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Working Life In Post-Industrial Transformation Process And Its Reflections On Urban Space

*Post – Endüstriyel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Çalışma Yaşamı
ve Kentsel Mekâna Yansımaları*

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Özet:

Bu çalışmada 18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren değişen üretim – tüketim ilişkileri bağlamında toplumsal yapıda tanık olunan dönüşümler incelenmiştir. Bu incelemenin amacı, ekonomik düzlemde tanık olunan dönüşümlerin; insan, çalışma yaşamı, toplumsal değerler ve kentsel mekân arasındaki ilişkilere olan etkilerini analiz etmektir. Bu çerçevede çalışmada ilk olarak; endüstri devriminin çalışma yaşamına etkileri ve kentsel yapıya yansımalarını analiz edilecektir. Daha sonra ise, 20. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde toplumsal yapının tüm düzlemlerini etkileyen post – endüstriyel süreçlerin; endüstri toplumundan farklı olarak toplumsal yapıda ortaya çıkardığı dönüşümlerin çalışma yaşantısına etkileri ve kentsel mekâna yansımalarının neler olduğu irdelenecektir. Çalışmanın bu bölümünde ele alınacak anahtar kavramlar, “boş zaman”, “esnek çalışma” “tüketim”, “hedonizm” ve “alışveriş merkezleri” şeklindedir. Bu anahtar niteliğindeki kavramlardan yola çıkılarak toplumsal yapıda, post –endüstriyel dönüşüm sürecinin izleri takip edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Boş zaman, esnek çalışma, tüketim, hedonizm, kent mekanı

Abstract:

In this study, transformations that are experienced in social structure in the context of production-consumption relationship that has changed after the second half of 18th century are observed. The purpose of this study is to analyze the effect of transformations that were witnessed in economical plane on people, working life, social values and urban space. In this frame, first of all; the effects of industrial revolution on working life and its reflections on urban structure will be analyzed. Then, the effects of transformations of post-industrial processes that influence all the planes of social structure in the last quarter of 20th century on working life in social structure that reveals different from industrial society and its reflections on urban space will be discussed. Key concepts that will be addressed in this section of the study are; “free time”, “flexible working”, “consumption”, “hedonism” and “shopping centers”. Moving towards these key concepts; traces of post-industrial transformation process on social structure will be followed

Keywords: Free Time, Flexible Working, Consumption, Hedonism, Urban Space

INTRODUCTION

Industrial revolution which is experienced in 18th. century, changed notably economical plane, relationship of people, their life style, working life, socio-cultural life, the organization style of urban structure radically in social structure. Main components that describe industrial revolution are; division of labor, specialization, standardization, mass production, urbanization, rationalization, bureaucratization, modernization and immediate family. After World War II; economical system that is based on mass production has gone through crisis due to economical growth and capital stock. Dynamic structure of the capital could serve solution that would overcome excessive accumulation problem it has been experiencing. Since 1970's; system of industrial society that is monotonic, standard, not regarding individual differences and based on mass production has gone through restructuring primarily in economical plane and then on all the planes from socio-cultural life to spatial structure. This period of restructuring is called post – industrial era.

The new stage that capital has reached in post-industrial transformation process is in an intense relationship with urban space. Since capital is regarded as a tool that would maximize the profitability of space, the space is described and organized again depending on the needs, requirements and varying conditions of economy. As a result of this process; urban space turns into a consumption object under determination of economical rationality by getting away from all the authenticities that forms it and is reconstructed as the living space of hedonistic individuals that would serve for the maintenance of capital.

1. INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION

Though it is not possible to give a firm date about the beginning of industrialization process¹, the effects of industrial life style

have become prominent in daily life parallel to the transformation that is experienced in technology from the second half of 18th century.

With the industrialization, production has begun to be carried out in big factories and enterprises for a big market. With the developments experienced in transportation and communication technologies, by accelerating, industrial transformation process have brought radical transformations on all the planes of social structure till economy, politics, spatial structure and socio-cultural life.

Together with industrialization process, a social structure in which division of labor, specialization, standardization, urbanization, secularization, rationalization, bureaucratization, capital accumulation, modernization, assimilation, technological development, formal relations of skilled labor force, social differentiation, individualism and the dominance of immediate family increased has emerged (Bozkurt, 2005: 19).

1.1. Industrial Revolution and Its Reflections on Work Life

When the basis of industrial revolution is considered in the sense of "working" concept, Weber's "Ascetic Puritan Values" hypothesis takes an important place. In Ascetic thought that forms the basis of Weber's theory, what is expressed continuously is continuous and hard "work"; work, in this sense, is an ascetic tool that has always been accepted. Puritanism is an important protection tool against all the assaults that would tempt people in daily life. Even towards religious doubts; the receipt of "work in your job with all your strength" is given. "Work" is the aim of life written by God for himself. Faithful Christians who know this makes use of that opportunity by adapting this call of God (Weber, 1976: 162). One serves God not with free time spent with pleasure but by only working; therefore wasting time is

1 While scientist such as Tonybee and Rastow mark the beginning of Industrial Revolution in 18th. century, according to Nef; the beginning of Industrial Revolution dates back to 16th. century.

the first and worst among all of the sins. The time during which one can perform his own profession is very short and valuable. In this system of thought; waste of time, bloviating, luxury, excessive sleeping for health are the issues that must absolutely be objected morally in social life. Because time is considerably valuable and each hour that is wasted are stolen from working in the name of God (Weber, 2002: 122).

With the ascetic thought, limitation of consumption and saving and capital excessiveness in the pursuit of profit have emerged. Moral hindrances that were set against the consumption of what is earned enabled the capital that is accumulated to be used with the aim of new investments (Weber, 2002: 134). This has opened the path for industrial revolution.

The concept of working has earned a central importance in social structure parallel to industrialization process. In pre-industrial societies; working is a process carried out for livelihood, there is no element such as "social unity" and it was stuck in "private space". Performing working in public sphere is the product of modern era (Weber, 2002: 122). And with the settlement of industrial society structure, importance of labor force and working discipline have become concrete.

With industrial revolution, working life has been reconstructed. In this period, by way of using time and labor force efficiently; it is aimed to produce much with less labor force in less time. In the process of reaching this purpose; three main paradigmatic constructions that forms the structure of working life come to the fore; Weber's "Ideal Type Bureaucracy Theory", Taylor's "Principles of Scientific Management", fordist model that enables mass production.

The basis of Weber's "Ideal Type Bureaucracy Theory" is formed by an organization style that would respond to the complex structure of industrializing societies and the needs of large-scaled enterprises. According to this; as far bureaucracy gets away from

being humane as perfect it improves; as much as love, hate, all the inestimable personal, irrational and sensational elements are removed from formal works, as close bureaucracy reaches to its main quality (from Weber, Zencirkiran, 2005: 176). Moreover performing bureaucracy with estimable rules and in a standard way brings rationality in all the working processes, which is important in the development of industrial society structure.

At the beginning of industrialization process; Taylor has observed the difficulty of performing each process of production together with different craftsman in the period before mechanization and observed loss of time; and combined all the processes in one machine with mechanization. As a result of this; a compulsory continuity is attained among all the working processes. Enabling this continuity, the concept of "division of labor" gains importance. Division of labor enables the using of working time more efficiently and disciplined and cheapens labor force. Taylor elaborated on a scientific method in the frame of organization of production process (Vural, 2005). In order to enable scientific method it is needed to:

1. Transform the individual judgment of the worker with science,
2. Develop workers by choosing them scientifically rather than they developing themselves in random areas.
3. Bring management in association with workers.

Depending on these pre-conditions; there are three principles Taylor have suggested for this management system: Simplification of production process, Dehumanization of production process, planning of each pace of production process (Vural, 2005: 37). Therefore it is enabled to monitor and standardize each process of workers cronometrically.

Fordist model which paved the way for mass production is based on the application of Taylor's principle of scientific management on production processes. Taylorism mentions the organization of labor before

machine; fordism mentions the reorganization of machine system in factory system together with labor (Belek, 1999: 60). Ford tended from production on-order to mass production in automobile factory. The characteristic of Fordist production process is "assembly line". Although workers plan all the work in details in Taylorism, in order for the worker to finish a job and pass on the other, his moving through machine during delivering the work to other worker causes loss of energy and time. Ford aims to decrease these losses by combining this process on an assembly line. Therefore, division of labor and rationalization of technology in labor process is increased and efficiency of labor force and continuity of work is enabled (Vural, 2005).

There is an important difference between Fordism and the approaches of Weber and Taylor. Apart from the rules that determines production process and working life, Fordism is also effective in determining social structure and formation of new daily life. With fordism; factory has become the center of industrial society. Factory has determined the operation in all the planes of social life from education institutions to family, working hours to free time etc. "Shift working system was applied in order to continue production on factories. Working hours depended on time; keeping up with the time has been gaining importance in all the areas of life including education system (Zincirkiran, 2005: 19)." With fordism workers have had the salary of five dollars in return for working eight hours a day and have gained enough income to buy products that are mass produced and had free time. Therefore; parallel to mass production mass production has emerged.

1.2. Industrial Revolution and Its Reflections on Urban Space

Industrial society is an urban society and urban values have come to the fore. From the first stage of industrialization; organization of working life and social life taking urban space as center accelerated the process

of moving from a structure in which primary relations are dominant in agrarian society, pressure of groups and community relationship play important role; to a structure in which rules of law, regulations and urban values which enable thousands of people live in the same environment in urbans have emerged. In this process values specific to urban life such as living together, respect towards dissimilarities, taking notice of time have begun to emerge (Zencirkiran, 2005: 16).

It is seen that as a result of industrialization, urban space have been reshaped in the frame of the principles of capitalism. Tendency towards enhancing the fluidity of capital and increasing its accumulation have brought new spatial regulations, old spaces have continuously get in to a cycle of transformation. Quantitative values of space coming forth after transforming in relation with the requirements of capitalist economy, its bonds getting loose with the place and geography it is located show itself as a concept of space unique to modern times. The structure of spatial discontinuity are shaped by capital; capital has been making new regulations and descriptions that would increase its own profitability by using this feature of space (Karakurt, 2006: 130).

With industrialization, production that is carried out in 18th century with mechanical production devices in little workshops depending on the principles of craftsmanship has left its place to the production that depends on division of labor and with machines working on a source of energy and carried out in factories. This transformation which is experienced in the organization of production has brought the need for labor force; and as a result of this it caused a rapid immigration from rural areas to urban areas.

The concept of regulating urban space which has turned into a chaotic place with the immigration from rural to urban, eliminating the bad parts, and reshaping the cities has a basic importance in the second half

of 19th century and first half of 20th century. This period was "a period when houses and cities were clearly thought as 'machines in which one can live' (Harvey, 1999: 46)."

In the apprehension of modern city planning; monotonousness, homogeneity and attachment to principles is dependent in the regulation of cities. City is separated as working areas, settlement areas, public areas etc. Modern architectural philosophy is in the search for perfectness, neatness, acuteness and incontradiction in the scope of ideal city concept. These ideal cities are the discourses of belief that the regulation of physical environment would transform social life in a revolutionary way (Fishmann, 2002: 109)." In the cities that has widened fast with industrial revolution; regulations that reflect functionality of the market and social hierarchy would be formed in one hand, in the other great constructions that have public function such as roads, bridges, operas, schools, libraries, business centers, factories, train stations etc. would be built (Saylan, 2002: 77).

Apart from the organization method of urban space in industrial period; important transformations have been experienced in daily life as well. The concept of free time which has emerged as the supplementary of working in working life has begun to be described again as a time interval which would serve to the aim of consumption and entertainment in order to consume the goods that were produced as a result of mass production. In 1860's Paris was reconstructed as a city of boulevards after being replanned by Hausmann. Afterall Boulevards are the places where not only soldiers monitor the possible rebels among poor people but also the places where "flaneurs" wander around, show their clothes and watch display windows. Theatres, pavilions, sport centers and cinemas, entertainment centers and shops following these have improved in order to fulfill the social and psychological demands of people living in metropol (Bocock, 1997: 25). In this period the most important free

time activity was focused on consumption in order to serve current economical structure. With the consumption gaining importance in economical structure, "passages" have emerged in the 19th century. With the endless exhibition hall it presents, glamorous images and abusive delusions; these places are lands of fantasies and is "fantasmagoria" as the saying of Baudelaire (Baudelaire, 2003: 35). The number of department stores in which new marketing strategies are developed and applied have increased following passages in urban place. Department stores have brought new perception to the places of consumption both in the sense of marketing strategies and the application of these marketing strategies by using place organization. These are based upon three new views on marketing strategies: 1. Increasing the sales volume by keeping profit per piece low. 2. Stability in the prices of goods and its clear indication. 3. Giving people the opportunity to wander around without feeling obliged to buy something (Sennett, 1996: 188). In this way it is made possible for the consumer want a product which had drawn her/his attention while wandering (Williams, 1991: 67).

2. POST-INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION

Fordist system which forms the basis of industrial society structure has taken severe criticism with the effect of economical, social and political changes that were experienced especially after World War II. As a reaction to the strictness of Fordism, systems that were based on flexibility in the sense of labor market, production, and consumption forms have begun to be discussed after 1970's. System of industrial society that is monotonic, standard, not regarding individual differences and based on mass production has gone through restructuring primarily in economical plane and then on all the planes from socio-cultural life to spatial structure.

This social structure which has been observed since the second half of 20th century

is described through concepts such as "post – industrial society²", "post-civilization society³", "individual services society⁴", "post-capitalism society⁵" and "information society⁶" by the scientists. In this study the concept of "post- industrialization" which is the conceptualization of Bell is to be used.

In post-industrial society parallel to the fast development process in technology, technology emerges as an indispensable component of social structure. Technological improvements which is based on computers especially have become to arise in a dazzling speed and become out of date in the same speed. In this period information has central importance. The element which has determined the improved force distribution among nations has begun to be the distribution of information and the speed to reach the information.

Elements which determine the main characteristics of this social structure which is also called as post-industrial can be summarized below as such (Table 1);

2.1. Effects on Work Life of Post – Industrial Frame

In the context of searching for solution to the economical crisis that is experienced from the second half of 1970's onward; structural transformations such as the emergence of new technologies, organization of production in new ways, split of production process, differentiation of consumer groups have been observed (Aslanoglu, 1998: 106).

Structural transformations experienced have been effective in working life as well. In the post-industrial period, organization/enterprises had to apply a suitable personnel policy apart from being structured in the sense of technical basis. In this period; enterprises' continue their existence, increase their profit depend on the employ-

ment of equipped / qualified personnel. Afetrall there is no place for the obedient and passive worker of Fordist structure who fulfills only what is wanted of him and who is degraded to the level of compatible component of the organization. New working life is based on the employment of active individuals who are ready for the new rivalry conditions and risk, who can improve his knowledge and skills, accommodate himself to the changing conditions (Ilhan, 2007: 286). What is wanted compared to the earlier periods is the profile of "worker" who has more skills, is more educated, and able to take responsibilities and work autonomously (Ritzer, 1998: 220 – 221). In other words, in the post-industrial transformation process, it is not enough for a worker to fulfill any production stage in the division of labor process; worker must be equipped with multiple skills in order to be able to fulfill the requirements of changing production conditions. The suitable type of technology which makes the worker be used multilaterally is the usage of computers. With the development of computers; it is possible to produce every kind of material with less people and less error. However, increasing the capacity of workers' working multilaterally has brought new monitoring problems with it. Due to the development of computer and otomation technologies in this period, rather than the monitor of worker by operator and interfering manually to the production process, the monitor of labor force in digital space is made possible with video cameras and nominal otomation systems (Belek, 1999: 69).

In this environment, what is needed is not less-qualified labor force that would enable specific division of labor in Taylorim and Fordism, but highly qualified labor force. Therefore, the process of restructuring has begun in labor force market; flexible working regime has been developed in order to

2 Daniel Bell's description

3 Kenneth Boulding's description

4 Paul Holmes's description

5 Ralf Dahrendorf's description

6 Masuda's description

Table 1

Comparison of Between Industrial and Post- Industrial Frame According as Swyngedown

Industrial Frame	Post-Industrial Frame
<i>Production Process</i>	
Mass production of homogenous goods	Small packet production
Be uniform and to standardize	Flexible and small packet production of different product diversity
Big goods stocks	No stock work
Long founding process, wrong pieces, stock crisis, loss of production	Reduction of compensatory damages, decline of labor force permeability
Guidance by resources	Guidance by demand
<i>Work</i>	
Single employment	Multiple employment
Payment according as wage level	Personal payment (Detailed bounty system)
High level specialization in works	Removal of classification plan
No on the tall job training	On the tall job training
Vertical job organization	More horizontal job organization
No experience as learning	On the job training
No security	High – level employment guarantee for core labor force. Bad labor conditions and no employment guarantee for temporary workers
<i>Spatial</i>	
Functional spatial specialization (centralization)	Spatial aggregation
Spatial division	Spatial integration
Homogenization of regional labor force market	Differentitation of labor force market
<i>State</i>	
Arrangement	Deregülasyon
Rigidity	Flexibility
Collective bargaining	Division / customization, bargain of local or company framework
Socialization of welfare	To privatize of collective requirements and socail security
Centralization	Decentralization; competition of between regions and cities
“Subvention” state/ city	“Enterprising” state / city
Specified regional politics on state level	“Related to Space” regional politics
<i>Ideology</i>	
Mass consumption of Durable consumer goods	Individualizm consumption: yuppi culture
Modernizm	Postmodernizm
Holistical / Structural reform	Specificity /Harmony
Socialization	Individualizm /watching society

Source: Harvey, 1997: 202–205

enable supply-demand balance between qualified labor force and less-qualified labor force. In this process, there is transformation from continuous employment to half-time, temporary or subcontractor employment. As a result of this, a concept called “core labor

force” has emerged. This concept describes the workers “that works full-time, has continuous status and has central importance for the long-term future of institution”. Apart from this, there is a group called “surrounding labor force”. This group of workers

composes of "full-time personnels that have the quality of jobs such as bureau works, secretary, routine works and less-qualified physical works". The common tendency in current labor force market is to decrease the number of "core" workers and depend on "immediate" labor force that would be employed fast and would be fired in the same fastness when not needed (Harvey, 1997: 171 – 174). Increase of importance given to the quality of labor force brought the importance of concepts such as rivalry, individual entrepreneurship and "individual".

In the post-industrial transformation process; with the effect of technology, working life is organized including the house in its frame. The perception of flexible working has turned house into a functional space of profitable activities through developed informatics technology. While cyber space turns into a place that would embrace every kind of economical activities, specific restrictive features of physical world have become invalid. In the current world where the distance is no important and the concept of time has dramatically changed; economies that operate twenty-four hours and do not regard physical distance as a restriction have come to dominate world. Naturally; this situation totally changes the configuration and organization of working space (Karakurt Tosun, 2009). According to this, thanks to developed information and communication technologies, there is no need to go to office in order to fulfill a work. "We are now in a period in which an individual can fulfill every kind of his needs such as meetings, shopping and commercial activities and his job without going to office from his home or office; due to the possibilities of technology (Ceyhun ve Çalayan, 1997)." Specific works have begun to be carried out in any place where a computer and internet is available. This situation has brought new working styles such as tele-working and home-office into discussion. In this way houses widen the influence area of new capitalism by being a part of capitalist relations pattern. Working in home in this sense, come at the

top of operational tools that was discovered by new economical system. Working in home is the effective way of capitalism to cost labor cheap without undertaking any social security cost by moving towards disorganized labor. Although this working approach asserts that it has widened the employment volume by including woman labor; in fact it causes woman labor/family to be exploited, and causes the unemployment to increase since it prefers disorganized and cheap labor. Moreover, the pressure of disunionization, avoidness from labor security on workers which is caused by working at home results from general inefficiency in economy.

2.2. Change in Economic Frame: From Production to Consumption

At the beginning of the most important elements that differentiate post-industrial period from industrial period; there comes the existence of sectoral structure in which the service sector is dominant rather than production which is based on manufacture and "information" emerging as the main element that effects the transformations in social structure depending on the development of information-communication technologies.

In the post-industrial period, with the development of service sector, making use of free time and new services towards entertainment areas have been progressing as the most important economical sectors (Yazıcı, 1999). In this period, the transformation which free time has experienced has also influenced the manipulation process of economical structure. In the Table 2; meanings that the concept of free time has included in different periods are shown.

In the industrial capitalist stage; free time is regarded as the supplementary element of working and is like a right given by the capitalists to workers in the aim of increasing the productivity of workers. Feeling need of worker, who is ready for working biologically and physically in order to reproduce capitalist working regulation, caused this

Table 2

Concepts of Work and Leisure Time in Different Periods

Periods	Work	Leisure Time
Archaic Greece Culture	Negaitve	Meditation
Rome Culture	Necessary for purpose fulfilment	Relax for more to hard work
Early Christianity	Necessary for human necessities	Leisure time: meditation of God
Puritanism	Tool for to be elected in heaven to number among	Leisure time: Laziness

Source: Bozkurt, 2005

time to serve in removing the tiresome that is caused by working and results with decrease in efficiency (Özcan, 2007: 42).

The meaning of free time in post-industrial period had experienced a transformation parallel to consumption problem. Parallel to industrialization process, economical growth becoming the main tool for all societies turned consumption as the main actor of economical system. "Increasing the production for growth is the primary condition. However increase in production making sense depends on the consumption of goods that are produced. The absence of consumption that fulfills the mass production that is performed expresses the crisis of system (Kahvecioğlu, 2004: 17)" Therefore economical growth in the sense of current economy has become dependent on the capacity of consumers rather than the consuming power of the nation (Bauman, 1999: 132).

An economical system that is based on consumption aims at increasing consumption continuously by creating artificial needs in order to enable its own continuity and make economical growth possible. In order to enable growth; more goods must be produced and more goods must be consumed. Therefore the style of consumption must evolve suitable to the changing conditions (Gorz, 1993: 23). In order to increase consumption; the concept of "free time" has begun to be regarded as the time of consumption. While the importance of consumption and free time increases day by day, need for spaces in which the association of

these two elements would be enabled and which forms the selling point of goods which are mass produced have begun to be felt. The most important places that would fulfill these needs are the shopping centers. This process which has begun with the foundation of big stores in 19th century extends to the foundation of large-scale shopping centers in 21th century.

2.3. *New Values in Post- Industrial Society: Fall of Puritan Values and Uptrend of Habromania*

Puritan work and living ethics have an important place in the emergence of capitalism. However capitalism has to grow and widen due to its nature; therefore more production must be carried out in the system and goods – services must rapidly be consumed. For this puritan values must be eroded. In the post-industrial period, in order to perform mass production and consumption hedonist way of living is boosted. Rather than puritan values such as working and achieving, norms such as how to spend, how to entertain have begun to be preferred (Bozkurt, 2000: 35). In this way, there is a slow tendency from "working society" towards "free time society" and the puritan who is the symbol of earthly resident guided by mind has transformed into a consumer with all the details to its contrary which is guided by the idleness principle (Bozkurt, 2000: 36; Bauman, 1996: 229). "Within the new working ethics; free time has gained great value. People do not prefer giving up spating time for themselves in order to gain more (Boz-

kurt, 2005a: 83; Furnham, 1990: 222)."

Hedonism is a philosophical view which accepts that the meaning of life is found in pleasure. Hedonism is the ethics theory which describes the thing that gives pleasure or prevents from suffering as "good" and the thing which causes suffering as "bad". Epicurus who is the founder of Hedonism defines pleasure and delight together with peace. He suggests for the happiness of people; to make use of pleasures moderately, in other words to attach natural and compulsory pleasures and avoid natural and dispensable pleasures (Altunışık ve Çallı, 2004: 235). This approach of Hedonism which is defined by Epicurus has changed according to the evolution of capitalism. With the rise of consumption concept in 21th century, rather than natural and compulsory pleasures, people are stimulated continuously by advertisements and various indicators in order to take pleasure which are in fact not needed.

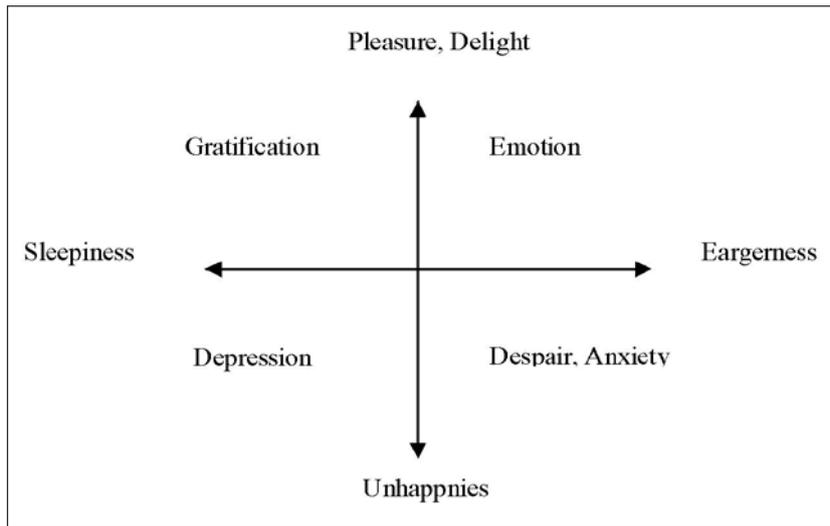
future and excessive consumption (Bozkurt, 2000: 123)." With the consumption settling in the centre of economical structure and the concept of free time being considered together with hedonism, a new individual style which is called as "free time consumer" (Lunt ve Livingstone, 1992, Arğin, 1992: 2003) or "hedonist consumer" (Baudrillard, 2004, Bauman, 1997, 1999, Campbell, 1987, Urry, 1999). In this way while the economical consumer image of traditional period leaves its place to the image of modern hedonist consumer, consumption structure based on need leaves its place to a consumption approach based on hedonism (Penpece, 2009: 103).

Hedonist individuals who are directed by consumption activities must always be in the mood of continuous excitement and enthusiasm, therefore they had to be exposed to tempting new desires and experience the feelings of displeasure and disbelief (Bauman, 1999: 42). In this way the person

heads for consumption with the aim of gaining prestige and status, trying to show himself to others with the goods he has bought and be appreciated by others. The purpose of consumption is never the satisfaction of biological needs only. In every society consumption has the function of showing the social status of consumer as well (Kıray, 2005: 18). None of the classes in society can give up luxurious

consumption. As a result of this, desire for rank or status can even compete with the most important elements of physical needs. In this situation the consumption of goods and the way of spending free time serve as the determinants of power and respect (Veb-

Figure 1: Habromania Meaning Model (Russell, 1980: 1161)



Since the second half of 20th century, the most important activity in which hedonism came into being apparently has been consumption. "One of the most important elements of Hedonist new working culture is the tendency of being remote from caring for

len, 1994: 45–60). In this process, the goods which the individual needs are widened with the pressure of advertisements that combines sexuality, status, self-confidence and other humane motives (Kahvecioğlu, 2004: 41). Advertisement presents the design of a consumer “I” who is satisfied with the identity of consumer, who performs himself with the actions and is coherent with his own image (Lefebvre, 1998: 93). Since every good that is consumed becomes unsatisfactory the moment it is consumed, people had to move towards consuming again and more. In this vicious circle, modern consumers who are stuck in an endless struggling express themselves with this expression: I am nothing without the things I own and consume (Fromm, 1997: 62).

As a result; the economical conjuncture which move from production to consumption in post-industrial period; causes the hedonist individual to get strength and hedonist life style which has become apparent in social structure cause increase in consumption.

2.4. Effects on Urban Space of Post – Industrial Frame

Post-industrial transformation process has also influenced urban space perception and therefore the embodiment of urban space. Different from the immigration to urban places in industrial revolution, urban places have begun allowing more immigration due to improvements in communication – transportation technologies compared to previous periods. In this sense, the world has begun getting urbanized rapidly. Urban places whose control has begun to be difficult due to the immigrations they allow, the perception of forming places has also changed. Therefore perception of emending the fast growing urban places monotypically and organizing them has been dying out. And a design process which compulsorily disintegrates places in urban design area parallel to its own theoretical data, and forms a collage by integrating different architectural styles with eclectic usages has begun (Zen-

gel, 2002: 92). Since it is impossible to dominate all the areas of metropol, urban design simply aims to be sensible towards regional traditions, local historians, particular desires, needs and fantasies; so architectural styles that are expert and even designed according to the gusto of client are created; these may vary from private, personal places to traditional monuments and the festivity of display (Harvey, 1999: 85).” In this period, when the principle of “including history” combines with the principle of “all-inclusive”, a repertoire of forms and symbols which is adopted from history has begun to be exhibited in urban macroform (Kubat, 1996:123).

Today, which is named as post-industrial period, with the transformations in communication – transportation technologies; time and place perception has transformed in urban places and with the effect of mentioned transformation the clarity of urban places’ limits are lost (Karakurt, 2002: 16). With the developed technology there is no need to live in urban places anymore. Automobiles have enabled the formation of great personal residence areas by supporting urban spreading in a vast geography and also enabled them being connected to various functional areas with high-way roads (Castells, 1997: 40). Therefore the process of suburbanization has accelerated. Suburbanization formations which are regarded as the reflection of spatial differentiation on urban places, dates back to the period of World War II. in America and Europe.

Suburbans which are regarded as a living area to prevent from the chaos of urbans had a fast development line with the population increase in urban places, generally by the middle and upper class. In this process with the concept of free time gaining importance, residence becoming an indicator of status with the effect of consumption society’s paradigm and feeling of mistrust which is given by the concept of “unknown” due to immigrations in urban places, the value of “houses” given by the people has increased.

Although it has a long past, "house" has become the focus point of urban culture with the connotations such as comfort, easiness, respect by being identified with hedonism (Öncü, 1999: 29). Therefore suburbanization processes which has become apparent in urban macroform with the increasing residence investments, caused disintegration which happened in urban living places to emerge in social life as well.

Another concept which emerged in the city of 21th. century is the formation of metropolitan areas according to the ideological structure of consumption. This formation is generally observed in urban public places. With the transformations in economical structure, urban public places emerge in different forms: shopping centers, thematic parks, supermarkets, fast-food restaurants etc. In the social structure in which the values and perceptions of consumption society is dominant, "exposition aimed at consumption and exposition of consumption, consumption aimed at indicators and indicators of consumption" (Lefebvre, 1998: 114) have begun to show itself in many urban places in cities. Huge shopping centers which are the representatives of consumption places in modern sense which has begun with big stores in 19th. century, consumption cathedrals (Ritzer, 2001), dream worlds in which the consumption is democratized (Williams, 1991), postmodern places in which the symbol and indicator values of products are presented (Baudrillard, 2004:18-20, Parker, 2003, Shields, 1992b), theatre stages of daily life and aestheticizing elements (Featherstone, 1991, 2001, 2005, Shields, 1992a: 6-7), are called as neon cages (Langman, 1992:72) in which the consumer is locked up.

Shopping centers have become the new public places of 21th. century. Here the people not only purchase a specific product, but also go to cinema, attend exhibits, eat meals, do sports, entertain and even stay at the hotel of some shopping centers. Shortly shopping centers which have developed in time have become the places where people can spend their free time apart from con-

sumption (Karakurt Tosun, 2007). Due to the flexible working hours at shopping centers, giving up the classical shopping habits related with daytime, consumption has spread through long hours. Moreover these places are rather safer than streets, boulevards and parks; you can get in these places after you are checked by security. In order for the people to wander around and consume confidently, all the actors from the product to the consumer have great importance (Tokyay, 2005:286). With different functions connecting to each other in shopping centers, compaction of time-place created in a designed visuality; entertainment and shopping activities have become a cycle and shopping becoming entertaining results with the increase of consumption (Akbalık, 2004: 45). Baudrillard defines the usage of shopping centers as a line of factory or mounting. Shopping centers are just like great mounting factories. The only difference; rather than the working order which has to be formed in consecutive stages rationally, clients who wander here randomly goes from one department to another here. Different from the working order again; people can come here, choose and purchase whenever they want (Baudrillard, 2003). Forming analogy between factories which are the production places of modern times and shopping centers which are the consumption places of post-modern times is the most important indicator which shows that economical structure has tended from production to consumption symbolically and that this perception has become concrete in urban structure.

As a result, in the post-industrial structure which is shaped in the scope of consumption; the importance of the place of country and urban place is pushed backward; and places become similar to each other (Hacısalıhoğlu 2000: 89). In this way the cities of consumption society have begun to dedifferentiate. Dedifferentiation brings non-identification together with itself." Public spheres of unidentified cities are evacuated; there are air-ports, shopping centres, hotels, park which are similar to each other,

vertical scales are determined by sky-scrapers, past has begun to be eroded and elements coming from the past have been transformed into a touristic good in the logic of consumption society (Çini 2002: 24).” As long as the hedonist individuals of post-industrial period sustain their living in comfortable, luxurious and safe place, rather than being irritated by this dedifferentiation-disidentification process, they get pleasure to live in these places.

RESULT

Due to industrialization process, there was a radical transformation in all the planes of social structure since the second half of 18th century. The main aim of the Industrial Revolution is to enable the system that increase the productivity of capital and to spread them in social structure. The main purpose of this period is to carry out much production with less time, less labor force by using time and power of labor efficiently.

In the scope of searching solution for over accumulation since 1970's; structural transformations such as the organization of product in new ways, differentiation of production process, differentiation of consumer groups have emerged. In this period which is called as post-industrial period, emphasis in economical system has shifted from production to consumption. With the increase of importance given to consumption as a way of escaping from the crisis of capital; working life, interpersonal relations, formation of urban places and conception of free time have been reconstructed.

Puritanist living style which is effective in the emergence of capitalist system has left its place to hedonist life style which enables mass production and consumption in post-industrial period. Therefore norms which are based on consuming and entertaining are preferred over puritan values which are based on working and achieving. With the hedonist life style rooting through social structure via advertisement, people have begun to identify themselves in the scope of products they consume. Working life has

begun to be constructed in a way that enables people to spend more and the value given to free time has increased.

As a result it can be said that in the scope of increasing the profitability of capital and the aim of growing more, while the economical system processes with the logic of working and producing since the 18th century, in the 20th century, in order for the production process not to be blocked, individuals are continuously being stimulated in the way of expressing themselves by consuming and having more free time that enables this consumption. Sustainability of social structure which based on consumption and personal desires and how long this way of living would last are still disputable issues.

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