bought a classical style seating set 23 years ago. They knew they would be using it for many years, and they thought the classical style would always be fashionable. ID10 planned to buy a new set of salon furniture in a few years when her grandchildren become older. This time, she plans to buy simple, modern style, more comfortable leather seating units. ID23 and ID30 from Erbaa explained that they liked classical style but prefer to use modern style, simpler looking seating units because they are more comfortable and functional.
ID2 did not have a separate salon and living room. Her husband was against the idea of having a separate salon as he thought it is a waste of space in their apartment. She explained, "We spend our day in this room. So, it is very important for us that the furniture is comfortable." As we continued discussing her salon, she revealed that she would actually prefer to have a classical style seating set if her salon was more spacious. Her husband had health problems, and he insisted that the seating units should be comfortable because he wanted to feel at ease while spending time in the salon/living room. Many respondents associated comfort with modern style seating units. ID4 from Ankara explained that her previous seating units were classical style and her husband did not like them because they were not comfortable. They bought the current modern style seating units because they are comfortable as he wished and also because she was bored with her previous classical style furniture and wanted a different style this time. Although those respondents referred to classical style seating units as being less comfortable compared to the modern style, ID9 explained that comfort was very important for her when she chose her classical style seating.
set. Her previous seating units had the same classical style/look but they were in different color. She further explained: “I like modern style but somehow I end up buying very classical style furniture…I feel like modern style will not suit to my home well.” Those responses indicate that their and their husbands’ preferences for furniture style influenced the respondents’ purchase decisions, their satisfaction with the room, and their design process.

Color was influential on the respondents’ relationship with their salons. Ninety percent (n = 28) of the respondents talked about color while discussing their salons. Thirteen (87%) respondents from Ankara and 15 (94%) respondents from Erbaa talked about color during our interviews. For example, ID13 liked gray very much, and her favorite object in the room was a silver colored decorative vase with artificial flowers. Ten of the respondents from Erbaa and four of the respondents from Ankara explained that they liked light colors in salon décor. ID10 from Ankara and ID16 from Erbaa explained that they prefer light colors because such colors make the room look more comfortably spacious, indicating not only preference for color but also functionality concerns. According to ID23, light colors make the room look spacious, “huzurlu” (tranquil/serene) and “aydinlik” (luminous). ID17 explained that she wished her seating units were light colored because her salon did not receive much day lighting. In the future, she plans to buy light colored seating units so, the room would look brighter. At the time of the interview, she used a white sofa cover on her existing dark colored sofa.

Seventy seven year-old ID8 explained that she liked her salon seating units because they look different and unique. Please see Figure 22. She explained:

There is a common belief in the society that a woman at my age should not wear such colors [bright colors such as red]. I am a “frapan” (flamboyant) person. I really love bright red color as you can see when you look at my seating units. I was attracted to them because of their unique shape and their color. I love roses and I love red.

ID29 explained:

I went to visit a friend who just got married at the time [in the 1980s]. She had a dining table bought from Ankara. You wouldn’t believe how much I desired to have that orange colored dining table that she had. The table and the chairs had shiny metal legs. Oh my God, I liked that table so much; it was so different, so unique. Then I came home, I hugged my husband, and I said I really wanted to have the same table. He realized how much I wanted it, and we finally bought one. I used that table with pleasure for many years.
ID6 talked about importance of comfort and feeling at ease in her home. She explained that she designed her salon for herself, not for others:

The color harmony is for me, for my own taste; not for my guests. If you pay attention to the room, you’ll see that there is a harmony of colors. It creates order. There is nothing that looks out of place. I think it influences you; it influences how you feel and think. It [color harmony] is not for making the salon look nicer, stylish, and neater for the guests [but for me].

Nine respondents from Ankara and five respondents from Erbaa talked about color harmony. ID14 from Ankara believed that her zodiac sign influences her color preferences. She is a Taurus and because the Zodiac element of Taurus is Earth, she designed her salon with earth colors. She used red rugs in the hallway because her rising sign is Aries, which has Fire as the Zodiac element. She further explained that red color in the hallway made it more welcoming for her guests when they entered her residence. ID16 liked the combination of light colors with wood texture. She believed that “colors influence moods and feelings.” ID16 further explained that she planned to buy new salon furniture because she had been using the same furniture for 11 years; she is tired of them. Ten other respondents also expressed that they replaced or would like to replace their salon furniture because they were bored with them.
Twenty one (68%) respondents (nine from Ankara and 12 from Erbaa) talked about materials. Some expressed preference in certain materials such as ID2 who liked the combination of leather and fabric on seating units, ID14 who liked her glass dining table, and ID6 who liked wood furniture. ID30 liked wood because she thinks it looks cozy. Some had functional concerns about the materials. For example, ID14 liked leather furniture because it is easy to wipe clean. ID22 tried to avoid poly-blend fabric on seating units because it is uncomfortable to sit on. ID28 did not prefer wood armrests on her seating units because she thought they are not comfortable, and her kids would get hurt by them.

Sixty four percent ($n = 20$) of the respondents talked about the size of the room or furniture while discussing their salons. For example, ID11’s least favorite object in the room was her console because it took up too much space in the room. ID16, ID20, and ID31 explained that it is difficult to clean the room because of the size of the room and furniture. Many respondents wished that they had a larger salon. Seven respondents (44%) talked about brightness or day lighting in the salon. Some expressed feelings of content about having plenty of day lighting in the room.

Sixty one percent of the respondents ($n = 19$) talked about harmony in the room. Eleven of those talked about color harmony, and 12 of them talked about harmony between furniture and other furnishings. For example, ID8 and ID12 paid attention to the harmony between their carpets and seating units. ID3 and ID17 were unhappy about the lack of harmony between their carpets and seating units making the room look too crowded. Sixteen respondents (52%) talked about their preference for a simple décor. ID23 and ID26 expressed their preference for simplicity; a salon crowded with furniture and accessories makes the respondents feel suffocated. ID1 explained that the cleaning woman collected and put away half of the knick-knacks she had in her salon because she was tired of cleaning them.

Some respondents talked about functional concerns. For example, 40% of the respondents in Ankara and 56% of respondents in Erbaa talked about ease of cleaning ($n = 15$), indicating importance of hygiene in their salons. They preferred seating units with upholstery that is easy to wipe-clean. ID11 and ID16 explained that salon should be a room that is always kept clean and ready for prospective guests. Some respondents such as ID25 did not prefer to have too many knick-knacks and accessories in the salon because it would require too much effort and time to keep them clean. ID20 did not prefer furniture with carved wood frame because it would be difficult to wipe-clean. In this case, her concern for hygiene
influenced her preference for furniture style. About half of the respondents (52%, \( n = 16 \)) paid attention to whether or not their sofas were convertible. This might be an influence of living in small apartment units and having strong social relationships. Lack of having a spare room for overnight guests encourages people in Turkey to buy convertible sofas. Finally, eleven (35%) of the respondents emphasized the influence of trends when they purchased their furniture or when they would buy new furniture for their salon. More respondents from Ankara (47%, \( n = 7 \)) mentioned the influence of fashion and trends compared to the respondents from Erbaa (25%, \( n = 4 \)).

In summary, the interview data revealed that the physical characteristics of the setting influenced the relationship the respondents had with their salons. Such aspects of the setting influenced their purchase decisions, whether or not the respondents were satisfied with their salons, how they used the setting, and how much time they spent in the room. The respondents talked about the influence of form, materials, colors, brightness, size, style, and so forth. While talking about such physical aspects of the setting, they related them to comfort, mood, satisfaction, social norms, personality, utilitarian concerns such as cleaning, heating, and safety. Respondents from both Erbaa and Ankara talked about same physical attributes that influenced their salon design.

**Modernity, Culture, Westernization, and Conservativeness**

I asked the respondents what they thought about culture, modernity, and increased conservativeness and religiosity in the society. The respondents’ different understandings of modernity and religiosity did not have an apparent influence on their decoration preferences and consumption habits regarding furniture and salon design. However, polarization between the groups and their prejudice against each other was evident. For example, some of the respondents who were against the rising number of women with headscarves argued that such conservatives lived a more luxurious lifestyle and were, therefore, more consumerist. When I asked them if they had any friends who wear a headscarf, they responded negatively. Those, who had conservative friends revealed that they did not see much difference between their and these conservative friends’ home designs. The majority of the respondents reported not being happy about the increasing presence of conservative groups in the social and political life in Turkey. ID2 reported:

> We grew up in a conservative society. I still don’t wear revealing clothes, I prefer modesty. I think people with headscarves are modern too. But I look at their headscarves, they are all expensive brands. They have become very wealthy. I don’t know if it is because of the government [that is an Islamist
conservative party]. I don’t see it [the fact that conservatives are increasing in number and becoming more powerful in political and economic life] as a problem. As long as they don’t oppress others who don’t share their beliefs, I don’t see any harm. Regarding Westernization, I don’t think we admire the West anymore.

ID4 explained:
Women with headscarves love living luxuriously. They drive all those expensive cars and shop at the most expensive stores. It is all pretension. It is nothing to do with their religiosity. They do it so their husbands can make money...They want to be a part of everything, they are not against modernity. Modernity is now about the money...In the past, I think we had admiration for the West; we wanted to imitate them. For example, we left our comfortable seating units such as divans and started using armchairs.

When I asked about their opinions on modernity, culture, and Westernization, the majority of the respondents talked about virtues such as avoiding prejudice, being able to communicate with people from different backgrounds, valuing family and friends, tolerance, and being open minded. They had different opinions on the influence of education on modernity and culture. Some argued education does not mean anything if one is not virtuous, but it is a necessary accomplishment for someone to become a person of culture and become open-minded. The older respondents revealed that people used to care more about reflecting modernity and culture via their looks in the past. They talked about how people cared about their attires as a sign of respect to others. Some argued that money and comfort have become greater virtues for the new generation. For example ID5 claimed:

Ataturk wanted us to be people of culture but we took it in the wrong way. People perceive modernity as consumption habits. Being a person of culture is not related to what you wear or what schools you go. You should know respect, love, family, and responsibility to be a person of culture.

I asked the respondents whether or not they attend high culture events such as opera and theater and if they liked reading and abstract art. The majority of the respondents in Erbaa revealed a lack of interest in high culture. This might derive from the fact that such high culture events do not occur in Erbaa. They can only watch ballet, opera, theater productions, and classical music concerts on TV. Only a few respondents from Ankara revealed an interest in some forms of high culture events. I did not observe any association between their interest in high culture and their domestic interiors. This would be due to the difficulty of collecting evidence on this matter. It would also be related to the cultural context; many activities that are considered high culture come from the Western cultures.
Figure 23. Map showing the complex relationship between different interrelated concepts.
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion and Summary of Results

This study was focused on the meaning, design, and use of the Turkish salon (the sitting room designed for guests). The findings provide an understanding of the different aspects of people’s experiences of their salons. Socially and personally constructed meanings were examined to gain a deeper understanding of the respondents’ perspectives and their relationships with their salons. The findings are presented under three interrelated concepts: environment, person, and setting.

Environment. Conforming to the popular trends and norms on salon décor, the socioeconomic environment, the rise of consumerism, increased influence of liberal economy, and other people influenced how respondents designed, used, and perceived their salons. Some respondents revealed that they were influenced by trends and other people’s salons indicating the influence of the marketplace and others on salon design. This supports Makovicky’s (2007) findings on the living room design and conformity. Although many respondents argued that they designed their salons not to impress the guests but for their own pleasure, their efforts to decorate the room and keep it clean and neat indicated that they cared what their guests might think of their salons supporting the literature that it is designed from both a social and personal point of view and confirms that salon design reflects how one communicates self to the society (Amaturo, Costagliola & Ragone, 1987; Gurel, 2009a; Rechavi, 2009; Smith, 1994).

The respondents’ narratives confirmed that they tried to create an environment that satisfied them; they cared about their salon designs. A greater percentage of the respondents from Erbaa reported paying attention to others’ salon designs compared to the respondents from Ankara revealing that they are either more interested in home decoration or they are influenced by others’ homes more. Some respondents explained that in a small city like Erbaa, people are more easily influenced by each other’s home designs compared to the people living in big cities. The respondents from Erbaa reported having guests more frequently compared to the respondents from Ankara. This would signify tighter community or social ties in Erbaa. The respondents from Erbaa reported using their salons less frequently compared to the Ankara residents. This would be because of the fact that more respondents from Ankara had a TV in their salons or the fact that they perceived the room as a formal place that they opted not to use for their frequently visiting friends.
In addition to conformity, other people such as their children and spouses influenced their salons’ design, use, and meaning. Although some spouses influenced selection of furniture, the majority of the women who participated in this study were in charge of their salon design supporting the literature on women’s role as home makers (Cevik, 2002; Clarke, 2001; Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004; Giles, 2004; Gurel, 2009b). Having children living with them also influenced how often they used their salons, their purchase decisions, or when they would replace their furniture. Furthermore, how often the respondents had guests and the profile of the guests influenced how they used their salons.

With the changing economic conditions, it has become easier for people to reflect themselves through their home decor because it is possible to find a wider range of affordable products in the marketplace compared to the past. The interview data confirmed that there is a sharp difference between the present and the past (especially prior to the 1980s) regarding economic conditions, consumerism, availability and affordability of products including salon furniture supporting the literature (Gurel, 2009a; Kasaba & Bozdogan, 2000; Sandikci & Ger, 2000; Tanglay, 2007). The majority of the respondents agreed that changing economic conditions have negative effects on consumers. Overall, they had different opinions about whether or not the negative economic aspects outweigh the positive aspects. People live more comfortably, more people can afford items, and there is more variety of products to reflect self or create the ideal salon environment. Nonetheless, many respondents believed that rise in consumerism, spending unnecessarily, being allured by market pervasiveness, and being able to own products easily make people inappreciative, unhappy, and discontent with what they have and cause “israf” (prodigality). The findings of this study support the idea that consumption behaviors influence people’s relationship with places (Douglas & Isherwood, 1996; Featherstone, 1991; Lury, 1996; McCracken, 1990) and provides a deeper understanding of how changing economic conditions in Turkey influence the socio-cultural environment and people’s perceptions of those changes.

**Person.** The respondents’ satisfaction with their salon; their interest in home decoration; demographics such as age, income level, and duration of marriage; personalization of the setting; meaningful objects; and place attachment influenced the respondents’ relationship with their salons. The majority of the respondents from both Erbaa and Ankara displayed or revealed interest in home decoration through their efforts to design and personalize their salons, their knowledge about furniture styles, paying attention to others’ salons, watching home design TV shows, and visiting furniture stores as leisure activities. Even the respondents, who reported a lack of interest in interior decoration
displayed an effort to design their salons; they discussed their furniture preferences and used decorative accessories or meaningful objects to design the settings.

Socio-economic status influenced some of the respondents’ salon designs regarding originality and price of their salon furniture and décor. Some of the respondents from wealthier or more educated families exhibited a greater interest in custom-made or handmade furniture, keeping heirlooms, original artwork, and accessories supporting Bourdieu’s (1984) theories on the relationship between cultural, social, and economic capital and taste. All of the respondents revealed preference for landscape paintings supporting Halle’s (1993) findings that people from all social classes like them. Original abstract art was observed in only one salon, and it was purchased and displayed by the respondent’s husband. All of the respondents including the ones that I considered to be from a high socio-economic status expressed a dislike for abstract artwork, which contradicted Halle’s (1993) findings and Bourdieu’s (1984), Dimaggio’s (1987, 1991) and Peterson’s (1997) arguments on elite’s rare taste such as in abstract artwork. However, this might be a consequence of cultural difference; Turkey’s cultural environment is different than that of the West’s.

The findings support Halle’s (1993) criticism of theories on power and cultural capital. Halle (1993) argued that the reason behind wealthy people’s ownership of valuable art might be because of their economic capital, not necessarily due to their cultural capital. People would not admit that they own the artwork to express their superiority over others. The author (1993) also argued that the relationship between social class and domestic environments is complex. One needs to look at the meanings to fully understand why people prefer or keep some particular artwork before labeling it as kitsch (Halle, 1993; Miller, 2008).

The majority of the respondents reported themselves as middle-class. However, their perception of middle class, their salon designs, how often they replaced their furniture, whether or not they followed trends, and whether or not they had price concerns varied. Other factors such as their approach to consumerism, their experiences, and family influenced their salon designs in a greater degree supporting Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen’s (2004) findings on the personal nature of domestic interiors.

Age and duration of marriage influenced how many times they bought seating units for their salons, how long they used their current or first seating units as well as their preference for furniture style. Such findings support the literature on the relationship between home decoration and demographic characteristics of the respondents (Manzo, 2003) to some degree. The older the respondents, the more experience they have with home making,
and the more knowledge they appear to have on furniture trends and qualities. Although the findings provide insight on the relationship between demographic characteristics and salon design and use, the sampling method and the small sample size make it impossible to draw conclusions.

The design of their salons enabled self-expression among the respondents from both Erbaa and Ankara (Krippendorff & Butter, 1984). They designed the rooms to reflect their tastes, values, beliefs, experiences, family, occupations, hobbies, and so forth. They displayed objects such as souvenirs, gifts, and family photographs that were meaningful to them. Personalization of the room provided control over the setting, a sense of connection to their salons, and sense of belonging. Physical characteristics of the setting, especially aesthetic appeal and usability, influenced the respondents’ satisfaction with the room supporting Norman’s (2002) argument that attractive things work better. Although it was possible to observe patterns regarding the type of decorative items that they used, the meanings and stories behind how they acquired the objects made their design process unique and individualistic. Personalization and meaningful objects created an emotional relationship with the setting (Cooper-Marcus, 1995). As mentioned by other scholars (Donald, 1994; Scheiberg, 1990; Wells, 2000), personalization increased their satisfaction with the setting and provided psychological well-being.

The respondents redefined the objects for themselves through their interaction with them (Forlizzi, 1997) such as with souvenirs that reminded them of their past experiences, fond memories or time spent with loved ones supporting Harris’s (1991) argument that personalization can remind them of their lives outside the place. The respondents decorated to create an appealing environment for themselves and for their guests supporting the literature that personalization makes places more pleasing to its inhabitants (Carreere, Evans & Stokols, 1991/1994). Through personalization, the setting reflected the respondents’ beliefs (Bechtel, 1997) with display items decorated with religious scripts or the blue evil eye beads. Personalization and salon décor also reflected culture (Albrow, 1997; Lang, 1992) with traditional objects such as embroidered tablecloths or display items depicting Ottoman arts and crafts, and affective appraisal (Russell & Pratt, 1980) with meaningful objects such as gifts from loved ones. The findings also support that products provide emotional (how a product affects a person’s mood), hedonic (sensory and aesthetic pleasures associated with products), and utilitarian (practical benefits associated with products) pleasures (Jordan, 2000).
The majority of the respondents expressed a sense of belonging and attachment to their salons and homes. Spending time in the setting, sharing the place with loved ones, feeling comfortable, sense of belonging, being satisfied with the setting, sense of freedom, reflection of own taste, personalization, and memories influenced the respondents’ attachment to their salons in Ankara. The respondents from Erbaa added more intangible aspects such as sincerity, happiness, coziness, effort in creating the room, familiarity, and feeling at peace. Meanings associated with the objects also created a connection between the residents and their salons and influenced their sense of belonging to the room. In addition to housing their possessions which created a sense of ownership and belonging, the setting reflected their design decisions and preferences. Sebb and Churchman (1983) argued that being in charge of a place and caring for it creates control over that setting.

Events and life experiences influenced their relationship with their salons. Loss of a loved one influenced one respondent’s attitude towards the place. Although she used to be very keen on home decoration, she lost her interest in decoration and lacked emotional attachment to the setting and objects after losing her mother. Another respondent was so frustrated with her experience of furniture purchase for her salon, she lacked emotional attachment and satisfaction with the setting.

**Setting.** How the respondents used their salons, physical characteristics of the settings, aesthetic qualities, and preferences related to the setting influenced their perception of the room, its meaning, and design. The data analysis revealed that less than half of the respondents who had separate salons and living rooms used their salons frequently. They used the salons for activities such as praying, resting, and reading, but the main function of the room was reported as entertaining guests. Attributes such as spaciousness, neatness, quietness, and tranquility influenced the type of activities that took place in the rooms. Accepting guests frequently did not necessarily mean using their salons frequently. Some respondents opted to entertain their close and frequent visitors in the other areas of their homes such as in their living rooms, balconies, or kitchens. Despite having designed the room carefully for entertaining guests, not using it for every guest may signify a lack of attachment to the room.

The respondents had different approaches, perspectives, and frequency of use of their salons indicating the individualistic and unique nature of people-place relationship (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004). For example, family status such as having children influenced the usage of the room, the activities that took place in the setting, and the
design of the setting. Respondents’ social relations (how often they have guests and the profile of the guests) and their interests also influenced how they used and designed their salons. Their attitude towards consumerism and the meanings associated with objects contributed to the uniqueness of their relationship with the setting. Praying as an activity that took place in the salon was reported only by the respondents from Erbaa supporting Kasaba and Bozdogan’s (2000) argument on pervasiveness of religiosity in rural areas. However, due to the sampling method used for this study, it is not possible to draw conclusions.

The respondents’ different understandings of modernity, culture, and religiosity did not have an apparent influence on their decoration preferences and consumption habits regarding furniture and salon design. However, the respondents who were against the rising number of women with headscarves argued that religious groups lived a more luxurious lifestyle and were, therefore, more consumerist. The respondents’ accounts did not support the literature (Gurel, 2009a/2009b; Kasaba & Bozdogan, 2000; Ozdemir & Gencosmanoglu, 2007) about the early Republican era and the contradiction of religiosity and modernity because the respondents reported that they do not believe such connotations still exist in the society. They also did not support the relationship between home décor and modernity as admiration to the Western styles. However, social and cultural transformations such as the increased influence of liberal economy continued to influence the conception, use, and design of domestic interiors.

Assumptions, Limitations, and Implications for Future Studies

According to Creswell (2007), paradigms are sets of beliefs that guide researcher’s actions. The researcher’s paradigm or worldview can influence his research methods: what should be asked, what sort of data will be collected, and how it is going to be collected and analyzed. Scholars with different inquiry paradigms have different assumptions and research designs, reach findings differently, and develop theory differently. In line with the naturalistic inquiry paradigm, I employed qualitative research methods with an inductive inquiry approach. Such an approach allowed me to extract rich data and understand meanings from the respondents’ own perspectives. An emergent research design informed my data collection and analysis methods to explore the salon environments extensively. I assumed that collecting data via observations, still photographs, video footages, and in-depth interviews provided rich data which allowed me to answer my research questions.

The relationship between the concepts that emerge from the qualitative data allowed me to understand the process of salon creation. I have developed explanations or small
scale prepositions rather than general theories. I did not attempt to propose statistically significant results or generalizable theories. My findings were driven from the perspectives of individuals and from the socio-cultural context of Turkish people. Accordingly, one of the limitations of this study is the lack of generalizability of the findings to all Turkish people or to other cultures. However, exploring culturally rich data requires conducting qualitative research by focusing on details and in-depth meanings about the research phenomenon. Such an approach requires extended periods of fieldwork and data analysis. Accordingly, it was difficult to have a representative or large sample with my limited resources and time. I was in Turkey for eight weeks to conduct the field work therefore; limited duration of stay in the field is a limitation of this study. This study could be repeated by collecting data for more extended periods of time in the field.

The findings are limited to the perspectives of the individuals that participated in the study. Although observations of the salons and open-ended interview questions decrease the possibility of self-report bias, it is not possible to verify the trustworthiness of all the information the participants provide. Other possible perspectives and meanings should be explored in the future research studies. Warren (2001) explained that the trustworthiness of the data is likely to increase when the interviewer and the interviewee have more common characteristics such as ethnicity. I believe, my position as an insider allowed me to better communicate with the respondents and understand the cultural meanings. However, my age, occupation, education level, religiosity, and values could cause bias in regard to interpretation of the qualitative data. Some respondents were not as willing to share information as others, or they lacked the oral skills to express their thoughts. It is important for the interviewer to have the necessary skills to encourage the respondents to share as much information as possible. Building rapport with the interviewee is important to make the respondent more comfortable and willing to participate in the study. It also increases the trustworthiness of the data. Finally, the findings are also limited to the unique and temporal experience of place. How someone perceives a place can be unique at a specific time and place (Lang, 1992; Massey, 1994; Smaldone, Harris & Sanyal, 2005) as moods, social interactions, and experiences are unfixed entities that influence how we engage with and react to an environment.

The findings of this study could provide a foundation for the future studies on the Turkish salon and domestic interiors. This study could be repeated in different cities to acquire more respondent perspectives. The relationship between demographic characteristics of the respondents (such as their income level, social class, and age) and
meaning and design of the salon could be investigated by collecting data from a larger sample.

Concluding Remarks

Exploring the meaning of place and objects in this study provided an understanding of everyday human life experience. This study provided rich information about the relationship between people and their salons. The findings indicated that design, meaning, and use of salons were shaped by the dynamic relationship between many individual, psychological, social, socio-cultural, socio-economic, and setting related dimensions supporting the findings of other research studies (e.g., Lawrence, 1987; Wilson, & Mackenzie, 2000). The settings influenced the respondents’ behavior and emotions. Salon settings triggered feelings of content, sense of belonging, comfort, attachment, self-expression, and freedom to be self supporting the body of literature (Gunter, 2000; Moore, 2000; Russell & Pratt, 1980; Smith, 1994; Tognoli, 1987).

The findings confirmed that salons were designed from both a personal and social point of view. The respondents created sense of place personally and socially. The findings supported that our cognitions, emotions, and behaviors influence how we perceive a place (Altman, & Low, 1992; Stedman, 2002; Steele, 1981). Personalization of place with appealing objects (both aesthetic and utilitarian) and meaningful objects enhanced their sense of connection to the setting, sense of belonging, and attachment to the setting supporting Goodrich’s (1986) arguments on personalization process.

Studying the Turkish salon provided an understanding of how the socio-economic and socio-cultural changes were perceived by the respondents in their domestic space. The results indicate that political, cultural, religious, and economic environments influence society’s perception of buying and decorating. Findings of this study contribute to different fields such as interior design by providing information on design process and design preferences of the respondents; industrial design by providing information on the meanings of objects, respondents’ interaction with objects, and preferences for furniture and accessories; environmental psychology by providing information on how respondents’ behavior and emotions were influenced by the design of the setting and vice versa; and cultural anthropology by revealing information on the meanings of everyday life surroundings, and the influence of socio-cultural environment on salon creation.
Bibliography


Gurel, M.O. (2009b). Defining and living out the interior: the modern apartment and the urban housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s. *Gender, Place, and Culture*, 16 (6), 703-722.


Appendices
Appendix A: Institutional Review Board Documents

NOTIFICATION OF EXEMPTION

May 31, 2011

Principal Investigator: Marilyn A. Read
Study Team Members: N/A
Student Researcher: Sibel Seda Dazic
Study Number: 4698
Study Title: An Ethnographic Study of the Turkish Living Room
Funding Source: None
Submission Type: Initial Application, received 07/16/10
Review Category: Exempt

The above referenced study was reviewed by the OSU Institutional Review Board (IRB) and has determined that it is exempt from full board review. You may proceed with the research described in the protocol.

Expiration Date: 08/31/15

The exemption is valid for 5 years from the date of the initial determination.

Annual renewals will not be required. If the research extends beyond the expiration date, the Investigator must request a new exemption. Investigators should submit a final report to the IRB if the project is completed prior to the 5 year term.

Documents included in this review:

- Protocol
- Consent forms
- Assent forms
- Grant/contract
- Recruiting tools
- Test instruments
- Attachment A: Radiation
- Attachment B: Human materials
- Letters of support
- Other:
- Project revisions:

Principal Investigator responsibilities:

- Amendments to this study must be submitted to the IRB for review prior to initiating the change. Amendments may include, but are not limited to, changes in funding, personnel, target enrollment, study population, study instruments, consent documents, recruitment materials, sites of research, etc.
- All study team members should be kept informed of the status of the research.
- Reports of unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or others must be submitted to the IRB within three calendar days.
- The Principal Investigator is required to securely store all study related documents on the OSU campus for a minimum of three years post study termination.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at IRB@oregonstate.edu or by phone at (541) 737-8008.

IRB Form v. 06/10/2010
Correspondence to Be Used For the Recruitment

Sibel Seda Dazkir and her professor from Oregon State University, USA are conducting a study for Mrs. Dazkir’s dissertation research. The study is designed to learn about how people decorate their living rooms in Turkey.

The graduate student Mrs. Dazkir will be visiting you at your living room because she needs to see the items you have chosen for your living room. She will audio record the conversation for practicality. During her visit, you will be asked to: complete a tape-recorded interview describing your living room, allow photos of your living room to be taken, and allow filming of your living room with a video camera. Total time of her visit will be about an hour or longer.

The participation is completely voluntary, and it doesn’t include any risks or benefits for you. It’s for academic research purposes, and we would greatly appreciate your participation.

Your answers and your identity will be kept confidential. Please let me/us know if you would be interested in participation, and let us know what times work best for you. Please contact Mrs. Dazkir about your questions at …

Thank you.

Turkish Translation

Sibel Seda Dazkir ve ABD'den profesoru Dr. Marilyn Read, Seda Hanimin doktora tezi için akademik bir çalışması yurutuyorlar. Araştırmaları Türkiye'de misafir salonlarının nasıl dekore edildiği ve kullanıldığı üzerine.

Doktora öğrencisi Seda Hanım bu araştırma çerçevesinde sizinle oturma odalarınızı rapor etmek ister. En az bir saat süren ve sohbet havasındadır olan rapor sırasında sohbetinizi kaydettmek ve salonunuzun fotoğraflarını çekmek ister.

Bu araştırma projesine katılaçmak tamamen gönlüle. Sizin için katılmak veya katılmamak herhangi bir risk taşımayacaktır ve katılaçınız akademik ilime katkıda bulunmak haricinde size herhangi bir fayda sağlamamaktadır.

Sohbet sırasında sağladığınız bilgiler ve kimlikiniz, mahremiyetiniz gizli tutulacaktır. Eğer katılaçmak istiyorsanız veya sorularınız varsa lutfen bize haber verin.

Sorularınızıla ilgili Seda Hanım’a … no’lu telefonlardan ulaşabilirsiniz.

Tesekkürler.
Oral Informed Consent and Its Translation

We invite you to participate in an academic research project about the use and decoration of the salon in Turkey.

My name is Sibel Seda Dazkir. I am a graduate student in Interior Design at Oregon State University in the USA. My professor at OSU, Marilyn Read, and I are conducting this research project together with the consent of the university’s institution review board.

The purpose of this research is to learn about you and your salon decoration. How did you decorate it, and what influenced the decoration process?

If you’d like to participate in this study, I would like to interview you in your salon for about one and a half hour. I will record the interview with a digital audio recorder and with a video camera with your consent. I will also take pictures of your salon after our interview -with your consent.

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. You can stop the interview at any time you would like to. You can skip the answers with no penalty. There are no anticipated risks and benefits for you associated with this study other than contributing to academic knowledge.

The information that you provide during the interview will be a part of my (Seda Dazkir’s) dissertation. It will be open to public access at OSU library and via its website after I complete my dissertation (probably in June 2013). We may also present our findings at academic conferences; publish them at academic journals; and make a documentary film that might be broadcasted to public view.

We will keep your identity confidential. We won’t record you in the camera footage or in digital pictures without your consent. You won’t be included in the documentary film unless you want to.

You can contact me (S. Seda Dazkir) at … if you have any concerns or questions related to this study. You can also contact me in the USA at … or the OSU Institutional Review Board at (001) 541 737 8008.

- Do you have any questions about what I just explained to you? Would you like to participate in this research study?
- Do you consent that I record our interview with an audio recorder device?
- Do you consent that I record our interview with a video camera?
- Do you consent that after our interview I take pictures of your salon to be included in my dissertation?
- We might include our interview in a possible documentary film related to my dissertation research. Do you consent that we include the audio or visual data from our interview in this documentary film (keeping your name confidential)?

Thank you.
Katılımcı Bilgilendirme ve Onay Belgesi

Sizi “Türkiye’de misafir salonu kullanımı ve dekoru” ile ilgili akademik bir çalışmaya katılmaya davet ediyoruz.

Ben Sibel Seda Dazkır, Amerika Birleşik devletlerinde, Oregon State üniversitesinde tasarım üzerine doktoramı yapıyorum. Hocam doçent doktor Marilyn Read ve ben bu araştırmayı üniversitenin izniyle yürütüyoruz.

Bu araştırmamın amacı salonunuzun dekorunu nelerin etkilediğini öğrenmek: Nasıl dekore ettiniz, ve bu süreçte neler etkili oldu?

Eğer katılmayı kabul ederseniz sizinle sohbet havasında salonunuzda yaklaşık bir bucuk saat sürecek bir röportaj yapmak isterim. Konuşmalarınızı daha sonra doğru bir şekilde hatırayalımlık ve tezimde kullanabilmek içinizinizle sohbetimizi dijital bir ses kayıt cihazı ve kamerayla kaydetmem ve sohbetimiz ardından oturma odanızın fotoğraflarını çekmem gerekıyor.

Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllü. istediğiniz an sohbetimizi sonlandırabilir veya bazı soruları geçmek isteyebilirsiniz. Akademik ilime katkıda bulunmak haricinde bu çalışmaya katılmak size herhangi bir fayda veya zarar sağlamayacaktır.


Araştırmaya ilgili sorularınız için bana (Sibel Seda Dazkır) Türkiye’de... no’lu telefonlardan ulaşabilirsiniz. Amerika içindeyse bana (ülke alan kodu 01) ... no’lu telefondan veya üniversitenin ilgili ofisine (Intitutional Review Board) 001 541 737 8008 no’lu telefondan ulaşabilirsiniz.

- Size anlattıklarım hakkında herhangi bir sorunuz var mı? Araştırmamıza katılmayı ister misiniz?
- Sohbetimizi ses kayıtlı cihazıyla kaydetmemin sizin için bir sakıncası var mı?
- Sohbetimizi kameralarla kaydetmemin sizin için bir sakıncası var mı?
- Sohbetimizden sonra salonunuzun fotoğraflarını çekmemin ve onları tezimde kullanmanın sizin için bir sakıncası var mı?
- Kesin olmamakla birlikte sohbetimizi tezimle ilgili bir belgesel yapımında kullanabiliriz. Bu belgeselde (adınızı gizli tutarak) sohbetimiz sırasında kaydede偎im sesini veya sizin ve salonunuzun görüntüleri veya çektiğim fotoğrafları kullanmanın sizin için bir sakıncası var mı?

Teşekkürler.
Appendix B: Biographical Sketches of Participants

ID1

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 17 years
Age: 53.
Occupation: Teacher.
Education level: High School.
Duration of marriage: 28 years.
Duration of residence at current home: 11 years.
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes.
Mother’s occupation & education level: housewife, illiterate.
Father’s occupation & education level: chef at a restaurant, elementary school.
Husband’s occupation & education level: retired colonel, master’s degree.
Husband’s mother’s occupation & education level: housewife, elementary school.
Husband’s father’s occupation & education level: retired office clerk at the army, high school.
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 2 children, 27 years old engineer with a master’s degree and 22 years old university student. One of them visits biweekly at the weekends and stays overnight. The other one is married.
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 11 years.
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes.
How often does she use her salon? Rarely.
Photographs of her salon:

ID2

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 23 years.
Age: 50.
Occupation: Government employee.
Education level: High School.
Duration of marriage: 23 years.
Duration of residence at current home: 12 years.
Does she have separate salon & living room? No.
Mother’s occupation & education level: housewife, illiterate.
Father’s occupation & education level: self employed, elementary school.
Husband’s occupation & education level: retired government employee, high school.
Husband’s mother’s occupation & education level: housewife, elementary school.
Husband's father's occupation & education level: retired government employee, high school.
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 2 children, both university students, only one of them is still staying with them.
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 2.5 years.
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes.
How often does she use her salon? Very often/daily.
Photographs of her salon:

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 15 years.
Age: 52.
Occupation: housewife.
Education level: 8th grade.
Duration of marriage: 36 years.
Duration of residence at current home: 11 years.
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes.
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, literate.
Father's occupation and education level: cleric at a mosque, literate.
Husband's occupation and education level: retired colonel, university.
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, literate.
Husband's father's occupation and education level: retired army officer, university.
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 3 children, the only one still living with them is at high school, one is an assistant professor with a PhD, and the other is a superintendent with a BS degree.
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 15 years.
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes.
How often does she use her salon? Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon:
How long have you lived in Ankara?: 32 years  
Age: 62  
Occupation: retired bank employee  
Education level: high school  
Duration of marriage: 38 years.  
Duration of residence at current home: 10 years.  
Does she have separate salon and living room? No.  
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school.  
Father's occupation and education level: electrician  
Husband's occupation and education level: retired colonel, university.  
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, literate.  
Husband's father’s occupation and education level: glazer, elementary school  
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 children, the only one still living with them is an engineer with a BS degree. The other one is a married bank employee with a BS degree.  
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 9 years. 
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes  
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.  
Photographs of her salon:

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 7 years  
Age: 53
Occupation: housewife
Education level: elementary school
Duration of marriage: 32 years
Duration of residence at current home: 3 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Father’s occupation and education level: farmer and store owner, 5th grade
Husband’s occupation and education level: engineer, BS degree
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: contractor, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2, an eye doctor and an army officer. Both of them are married.
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 7 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:

How long have you lived in Ankara?: all her life, 43 years
Age: 43
Occupation: teacher
Education level: BS degree
Duration of marriage: 15 years
Duration of residence at current home: 4 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father’s occupation and education level: administrator at a government bank, BS degree
Husband’s occupation and education level: engineer, BS degree
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: government employee, high school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: no children
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 15 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:

ID7

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 40 years
Age: 54
Occupation: retired teacher
Education level: associate’s degree
Duration of marriage: 30 years
Duration of residence at current home: 30 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father’s occupation and education level: journalist, 9th grade
Husband’s occupation and education level: engineer, BS degree
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: 8th grade, self employed
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: No children
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 15 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon:

ID8

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 40 years
Age: 77
Occupation: retired government employee
Education level: middle school
Duration of marriage: 22 years (widow, husband died 16 years ago)
Duration of residence at current home: 13 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father's occupation and education level: manager at local deed office, middle school
Husband's occupation and education level: Accounting manager, BS degree
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 1, adopted, she is a senior at high school
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 13
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Rarely, only for entertaining guests.
Photographs of her salon:

ID9
How long have you lived in Ankara?: 30 years
Age: 51
Occupation: High School Chancellor's Assistant (Vice-President)
Education level: BS degree
Duration of marriage: 30 years
Duration of residence at current home: 7 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? No
Mother's occupation and education level: Instructor at daycare, high school degree
Father's occupation and education level: History teacher at high school, BS degree
Husband's occupation and education level: retired judge
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation & education level: teacher, associate degree
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 children at ages of 12 and 14, both are students in middle and high school, respectively.
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 7 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:
ID10

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 23 years
Age: 63 years old
Occupation: retired literature teacher
Education level: associate degree
Duration of marriage: 41
Duration of residence at current home: 15
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Husband's occupation and education level: officer in the military, BS degree
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 sons, older one is an officer in the military, younger son bureaucrat, both have BS degree
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 23 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often.
Photographs of her salon:

ID11

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 29, whole life
Age: 29
Occupation: housewife
Education level: high school degree
Duration of marriage: 11
Duration of residence at current home: 11
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school degree
Father's occupation and education level: retired cashier from a bank, high school
Husband's occupation and education level: bus driver, high school degree
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation and education level: self-employed, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 2 children at ages of 6 and 11
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 11 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Sometimes
Photographs of her salon:

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 24, whole life
Age: 24
Occupation: Stenographer
Education level: high school degree
Duration of marriage: 4
Duration of residence at current home: 1.5
Does she have separate salon and living room? no
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, middle school degree
Father's occupation and education level: welder, self-employed, middle school degree
Husband's occupation and education level: tea vendor (waiter) at a bank, high school
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Husband's father's occupation and education level: bank employee, high school degree
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 1, toddler
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 4 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:
ID13
How long have you lived in Ankara?: 20, whole life
Age: 20
Occupation: housewife
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 1 year
Duration of residence at current home: 1 year
Does she have separate salon and living room?
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, middle school
Father’s occupation & education level: carpenter, self-employed, middle school
Husband’s occupation and education level: Dentist’s assistant, high school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: welder, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 1, newborn
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 1 year
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:

ID14
How long have you lived in Ankara?: 1967-1974 (7 years) and 1994-2011 (17 years)
Age: 61
Occupation: retired, high school French teacher
Education level: BS degree
Duration of marriage: 37
Duration of residence at current home: 6 months
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother's occupation and education level: retired teacher, associate degree
Father's occupation and education level: bank teller, middle school degree
Husband's occupation and education level: retired colonel, BS degree
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation and education level: retired chef, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 children; both left home; an inspector at Turkish Government Competition Board and a pharmacist, both with MS degree
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 6 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:

ID15

How long have you lived in Ankara?: 22 years
Age: 37
Occupation: pharmacist
Education level: BS degree
Duration of marriage: 11
Duration of residence at current home: 9
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother's occupation and education level: retired, high school French teacher, BS degree
Father's occupation and education level: retired colonel, BS degree
Husband's occupation and education level: medical doctor, Master's degree
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: retired teacher, high school degree
Husband's father's occupation and education level: retired teacher, high school degree
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 children, 7 and 9 years old
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 9 years
Satisfied with her salon?: no
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:
ID16

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 56 years, whole life
Age: 56
Occupation: retired government tax cleric
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 34 years
Duration of residence at current home: 14 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Father’s occupation and education level: factory worker, elementary school
Husband’s occupation and education level: retired teacher, high school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: self employed, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 children; both married; a graduate student with master’s degree, and a junior army officer with high school degree
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 5 months
Satisfied with her salon?: No
How often does she use her salon? Often.
Photographs of her salon:

ID17

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 35 years
Age: 59
Occupation: retired teacher
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 35 years
Duration of residence at current home: 13 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father’s occupation and education level: junior officer at the army, high school
Husband’s occupation and education level: retired teacher, high school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: self employed, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 1 married son, pharmacy representative
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 2 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, daily.
Photographs of her salon:

ID18

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 51 years, whole life
Age: 51
Occupation: housewife
Education level: elementary school
Duration of marriage: 31
Duration of residence at current home: 20 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? Yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Father’s occupation and education level: imam, high school
Husband’s occupation and education level: self employed, middle school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: self employed, literate
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: self employed, literate
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 3 children; a textile worker still lives with them, the other two housewives with associate degrees
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 2 months
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Rarely, only for entertaining guests.
Photographs of her salon:
ID19
How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 20 years
Age: 40
Occupation: housewife
Education level: elementary school
Duration of marriage: 20 years
Duration of residence at current home: 16 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Father's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Husband's occupation and education level: electrician, elementary school
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation and education level: electrician, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 2 children, one in high school, one with associate degree; both live in the residence.
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 7 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon:

ID20
How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 28 years
Age: 53
Occupation: housewife
Education level: elementary school
Duration of marriage: 33 years
Duration of residence at current home: 22 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Father’s occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Husband’s occupation and education level: security personnel at a bank, middle school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: government employee, high school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: none
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon?: Occasionally.

Photographs of her salon:

ID21

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 31 years, whole life
Age: 31
Occupation: housewife
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 13 years
Duration of residence at current home: 3.5 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother’s occupation & education level: housewife, elementary school
Father’s occupation & education level: worker, elementary school
Husband’s occupation and education level: medical lab technician, associate degree
Husband’s mother’s occupation & education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband’s father’s occupation & education level: junior army officer, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, & education level:
Satisfied with her salon?:
How often does she use her salon?: Occasionally.

Photographs of her salon:
ID22

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 40 years, whole life
Age: 40
Occupation: housewife
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 20 years
Duration of residence at current home: 3.5 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Father's occupation and education level: welder, self employed, elementary school
Husband’s occupation and education level: retired fireman, high school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, literate but no education
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 children aged 13 and 17
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 3.5 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon:

ID23

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 27 years
Age: 53
Occupation: retired teacher
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 29 years
Duration of residence at current home: 11 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Husband's occupation and education level: retired teacher, high school
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: farmer, illiterate
Husband's father's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2 married daughter, both employed as teachers, both have BS degree
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 5 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Often, everyday.

Photographs of her salon:

ID24

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 55 years, whole life
Age: 55
Occupation: retired teacher
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 30 years
Duration of residence at current home: 11 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Father's occupation and education level: farmer, elementary school
Husband's occupation and education level: retired engineer / city employee, BS degree
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation & education level: butcher, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 1, married, teacher, BS degree
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 30 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon:
ID25

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 28 years
Age: 55
Occupation: government employee
Education level: BS degree
Duration of marriage: 28 years
Duration of residence at current home: 6 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, literate but no education
Father’s occupation and education level: truck driver, self-employed, illiterate
Husband’s occupation and education level: retired teacher, associate’s degree
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, illiterate
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: hardware shop owner, no education
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 2, an army officer and a teacher, both have BS degree
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 6 years
Satisfied with her salon?: Yes
How often does she use her salon? Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon:

ID26

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 27 years, whole life
Age: 27
Occupation: court clerk
Education level: high school, taking online university classes
Duration of marriage: 1 year
Duration of residence at current home: 1 year
Does she have a separate salon and living room? no
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father’s occupation and education level: shop owner, high school
Husband’s occupation and education level: police officer, BS degree
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: retired worker, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level:
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 1 year
Satisfied with her salon?:
How often does she use her salon? Very often, everyday.
Photographs of her salon:

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 21 years
Age: 51
Occupation: retired teacher
Education level: associate degree
Duration of marriage: 34 years (separated for five years)
Duration of residence at current home: 5 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother's occupation and education level: farmer, literate, no education
Father’s occupation and education level: farmer, literate, no education
Husband’s occupation and education level: government employee, clerk, high school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: farmer, literate, no education
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: farmer, literate, no education
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 3; an associate prof. with PhD; a dentist; and a teacher with BS degree. Only one of them lives in the residence
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 5 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Rarely, only for entertaining guests.
Photographs of her salon:

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 48 years, whole life
Age: 48
Occupation: retired government employee, tax clerk
Education level: BS degree
Duration of marriage: 26 years
Duration of residence at current home: 26 years
Does she have a separate salon and living room? no
Mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father’s occupation and education level: bank clerk, elementary school
Husband’s occupation and education level: mechanic, high school
Husband’s mother’s occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband’s father’s occupation and education level: self employed, middle school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2; both university students; they live in the residence during the holidays
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 2 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Very often, everyday.

Photographs of her salon:

ID29
How long have you lived in Erbaa?: Whole life except from 1979-1991 when she worked in various location in the country and when she lived in Erbaa only during the summers.
Age: 53
Occupation: retired teacher
Education level: associate degree
Duration of marriage: 32 years
Duration of residence at current home: 10 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother's occupation and education level: tailor, elementary school
Father's occupation and education level: tailor, elementary school
Husband's occupation and education level: retired teacher
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: farmer, illiterate
Husband's father's occupation and education level: farmer, illiterate
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2; both with BS degrees, a teacher and a store administrator
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 28 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Rarely.
Photographs of her salon:

ID30

How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 42 years, whole life. Lives in Ankara during the school year and lives in Erbaa during the summers for the last four years.
Age: 42
Occupation: housewife
Education level: BS degree
Duration of marriage: 23 years
Duration of residence at current home: 8 years
Does she have separate salon and living room? yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father's occupation & education level: retired government employee, elementary school
Husband's occupation & education level: businessman, factory & hotel owner, high school
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: does not know
Husband's father's occupation and education level: self employed, does not know
Number of children, their occupation, & education level: 3; aged 16, 17, & 22; all live in the residence
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 7 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon? Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon:
How long have you lived in Erbaa?: 50 years, whole life
Age: 50
Occupation: government employee
Education level: high school
Duration of marriage: 25 years
Duration of residence at current home: 3 years
Does she have separate salon and living room?: yes
Mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Father's occupation and education level: shop owner, elementary school
Husband's occupation and education level: retired teacher, high school
Husband's mother's occupation and education level: housewife, elementary school
Husband's father's occupation and education level: retired factory clerk, elementary school
Number of children, their occupation, and education level: 2; both university students and stay in the residence during the holidays and summers.
How long has she been using the current salon seating set? 25 years
Satisfied with her salon?: yes
How often does she use her salon?: Occasionally.
Photographs of her salon: