

Products that Age with Us: Carpet in the Turkish Household

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Abstract

This paper explores carpet, an intergenerational product, that lives and ages with its users. An ethnographic study was conducted through participant observation and in-depth interviews to understand why carpet matters in Turkish homes. Exploring material culture of carpet unfolds its meaning as a signifier of culture in second-order semiological systems. Study finds carpet has socializing traits, is the maker of home, needs maintenance and can be an artwork or object. Examining a product's importance and emotional durability can enable new understandings of product meaning and sustainability.

Keywords: product design, user-centred design, material culture, emotional durability, sustainability

1. Introduction

Products have life cycles, just like human beings. They are born, they live and die. Although they might reincarnate by being recycled or repurposed, they spend most of their life being used. Understanding a product's life, especially when they are being used, can tell us much more about the people that utilize them and the setting they belong to. Investigating the products that age with its users have the potential to identify why a product "matters" (Miller, 1998), what it "signifies" (Barthes, 1977), and the traits that make them "emotionally durable" (Chapman, 2005).

Artefacts carry representations of cultures they belong to which include the way the society lives and the things they appreciate. Objects indicate the identities of their users, and they are messages of the society that made them (Bilgin, 1986). Thus, things become signifiers of their users and culture, therefore it is valuable to learn from them through dialog to understand why users keep them around. In this article, the carpet is studied as a product that "matters" to the Turkish household. To understand an object's significance, one needs to understand its users and context. Using ethnographic methods is valuable as it enables researchers to learn about the "thing" with "people" and "setting".

Thus, this study explores carpets through participant observation (Spradley, 1980) and in-depth interviews to understand the meanings of carpets in the Turkish setting, and the traits of a long-living product. Understanding carpet's material culture with the second order semiological system of Roland Barthes (1977) helps to unfold what it signifies in its context. Firstly, carpet is a social product that signifies its owner. Secondly, carpet is the maker of Turkish homes that has the concepts of labour and maintenance attached to it.

2. Theoretical Framework

This paper relies on the material culture perspective of Miller (1998) as he describes "why some things matter". The study focuses on the meaning of an everyday object that is also a cultural artefact, an element of Turkish material culture. As Denzin (1992) states,

"The production, distribution, consumption, and exchange of cultural objects involves issues of ideology and the political economy (semiosis) of signs, including how these signs are worded or photographed, where they circulate, who buys them, and so forth. The systems of discourse that shape the meanings brought to any cultural object must also be examined."

Carpet is a utilitarian product that makes spaces insulated, but also, when handmade, becomes a piece of art that one can use. It has a long history entangled with its culture; therefore, it is more than a functional object. Carpet is described as a portion of dense knitted material made of wool and so forth., and it conceals the floor of a room or stairs (Oxford Dictionary, 2021). Other than being a functional textile that works as a heat and sound insulation, the artefact carpet has an embedded place in Turkish culture, thus it is a carrier of layered meanings. These meanings include being intergenerational and long-living, being a signifier of its user and socializing meanings, and being the maker of home.

In a world of consumption, it becomes more apparent that a turn towards sustainability is necessary and we could benefit from "emotionally durable" products (Chapman, 2005). Chapman (2005) asserts that protract engagement, meaning sustaining users' motivation to hold on to things they use, could result in a more empathetic long-term engagement between users and products. Carpets are products that are used for many years, and they are intergenerational (evladiyelik) in Turkish culture. Examining the products that create this bond, could lead us towards criteria for designing them.

Woodward (2001) asserts that pasts of things are important in the construction of individual and societal changes. Therefore, one should follow things that are embedded in frameworks of time and memory (Tilley 2001), and their "cultural biographies" (Kopytoff, 1986) to uncover meanings, relations, and contexts. As Appadurai (1986) argues:

"Even if our own approach to things is conditioned necessarily by the view that things have no meanings apart from those that human transactions, attributions, and motivations endow them with, the anthropological problem is that this formal truth does not illuminate the concrete, historical circulation of things. For that we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories." (p.5)

Appadurai (1986) further claims that by studying these trajectories, one can explain human operations that animate things, and "it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context."

Carpets can be in various styles but for the most part, handmade carpets tend to be in a more traditional design. Industrial carpets on the other hand could be in modern, ethnic, traditional, or many other styles. With the effect of modernity, the production of industrial carpets increased. More people were able to buy carpets as they became cheaper than handmade ones. In Turkey, carpets are also a part of the bridal chest and are seen as an important item to buy for home. Especially handmade carpets, that belong to older generations, could be given to younger generations as presents and reminiscence gifts. Since it has layered meanings regarding its users and effects of modernity, it is possible to examine this product with different approaches. This paper explores user narratives and focuses on carpet's material culture and its meanings in second order semiological systems (Barthes, 1977).

3. Fieldwork

Methods used for the research are a preliminary survey, semi-structured interviews and general observations that come from living in this culture since both researchers come from a Turkish background. In the perspective of this paper, to unpack the meanings behind the artefact of carpet, a set of questions were prepared around the subjects: meanings of carpet, carpet and other objects, carpet and space; carpet and user. In the context of this research, the survey was not a method for data collection but rather a method for stimulation. The survey worked in three ways: it showed the researchers if the participants were willing to participate in research on this topic, it invited the participants to think and talk about the topic, it provided a template for the interview and it stimulated more questions for the researchers. During the interviews, it was revealed that some of the participants kept thinking about their

answers after the survey and discussed their answers during the interviews. The survey is also used as a question generator during the semi-structured interviews. Asking the reasoning and thought process of their answers led to new questions and as a result, many insights. During the interviews all the survey questions (Table 2) and answers were discussed and there were a few additional questions asked during the interview (Table 3).

Table 1. Participant information

	Age	Gender	Occupation	Socio-economic Status
Evrim	42	female	high school teacher (philosophy)	middle class
Esra	25	female	industrial designer, master's student	middle class
Aslı	25	female	interior architect	middle class
Gülfem	53	female	high school teacher (literature and grammar)	middle class
Onur	30	male	hotel receptionist, geological engineer	middle class
Sema	52	female	retired high school teacher (English language)	middle class
Fatma	51	female	high school teacher (literature and grammar)	middle class
Ezgi	27	female	user experience designer	middle class

Table 2. Survey questions

Category	Questions
meanings of carpet	If carpet was an emotion, it would be
	Carpet can be (modern, stylish, boring)
carpet and other objects	Which product carpet reminds you of? Why?
	What do/did you clean your carpet with?
carpet and space	Do you use carpet in your house? How many and in where?
	Why do you or do you not use carpets in your house?
	What kind of carpets do you use in your house?
	A house with carpet is
	A house without carpet is
	A public space with carpet is
carpet and user	Please choose the sentences that describe your views.
	"A carpet is a must in a house."
	"A house with a carpet is overwhelming to me."
	"Carpets are not necessary in a house."
	"I look close to carpets and wonder what its motifs mean."
	"A house without a carpet is unassuming."
	"When I hear the word "carpet", a specific carpet pops up in my head."
	"When I enter a house without carpets, I would wonder if the floor were cold or not."
	"Carpets are artworks."
	"When I see a handwoven carpet, I would wonder how much time and labour take in place."
	To me, carpet is nothing more than a house object.
	When the word "carpet" is spoken about, I have a specific memory that pops up in my mind.
	The production method of a carpet, the fact that if it is handmade or not, is important to me.

Table 3. Interview questions

Category	Questions
carpet and space	Imagine yourself entering a house without any carpets. How does that make you feel? What would you do?
	In your house, what does a carpet go through in a year? Does is get clean, get stored away etc.?
carpet and user	Imagine yourself in a different world and civilization. These beings do not have any carpets. They did not need it and it was never produced there. And imagine that you will be living there from now on. What would you feel? Would you miss using carpets? What would you do? Would you adapt and live without carpets or maybe try making them? Would you use a handmade carpet in your home?

Learning from people is the main approach of ethnographic inquiry since it aims to describe a culture. Therefore, rather than gathering data about people, the objective is to learn from people, to be taught by them (Spradley, 1979) and to achieve a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). To be able to learn from people, participants from different ages, and backgrounds were selected, and semi-structured interviews were conducted. During this research, eight people were selected and interviewed for between forty to ninety minutes. Interviews were conducted on the online video chat platform: Zoom, due to the pandemic conditions. The research includes participant observation, casual conversations with some of the participants, and visual data collected from the participants showing their carpets in use as they can be studied visually with the documentation of data (Pink, 2007). As researchers our backgrounds as born and raised citizens of Turkey and general observations affected the research as well. Collected interview data was analysed thematically by using Roland Barthes' second order semiological system.

4. Findings

To grasp users' understanding of carpet, the study included questions about carpet's relation to other products and its maintenance. During the interview, participants shared various methods of cleaning and grooming the carpet. Evrim explains old and new carpet cleaning methods as follows:

"...we had a garden in my childhood home... and there was a well... people would wash carpets there ... especially during summer ... they would also wipe carpets with soap and water ... and they would use tokaç (carpet beater) to beat (dövmek) the carpet to remove dust ... nowadays we have shampoos for carpets and carpet cleaning machines, we did not have those when I was a child."

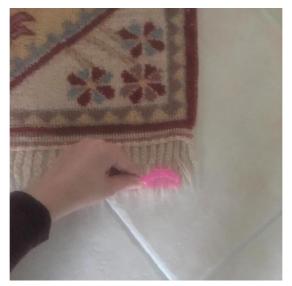


Figure 1. Combing of handmade carpet's fringes

To maintain the carpet's look acts like "grooming" might be necessary. Esra claims handmade carpets have their own "treatments" in their house. As she shows in the photo (Figure 1) her mother combs the fringes of their handmade carpet with Esra's old toy comb. She explains:

"Carpet cleaners make the cleaning treatments but my mom combs the fringes of the carpet with my old toy doll comb... I think it is quite funny. ... Also we have a carpet in the living room, where we eat dinner on the table and watch tv. The carpet's fringes stay under the chair when we eat. Since my mother is very afraid that something will happen to the fringes ... when we eat, we gently lift the carpet before sitting down. ... This is the routine of every evening."

She also mentions that carpet covers a big part of her life and talks about her mother's cleaning practices regarding the handmade carpets:

"Since I was a child my mom would clean the carpet with special mixtures she makes when something spills on it."

Esra described the carpets in their house as they are important for her mom.

"My mom treasures her carpets... When I was younger I would say "Why do you spend so much money on them? You do not do what I want but spend money on these?". So she had to explain to me why handwoven carpets are important. ... And we care about our carpets in the house."

In contrast with Esra, Evrim's house does not have any carpet, her house becomes, both literally and figuratively, "cold". Evrim does not like carpets since she enjoys a "minimal" and "spacious" home, but she still has carpets in every room of her house. Due to living in an apartment flat, she says, having carpets prevents sounds from going to the floor below her. Another physical advantage that comes with it is that it adds physical warmth. But she also brings up that she wants her loved ones, guests to feel comfortable when they visit her house. Since her visitors have a habit of having carpets in their house and they have a demand for carpets, she feels the need to have carpets. She states, without such concerns, she would not use any carpet at her house. She narrates:

"For example my mom says my house does not feel like home and looks like a hotel or it does not look settled and it looks like I will move out tomorrow without any carpet... my mom also says that her feet gets cold, even with slippers on... people say my house without carpets feel cold, literally, and has a cold atmosphere as well"



Figure 2. One of the handwoven carpets of Esra

Carpet's relationship to space was an important focus on interviews. Esra and her parents have carpets in almost every room of their apartment (Figure 2). She feels very strongly that a house is not a home

without a carpet. She tells, there is not a home without a carpet, and it seems cold in the material. She complains about the fact that without a carpet, there is no way to sit on the ground. She mentions, especially in crowded meetings with friends, not having a carpet in the house makes it "not cared for/ sloppy". She claims that

"Carpet carries the crowd and crowded meetings."

She says that carpet makes the ground a place to sit, therefore it allows a house to have more people over by offering more places to sit.

Moreover, Aslı talks about eating habits performed on the ground:

"If you would eat snacks in the evening you would grab a plate and would sit on the carpet rather than the couch, you would lay a tablecloth and eat there."

When asked: what would carpet be as a feeling, Aslı also mentioned that it carpet acts as a layer in between the hard surface that is the ground and the human body, relating to its capability to make a ground a sitting area.

"If carpet was a feeling it would be..." question opened carpet's meanings in a deeper way. In the case of Sema:

"... the object that gives the emotion of 'trust' is the curtain. ... the curtain separates home from the outside world, therefore it makes you feel safe. ... But carpet is something different. ... I found which emotion the carpet represents: 'compassion'. ... Because it gives feminine energy to the home."

She argues that a house with only curtains, not with any carpet, has masculine energy and the curtains protect the home from the outside world, as it hides the habitant. She explains the carpet as:

"the masculine energy makes a house but the feminine energy makes the house home".

While finding a connection between the weavers' gender and the weaved product's energy, which she claims:

"At the end of the day the ones who weave tapestry and carpet are the Anatolian women."

She asserts that this background of carpet makes them a product of compassion that has feminine energy, therefore is a maker of "home".

Relationship between carpet and its user was one of the areas of question, and Gülfem speaks of carpet in this sense, as it is something she chooses to put in her home. As she explains, "the home carries your mark". The things she intentionally chooses and puts into her house make it a home. She and her choices make the house "her home". When asked about the reasons for their carpet ownership in the house, Gülfem mentioned that she does not like the "emptiness" in the house:

"By gallery atmosphere I mean without curtains or carpets. ... It does not feel like home."

Participants had different views on the existence and absence of carpet in homes. According to Ezgi, not having a carpet could be a "design decision" to make it in a different style. But if a resident with a "shabby" home, does not have any carpets, that decision would not seem like an intentional one. She says the absence of the carpet represents "not being in that stage of life", as she further mentioned "did not spend time on the carpet" as she narrates. Similarly, Onur (30 years) claims: someone whose carpet is in good condition, can "maintain" that carpet since they, the owner, spend time and/or money to take care of that product.

In terms of aesthetics regarding the carpet in house, Sema says that she is the one that curates her own house and juxtaposes those different types of carpets, as a representation of her aesthetic views:

"... this is the way that I reflect myself into the house ... and what I want to see in my house are eclectic things and the one that combines them is me, even though they are unrelated."

Gülfem explains why she chooses to have carpets in her home as:

"House is yours, it carries your mark, ... therefore I would not want my home to me empty... I do not want to be empty."

Fatma, illustrates how her carpets should reflect her aesthetic taste and lifestyle:

"My previous carpets... they were beautiful but did not reflect my aesthetic taste. That's why I changed them. ... (the carpets I own now) reflect me. ... When I look at here (my house) the things are simple, not overwhelming. ... My aesthetic perception is based on these. I wear clothes that I am comfortable in. I prefer more comfortable shoes. So the items in my house will reflect that. There will be plain things, not tiring on the eyes, not confusing, and not overwhelming. Carpets should be this way too."

Gülfem, Sema and Fatma revealed that carpets were a sign of wealth during their childhoods. Even though time has changed, and mass production has become more available than ever, the fact that handwoven carpets are expensive and an indicator of wealth remains unchanged. Gülfem narrates that buying a carpet was not something everyone can afford when she was growing up. She says:

"Economy is also effective here. Houses in small villages have tapestry and houses of ağa (wealthy landowners in various cities of Turkey) would have carpets all over their house. ... In hot places, in summer, carpets are not used. I think this is related to both the economy and climate. ... Carpets used to be a sign of wealth. It was a very serious economic indicator. Rich people can buy hand-woven carpets.

5. Material Culture of Carpet in the Turkish Home

After conducting ethnographic research key attributes that make carpet a product that "matters" (Miller, 1998) and an emotionally durable product (Chapman, 2005) were identified. These characteristics of the carpet make it a long-living product in Turkish households. Firstly, carpet signifies its user and has socializing traits that make it important in its societal context since it differentiates and integrates its users with their community. Carpet, especially handmade carpets, is a product of labour. And regardless of its production method, carpet needs care and maintenance to keep it "alive". One needs to clean, groom, and take care of it so it can be used for longer These caring and maintaining processes can build emotional connection between carpet and its user.

Products need maintenance, some need regular care and others are only cared for when they are broken. Carpet is a product that is very durable and long-living, at the same time it needs regular maintenance. This maintenance could be keeping them clean, repairing them, making them "look right" by combing their fringes, and more.

Carpets are physically durable and long-living, also when users spend time and energy maintaining their carpets, an emotional bond forms between user and product. Keeping a carpet clean, making it look right is "taking care of the carpet" and after taking care of things people feel more connected to them. This is one of the reasons that carpet ages with its users.

Handmade carpets are products of labour since they are made with hard and delicate work. These carpets also tell stories about where they are from (which city they were made in), when they were made, and who made them (weavers reflect their stories on them by using certain colours and symbols). These attributes make handmade carpets a form of "artwork". By being a product of labour and a representation of stories, handmade carpets are valued highly and referred to as "art" and "jewel".

6. Second Order: Carpet as a Signifier of Culture

Signification, as Barthes claims, is a second order meaning that is made by the meaning that is, so to speak, seized by the myth (Figure 4). Furthermore, Barthes, (1977) describes his notions of language-object and metalanguage:

"It can be seen that in myth there are two semiological systems, one of which is staggered in relation to the other: a linguistic system the language (or the modes of representation which are assimilated to it), which I shall call the language-object,

because it is the language which myth gets hold of in order to build its own system; and myth itself, which I shall call metalanguage, because it is a second language, in which one speaks about the first." (p. 113)

In the context of Barthes' metalanguage, the myth of the Turkish carpet is defined. The sign of carpet becomes a signifier in the second order semiological systems of Barthes (1977) and its signified becomes the cultural attributes that comes with the carpet. The meanings embedded in the people's minds are hidden cultural attributions to the carpet. Therefore, the signified (form) and signified (concept) creates a myth of the Turkish carpet, which can be explained through its two main signifieds: home and self.

6.1. Maker of Home

Carpet is a consistent signifier of home in Turkish culture. It makes a house "home", therefore for many Turkish people, if a house does not have any carpet, it is not a home. Carpet gives "warmth" and therefore makes a house "home". It also makes the ground a place to sit comfortably, and it has connotations to their weavers: Anatolian women. Carpet's significations of "warmth" and "home" could be found in Evrim's narration. According to her visitors, when Evrim's house does not have any carpet, her house becomes, both literally and figuratively, "cold". Evrim does not like carpets since she enjoys a "minimal" and "spacious" home, but she still has carpets in every room of her house since her guests are not happy when her home does not have a carpet. In this case, the absence of carpet in a house becomes a signifier for coldness, a house is not like a home, a hotel room, and a nonresidency. Thus, the absence of the carpet becomes a signifier of coldness, being unsettled in that home, and a hotel room rather than a "home". Signification of "carpet is the maker of home" is supported by both the existence and the absence of the carpet. Carpets create a sitting area on the ground. Since sitting and eating on the ground is a home activity in Turkish culture, this quality of carpet makes it a signifier of home. To give an illustration, one may investigate commentaries of Esra and Aslı. According to them the carpet "carries the crowd", "makes ground a sitting area" and carpet "acts as a layer in between the hard surface that is the ground and the human body".

6.2. Signifier of Self

According to the findings of this research, carpet is a signifier of self. The "self" is the owner and user of the carpet. Carpet becomes a signifier of the user's character, aesthetic views, financial status, and stage in life. Carpet becomes a signifier of self since the owner of the home is the "maker of home", therefore the house must represent the owner to become a "home". According to the participants home must "carry your mark". The choice of not having a carpet in the home is also a decision made by the owner and it still represents them. Before commenting on a house without carpets, Ezgi says that "it depends on whose house it is". Existence of the carpets in a house is a signifier of the owner of that carpet, their "self". Ezgi suggest that a house without carpet could be "shabby" or someone who made the "design decision" of not having carpets. On the other hand, the absence of the carpet becomes a signifier for "not being in that stage of life", as she further mentioned "did not spend time on the carpet" as she narrates. Also, Onur argues: a carpet in good condition, means that the owner can "maintain" that carpet since they, the owner, spend time and/or money to take care of that product. Now, carpet becomes a signifier of self in terms of financial status and the time spent on the house. Carpet is a signifier for the user's aesthetic values. Many narratives show carpet represents its users' aesthetic perspective. Sema says her carpets reflect her "eclectic" style, Fatma, claims that her carpets should be compatible with her style: "When I look at here (my house) the things are simple, not overwhelming. ... My aesthetic perception is based on these. I wear clothes that I am comfortable in.". Moreover, carpet signifies the user's financial status since "Carpets used to be a sign of wealth." And it was a main piece of the bridal chest. Since handmade carpets are more expensive Gülfem narrates: "It was a very serious economic indicator. Rich people can buy hand-woven carpets. On the other hand, as in everything else, I think that economic differences are effective in carpet culture.".

Although the existence of the carpet or the aesthetics of it reveal insights about the owner of that carpet, there are instances in which the carpet does not signify the self of the owner. In the case of

Evrim, a high school teacher, she can't apply her own decisions to her own home, due to her guests demanding carpets at her home. Even though she does not like carpets and it worsens her allergies she feels the need to have them due to reasons outside of herself. In this case, the carpet, the signifier of "self", can be seen as a signifier of demands of other people: neighbours, guests, loved ones.

Domestic objects can facilitate differentiation and/or integration when used in the household. Csikszentmihalyi and Halton (1981) claims:

"... objects ... by either embodying hidden psychic processes or exhibiting the power or prestige of their owner, things can serve as means of individual differentiation; that is, the development of a person's traits that make him or her stand out from others. However, the cultivation of individuality serves a larger goal of integration because the intention to differentiate oneself from others still needs other people to give it meaning ... even differentiation has a purpose within and for integrated life of the community" (p. 33)

Carpets can create this kind of differentiation and/or integration. In Evrim's case, she doesn't like having carpets in the house. She has carpets in her home because her visitors want to feel at "home" and without carpet, they do not think the house is a warm home. In this instance, Evrim's carpets "integrate" her with her visitors (Csikszentmihalyi and Halton, 1981). However, for Sema, she likes having carpets in her home (both handmade and industrial carpets) and she believes that her carpets represent her in an "eclectic way". For this reason, she says "I should be the one who brings them together". Her carpets are chosen by her and they represent her. Thus, her carpets "differentiate" her from other people (Csikszentmihalyi and Halton, 1981). According to the findings of the research, someone's carpets become her/his representation. This representation could carry meanings such as owner's character, financial situation, aesthetic view and stage in life. As a result, owning a carpet integrates and differentiates the owners with their social circle by being a representation of their "self" (Csikszentmihalyi and Halton, 1981).

7. Potential Design Implications

User narratives are valuable since they enlighten designers and researchers about the unseen part of the design process: the use. Designer designs a product; it reaches the users and designer does not always see the product's relationship with its user. User narratives give the users a voice and researchers can analyse them to provide design suggestions. In the scope of this research, user narratives were examined to give design recommendations. Although we acknowledge that these narratives are limited, and research about this topic should be conducted from multiple perspectives to achieve a better understanding of long living products. This paper aims to open this conversation from the user's perspective, and it suggests material culture approach could be valuable to understand long living and long used products. Results of this research suggest three main design considerations for making long living and emotionally durable products: designing products that can be maintained, designing products that relate to its space and create emotional bonds.

Products require labour, including its maintenance such as repairing and cleaning. Examples of this is: repairing our electronics or furniture, polishing our shoes, charging our phones and more. In the example of carpet, taking care of this product strengthens the bond between the product and user. Findings suggest that products should be designed in a way that users can maintained or taken care of so an emotional user-product bond can occur. Designing products that relate to its space is an important factor for prolonging its use, since products may become representations of their space. In the case of carpet, it is the maker of home. When an artefact defines and represents a space it may live longer within its space with its user. Designers should design products that relate to its space in a meaningful way so products may form bonds with their users.

Product - user relationship and potential emotional bonds should be considered when designing long living products. This study suggests that carpets represent their users in terms of the user's character, aesthetic views, financial status, stage in life, and ability to maintain the carpet. Signification of the user could "differentiate" or "integrate" them (Csikszentmihalyi & Halton, 1981). Designers should consider how the design will be representing its users and how it could differentiate or integrate them.

8. Conclusion

This study was limited since the participants were from similar socio-economic status, therefore conducting this research with participants from different socio-economic backgrounds could yield different results. Secondly, this study was conducted on a cultural product in Turkey. Although design suggestions from this study could be applied to any designed product, studied artefact, carpet, is intertwined with its culture. Thus, this study can be done with non-cultural products to see what kind of design suggestions it may give. Thirdly, backgrounds of the researchers could be seen as a limitation, and the study may gain different insights by conducting it with a diverse group of researchers.

This paper explores the artefact of carpet, which lives and ages with us, its users, in the Turkish setting. Material culture approaches things as signifiers of its owners and culture and ethnographic methods help to unfold these signifiers. An ethnographic study aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of how people make sense of carpet and how this sense-making process relates to the emotional durability and lifespan of this product. Results of this research suggest that the carpet is a product that requires labour to make and maintain. This helps to strengthen the emotional bond between the product and its user. Moreover, carpet signifies its space (in this case home) and its user (aesthetic values, financial status, stage in life). Finally, this product plays a role in differentiation and integration of its user within their social context. In conclusion, carpet is a product that matters to its users, and therefore it is a long-living product of the Turkish household.

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