

**AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROFESSIONAL
IDEOLOGY OF TURKISH INDUSTRIAL
DESIGNERS: EXISTENTIAL ANTAGONISMS**

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**TÜRK ENDÜSTRİYEL TASARIMCILARININ MESLEK
İDEOLOJİSİNE GİRİŞ: VAROLUŞSAL ÇELİŞKİLER**

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	: Art+Decor
ADI	: American Designers Institute
AFM	: American Furniture Mart
AID	: American Agency for International Development
AMA	: American Management Association
ASID	: American Society of Industrial Designers
CAD	: Computer Aided Design
EB	: Episodic Belief
EM	: Episodic Memory
ETD	: Industrial Designers Association
ETMK	: Endüstriyel Tasarımcılar Meslek Kuruluşu
ETMK-P	: Endüstriyel Tasarımcılar Meslek Kuruluşu Platformu
EU	: European Union
GM	: General Motors
ICA	: International Cooperation Administration
ID	: Industrial Design
IDEA	: Industrial Design Education Association
IDI	: Industrial Designers Institute
IDGSA	: İstanbul State Academy of Fine Arts
IDSA	: Industrial Designers Society of America
IIT	: Illinois Institute of Technology
ISI	: Import Substituting Industrialization
ITU	: Istanbul Technical University
LTM	: Long Term Memory
MA	: Master of Arts
METU	: Middle East Technical University
MSGSU	: Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University
MSU	: Mimar Sinan University
MU	: Marmara University
NFDC	: National Furniture Designers' Council
NIC	: Newly Industrialized Countries
PR	: Public Relations
R&D	: Research and Development
SID	: Society of Industrial Designers
SME	: Small or Middle Sized Enterprise
SPI	: Spontaneous Philosophy of Scientists
STM	: Short Term Memory
TIDEB	: Teknoloji İzleme ve Değerlendirme Başkanlığı
TTGV	: Türkiye Teknoloji Geliştirme Vakfı
TUBITAK	: Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu
US	: United States
USA	: United States of America
WPA	: Works Progress Administration

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ÖZET

Türkiye’de genç sayılabilecek ve hala yeterince tanınmayan endüstriyel tasarım mesleği, mesleki kimliğini oluşturma ve varoluş koşullarını yeniden tanımlama sürecindedir. Bu evrimsel süreç sırasında, Türkiye’nin özel koşullarından kaynaklanan pek çok çatışma ve çelişkinin ortaya çıkması kaçınılmazdır. Geçmişte de pek çok böylesi temel çelişkil ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu yeni kazanılmış kimliğin en önemli öğelerinden bir tanesi meslek ideolojisidir. Bu çalışmanın amacı endüstriyel tasarımın Türkiye’de oluşturduğu ya da oluşturmaya çalıştığı meslek ideolojisini anlamayı sağlayacak kavramsal bir çerçeveye oluşturmaktadır. Bu amaçla 14 Türk endüstriyel tasarımcıyla yapılan derinlikli görüşmeler meslek sosyolojisi ve Van Dijk’in çok disiplinli ideoloji kuramından alınan teorik çerçevenin yardımıyla analiz edilmiştir.

Türkiye’de 35 yıldan fazla bir geçmişi olmasına rağmen , endüstriyel tasarım hem halk hem de endüstri açısından çok fazla tanınmayan bir disiplindir. Son on yıl içerisinde bu alanda önemli gelişmeler olmasına rağmen, “tasarlamak” fiilinin Türkiye bağlamında kültürel, sosyal ve ekonomik anlamını deşifre etmeye yönelik akademik çalışmaların sayısı oldukça azdır. “Türkiye’de endüstriyel tasarım nedir?” ve “Türkiye’de endüstriyel tasarımcı bir profesyonel olarak kimdir?” gibi soruların cevapları medyanın “sığ” cevapları ve popüler merakı arasında kaybolmaktadır.

Böylesi bir çalışma, “Türk tasarımcısı” kavramını sadece basit bir meslek adamı değil aynı zamanda içinde bulunduğu toplumsal pratiklerin içerisinde sosyal bir varlık olarak resmederek, bu muğlak kavramı daha iyi anlamamıza büyük ölçüde katkıda bulunacaktır.

SUMMARY

Industrial design, which is a fairly young and largely unknown profession in Turkey, is slowly establishing its identity and redefining its conditions of existence. During this “evolution” process, various contradictions and antagonisms emerge resulting from the unique characteristics of Turkey.

One of the key elements that form the core of this newly found identity is professional ideology. Thus, this study endeavours to establish a conceptual framework to make an open-ended introduction to the current condition of professional ideology of industrial designers in Turkey. To this end 14 in-depth interviews that were conducted with industrial designers has been analyzed under the light of the insights obtained from professions sociology and Van Dijk’s multidisciplinary approach to ideology.

Although industrial design has a history of more than 35 years in Turkey, it is still a largely unknown profession both to the public and the industry. Although there have been drastic developments in the field of ID within last 10 years, the number of academic attempts to analyze the social, economical and cultural meaning of “designing” in Turkish context is very limited. The answers of the questions such as “what is industrial design in Turkey” and “who are industrial designers as professionals” are still obscured behind a curtain of mystification that is mostly created by the superficial “curiosity” of the popular media.

Apart from economic and educational development, such a study will contribute greatly to our understanding of the concept of “Turkish Designer”, not merely as a professional but also as a “social” entity within the complex network of socio-cognitive and discursive relations.

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter's purpose is to introduce the research subject and the aims of the study. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the study.

1.1 Introduction and Aims of the Study

The professional development process that industrial design (ID) has been undergoing since its introduction into the Turkish context has been partially illustrated by some scholars (Asatekin, 1979; Er, 1993; Küçükerman and Erhan, 1994; Er, 1998; Er and Bayazıt, 1999; Er et al., 2003). However, these investigations are not sufficient to draw a complete picture as they only focus on the educational and/or economical aspects of this professional development process. What is missing from the scene is the analysis of the profession and its professionals as social entities within the network of complex social interactions they are embedded.

In many sociological studies that concentrates on the professions (Larson, 1977; Abbott, 1988; Macdonald, 1999; Freidson, 2001) professional groups are depicted as "interest groups" (Macdonald, 1999:30) who strive for "establishing and maintaining a privileged position" (Freidson, 2001:6) both in the social order and the labor market. Therefore, every professional group engages in various struggles with other stakeholders such as the state and the other professional and non-professional groups in the society.

In the light of this understanding, it can be asserted that each and every professional group establishes a system of norms, values and beliefs which is the "basis of their social representations" (Dijk, 1998:8). Such a constitutive system can be called an "ideology", or more specifically a "professional ideology", insofar as it serves the social and material interests of a certain professional group amidst the endless conflicts of the competitive social world of expertise. However, it must be noted that ideologies do also have various other social functions which will be exemplified in the second chapter of this study.

As a professional ideology reflects the basic interests of a professional group and sheds light onto the “collective mind” of those individuals, understanding a profession’s ideology is of crucial importance to be able to comprehend a profession as a “social creature”. Moreover, the level of complexity that a specific professional ideology has attained over the years can elucidate the course of professional development of that particular profession.

Ideologies, like many other social phenomena, are not static entities. Quite the contrary, ideologies undergo a constant transformation in which they evolve. Such an evolution is only possible by the collective and individual social acts of the group members while they acquire, articulate, exchange, produce/reproduce, define/redefine ideological patterns in various social settings. Although ideologies may not only be limited to discourse, most of the above mentioned processes occur by and within discourse. Thus, discourse is one of the most prominent elements for analyzing an ideology.

Given the dynamic character of ideologies and discourse, at first glance, it may seem pointless to make an attempt to analyze an ever-changing social entity. How can we analyze and formulate something if it is engaged in an eternal process of transformation? The answer is simple: The analysis of ideologies and discourse, provide static footholds against which the evolution process can be compared and theorized. Otherwise, we can dwell in post-modern chaos without any particular reference points that may establish a solid basis for scholarly investigation.

Within this framework, the purpose of this study is to make an introduction to the key concepts that form the locus of the professional ideology of Turkish Industrial Designers thorough a series of interviews and the analysis of other discursive sources.

Although industrial design has a history of more than 35 years in Turkey, it is still a largely unknown profession both to the public and the industry. Although there have been drastic developments in the field of ID within last 10 years, the number of academic attempts to analyze the social, economical and cultural meaning of “designing” in Turkish context is very limited. The answers of the questions such as “what is industrial design in Turkey” and “who are industrial designers as

professionals?” are still obscured behind a curtain of mystification that is mostly created by the superficial “curiosity” of the popular media.

This mystification and unconscious disinformation creates profound effects in the public perception of design profession. Moreover, this fuzziness regarding the definition of industrial design profession in Turkish context, is the source of prominent dissonances between the state, Turkish industry (or employers) and finally Turkish industrial designers.

In the light of this understanding, this study will hopefully pave the way to a more holistic comprehension of industrial design profession in Turkey, simultaneously establishing a foundation stone for such future studies.

1.2 Content of the Study

This study consists of the following chapters:

Chapter 1 (Introduction): A basic introduction clarifying the aims and the scope of the study. Also, this chapter includes a brief summary of the chapters in order to draw a perspective for the investigation.

Chapter 2 (Ideology: A Conceptual Framework): Second chapter explains the reasons why the author has chosen a specific conception of ideology among numerous definitions and theories. The chapter begins with a brief history of the term, continues with the author’s approach and concludes with the linkage of this approach with discourse.

Chapter 3 (Professional Development & Professional Ideology): The aim of the third chapter is to make an introduction to the concept of professional development and to decipher the connections that have been constituted between professional ideology and professionalism. To this end, first, a brief summary of the literature on professionalism will be given. Following this summary, some conceptions used in the relevant theories of professionalism will be further detailed and elucidated. As a conclusion to the chapter, the vague notion of “professional ideology” will be formulated in accordance with the relevant literature.

Chapter 4 (Industrial Design Profession): In this chapter a brief introduction to the emergence of design profession will be given. Then, a short summary of the history

of industrial design profession in Turkish context will be provided to establish a basis for the empirical study.

Chapter 5 (Research Methodology & Preliminary Study): Fourth chapter introduces the research methods used throughout the study. This chapter also states the aims of the study as well as introducing and describing the preliminary study and it's findings.

Chapter 6 (Research Findings): This chapter states the findings of the research under the related categories of the study.

Chapter 7 (Conclusion): In this chapter, after a brief overview of the research conclusions derived and insights obtained through the study will be discussed. The chapter concludes with any shortcomings of the study and the opportunities for future studies on the subject.

2. IDEOLOGY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this chapter is to explain why the author has chosen a specific conception of ideology among numerous definitions and theories. To this end, firstly, a brief history of the term will be given. Then, author's approach and its links with discourse will be discussed.

2.1 What is Ideology?

It will not be wrong to claim that ideology is one of the most controversial concepts in the whole history of social sciences and humanities. Although significant number of books and articles have been written on the subject, it is very difficult to find two different authors agree on the same definition of this “fuzzy” (Dijk, 1998:1) term. Eagleton (1996) explains this “fuzziness” in the following way:

“Nobody has yet come up with a single adequate definition of ideology, and this book will be no exception. This is not because workers in the field are remarkable for their low intelligence, but because the term ‘ideology’ has a whole range of *useful meanings*, not all of which are compatible with each other. To try to compress this wealth of meaning into a single comprehensive definition would thus be unhelpful even if it were possible. The word ‘ideology’, one might say, is a text, woven of a whole tissue of different conceptual strands; it is traced through by divergent histories, and it is probably more important to assess what is valuable or can be discarded in each of these lineages than to merge them forcibly into some Grand Global Theory” (Eagleton, 1996:1, emphasis added).

As Eagleton emphasizes, this conceptual “fuzziness” arises not because of a lack of definition. On the contrary, the abundance of meanings that have been attributed to “ideology” creates a useful theoretical apparatus which can be applied to a variety of situations. Hence, the real challenge of using ideology to explain social phenomena is not a problem of definition but a problem of choice and praxis. At this point, a brief list may be helpful to illustrate the diversity of meaning:

- 1) The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life.
- 2) A body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class.
- 3) Ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power.

- 4) False ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power.
- 5) Systematically distorted communication.
- 6) That which offers a position for the subject.
- 7) Forms of thought motivated by social interests.
- 8) Identity thinking.
- 9) Socially necessary illusion.
- 10) The conjuncture of discourse and power.
- 11) The medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world.
- 12) Action-oriented sets of beliefs.
- 13) The confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality.
- 14) Semiotic closure.
- 15) The indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure.
- 16) The process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality (Eagleton, 1996:1-2).

Apparently, many of these definitions are contradictory in nature. Nevertheless, such harsh contradictions do not render the concept of ideology insubstantial. Although many scholars have chosen to replace ideology with concepts such as discourse, practice, power- knowledge... etc. –especially after the influential work of Althusser on the subject matter- (Crossley, 2005:156), the theoretical richness that is inherent in its very texture makes ideology still a very instrumental notion.

2.1.1 Ideology: Two Streams of Thought

The notion of ideology can even be tracked back to Machiavelli (1469-1527). However, the first person to use the exact word was Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) (Crossley, 2005:147). His conceptualization was quite different from the contemporary theorizations of ideology. For Tracy, ideology was a “Newtonian” science of human thoughts and ideas, thus he used the term in a positive context. However, in a surprisingly short time interval, ideology became a negative concept that implied a system of false ideas that are taken for granted (Crossley, 2005:147). This negative perception of ideology established a basis for a group of approaches which Van Dijk (1998:1) classifies as “traditional”.

Although it can be traced back to Hegel, traditional approach is generally associated with Marx, Engels and their contemporary followers such as Lukacs, Gramsci and Althusser. There are, also, many non-Marxist theorists who favored this negative conceptualization of ideology, among whom Durkheim and Mannheim are the most famous figures (Eagleton, 1996:2; Van Dijk, 1998:2-3).

The main ideas that unite all these thinkers and scholars in a single stream of thought are the notions of true and false cognition, illusion, distortion and mystification. Based on these constitutive elements, traditional (or classical) approach asserts that ideologies are false beliefs which obscure real social situations and thus, serve to delude others. Furthermore, ideologies are generally created by ruling classes to reinforce their social status and domination over the other social groups by “distorting” the cognitive fabric of society (Van Dijk, 1998: 2). In this sense, ideologies are epistemological entities that define what is “real” and what is “unreal” in social life. Also, this pejorative ideation of ideology is epistemological in the sense that it contrasts ideology with knowledge (Balkin, 1998:122).

Nonetheless, it must be taken into consideration that it is impossible to penetrate the essence of classical theories in a few paragraphs. Yet, the above mentioned basic notions are sufficient to sketch a very broad perspective for the purposes of this introductory study.

The second approach, which has been sociological rather than being epistemological, is “concerned more with the function of ideas within social life than with their reality or unreality” (Eagleton, 1996:3). This group of theories does not take ideology as a negative phenomenon, quite the contrary; they seek to comprehend the role of ideologies in regulating the social actions of groups in contemporary societies. Here, ideologies are interfaces that bind individuals to specific social groups and those groups’ collective social interests. This less pejorative theorization of ideology will form a basis for the arguments that are articulated in the following parts of this study.

2.1.2 Neutral versus Pejorative Approaches to Ideology

The second half of 20th century has witnessed drastic developments regarding the theories of ideology. Quite differently from the above discussed pejorative conceptions, this second group of theories explained ideology as a neutral phenomenon which is an inseparable characteristic of human thought (Balkin,

1998:122). Within the framework of this understanding, ideology is a sociological term which depends on an individual's specific position in history, society and culture. Furthermore, neutral theories presuppose that every person has a set of ideologies of some sort and comprehension of the social world is closely related with ideologies serving as mental schemas. As the adjective "neutral" implies, ideology is not a distortion of truth or mystification (Balkin, 1998:122).

Balkin (1998:123-129) claims that each group of theories –pejorative or neutral-, has their own strong and weak points. For instance, as neutral theories are asserted to be "nonjudgmental", they seem to be more appropriate for an "objective" sociological research aiming to analyze people's different ways of conceptualizing and making sense of the social networks they live in. However, in the case of "true neutrality", it would be impossible to shed light on the different consequences that result from the inter-ideological struggles. Moreover, such a "non-biased" approach also prevents the analyst from uncovering various power relationships that are created by competing ideologies. On the other hand, pejorative theories enable researchers to understand why individuals continue to believe in and sustain an iniquitous, distorted social mechanisms relying on domination, repression and exploitation. Yet, pejorative conceptions also do have their own share of theoretical problems. One of the most significant of these shortcomings is the relative position of the analyst who is utilizing a pejorative theory of ideology: There is no guarantee that the analyst's own thoughts are not affected by some kind of ideology, which distorts his/her perception and analysis. This phenomenon is generally named as the problem of "self-reference" (Balkin, 1998:124).

Within this context, it can be observed that both pejorative and non-pejorative conceptualizations of ideology are not sufficient to grasp the social reality from a holistic viewpoint. What can bridge the gaps between the two approaches is a conception that Balkin (1998:226) refers to as an "ambivalent" theory. That is, an ambivalent theory should benefit from neutral and pejorative approaches simultaneously, as ideologies may contain both truth and falsity.

2.2 A Third Dimension: Ambivalent Socio-Cognitive Approaches to Ideology

As shown in the previous chapter, a holistic theory of ideology must encompass both the traditional (pejorative) and neutral approaches. Also, such a theory must establish

a solid formulation of the network of relations between individuals, social groups and social practices under the umbrella concept of ideology. Van Dijk (1998:5) indicates that a holistic theory of ideology should be founded upon the triangle of society, cognition and discourse. Since ideologies are generally expressed as “systems of ideas”, they are inevitably associated with the abstract domains of thought and beliefs, a domain which is called “cognition” by psychologists. Additionally, ideologies -also- have profound social implications, generally correlated with inter-group relations, group interests, power relationships, domination, opposition, conflicts and struggles which include discrete elements of social structure such as classes, groups, institutions and organizations. Finally, ideologies are mainly articulated and reproduced by language use or discourse. Some functions that are attributed to ideologies such as concealment, legitimation, persuasion or manipulation are bound to take place within discourse. Although discourse has a significant role, especially in the reproduction and expression of ideologies, articulation does not only occur within discourse (Van Dijk, 1998:5).

At this point of the argument, Stuart Hall’s definition may serve as a relevant anchor point:

“By ideology I mean the mental frameworks –the languages , the concepts , categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to makes sense of , figure out and render intelligible the way society works” (Hall, 1996:2).

Here, Hall successfully puts ideologies into the society, cognition and discourse triangle that has been formulated by Van Dijk (1998:5). However, what is missing from Hall’s definition is the regulatory function of ideologies in social practices. That is, ideologies do not only serve as semantic schemas to understand the social world but also they help individuals, as *group members* to determine their social practices/actions in various social contexts. With this in mind, Van Dijk’s (1998) definition gives some clues about what an ambivalent socio-cognitive theory of ideology may look like:

“To do this, I intend to develop a new notion of ideology that serves as the interface between social structure and social cognition. In that framework, ideologies may be very succinctly defined as the *basis of the social representations shared by the members of a group*. This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social

beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, *for them*, and to act accordingly” (Van Dijk, 1998:9).

Henceforth, the author will build his arguments on this definition of ideology, which will be elaborated and detailed in the following sections. Van Dijk’s theory has many advantages over its adversaries. Firstly, his theory combines the most fruitful aspects of pejorative and neutral theories in a theoretically sound fashion. Secondly, Van Dijk’s conception successfully establishes the links between the social and the cognitive, whereas most other theories only have partial explanations. Thirdly, this ambivalent formulation does not only deal with the functions of ideologies in society, but also provides some structural schemas that illuminate the “internal components” (Van Dijk, 1998:7) of an ideology. Lastly, but not least, Van Dijk not only stays at a level of abstraction, on the contrary, he develops a theoretical apparatus that enable the researcher to analyze the effects of ideologies in real , social situations.

2.3 Ideologies and Society: The First Corner of Van Dijk’s Triangle

Naturally –in parallel with the classical approaches to ideology-, a socio-cognitive theory of ideology deals with the functions of ideologies in society. Like language, ideologies are not only utilized in daily social practices by individuals, but also they serve as meta mental-schemas that form the “collective mind” of a specific group.

Although ideologies are abstract theoretical entities, the effects of ideologies can be observed in various social practices among social actors in multiple forms of interaction. One of the most apparent forms of social interaction is discourse. Therefore, as discourse has a special role in the expression and reproduction processes of ideologies, a more detailed conceptualization of discourse will be debated in the following sections of this study. On the other hand, ideologies may also be expressed in many non-discursive activities such as body postures, facial expressions... etc.

As mentioned before, ideologies are not only “abstract” mental entities. Naturally, ideologies themselves are not tangible entities which can be directly detected. However, the effects of most ideologies can be observed in daily social interactions of individuals. For instance, even in a conversation between a husband and a wife, which occurs during a lazy Sunday morning, effects of sexist ideologies may materialize in many forms.

Before moving any further, it would be right to examine the “social birth-place” of ideologies: groups.

2.3.1 Groups

As ideologies were defined as “socially shared beliefs” of *groups*, it is crucial to understand groups in a socio-cognitive theory of ideology. In this context, the notion of individual ideologies does not exist. Only, there are private opinions (Van Dijk, 1998:141).

According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2000:258), the key element that forms a group is the interaction between people. In this sense, two or more individuals that are “affected” by each other may form a group. For instance, when interaction is taken as the primary criterion, two people sitting on a park bench and looking at each other may be evaluated as a group. In this case, even in the lack of apparent communication, “awareness” is the key element for the group formation.

However, ephemeral groups such as people waiting for the same bus or passengers on the board of a same plane are not suitable for the formation of ideologies. Thus, what is needed is a more specific formulation. Van Dijk (2000:33) asserts that groupness may be characterized in the light of membership criteria, typical activities (professional groups), common goals, norms/values, inter-group relations and the definition of social resources for which different groups engage in struggles. In this framework, being a member of a group constitutes a very profound part of an individual’s social identity:

“We may conclude this discussion by assuming that there cannot be a clear and explicit boundary between social groups in the more specific sense and any other collective of people defined by one or more shared characteristics. Generally, however, I shall assume that a social group must be more or less permanent, more or less organized or institutionalized, and reproduced by recruiting members on the basis of identification on a specific, more or less permanent set of properties (like gender or income), shared activities and/or goals , norms and values, resources, and a specific position (often of competition or conflict) in relation to other social groups. Groups that satisfy most of these conditions will then be assumed to be most likely to develop shared ideologies that will serve as the basis for organization of the actions and cognitions of their members in such a way that the aims of the group are optimally realized” (Van Dijk, 1998:146).

Having set these criteria, professionals (journalists, doctors, architects, industrial designers), collectives of people that establish organizations and institutions (political parties, universities, corporate firms, NGOs), action groups (environmentalists, feminists, racists, anti-racists, anti-abortionists) or people belonging to greater socio-cultural entities (liberals, Christians, Muslims, conservatives, anarchists) are suitable examples of groups that may develop ideologies over time.

Groupness or the essence of being a group may also be formulated on the basis of common problems shared with others. These problems may have social, political or economical aspects or may involve specific conflicts between different groups. Since these kinds of common interests and social representations may only be developed in time, they “presuppose a common history of experiences, interaction and discourse” (Van Dijk, 1998:148). This definition excludes groups of people without common social representations, aims and problems. Van Dijk (1998) also notes that not only the social representations should be similar, but also group members should act similarly in coinciding social conditions for the formation of group ideologies. This simply means that, ideologies –as social representations- not only provide a common social perception for the members of a specific group. More profoundly, ideologies determine the course of the social deeds of individuals, giving them a set of instructions to follow in certain events.

Having clarified the notion of “groupness”, it may be right to pose questions about the network of relations between a group and its members. Are the perception and the image of a group ideology homogenous among group members? In the case of all members not having the same versions of the same ideology, does this phenomenon affect the theoretical soundness of the concept of ideology? For this set of questions, a comparison with language may form a basis of understanding. Like ideology, languages have very different usages in individual levels. That is, although governed by a basic normative set of rules (grammar), language users may have different applications in various social events. Yet, this situation does not diminish the coherency and structure of language as a meta-system. Similarly, ideologies may yield to different social actions under diverse social practices.

2.3.2 Elites, Dissidents and Ordinary Group Members

Although group members do share ideologies as a collective mental representation, it is hard to posit that social groups have homogeneous structures. As mentioned in the previous chapter, groups may have ideological dissidents or deviants (Van Dijk, 1998:147) that is some group members may possess different versions of the same ideology. In parallel with the metaphor of language that was used in the last paragraph of the previous section, ideology as a complete meta-structure can only be observed in an abstract-social level, which is the level of groups.

On the other hand, an ideology can only reproduce itself when most of the group members agree on the basic statements of that particular ideology. Furthermore, a core group, whose ideas are perceived to be more important than the other members, must exist (Van Dijk, 1998:149). Generally this core group, namely ideologues, consists of the respectable members of the group such as the leaders, elites or key individuals with important roles within the groups. These members also do teach the basic principles of the ideology to the new-comers. Although every member may teach or transfer something to the new members, the affect of ideologues will always be greater. Shortly, ideologues play a key role in the reproduction and expression processes of ideologies, since they do serve as anchor points for other members to adjust themselves in social situations and practices. In a sense, ideologues are the “inventors” and “guardians of ideologies” (Van Dijk, 1998:172).

Generally, ideologues have more detailed and structured ideological mental structures. Since those intellectuals or experts have access to a more diverse group of discursive sources and tools, they generally engage in ideological-communicative practices more often than ordinary group members. Furthermore, they are accustomed to engage in ideological struggles with rival ideologues, thus have a more articulate set of ideological arguments and counter arguments. These tasks have a vital importance, as ideologues generally act as leaders that guide the rest of the groups through a jungle of various social practices. Also, ideologues are more active in protecting their group’s goals, aims and socio-economic interests. Yet, Van Dijk (1998:173) states that the distinctions between ordinary group members and the elites are not always well defined. For instance, any follower of an environmentalist ideology may become quite expert on the line of argumentation that forms the basis of environmentalist discourse. In this context, ideologies are not always produced

only by ideological elites (leaders, intellectuals, academicians, experts...etc) but also with the contributions of “conscious” group members. Nonetheless, this situation may demonstrate certain variations between groups. For example, the arguments and key doctrines of religious ideologies are generally more closed to ordinary members compared to the followers of an anti-racist ideology.

Another important question that is posed by Van Dijk is about the development of ideologies: Are ideologies created in a top-down manner, that is, first articulated by elites such as writers, politicians, academicians, philosophers, influential activists... then disseminated to the other members, or are they sometimes formulated in a bottom-up manner? Van Dijk’s (1998:174-177) answer to that question is that both cases may be true, depending on the context. Although ideologies are generally “invented” by a small group of distinguished individuals, they may only become “true” ideologies when they are socially shared and sustained by every single member of a certain group: “In this respect, the development of ideologies is indeed a social, two-way process, in which top-down leadership and influence is closely tied to bottom-up influence, experience and action” (Van Dijk, 1998:175).

2.4 Ideologies and Cognition

The second corner of Van Dijk’s triangle is formed by the *cognitive* part of ideology. Although many scholars formulate ideologies in terms of shared belief systems and ideas (Aebischer, Deconchy & Lipiansky, 1992; Augoustinos, 1998; Farr & Moscovici, 1988) this *cognitive* character has been given much less attention compared to the social functions of ideologies. Yet, to have a lucid understanding of Van Dijk’s theory, vague terms such as attitudes, beliefs, opinions... etc must be elucidated first.

It has been emphasized several times that ideologies are not about personal opinions. Rather, they are socially shared basic beliefs of a social group which illuminate the basic interests of that group such as their identity, their relative position in the society, their aims, goals, their reproduction and their social environment that define their scarce social resources (Van Dijk, 2000; Van Dijk 1998).

2.4.1 Types of Beliefs

This section is a brief summary of Van Dijk's conceptions of beliefs and the main concepts he uses in the cognitive part of his theory (1998, 2000), which he mainly borrows from cognitive psychology. These theoretical cognitive entities are classified as "mental representations".

Episodic Memories: Episodic memory (EM) is the first type of memory that Van Dijk (2000, 1998) identifies. Episodic memory is the home of *episodic beliefs (EB)*. Those types of beliefs tend to be subjective, based on experience and related to the everyday personal experiences of a person. For instance, events such as our last dinner, the first time that we attend the school, the headlines of yesterday's newspaper are all located in EM. As EM is highly personal and subjective, it has a prominent role in the formation of the self. Furthermore, EM can be understood as a mental personal diary. Given the variety of our social daily encounters and experiences, most of the things that are stored in EM are doomed to be forgotten after some time has passed. As ideologies are social by definition, it is clear that they are not collected in EM. However, most of our personal beliefs are generally affected by ideologies in the human psyche.

Sociocultural Knowledge and Common Ground: Knowledge is a rather controversial concept that has been subjected to many arguments throughout the ages. Many different disciplines from social sciences and humanities had tried and have still been trying to understand the nature and structure of knowledge. Therefore, here it is impossible to summarize this vast body of studies. In Van Dijk's arguments (1998, 2000) knowledge is "what we think is true" (Van Dijk, 2000:13). This notion of *truthfulness* is always evaluated and verified against some criteria (scientific, cultural, experience based...etc). However, it must be noted that knowledge is always relative. Our knowledge may be just prejudices, fanatic beliefs or mere opinions for others depending on different groups, cultures and societies.

On the other hand, individuals do need some specific body of common and shared *knowledge* within groups, societies and cultures in order to be able to interact, speak and understand each other. Thus, the notion of sociocultural knowledge is a very important structural component of collectives of people (Balkin, 1998). Born into a society and culture, people acquire sociocultural knowledge through their parents,

friends, education, media and so on. Van Dijk supposes that such socially shared beliefs create *social memory* and “sociocultural knowledge is a central system of mental representations located in social memory” (Van Dijk, 2000:13).

Naturally, within the same culture or group, individuals do have similar knowledge, beliefs, opinions and attitudes about the world they live in. Although there may be some controversial aspects, there is a vast body of knowledge that everybody accepts without any argument. This knowledge can be called as *common ground* for a group or culture (Van Dijk, 2000:13). Without a common ground, communication and interaction is impossible to establish within a group or culture. Therefore, outsiders such as immigrants and children are immediately put through an “education” process upon their entrance into the society.

Opinions and Attitudes: On the contrary, there are some beliefs which can not be evaluated against some truth criteria and therefore can not be defined as knowledge. Associated with our episodic memory, these kinds of beliefs may be personal reflecting our individual opinions. On the other hand, these beliefs may also be group based –therefore shared by the members of a specific group-. Attitudes and opinions related with abortion, immigration, nuclear energy, may exemplify this situation (Van Dijk, 2000:14). Such opinions may have to be defended specifically before other groups. Yet, Van Dijk (2000) adds that, within a group, group attitudes and opinions can be taken as “knowledge, and therefore are not subject to questioning”. Group opinions are also stored in social memory like knowledge.

In modern psychology, there is a clear distinction between long-term (LTM) and short term (STM) memories.

Ideologies as Social Representation: Ideologies are also located in the social memories of collectives of people as they have been defined as “basic beliefs shared by groups”. As they are group based belief systems, they are not accepted by everyone as common ground knowledge. Ideologies always create conflicts, arguments and disputes between groups. Therefore, “ideological groups” such as feminists or anti-abortionists may be characterized by a common ideology shared by each and every member.

Van Dijk (2000:15) asserts that ideologies are basic “beliefs” since they organize and give coherence to a multitude of social opinions and attitudes, acting as a common

ground. In this sense, ideologies allow groups to adapt to new social situations, as in the case of recent expansion of European Union.

Ideologies as Values: The last type of mental representation which Van Dijk (2000) relates with social memory are norms and values :”They basically define what is good and bad, permitted and prohibited and the fundamental aims to be striven after by individuals, groups and societies alike” (Van Dijk, 2000:15).

Although, both ideologies and values/norms are constitutive elements of social memory, they have some profound differences. In principle, while ideologies are attributed to groups and inter-group disputes, values have a general use in which they are more or less shared by the people of the same culture. For example, human rights, freedom, respect against elders are values that are not only valid for specific cultures but have a more universal acceptance. Such notions do not change across groups with different ideologies. In this context, socio-cultural norms and values have significant roles in the formation of the socio-cultural common ground.

However, specific ideologies may have “biased” applications of universal values and norms. In this sense, ideologies contain “interpretations” of values that serve group interests. For instance, whereas “freedom” is a universally accepted phenomenon “freedom of market” is only valid for liberal ideologies or “freedom of press” is one of the basic components of the professional ideology of journalists. In his famous political allegory, “Animal Farm” (2000), George Orwell emphasizes this “biased” function of ideologies in a rather striking way: “All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than the others.”

2.4.2 The Structure of Ideologies

Van Dijk (1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1998, 2000) offers a theoretical mental schema that organizes the structure of ideologies. As ideologies are defined also in terms of the “groupness” principle, such a schema may be formulated from the basic principles of a social group:

- 1- Membership Criteria: Who are we? Who does or who does not belong?
- 2- Typical Activities: What do we do?
- 3- Aims: What do we want? Why do we do it?
- 4- Norms and Values: What is good or bad for us?

- 5- Position: What is our position in the society? What are our relationships with the others? How do we relate ourselves to other groups?
- 6- Resources: Who has access to our group resources? What is ours? What do we want to keep at all costs? (Van Dijk, 1996, 1998, 2000)

Apart from organizing the theoretical mental structure of ideologies, these 6 categories do also serve as an anchor point to analyze social groups. Therefore, Van Dijk's schema will be further elaborated especially in the sections of this study which are related with the methodology that is used in the empirical part of this investigation.

On the other hand, one of the most significant properties of this schema is its emphasis on "the others". In a sense, every social group forms its social identity around a perception of a "negative" other or others. This binary opposition of positive self and negative other is the most fundamental control mechanism that governs the discursive manifestations of group members.

2.4.3 Ideology and Social Practices

As Van Dijk (1996, 1998, 2000) indicates, ideologies should be general and abstract, rather than being context specific. This is necessary since ideologies should be applicable in a variety of everyday situations in various contexts. That is, individual group members should use ideologies as monitoring basic principles and decide and act in several social situations with the help of these abstract beliefs. Nonetheless, it is inevitable to have a dissonance between those acts and the underlying ideologies. In this framework ideologies are not deterministic: Group members may or may not use these general opinions and attitudes in social practices depending on the specific circumstances of each situation. Moreover, every group member may have a different version of the same ideology, especially in the reproduction, application and comprehension procedures taking place within the domain of discourse.

Since ideologies are abstract, ideologies' expression in daily social situations remain as a question. How does an abstract system manifest itself in a non-abstract context? The answer to that question is the existence of a theoretical entity which serves as an intermediary between abstract ideologies and discourse. The concept of *ideological attitudes* plays the role of this intermediary in Van Dijk's theory. For a more detailed explanation of attitudes and their formation there are many valuable resources in the

domain of social psychology including Kağıtçıbaşı (2000), Pratkanis et al. (1989) and Smith (1968).

As well as affecting group opinions, ideologies may also affect knowledge. This debate is open to many controversies as knowledge has been traditionally seen as devoid of any ideological content. However, ideologies may affect group knowledge in negative or positive terms. Here, the knowledge of the group is always evaluated against a set of criteria that has been predetermined by the group. For instance, Nazis' "scientific" knowledge about Jews and other inferior races had been seen as a purely ideological belief by the rest of the world. On the other hand, ideologies may also have "positive" affects on knowledge. For instance, the recent rise in the knowledge about the pollution and global warming can be interpreted as a direct effect of environmentalist ideologies (Van Dijk, 2000:19). Moreover, many new areas in scientific knowledge such as Galileo's theories about our solar system, quantum theory, black holes had been perceived as being biased or ideological when they first appeared. Accordingly, ideologies may also be associated with "positive" concepts such as opposition and resistance against dominance.

It must be born in mind that, Van Dijk does not claim that all knowledge is -in a sense- ideological. Such a position will render the concept of ideology useless in the first place (Eagleton, 1996). Here, Van Dijk's theory alleges that "common ground" knowledge, within the context of a specific society and culture is non ideological by its definition since there are no arguments questioning that knowledge's validity. For example, today nearly everyone accepts that the earth is round and the clouds are white. Although, these are oversimplified examples, they successfully explain the locus of the debate.

Nonetheless, common ground knowledge of a specific culture may become ideologically biased beliefs in time (The reverse of this phenomenon is also true). Today, West's once-scientific knowledge about blacks and Indians are perceived as being purely ideological yet as explained above Galileo's "once-ideological" beliefs are now solid scientific facts.

2.4.4 Mental Models

Mental models are an important concept of cognitive psychology that is used to explain certain aspects of human experience. As opposed to social memory, mental

models are located within personal memory, which is called “episodic”. In Van Dijk’s formulation (1996, 1998, 2000), mental models are the “episodic” representations of our daily experiences, that is, individuals make sense of and organize daily reality with the construction and reconstruction of such models (Van Dijk, 2000:21). In this context, mental models are individualistic and highly subjective representations of phenomenal “reality”. By definition, mental models cannot be free from bias. They are subjected to effects by previous experiences (or models), beliefs, ideologies, opinions and so on. For instance, while watching a demonstration against pollution and global warming, we create a mental model with the negative influences of our knowledge about the role of rich, industrialized countries in the carbon dioxide emission processes.

Apart from their role in perceiving daily experiences and being highly subjective, mental models also do include more general knowledge and beliefs which help to interpret specific situations. In the former case about watching a environmentalist demonstration, individuals do utilize not only specific knowledge about global warming but also about highly abstract concepts such as atmosphere, warming, pollution’s negative effects on health, health...etc.

As mentioned before, ideologies are not deterministic schemas. Although they may affect personal mental models, individuals may have conflicting ideologies or experiences. In the case of a participant of an environmentalist demonstration, the very same person may work in a factory that emits toxic gases. Also, a follower of a racist ideology may have very good personal experiences about immigrants who have helped him/her in a specific situation. Many more examples can be given. All of these situations emphasize that people may have *ideological* conflicts, as they can be members of several different groups with opposing ideologies at the same time (Van Dijk, 2000:23).

Van Dijk also argues that, although people may have very different expressions of ideological beliefs, more often than not, individuals do act and construe their mental models under the shadow of an ideology or ideologies. Otherwise, it would be impossible to guess what others may expect from us and communication and interaction becomes impossible to accomplish.

As a summary, mental models are one of the most important mediators between discourse (social practice) and abstract ideologies. In order to make sense of a situation, a person must construct a personal mental model. Conversely, to tell others about a specific event, again, a person must refer to his/her mental model which represents that event. Thus, mental models are also very important in producing and reproducing discourse. However, as people do communicate depending on common ground knowledge, actual models are always richer than their discursive manifestations. That is, as people think that others already possess certain things about specific events, these details are not expressed in discourse.

2.4.5 Context Models

As illustrated in the previous section, Van Dijk's model formulates mental models, as the mediator between ideologies and their actual social expressions, especially, in a discursive dimension. It is also pronounced that people do not include all the information that they have in their mental models while expressing their opinions in discourse. Exactly at this very point, a third theoretical apparatus is needed to explain how people know to exclude various parts of information in discourse. Van Dijk's (1998, 2000) answer to that question is a conceptual entity called *context models*.

Context models are a special type of mental models, which are constructed dynamically during discursive and communicative acts. That is, they represent our knowledge about a situation, filtering and screening unnecessary information from discourse. Thus, such a model enables a person to guess what others know and expect in a social situation and act accordingly. As in the case of a scientist who is talking about his job in an elementary school, this person creates his context model with the help of his past experiences with children. Also he/she includes and excludes information in his discursive expressions according to his expectations and beliefs about the knowledge of children over science and scientists. In the end, the communicative act is monitored by the specific context model that is evolved dynamically in the course of communication itself. Furthermore, context models may also change depending on time and place. Shortly, context models are "people's ability to adapt themselves to current situations on the basis of a combination of old information and the capacity to analyze current situation" (Van Dijk, 2000:27-28). Needless to say, context models, also, are prone to the influence of ideologies. To

finalize the debate about interaction of social memory with social situations, Van Dijk's schema (2.1) will be of great use:

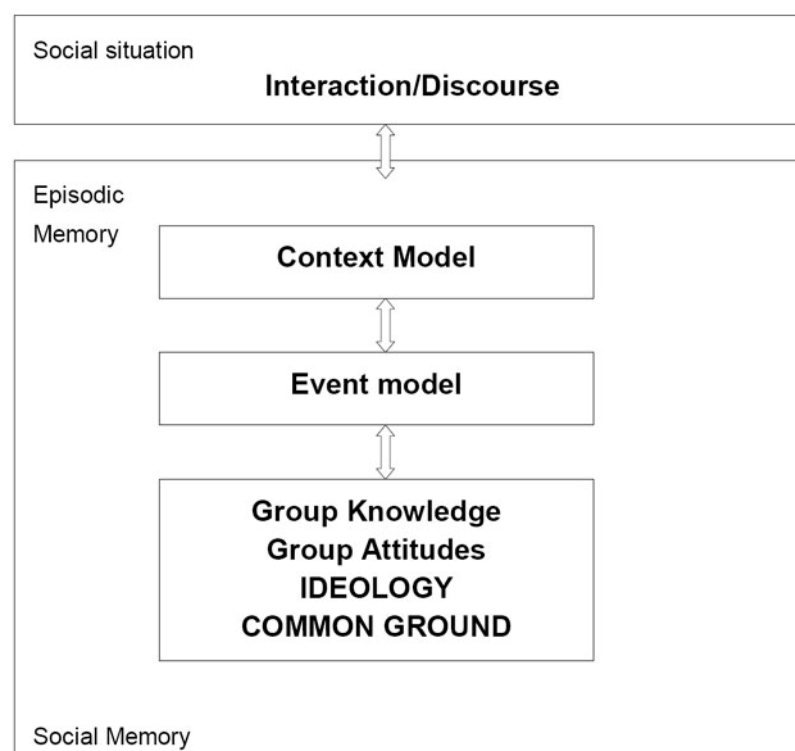


Figure 2.1: Ideology and cognition (Van Dijk, 2000:29)

2.5 Ideology and Discourse

Discourse is the last and maybe the most important corner of Van Dijk's society-cognition-discourse triangle as it has a prominent role in the expression and reproduction of ideologies. Furthermore, discourse is the most tangible part of an ideology, as discursive manifestations can be directly observed during social interaction. Thus, analyzing discourse –the actual instances of text and talk- is of crucial importance in analyzing an ideology. On the other hand, the other corners of Van Dijk's triangle are theoretical constructs that are not open to direct inquiry. At this very point-other than its importance in articulation and production processes of ideology-discourse also acts as an agent to probe into the depths of highly theoretical components of the ambivalent conception of ideology which has been elaborated in the previous sections of this study.

However, in parallel with the concept of ideology, the term “discourse” or “discourses” also have a wide range of meanings, some of which are not

complementary with each other. Therefore, before moving any further, Van Dijk's usage of this rather confusing concept (discourse) must be clarified.

2.5.1 A Brief Framework over the Terminology on Discourse

Johnstone (2002) observes that a significant number of scholars coming from various backgrounds use the term "discourse analysis" to describe the locus of their research. Although many of these academicians are primarily linguists, there are also a large group of researchers who are working in fields such as anthropology, sociology, cultural studies and so on (Johnstone, 2002:1). Thus, it is easy to claim that the terms "discourse" and "discourse analysis" or "discourse studies" have a broad area of definition and application.

Again, according to Johnstone (2002), what all of those scholars and researchers share is an emphasis on language and its effects. However, it must be born in mind that "discourse" and "discourse" analysis cannot be deduced to language and its analysis. The fact that distinguishes discourse analysis from language analysis is the former's interest in investigating the effects of language in social situations rather than concentrating on language as an abstract system with its grammatical rules and applications.

Van Dijk (1998:194-197) observes that there are roughly three main strands of definition of the concept of discourse. The first one, which is more restricted, takes discourse as "actual instances of communication in the medium of language" (Johnstone, 2002:2). In this sense, discourse is a "specific communicative event" (Van Dijk, 1998:194) that takes places between social actors in specific settings. Within this context, even in the specific act of reading a newspaper, discourse is being produced, reproduced, exchanged and expressed as the reader tries to "comprehend" and "interpret" what the writer is trying to "communicate" in a specific setting (time, place, special circumstances...etc). This definition covers all the written or verbal expressions of discourse. Therefore, it is especially useful when dealing with the analysis of actual social events such as analyzing newspaper articles, TV news or interviews.

The second notion of discourse, which is more general and abstract, focuses more on specific genres rather than dealing with actual instances of communicative acts. Usages such as political discourse, design discourse, environmental discourse which

refer not to a specific implementation but rather a “collection” of discourses within a social domain are some examples. Teymur also addresses discourse from this perspective: “A discourse is a formation that consists of all that are expressed, represented or meant (that is, ‘statements’ which may or may not have been said or written) around some objects” (Teymur, 1982:21). Here, discourse is an accumulation of different expressions revolving around a central topic that combines these statements in a meta level. In this form, discourse even transcends the classical definition of genre and transforms into a set of genres with common properties.

The third, and the last conception poses even a more abstract and meta-level structure. This final description associates discourse with the culture and community, linking all possible discourses and means of communication in a big framework (Van Dijk, 1998). Even, some scholars use ideology and discourse synonymously within the boundaries of this vague and over-inclusive formulation of discourse. In that sense, discourse nearly covers every single communicative act. However, such broad definitions generally do contain an inherent theoretical and epistemological “danger”. That is, a term that can be substituted for anything may quickly lose its theoretical explicitness and coherency. However as Van Dijk and et al. (2002) observe, this over-general, ill-defined and non-precise conception of discourse is the most popular and widely-used definition among others.

Van Dijk’s multidisciplinary approach to ideology, which has been partly used as a theoretical basis for this study, employs the first definition which is more restricted than others. That is, he concentrates on actual verbal or textual discursive manifestations such as newspaper articles, propaganda leaflets, books, parliamentary speeches ...etc to apply a structured linguistic analysis. His analysis mainly aims to uncover the textual strategies such as the usage of pronouns, lexicalization, rhetoric...etc that are used in actual text and talk, for the implicit or explicit expression of ideologies.

Nonetheless, it must be born in mind that the author did not implement Van Dijk’s methodology verbatim. For the sake of a more sociological approach, hard-core linguistic methodologies that are inherent in Van Dijk’s approach have been screened and eliminated.

2.5.2 Functions of Discourse within Ideologies

As debated several times throughout the previous sections, discourse has a special and crucial role in the expression of ideologies. As expression generally occurs within text and talk during communication, the very “expressive” character of discourse and its relevance to ideologies does not leave much room for argument. However, expression is not the only function that discourse has. A theory that is engaged in explaining how discourse functions within ideologies should illustrate how group members acquire, use and change ideologies through their discursive social practices. Albeit the fact that discourse may have numerous functions –some explicit and some implicit-, the most central among those are reproduction, persuasion and legitimation. The following sections briefly explain the role that discourse plays in the reproduction, persuasion and legitimation processes that are vital for the existence of an ideology in social sphere.

2.5.2.1 Reproduction

Ideologies are dynamic entities that are constantly evolving and changing with time. Therefore, they are constructed and reconstructed by the social acts of group members in a continuum. That is, apart from the implementation or usage of ideologies within certain social practices, group members actively involve in the transformation process of ideologies by their contextual applications (Van Dijk, 1998:228). Van Dijk (1995, 1996, 1998) also asserts that one of the most crucial factors in the reproduction process of ideologies is the recruitment of new members into the groups. Once again, there are significant similarities with the reproduction of natural languages. With each new “user” learning to use a language, that particular language is reproduced by individuals who enrich the possible implementations under different contexts. In accordance with this notion, ideologies are also reproduced by new group members who have been accepted into the group via various procedures such as initiation, teaching, training, preaching and propaganda (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002; Van Dijk, 1998). In this multidisciplinary theory of ideology, Van Dijk (1995, 1996, 1998) identifies 5 different dimensions in the discursive reproduction processes of ideologies:

- 1) From a general system to actions and individuals: Ideologies, defined as socially shared social group representations, provide schematic guidelines for

group members. Those members draw upon their knowledge, and implement those principles in concrete social practices.

- 2) From actions and individuals to a general system: In parallel with the notion of ideologies influencing the social actions of group members, group members do also change, construct and reconstruct ideologies by their discursive social actions. Thus, system and its particular applications constitute a sustaining cycle which is vital for the very existence and evolution of ideologies.
- 3) From group to group members: Each ideological group tries to teach its members the basic doctrines through various socialization and ideological communication procedures. New members may “learn” the ideology by an initiation process implemented by “elite” group members or acquisition may take place within other social communication mediums such as media, schools, books ...etc
- 4) From group members to group: Discursive reproduction also occurs within the complex network of relations between a group and its members. Group members may affect ideologies while being accepted or rejected by the group. Therefore, resistance and opposition are as important as acceptance for the discursive reproduction of ideologies. For instance, a dissident member may cause dissonances within the seemingly coherent structure of an ideology. Thus, that particular ideology may have to change some of its main postulates to adjust before the new claims and effects.
- 5) From local to global: “Generalization, extension, decontextualization of specific experiences and opinions to similar abstract contexts, experiences, causes or circumstances, social learning , over-generalization, stereotyping, prejudice formation and ideology construction” (Van Dijk, 1998: 230).

2.5.2.2 Persuasion

Ideologies do serve group interests. Therefore, in a world where various social groups struggle for limited social resources, discursive persuasion mechanisms play a prominent role both over group members and other individuals. Although persuasion and social effect have been widely inspected especially by social psychologists

(Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002), here, only a brief introduction about Van Dijk's concept of discursive persuasion will be given.

People do possess large amounts of factual knowledge and evaluative beliefs, before their confrontation with new ideologies. Therefore, in order for an ideology to be persuasive, there must not be any conflicts or dissonances between the ideological statements and individuals' personal beliefs. Within this context, the most successful and persuasive ideologies, indeed, appear in the lack of proper social and political knowledge (Lau et al., 1991).

Finally, ideological discursive-persuasion should be built upon general and abstract concepts instead of particular claims that are context-specific. That is, ideological communication must be decontextualized and versatile. Individuals can only be affected by beliefs and principles that they may effectively employ in a variety of social situations.

2.5.2.3 Legitimation

In most of the theories concerning ideologies, legitimation is the primary social function that is associated with those systems. Especially, traditional approaches formulate ideologies as tools to legitimate the claims of ruling class or dominant groups. As a general concept, legitimation is directly related with the act of defending one's position against criticisms. Within this context, Eagleton (1996:54) defines legitimation in the following way:

“Legitimation refers to the process by which a ruling power comes to secure from its subjects an at least tacit consent to its authority, and like ‘rationalization’ it can have something of a pejorative smack about it, suggesting the need to make respectable otherwise illicit interests. But this need not always be so: legitimation can simply mean establishing one's interests as broadly acceptable, rather than lending them a spurious wash of legality. Social interests we regard as just and valid may have to fight hard to win credibility from society as a whole.”

Put this way, legitimation may also be established by the successful employment of discursive strategies such as naturalization and universalization. In this sense, a group's specific norms, values and interests may be shown as common interests or self-evident, common sense facts concerning the whole society.

2.5.3 A Heuristic for Understanding the Effects of Discourse within Ideologies

Having discussed the different facets of discourse and its roles within ideologies, it may be right to pose questions about the “real life” effects of discourse as it appears in text and talk. At this point, Johnstone (2002:9-18) offers a heuristic for analyzing effects of discourse within social life. Although this heuristic is intended not for ideology analysis, the categories postulated by this heuristic shed light upon the discursive manifestation and reproduction of ideologies in real-life situations and social practices:

1) *Discourse is shaped by the world and discourse shapes the world:* As individuals are born into a society, human beings enter the domain of culture with the acquisition of language abilities. Therefore, language and the use of language in text and talk, namely discourse, has a special importance in shaping our world as we perceive it (Sapir 1921; Worf, 1941; Foucault, 1980). For instance, all we know about the war in Iraq depends on what we read on newspapers and what we watch on TV screen. Within this well known Baudrillardian (1981) context, our mental image, or models about the war are all discursive constructs. Nonetheless, as Johnstone’s statement implies, the relationship between discourse and the world is twofold. No discourse can be formed in vacuum, thus, the world also affects discourse formation.

2) *Discourse is shaped by language and discourse shapes language:* As discourse is a function of language, the grammatical structures are definitive in discourse formation. Otherwise, discourse cannot be understood by other people as the rules of a language are basically conventions evolved through centuries.

3) *Discourse is shaped by participants and discourse shapes participants:* Like ideologies, personal histories and mental models of the participants in discursive events is of crucial importance. Returning to the same example of the war in Iraq, no one perceives the news without having any preconceptions of what war and violence are. In fact, without these, it is impossible to comprehend a communicative statement. Likewise, the interrelations between the participants in a discursive act, such as writers, audiences, speakers and

overhearers (Johnstone, 2002:14) establish a solid basis for the production and comprehension of discourse.

4) *Discourse is shaped by prior discourse and discourse shapes the possibilities for future discourse:* Intertextual relations between discourses and ideologies enable individuals to perceive and reinterpret new discourses. In this framework, ideologies and discourses cannot be understood without particular references to past and future discourses. For instance, the discourse of professionalism cannot be understood without an emphasis on the liberal principle of the “freedom of market” and “freedom of market” cannot be comprehended without a particular reference to capitalism or even French Revolution and its effects. Ideologies and discourses, understood in terms of intertextuality, establish a centerless web that may only be formulated with the help of specific reference points. At this very point, analyzing discourse and ideology may seem meaningless as it is impossible to decipher the whole network of relations to understand a single discursive act. However, without analyzing isolated parts of discourse, meaning-granting reference points cannot be obtained.

5) *Discourse is shaped by its medium and discourse shapes the possibilities of its medium:* Clearly, different types of media create different possibilities of communication. News reports, books, multimedia, internet, tape records, radio, public speeches...etc all have different advantages, disadvantages, opportunities and shortcomings for effective communication and message conveying.

6) *Discourse is shaped by purpose and discourse shapes possible purposes:* It has been explained in the previous two sections that, discourse serves three distinct purposes within ideologies: Reproduction, persuasion and legitimation. To this end, individuals employ different rhetorical, linguistic and lexical strategies during discourse production. Even “scientific” discourse is not free from ideological bias and persuasive content, as ideology of positivism presupposes a certain world view and epistemology.

Johnstone’s categories should not be taken as a strict course of research. Contrarily, they form a loose basis that may be used compatibly with other research

methodologies. The main idea of those heuristic categories is to remind the researcher of the possibilities and limitations of discourse and its reproduction.

3. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGY

Professions, defined as “occupations based on advanced, or complex, or esoteric, or arcane knowledge” (MacDonald, 1999:1), played a central role in social life since medieval times (it must be noted that some professions have ancient roots). However, the first systematic attempts to analyze them as social entities appeared in the 20th century (Abbott, 1988:3). The common point of all these studies was an attempt to understand “how modern societies institutionalize expertise” (Abbott, 1988: xii). Yet again, most of the theories which investigated this institutionalization focused on “professionalism” and the “professional development”.

The aim of this chapter, then, is to make an introduction to the concept of professional development and to decipher the connections that have been constituted between professional ideology and professionalism. To this end, firstly, a brief summary of the literature on professionalism will be given. Following this summary, some conceptions used in the relevant theories of professionalism will be further detailed and elucidated. Finally, the vague notion of “professional ideology” should be explained in accordance with the relevant literature.

3.1 A Brief Summary of the Professions Literature

The early attempts to study professions, especially the studies conducted before 60’s, were greatly influenced by the “functionalist” school of sociology. This influence was a direct result of Emil Durkheim’s (1957) theories about professional ethics (Macdonald, 1999:2). According to Durkheim (1957), division of labor and the occupational groups were the most basic moral foundations that bound different levels of society together. Furthermore, professions and their stable ethics functioned as mediators between the state and individuals –as bearer of high moral standards-, thus preventing a total breakdown of moral values in the modern era, where other social entities such as shared religious and ethnic backgrounds failed to maintain and sustain the order. The effects of Durkheim’s ideas can be observed in the work of Carr Saunders and Wilson (1933), where, for the first time, British professions were

systematically analyzed. For them, professions “stood like rocks” against the forces that threatened the “peaceful and steady” evolution of the society (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933:497).

The functionalist school saw professionalism as an established fact. That is, those theoreticians perceived professionalism as a series of steps that will -sooner or later- be climbed by every occupational group. Another characteristic that marked the functionalist approach to professionalism was its classification of different occupations according to their traits (Abbott, 1988:4; Macdonald, 1999:2): Different properties of occupational groups were compared against a list of traits that were thought to be shared by “ideal-typical” professions. Therefore, functionalist sociology of professions piled a collection of independent case studies to determine which occupations had reached the most “praised” profession status.

Most of the writers who summarize the history of the professions literature do agree on what happened in the “functionalist” period. However, there are significant differences between the depictions of some scholars who have analyzed what has happened in this area of sociological research, especially after 60’s. To illustrate these differences, Abbott’s (1988) and Macdonald’s (1999) seminal works may be taken as starting points.

3.1.1 Abbott’s Perspective on Professions Literature

Abbott (1988:5) asserts that the 60’s witnessed the birth of a new approach, which he calls “the power approach”:

“Early work on professionalization has rested on the functional assumptions characteristic of postwar sociology. It attributed the collegial organization of professions to their position as experts. The ‘asymmetry of expertise’ required the client to trust the professional and the professional to respect both client and colleagues. These relations were guaranteed by various institutional forms: associations, licensure, and ethics codes. But theorists rejecting functional assumptions disputed the whole picture. In a lucid analysis of professionalism as a form of control, Johnson argued that the professions did not serve disembodied social needs but rather imposed both definitions of needs and manner of service on atomized consumers. Writing on American medicine, Eliot Freidson argued that dominance and autonomy, not collegiality and trust, were the hallmarks of true professionalism.”

According to Abbott (1988:9-20), power literature shifted the core of the arguments from the different models of professionalization to its functions. Moreover, despite

their formal and substantive deviations, all of the power-approach theories agree on the point that “professions tend to develop in a common pattern, called professionalization” (Abbott, 1988:9).

Formally, Abbott identified four different patterns within the strand of theories that belonged to the power approach (Macdonald, 1999:15):

- 1) Wilensky (1964), “a series of steps to accomplish”: a) The first national professional association, b) First governmentally sponsored licensing legislation, c) First professional examinations d) First professional school separate from some other profession e) First university based professional education f) First ethics code g) First national level journal h) First accreditation of schools
- 2) Caplow (1954) , “a series of functions” : a) Establishment of professional associations b) A change of name to erase the past c) Setting up a code of ethics d) Agitate politically for legal recognition for banning working without proper licensure
- 3) Millerson (1964), “each case is unique”: Professions may follow different paths leading to the ultimate goal, professionalization.
- 4) Larson (1977), “stages to a steady state”: In Larson’s formulation, professions aim to reach a steady state of an elite position by every possible tool that they can employ.

Apart from the formal differences that are briefly summarized above and shown with their typical writers, Abbott (1988) also argued that the power-approach to professions can be characterized by their substantive deviations in four fundamental categories:

- 1) Functionalists: Carr Saunders and Wilson (1933), Marshall (1963), Parsons (1954).
- 2) Structuralists: Caplow (1954), Millerson (1964), Wilensky (1964). In the works of these writers, professionalization is a theoretical instrument that explains the diverse properties that professions demonstrate. As different professions are at the different stages of professionalization, they may exhibit a variety of empirical qualities.

- 3) Monopoly: Berlant (1975), Johnson (1972), Larson (1977). For the monopolists, the structural mechanisms that were identified by the previous writers were aimed at dominance and authority instead of a “natural growth”. Here, professions are interest groups that employ mobility projects to exert control over work.
- 4) Cultural: Arney (1982), Bledstein (1976), Haskell (1984). Apart from the other writers, culturalists did not include the notion of structural similarities that were the defining characteristic of the former three groups of theories. In the work of these writers, professions strive for achieving a cultural legitimation in the social arena.

After making these classifications, Abbott (1988:20) blames those scholars for mistakenly over-focusing on structure, instead of work. In the following sections, Abbott’s work will be revisited and some details will be discussed.

3.1.2 Macdonald’s Perspective on Professions Literature

Contrarily, MacDonald (1999) draws a completely different and detailed picture of what had happened after the functionalist theoreticians of the professions. In Macdonald’s view, the alternative for the functionalist tradition is symbolic-interactionism which focused on the social actions and interactions of groups and individuals and how they constructed/changed their social worlds. Therefore, the professional standards -such as altruism, high professional ethical values, service- that were praised by the functionalist school as abstract entities were -in fact- merely imperfect social constructs that served the interests of particular professional groups. The first strand that Macdonald categorizes within the interactionist alternatives is the power-approach which Abbott (1988) also identified. Nonetheless, Macdonald does not evaluate all post-functionalist theories as sub-branches of the “power approach”.

The second lineage that MacDonald (1999) identifies within the interactionist school is the theoreticians who saw and formulated professionals as social actors. However, the scholars that were engaged in this second strand was more radical in many respects. They stated that sociologists had been asking the wrong questions in the first place:

“...in my own studies, I passed from the false question ‘Is this occupation a profession’ to the more fundamental one ‘what are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people?’ ” (Hughes, 1963; Quoted from Macdonald, 1999).

In this argument, it can be clearly seen that interactionist school no longer dealt with separating professions from occupations. Contrarily, the sociology of the professions began to investigate the social actions of professional groups to maintain and develop their social status. In this context, professionalism was just a depiction of an ideal/theoretical status, which professions strived to attain as social actors. However, Macdonald (1999:8) criticizes the social-action perspective, -especially its roots coming from Chicago School and its successors (Hughes, Becker, Freidson and others)- as being oblivious to the larger societal structures.

3.1.2.1 Larson and the Professional Project

For Macdonald, what remedies the shortcomings of the other interactionists was the work of Larson (1977), who built her theory upon the insights of Marx, Weber and Freidson. He summarizes the importance of Freidson’s (1970) work in four points:

- 1) A profession’s relative autonomy and privileged social position is directly related with the power of the state and dependant on an elite that is supporting the interests of that particular profession.
- 2) The traditional cognitive and normative features that were used to characterize the definitions of professions are not fixed and given qualities which are used for establishing the inter-professional boundaries in social arena. Moreover, these cognitive and normative features are also the primary factors that determine the membership criterion of a certain profession.
- 3) Every profession engages in various struggles to obtain an autonomous position. However, once this position is achieved, the bonds with the original sponsoring elite are severed and professional prestige is acquired through a series of conflicts within the social stratification.
- 4) MacDonald’s last comment about Freidson’s work is especially important and relevant for the purposes of this current study. Freidson argues that every successful profession may construct a “professional ideology” to

redefine the social reality in its area of expertise. This redefinition process also serves as a basis for universal legitimation and persuasion to serve the social interests of a particular profession. Furthermore, the effects of these social practices may also transform other domains of society, leading to a larger scale of consequences.

Drawing up from the above mentioned ideas of Freidson, Larson successfully fuses those ideas with the emphasis that Max Weber put on social stratification, social/economic order and the conception of expert knowledge as a tool for income and benefits (Macdonald, 1999:9). According to Larson (1977: xvii), professionalization was simply an endeavor to convert expert knowledge and skills to social and economic rewards. To this end, professions engaged in various struggles to establish domination on scarce social and economic resources. This domination may be named as “monopoly of expertise in the job market”. However, since this definition includes the “marketability” of expert skills and cognitive resources, professions such as military and clergy are excluded: They do not provide “services” for the market. This emphasis on the collective mobility of professions, leads to a network of relations that are established with different structures of social stratification such as educational and legislative systems. Within this framework, market control and social mobility are the core values that constitute the “heart and mind” of professionalization (1977: xvii).

However, it must be born in mind that market control and social mobility may not be taken as the direct expressions of skill, expertise or ethical standards. Oppositely, these two elements are the direct results of the “professional project” in which professional groups actively endeavor to reach specific social and economic goals (Macdonald, 1999:10). Yet, these “goals and strategies pursued by a given group are not entirely clear or deliberate for all the members” (Larson, 1977:6).

In order to achieve the market control, there should be a system of abstract knowledge which can be transformed into practice and there should also a market which is ready for the application of such knowledge. Then, within a certain period of time, the individuals who have this “abstract” knowledge may form themselves into an occupational group and may try to restrict access to their knowledge and its practical application. This restriction may lead to a “regulative bargain” (Cooper et al., 1988:8) with state that will put legislative rules to the dissemination and

production of their knowledge. That is, the group members will have the right to decide on who they will accept into their community and who will control the market with the help of the state through laws and regulations. Such a market control, combined with the right ideological and social strategies may eventually lead to “social prestige” (Larson, 1977). Larson gives a detailed account of the means to establish social prestige in a matrix as shown in the table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Means or sources of professional prestige (Larson, 1977:68)

	<i>Autonomous Means</i>	<i>Heteronomous Means</i>
1. Independent of the professional market		
‘Traditional means’	Aristocratic or liberal education. (Institutionally located in corporate bodies like the Inns of Court, Royal Colleges, academic bodies, or in ‘ancient’ universities)	Aristocratic or gentlemanly characteristics (noblesse oblige). (Structurally located in ‘aristocratic’ or ‘old’ elites)
‘Modern’ means	Systematic training and testing. (Institutionally located in professional schools and ‘modern’ universities)	Registration, licensing. (Institutionally located in the state)
II Dependent upon an established professional market		
	Cognitive exclusiveness. (Institutionally located in professional associations, ‘modern’ universities)	Higher incomes and prestige than most other occupations. Connections with ‘extra-professional’ power. (Institutionally located in the state corporations, and universities)

Although Macdonald criticizes this matrix and makes some additions, eventually, he uses the theoretical schemata as a starting point for his own work, which will be referred to in the following sections.

Last but not least, the emphasis that Larson put on the network of relations established between individual motives and collective group action is quite important for a theory of professional ideology. Larson (1977:66-74) asserts that , the relations between different layers of a professional group -e.g. elites vs. ordinary members- and the collective aspiration for achieving an upward mobility plays an important role in a “professional project”. However, MacDonald (1999:12) observes that, having made this contribution, Larson only deals with the macro level structures,

ignoring the relationships between individual group members. These gaps in Larson's theory may be filled with Van Dijk's (1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1998, 2000) conceptions over the formation of group ideologies and the links between ideologues and other group members.

3.1.2.2 Larson vs. Abbott

Although Macdonald builds his own theorizations upon Freidson's and Larson's approaches, he identifies three possible rivals for his thesis: Abbott and his "system of professions" (1988), Burrage (1988, 1990) and Halliday (1987). Among these three, Abbott's conception of "system of professions" is the most influential one. Therefore, a brief account of what he formulated must be given in comparison with Larson's theory.

Abbott puts the emphasis on the "work" and the interprofessional competition. Furthermore, he criticizes the concept of professionalization and provides a novel classification of the other scholars who worked in the field and summarizes the main points of his theory in the following way (1988:20):

"The central phenomenon of professional life is thus the link between a profession and its work, a link I shall call jurisdiction. To analyze professional development is to analyze how this link is created in work, how it is anchored in formal and informal social structure and how the interplay of jurisdictional links between the professions determines the history of individual professions themselves."

After setting up his context, Abbott formulates his conception of the "system of professions" and concludes his research with three case studies which aim to inspect those jurisdictional disputes in their social, cultural and economic settings. Despite the fact that Macdonald (1999:16) admits the value of Abbott's insights, he identifies some problematic areas within Abbott's formulations. Firstly, Abbott (1988) abolishes the concept of professionalization which Macdonald finds as "out of proportion" (Macdonald, 1999:16). Indeed, in its strong form, professionalization concept has many structural flaws. However, in its weak form, "as an observation that professions have grown in size and influence", the concept of professionalism is valid (Macdonald, 1999:16). Furthermore, none of the recent authors who favored the concept of professionalism claimed that there are a strict set of steps that each occupational group has to follow in order to achieve professional status. On the other hand, Abbott classifies the works of "professionalist" authors, especially Larson

(1977), within over-generalized categories which fail to grasp the essence of the arguments. Abbott's categories do not provide a well-articulated distinction between the structuralists and functionalists authors, failing to recognize the transformation that occurred in professionalist literature.

Finally, Macdonald's (1999:16) last criticism focuses on Abbott's (1988) emphasis on the "system" of professions. As mentioned before, Abbott illustrates the world of professions as an interdependent system in which jurisdictional disputes and struggles over certain domains of knowledge is the determining factor of the history of professions. However, professions do not always interact in systematic ways. They may or may not "collaborate, conflict and compete in a quite non-systematic way with non-professionals, with their client and with the state" (Macdonald, 1999:16). Indeed, Abbott fails to explain why professions took certain steps to occupy the position they have today, namely the analysis of the motives of the actors: "Abbott brackets the question of how professions achieve collective rationality" (DiMaggio, 1989:535).

3.1.2.3 Burrage and Beyond

Another critical contribution to Larson's theories came from Burrage et al. (1988, 1990), who investigated the development of legal professions in three countries and laid down an "actor-based framework" (Macdonald, 1999:18). Albeit the fact that Burrage does not quote Larson or her professional project, monopoly and economic interests, his analysis concerning the collective goals of lawyers is compatible with Larson's theorizations.

The main difference that Burrage demonstrates in terms of the professional development of certain occupational groups is the emphasis he had put over "cultural differences". Since the intervention of the state is of crucial importance in order to establish a monopoly in the job market, the cultural and political differences among nations are important factors to consider, which is not inherent to Larson's line of argumentation.

Along with the before mentioned approaches and the contributions of Burrage, which can be classified either as affected by Chicago School of sociology or Max Weber; there are certainly other strands within the sociology of professions literature

(Macdonald, 1999:22). One of the main alternatives to those briefly summarized above is the body of studies that were built upon Marxian traditions.

This lineage primarily tries to explain the network of relations between the state and occupational groups, and the proletarianization of those professions. Macdonald (1999:22) asserts that, as Marxian sociology is structuralist in essence, it is concerned with what happens in a society that has adopted capitalism as the main mode of production. Rather than an actor based approach, Marxian sociology focuses on the concepts of system and process. According to Marxist school, Weberian sociologists endeavor to investigate social relations in terms of some “concepts” such as labor market, social prestige, competition “which are themselves left unexplained” (Macdonald, 1999:23). On the other hand, Marxian sociologists of the professions do concentrate on topics such as state formation, polarization of social classes, and monopolization of the means of production within the context of system and structure. Macdonald (1999:25) argues that, there is a stress between the action based and process based approaches in the works of some sociologists such as Johnson (1980, 1982) and Larson (1977). Throughout his book, Macdonald engages in detailed debates about those claims.

Other than moving from Weberian topics to a Marxist line of argumentation in 80’s, Larson (1990) makes a second paradigm shift in her more recent writings: Foucaultian approaches which are primarily concerned with the relationships between power and knowledge. Macdonald (1999:25) notes that Foucault’s power approach covers a larger scope compared to the works of theoreticians such as Freidson (1970) or Johnson (1972), as Foucault tackles with problems in a societal scale rather than limiting himself to professions. Foucault’s (1977a), main arguments posit that an epistemic shift from classical to modern societies created a deep transformation in the way that knowledge is categorized and thus, this “novel” classification created the “disciplines”. Yet, discipline, as a concept, is much more wider than the conception of a profession. Although details of Foucault’s work will not be explained here, there are certain theoretical difficulties about employing his theories in a global scale. Foucault’s investigations are very detailed and provide a vast amount of empirical data about 18th and 19th century French medicine. However, it is doubtful that his insights may also be applied to other societies. Secondly, as his tenor of writing is mainly structuralist, his theories are generally devoid of social

actors, which remain at a level of abstraction. Foucault (1977a:162) explains his main motive as employing the methodology which he calls “archeology” to “reveal relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, economic practices and processes). Yet as Macdonald (1999:26), agrees, “abstract nouns predominate his structuralist language”. In this form, his work becomes a source for reference and inspiration but unfortunately it is hard to build an empirical-based theory upon his conceptions.

3.2 A New Approach to the Concept of Professional Project

Macdonald (1999) takes Larson’s (1977) theory of the “professional project” as a starting point, yet he elaborates and develops Larson’s insights. As accentuated by Macdonald, Larson’s analysis is action oriented rather than analyzing structure, and in this sense it can be juxtaposed with Weberian concepts of conflict and competition. In this context, Weber’s influence on Larson’s work may be summarized in three points (Macdonald, 1999:30):

- 1) Professions can be depicted as interest groups. Thus, they have conflicts and struggles over scarce social resources with other groups and the state. Interest and conflict are the primary elements that form an ideal environment for the formation of ideologies. In Weberian paradigm, such conflicts between clashing interest groups are one of the most important constitutive forces in society.
- 2) Not only economic interests but also social ones are determining factors for the collective social acts of professions. Therefore, professional groups strive for public prestige and social legitimation.
- 3) Professions are important actors in the class system of society: They do control specific domains of abstract knowledge, and this very knowledge is at the core of their power and the source of the validation of their practices

Larson’s professional project implies that social prestige cannot be acquired only with the help of state. It is true that the state may impose legislative laws and regulations that secure the position of professionals, yet without public thrust professions cannot sell their skills. Interestingly, public prestige is very difficult to

establish as some professional services will fail to meet the needs of customers (or the public) eventually. As in the case of a doctor killing his/her patient during an operation due to a technical mistake, professional abstract knowledge does not -always- guarantee a successful practical implementation. In this context, professions do have to “prove” that they are indeed respectable, utilizing a series of “ideological” legitimation and persuasion techniques. This pattern is rather important in achieving upward mobility and domination which form the locus of Larson’s professional project.

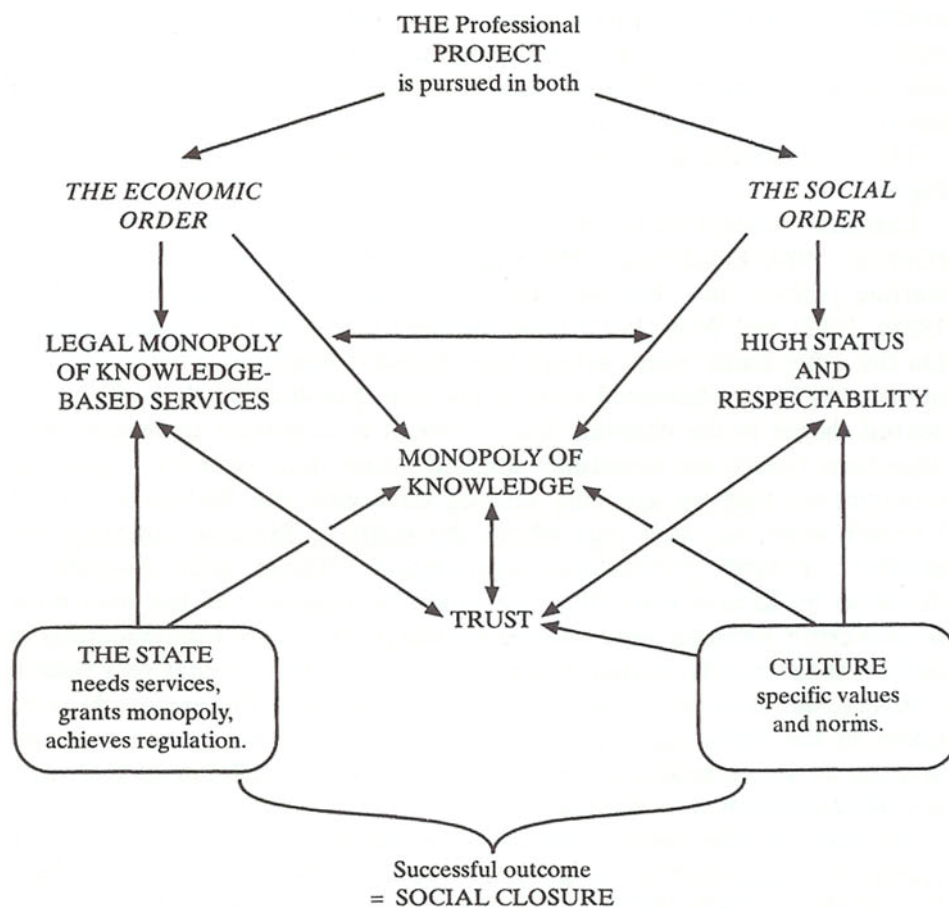


Figure 3.1: A working theory of the professions: a conceptual outline (Macdonald, 1999:32)

However, social prestige is only the half of the problem. Macdonald (1999:31) states that professions have to pursue economic interests along with social ones, in accordance with Weber’s conceptions of social and economic orders. Professions are engaged in economic struggles mainly in two areas: *Monopolization of the market/occupation* and maintaining *legal protection* (legal closure) against other professions and interest groups. The diagram 3.1 shows the main points of Macdonald’s version of Larson’s professional project.

Macdonald makes a very detailed and elaborate articulation of his theory and modifies Larson's concepts in the light of other influential scholars such as Abbott (1988), Burrage (1988), Burrage et al. (1990) and Halliday (1983, 1987). However a complete formulation of his theory is not relevant for the aims of this current study. Therefore, it will be sufficient to provide the four main points of MacDonald's (1999:28-35) arguments:

- 1) The relations and interactions with the state is crucial for professions, as only state can provide the necessary environment for monopoly and licensure. Monopoly should be understood as an utopian ideal-state that is never endingly sought, the status of the relations that are established between the state and professions are subject to evolution and development, in accordance with the historical and contextual constraints.
- 2) Even in the ideal case of achieving a monopoly, a profession's position is never secure. Parallel to the Abbott's conception of "jurisdiction", there may always be other professional groups who can offer similar or better services. Therefore, the boundaries of the domain that marks a profession's services and abstract knowledge are never "secure" or fixed. In order to achieve the continuation of monopoly or jurisdiction, professions have to develop themselves and their abstract knowledge. In this sense, professional services are also subject to constant evolution. On the other hand, Abbott's famous term, jurisdiction, do not have significant differences with Larson's conception of "monopoly" as it also implies the struggles for defending "professional territory". Nonetheless, monopoly has a larger definition, in the sense that it not only involves inter-professional conflicts, but any other clashes with the state, public, media... etc.
- 3) Halliday (1987) asserts that professionals do not always pursue their "self-seeking" (Macdonald, 1999:34) interests. Legitimation and persuasion, which are the key elements of achieving public prestige, are only possible through offering some services that are related to "...the life, health, property and other matters of crucial importance to their clientele. It is, after all, essential that they do so, because they cannot keep afloat on ideology alone" (MacDonald, 1999:35). Some of the activities of

professional groups may well be serving only their own economic or social benefit. However, every profession must convince the public and the state – which are the two main legislators- that its actions embody a reasonable amount of altruism and benevolence.

- 4) Lastly; Weberian term of “social closure” may enable us to have a better understanding of a profession’s collective actions within the course of a “professional project”.

3.3 Professional Ideology

As mentioned in the previous chapters, professions are interest groups that strive for a “monopoly” over a certain domain of practice and abstract knowledge. Accordingly, professions pursue Larsonian “professional projects”, in order to achieve this monopoly. However, professional project does not presuppose given steps to be followed, as criticized by Abbott (1988). Within this perspective, monopoly is only an utopian, *ideal* status, that may never be reached. During these processes of struggle, every single profession creates a core system of representations and values upon which they construct their professional autonomy. In parallel with Van Dijk’s conceptions, this core-system may be named as a professional ideology, as it involves a profession’s *hearth and soul*.

Interestingly, studies concerning professionalism and professional development rarely embody a notion of ideology. When they do so (Freidson, 1970, 2001; Larson 1977; Kennedy 2005), they fail to provide an explicit, coherent and well-structured theorization. In the works of these scholars, ideology is a vague, abstract notion that is of secondary significance. In this context, Van Dijk’s well defined, structural categories that were discussed in length in the second chapter, provides a sound foundation for the articulation of the concept of professional ideology.

3.3.1 Professional Ideology and Social Closure

“The ideas of Max Weber that are relevant here are, first, that society is to be seen as individuals pursuing their interests, and that this activity generates more or less collectively conscious groups, who are the bearers of ideals that legitimate the pursuit of their interests. Such ideas may become as important as the material interests that stimulated them in the first place. Indeed, Weber (1978:20) accords an important place to ‘ideas’ as metaphorical

‘switchmen’ that direct the interests and activities of members of society down particular tracks at certain points in time...” (Macdonald, 1999:27).

In an attempt to convey Weber’s ideas, Macdonald makes a loose definition of “ideology” which can be juxtaposed with Van Dijk’s (1995a, 1995b, 1995c 1998, 2000) formulations. Within this framework, social closure is one of the key elements in the constitution of social groups and their ideologies. Bilton et al. (1996:669) describes social closure as an attempt to restrict entry and exclude those outside the group in order to maximize their own advantage. Revisiting Van Dijk (1995a, 1995b, 1995c 1998, 2000), one of the primary functions of ideologies is to regulate the membership criteria of a particular group.

The idea of social closure is closely related with social stratification. However, Weberian social stratification is very different than Marx’s conception, which is concerned more about the acquisition of the means of production. On the other hand, stratification is also dependant of social resources, such as the much debated concept of social prestige. Traditionally associated with dominant groups, the concept of exclusion, which is inherent in social closure, is -in fact- characteristic of all groups.

The support of the state and controlling the education are primary means to employ “professional closure”. Freidson (2001) argues that, social closure in a labor market can only be achieved by sustaining jurisdictions which are basically public claims that “a defined set of discretionary tasks” can only be successfully carried out by the members of a certain profession. To this end, the educational systems that grant “credentials” are controlled especially by the members of occupational groups. Such credentials serve to guarantee individuals secure and protected entry into labor markets, perceived as tokens that show the degree of competence professionalism: “In the ideal-typical occupational labor market, the credential is labor market signal based on a formal system of training that is controlled directly or indirectly by representatives of the occupation” (Freidson, 2001:78). In the final analysis, support of the state through legislation is of crucial importance for the protection of professional education and jurisdictions.

The control over education is also important in terms of the reproduction of the professional ideology. Professional training, especially university education is the primary source of ideological transfer. To a great extent, most of the professional-ideological beliefs and values are acquired during education. Furthermore,

academicians are generally ideological elites, who postulate the foundational formulations of a professional ideology. In this framework, during education, the intensity of ideological “propaganda” and “teaching” is much more higher compared to the other periods of professional life. Education, then, is a forge which shapes individuals’ very beings into an ideological mould, which is the mortar that ensures a profession’s integrity (Van Dijk, 1998).

3.3.2 A Recent Study over Professional Ideology

In her recent study, “The *Ethos* of Architects towards an Analysis of Architectural Practice in Turkey” (2005), Nilgün F. Kennedy, draws a very detailed picture of architectural profession in Turkish context. Apart from analyzing a related design discipline, her research is one of the few studies in Turkish design literature that aims to combine theories of professional development with the idea of professional ideology, constructing her ideas on a large and comprehensive empirical data.

Although her empirical data and its analysis are very rich, the same rigorous and critical attitude cannot be observed especially in her theoretical framework regarding professional ideology. She describes her central question as “... this piece of research aims at examining *ethos* of Architects in Turkey today, and at the same time to describe the practice of architecture in this country in a sociological way” (Kennedy, 2005:12). To this end, she uses Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of *habitus* as a starting point that will provide the basic theoretical apparatuses for her research.

In fact, Bourdieu’s (1977) *habitus* is a theoretical conception which is concerned in explaining the effects of *ideologies* and their penetration to the everyday lives of individuals. Simply put, *habitus* is a set of mental governing principles or “structured dispositions” that regulate the social practices of people in society. Bourdieu calls these “internalized systems” (Eagleton, 1996:156) “cultural unconscious”, which is the reason that a coherence and harmony may be observed in the actions and social practices of individuals without the existence of a conscious body of governing principles. Through the implementation of habitual behavior in everyday practices, some unconscious and embedded mental norms and values are reproduced and articulated and as such, *habitus* is an intermediary between mental-social structures and daily social actions (Eagleton, 1996:156). Interestingly, Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* is very similar to Van Dijk’s theorization of ideology as shared social

representations. Both presuppose a language-like-structured mental system, which enables individuals to adapt to unexpected, chaotic social situations and become subjects through the processes of socialization and group formation. However, as Van Dijk (1998:47) also states, the notion of habitus is very loose and not-well-defined in terms of cognition. Compared to Van Dijk's conceptions of social representation and social cognition, Habitus only emphasizes the "outputs" of mental structures without giving any particular reference to the cognitive/psychological/mental mechanisms that created those expressions/outputs in the first place (1998:47). Interestingly, Bourdieu never focuses on the notion of ideology in his studies whereas he makes important contributions to the concept of ideology.

After introducing Bourdieu's habitus, Kennedy (2005) moves onto the concept of *ethos*, which can be defined as "the characteristics of a community or of culture, code of values which a group or society lives" (Oxford Dictionary). According to her, ethos is the "product of the collective habitus" of architects (Kennedy, 2005:8). Furthermore, she asserts that professional ideology of the architects is important constitutive element of the "architectural point of view". However, at this very point, the theoretical basis of her arguments begins to lose its explicitness.

Firstly, she seems not to be aware of the theoretical similarities between the concepts of ideology and habitus. Secondly, she does not discuss the negative and positive aspects of any alternative theories other than Bourdieu's habitus. As she fails to provide a well articulated definition of professional ideology and does not make a solid, comprehensive comparison between different conceptual models of ideology, the validity of her theoretical framework becomes problematic. The only detailed conception of ideology that Kennedy gives is derived from Althusserian (1990) concept of "spontaneous philosophy of scientists" (SPS):

"...Discussing science and scientists, Louis Althusser speaks of a "spontaneous philosophy of scientists" (SPS), arguing that "[t]he SPS bears only on the ideas (conscious or unconscious) that scientists have of the scientific practice of the sciences and of 'science' "(1990: 132). According to Althusser, there are two contradictory elements in SPS. One is internal: "convictions or 'beliefs' stemming from the experience of scientific practice itself in its everyday immediacy: it is spontaneous" (ibid). He calls this the *materialist* element. The other element is external to the scientist's practice: "a reflection *on* scientific practice by means of philosophical theses elaborated *outside* this practice and (...) manufactured by

philosophers or scientists" (ibid: 133). This element can take many forms, Althusser states, such as "an emphasis on the 'value of science', 'the scientific spirit', its exemplary 'critical virtue' etc." (ibid). Althusser calls this the *idealist* element. He goes on to emphasize that although these two elements of SPS are contradictory, the materialism is dominated by idealism in the vast majority of cases, just as it is in the world we live in" (Kennedy, 2005:49).

Kennedy posits that Althusser's SPI may be used synonymously with the term "spontaneous professional ideology", which is central to her study. Once again, she avoids engaging in any theoretical debates or any comparative analysis about SPI. Taken for granted, the concordances and dissonances between the terms of ethos, habitus and ideology transforms her line of argumentation into a fuzzy mist without any real reference points to hold on.

Finally, apart from a few faint references to Larson (1977), Kennedy does not quote the "sociology of professions" literature at all. This situation is rather strange, as she explains her fundamental motive as "describing the practice of architecture in this country in a *sociological way*" (Kennedy, 2005:2, emphasis added). With her constant emphasis on professional ideology and professional culture, the unique professional development of Turkish architecture may have been illustrated more profoundly, if she had utilized some borrowed concepts from the professions literature.

Nonetheless, all of these theoretical shortcomings do not cast shadows over the significance of the empirical study she had conducted. Carrying out in-depth interviews with more than 30 architects from all over Turkey, the richness of the empirical data allows her to sketch the "professional culture" of Turkish architects. Also, she is one of the few authors who use the notion of "professional ideology" in a non-political sense. Her well articulated and detailed conclusions, which are not directly relevant to this investigation, make critical contributions in understanding the collective-mind of Turkish architects.

3.3.3 Towards a Socio-Cognitive Definition of Professional Ideology

In his seminal book, *Profession of Medicine, A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge* (1970), Freidson argues that a successful profession may produce a "professional ideology". In his framework, ideology is a means to control and re-design the social domain in which a particular profession operates. Moreover, by the

utilization of the “normative and cognitive aspects” (Macdonald, 1999:2) of a professional ideology, a profession may claim universal validity, acquire upward mobility and social prestige and finally establish an unrivaled control over the sphere of knowledge and practice. Although Freidson makes a vague reference to a socio-cognitive theory of ideology, he does not go any further.

In his later work, Freidson (2001:105-122) makes a distinction between “professional ideology” and the “ideology of professionalism”. According to him, as professionalism is a tool to allow a certain profession – with a highly specialized system of knowledge and skill- to control its own work, there must be an underlying core network of claims, values and ideas. Combined together in the very fabric of the professional projects, those claims, values and ideas create the “ideology of professionalism” (Freidson, 2001:105). In parallel with Van Dijk’s formulations, Freidson also posits that an ideology cannot be totally false or totally true. The validity and value of a certain ideology, whether possessed by the dominant or dominated, lies in the fact that it serves the political, social, economic and cultural interests of certain groups of people. Skill and knowledge alone are not sufficient for acquiring social and economic power. In this context, persuasion and legitimation are the primary tools for successful social control towards a promotion which creates values and benefits (Lindblom, 1977:11).

Within the above mentioned context, the “ideal” ideology of professionalism aims to secure the authority and a privileged social position of specific professions, professional institutions and their members (Freidson, 2002:106). Like every other ideology, the ideology of professionalism must engage in conflicts with opposing ideologies, namely *consumerism and managerialism* (Freidson, 2002:106). While professionalism aims for the control of work by professionals, consumerism strives for grating this control to the market. On the other hand, in managerialism, the professionals and their work are ruled by bureaucracy.

Although Freidson draws a very broad picture and does not, in fact, quote the term “professional ideology” but the “ideology of professionalism”, his conceptions do not form a contradiction with the Van Dijkian socio-cognitive theory of ideology, which forms the basis of this study. Unlike Kennedy (2005) and Freidson (1970, 2002), Van Dijk (1996, 1998, 2000, 2002) does not only make generalizations and abstractions. By contrast, Van Dijk (1995a:14) provides explicit theoretical

categories -membership devices, actions, aims, norms and values, resources-, cognitive structures such as event and context models, and legitimation mechanisms. With the help of these theoretical apparatuses, ideologies can be analyzed and isolated from discourse and social practices.

Finally, it must be admitted that Van Dijk's theory is still far from being perfect. As he also accepts (Van Dijk, 1998: xii), his attempt is just a "humble" beginning which will "hopefully" lead to a larger socio-cognitive theory of ideology. Naturally, such a research schedule may keep numerous scholars busy for many years. In this context, this study can be perceived as an initial attempt to combine Van Dijk's conceptions with the sociology of professions.

4. INDUSTRIAL DESIGN PROFESSION

In this chapter a brief introduction to the emergence of design profession will be given. Then, a short summary of the history of industrial design profession in Turkish context will be provided to establish a basis for the empirical study.

4.1 What is Design? A Clash of Definitions

“All men are designers. All that we do, almost all the time, is design, for design is basic to all human activity. The planning and patterning of any act toward a desired, foreseeable end constitutes the design process. Any attempt to separate design to make it a thing by itself, works counter to the fact that design is the primary underlying matrix of life” (Papanek, 1972:3).

However, as Julier (2000:30) argues, such a broad definition undermines each and every attempt to “separate design from other commercial and cultural activities” which is the determining phenomenon of the history of design professions:

“...in doing so, they have attempted to identify themselves and their practice as something which bestows things, pictures, words and places with ‘added value’. Design becomes the range of goods, spaces and services that are shaped by the intervention of *professional designers*. It no longer refers to the countless objects which are formed and consumed within everyday life and which do not, of themselves, carry that level of cultural capital” (Julier, 2000:30, emphasis added).

At this very point, Dilnot (1984b:6) formulates a difference between “designing” and “design”. In his perspective, the former defines an activity which is not necessarily professional while the latter, design, is an umbrella term that covers an array of professional practices. Such a distinction, Dilnot continues, can only be comprehended within a historical perspective, where the tension between those two conceptions should be fully analyzed.

Various scholars (Dilnot, 1984a; Dilnot, 1984b; Balcıoğlu, 1994; Julier, 2000) agree on the point that the concept of *design* has numerous definitions most of which are contradictory in nature, similarly to the before mentioned conceptions of ideology. Balcıoğlu (1994:255) distinguishes three phases in the usage of the term. Within the

“first phase”, which covers the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, design has a broad definition. That is, design is associated with purposes, aims and intentions which are not perceived as professional activities. Contrastingly, during nineteenth century, which Balcioglu designates as the second phase, the term “design” has “pulled back” to a more narrow and restrictive meaning. This, according to Balcioglu (1994:255), was a major point where the term “design” lost its powerful position and “potential powers”. One of the main reasons of this situation was a “misleading parallel between the English word *design* and the French word *dessin* which solely meant drawing (Julier, 2000:33). In the 19th century, British “schools of design” aimed to train students who could create visual innovations whereas their French counterparts, “Ecoles de Dessin” only taught drawing (Julier, 2000:33). To avoid such a misunderstanding, the word design was replaced with terms such as “industrial art”, “decorative art” or “applied art” in the 19th century by British reformists such as Henry Cole (Julier, 2000:33). Those conceptions pointed out a more complex professional activity compared to the artisanic skill of decorative drawing. Yet, as Julier (2000:33) observes, this “linguistic maneuver” had its own disadvantages: Rather than creating the object itself, the notion of “applied art” was generally associated with superficial, “add-on” aesthetic qualities.

The third phase, which starts with the 20th century, has witnessed “a retrieval of the word design in order to separate it out again from art” (Julier, 2000). At that time, Walter Dorwin Teague, Raymond Loewy, Norman Bel Geddes and Henry Dreyfuss had used the name “industrial design” to define the scope of activities which they carried out beginning from late 1920s. For Balcioglu (1994), their influence was of great prominence in re-utilizing the word “design”, especially in English context. Thus, it will not be wrong to assert that industrial design “as we know today” was “invented” in the USA rather than Europe. Although this remark may seem controversial, the reasons behind such an analysis will be further elucidated in the section regarding the birth of industrial design practice in North America.

4.2 Professionalization: An Unfamiliar Concept for Industrial Design

As argued in the previous chapter, professionalization is basically a process which aims to establish a privileged position in the labor market for a specific profession. That is, each and every occupation strives to control its domain of influence and

practice by introducing certain standards of education, training and control. Yet, compared to the classical objects of study of the sociology of professions (law and medicine), “there is no control over the practice such as licensing, and no specific laws regulating the profession” (Valtonen, 2007:29) in industrial design.

“Fluctuating client demand and the design industry’s own lack of institutional cohesion have meant that it has been largely unable to establish its own professional norms” (Julier, 2000:34). As Julier observes, industrial design’s inability to produce normative mechanisms to protect the boundaries of the discipline, has caused a phenomena which he calls “design entryism”. That is, for there are no minimum educational or professional standards which determine the individuals who can use the title of “industrial designer”, industrial design practice is open to non-specialists lacking proper education (Julier, 2000:34). Furthermore, the recent enhancements in software technologies have worsened this situation. For instance, introduction of desktop publishing programs or software packages such as Adobe in Design led to a relative “democratization” of design practice by giving individuals means to achieve tasks that were once only carried out by trained specialists (Julier, 2000:35). Hence, being under a constant “attack” by non-designer specialists, industrial design professionals constantly endeavor to distinguish their professional services as a special area of expertise which demands specific specialist knowledge and skills:

“The problems of professionalization are not restricted to the design industry. American sociologist Nathan Glazer (discussed in Schön 1991:Ch.2) identified an historical split between what he called ‘major’ and ‘minor’ professions which are held in tension. Major professions have ‘normative curricula’ in their training in that there are agreed national standards in their content and assessment. They are also professionally regulated standard agreed working procedures and norms of commercial conduct. They also often have an agreed, but not fixed, structure of pay. In architecture in Britain, for instance, these features are developed and administered by the Royal Institute of British Architects. Meanwhile, the ‘minor’ professions, such as design, exhibit diverse curricula, are not professionally regulated, and their pay structures are largely market-driven. In many cases the minor profession historically has refereed to a major profession for its research paradigms and its norms and procedures. At the same time the minor occupation has been engaged in a struggle to build its own discursive structures, to free itself of dominance and develop its own professional culture” (Julier, 2000:35).

This lengthy passage shows that industrial design was perceived as a minor profession, especially compared to architecture and engineering, at least in the late

19th and early 20th centuries (Julier, 2000). Yet, it is also frequently debated that industrial design has other professional roots which it has borrowed from advertising, marketing and management consultancies (Pulos, 1988; Julier, 2000): “Furthermore, while in the modern age, some other minor ‘professions’ such as nursing are essential to social well being, design’s necessity has been a harder case to argue” (Julier, 2000:35).

While historically locating design as a “minor practice”, Julier (2000:35-36) identifies designers as being part of a social class which is called “new petite bourgeoisie” by Pierre Bourdieu (1984). As Julier (2000:36) puts, Bourdieu defines this class as formed by “all the occupations involving presentation and representation” (1984:359). Moreover, these professions are in the “symbolic work of producing needs” (1984:365). Advertising experts, marriage guidance specialists, sex therapists, beauticians, dieticians and vocational guides exemplify this social class, who has to fabricate the “non-existing-needs” for continuation of their careers (Julier, 2000:36). According to Bourdieu (1984), some occupations, especially advertising, design and media, who constitute the core of this new “new petite bourgeoisie”, “...are taste creators by working as cultural intermediaries. Their own preferences tend to be in marginal culture such as jazz, cinema and painting of the avant-garde” (Julier, 2000:36).

At this point of his line of argumentation, Julier makes a very important comment. Being a part of this new class, designers only “half-heartedly aspire to a *conservative* professional status” (Julier, 2000:36). Rather than becoming a part of a professional system where specific procedures and hierarchies predominate, designers tend to maintain “marginal” and “creative” position. Art and design education, where “individual creativity and marginality” is –generally- favored instead of certain academic qualifications and discipline, distinguishes itself from other “mainstream” educational traditions. Such a system creates individuals that are not sensitive to the needs of the industry, but romantic and marginal designers who strive to become celebrities (Julier, 2000). In this context, art and design education sociologically creates the existential base conditions of Bourdieu’s “new petite bourgeoisie” (Julier, 2000:36).

This system also allows designers to differentiate themselves from other professionals, where “marginality”, “individuality” and “creativity” are celebrated.

But as Julier notes, “designers are also involved in constant maneuverings to differentiate themselves from each other” (Julier, 2000:36). Combined with the systems of design curatorship, publication and stardom which depend on the myth of the “creative artist” or “creator designer”, design practice sometimes formulates an alternative path to “professionalization”. However, designers tend to find themselves engaged in struggles resulting from the antagonisms between the *traditional path of professionalization* and the above mentioned alternative system that has been utilized.

The design consultancy firms, who form the “top-tier” of the professionalization in design practice, rely also on “differentiation” as a tool for ensuring the commercial survival of their business. As Julier (2000:36) notes, they create images as brands rather than being mere consultants. This is generally achieved through establishing a “reputation for thoroughness, efficiency and cost effectiveness, their experience, breadth and depth of knowledge but they may also use their creative profile” (Julier, 2000:37). Julier also argues that, those companies have to locate themselves as taste makers. To reinforce such a status, those consultancies “curate themselves” with the publication of “catalogues, books and exhibitions about their own work” (Julier, 2000:37). Furthermore, business slogans, detailed business statements and sometimes an emphasis on a special area of specialization within a “corporate approach to design” are being developed as a part of this strategy of marginalization: “In doing so, designers and design consultants are not only curating themselves, but effectively writing their own histories: *historicizing* themselves” (Julier, 2000:37). In this context, most of the design history texts have been written in order to reinforce this rather “marginal”, system of differentiation and professionalization:

“Much of the earlier history of design has been written and disseminated to effectively support this system of professionalization and differentiation. Many of the earlier design history texts focused on the successive attempts at public recognition of design as both a profession and product (e.g. Carrington 1976) and this turns the narrative into a discourse of ‘pioneering modern design heroes in the face of a largely uninformed public. Part of the point of many of these texts was, then, to inform them and build a respectable status for the profession. This has privileged a particular process and product in design: the account of design has been progressively separated from the reality of its practice” (Julier, 2000:37).

Dilnot (1984a:12) states that most of the studies in design history have generally focused on individual designers and “designed objects” rather than taking practice

itself as its real subject matter. Moreover, the aesthetics and ideology of modernism were emphasized (Dilnot, 1984a:12) by a certain focus on specific design disciplines (product design) and specific objects (furniture) (Julier, 2000:39). In 20th century for instance, “chairs” became important design icons without which the concept of “design-stardom” cannot be accomplished. As Julier asserts, certain events such as Milan and Cologne furniture fairs act as mediums to promote “star-designers” in the above mentioned system of marginalist professionalization. Spiced by “good design awards” and large press coverage, such events attach to the system of design curatorship where museums such as Vitra Design Museum and Moma organize events and exhibitions to celebrate “good design” and “star-designers”.

In the final analysis, the design process, production and all other related functions within design practice melt into the form of a “sublime object”, creating certain ethoi and myths. A list of “important designs” and “important designers” emerge (Dilnot, 1984b:235), which excludes a broad range of design activity distributed against disciplines. As debated before, the on-going “mystification” of the design process tends to obscure the economic, social and cultural implications of design practice (Dilnot, 1984b:236):

“And, just as there is an increasing hiatus between professional design values and social requirements, there is also an increasing gap between what the word *Design* evokes for those involved in design practice or design education and what designed objects and images actually do. In professional design practice and design education, and now possibly in design history, a mystique of design, an almost mythic and artificial set of largely aesthetic values, is being created.”

4.3 Emergence of Industrial Design in America

It was asserted in the section 4.1 that the term “industrial” design was first used in the US after the First World War. As a model for the rest of the world, the story of the emergence of industrial design in the US, bears the clues of utmost importance to understand the unique “professionalization” process that industrial design has undertaken, mainly in the west. Nonetheless, it must be taken into consideration that this section does not aim to provide a complete account of the historical development of industrial design profession in the US. Rather, some key milestones are laid down in order to have a better understanding of the professionalization process of ID in America.

4.3.1 Emergence of Industrial Design Profession in America

The First World War evoked the large productive capability of the US industry. Immediately after the war, companies found themselves in a relentless race in increasing sales and cutting down the costs (Heskett, 2001:105). In those times, apart from the improvements in the production methods, technology, standardization and materials, the visual properties of products began to become more important as advertising has established itself as a widely utilized area of expertise. Producers discovered the power of “visuality” as “...image was frequently more widely diffused than the product itself” (Heskett, 2001:105).

However, this era of dramatic economic growth did not last very long. The recession period which began in 1927 continued with the famous Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression of 1930s. During this time, most of the firms were closed down or forced to be unified for forming larger corporations. The conditions of the market and competition became extremely harsh for those enterprises who managed to survive (Heskett, 2001:105).

The very first industrial designers emerged in this rather depressing context. Although those individuals came from diverse backgrounds and their methods and processes greatly varied, they managed to establish industrial as an important part of industrial activity. In line with Heskett’s line of argumentations, they came from origins such as advertising, presentation , commercial arts, exhibition and display design and stage design and more significantly, they “were accustomed to working in commercial context , *often as a part of a team*, and to taking decisions requiring the reconciliation of competing claims” (Heskett, 2001:105, emphasis added). Thus, those pioneer industrial designers adopted and utilized the processes and methods of advertising and consulting agencies who mostly offered services to a vast array of clients.

Among those first designers Walter Darwin Teague –a graphic artist-, Raymond Loewy –who in fact was an engineer but worked as an illustrator and display designer-, Henry Dreyfuss –a stage designer- and Norman Bel Geddes –also a stage designer- are the key figures that can be shown as solid examples for this first generation. Their work ranged from cameras to refrigerators and from luxury boats to

airliners. According to Pulos (1988:20), “they were extolled as wizards of aesthetics with a down-to-earth approach to marketing”.

Apart from those free-lancers, some large corporations such as Frigidaire of GM, and Kelvinator of Nash, employed a large number of designers and thus become training grounds. Especially, the Art and Color Department of General Motors which was established in 1928 and where Harley T. Earl was the head, expanded to become the Styling section of the company and employed more than 300 people at that time (Heskett, 2001:106).

An important step in the professionalization process of American industrial design was the establishment of a national professional organization. Most of the early professionalism theories posit the foundation of such associations as an important step towards professionalization. The early histories of those organizations are narrated vividly in Arthur J. Pulos’ excellent book, *American Design Adventure* (1988), which will be the main source of reference in the current and following sections.

The American Designers’ institute, which was the first predecessor today’s Industrial Designers’ Society of America, was formed in early 1920’s when American furniture manufacturers were trying to be unified under a trade association (Pulos, 1988:196). As Pulos (1988:196) reports, at first, American Furniture Mart was closed to any designers who were accused to visit the Mart only to copy the authentic designs of the others. In such an environment: “... the furniture manufacturers continued to look upon designers as invaders. Even those manufacturers who employed designers did not quite trust them” (Pulos, 1998:196). Therefore, a numbers of designers came together with the representatives of the furniture industry and founded the National Furniture Designers’ Council (NFDC) in 1933, in order to prevent design piracy (Pulos, 1998:196). It is noteworthy that this association was not established to constitute a platform for designers. Rather it was a direct result of the demands from the industry against piracy. For Pulos, furniture manufacturers were not interested in promoting competition as they should have, but trying to protect and stick with the “limited number of design ideas” that they had possessed. NFDC tried to formulate a code that may be a solution to the above mentioned problems, although failed to have the support of the industry and eventually disintegrated in 1934 (Pulos, 1998:196).

Pulos states that NFDC had “planted the seed for a design organization”. During American Furniture Mart’s 1936 market, Lawrence H. Whiting, who, at that time, was the director of the AFM, invited a group of leading designers and they formed the organization called the Designers’ Institute of the American Furniture Mart. In AFM’s July 1938 market, John Vassos who was an “artists, an author, and a consultant designer for RCA Victor” (Pulos, 1998:196), was the primary speaker. The main argument of his talk was an urgent need for designers to sever their fragile relationships with the American Furniture Mart and to expand their domain beyond furniture. Thus, the name of the institution was changed to American Designers Institute (ADI), and John Vassos “who had not even been a member of the group before the July meeting”, became the first president (Pulos, 1998:197). The group decided to sever its bonds with the Furniture Mart, as they felt that “patronage limited the *freedom of design* of members” (Vassos, 1962, quoted Pulos, 1988:197), emphasis added).

The organization applied for a legal recognition in the state of Illinois in 1940 and explained themselves as: “a society for the promotion, education and dissemination of information and good will with the reference to the art of designing; to bring to public information concerning the standards and ethics of designers” (Frank, 1962:10, quoted Pulos, 1988:197). Hence, ADI became a legal and approved association in the state of Illinois, on July 10, 1940 (Pulos, 1988:197).

Pulos observes that ADI was an association of designers but not *industrial designers*, as most of its members came from backgrounds that are closely connected to craft based industries. Also, those early founders tended to work in specialized areas such as furniture, fabrics, ceramics and glass (Pulos, 1988:197).

The national conference which is organized by ADI in 1941, during the times when America was entering the Second World War was especially prominent. The title of the conference was ‘ Design in the National Emergency’ and it was one of the first organized attempts to legitimate design profession, as talents of designers “would be made available to the US government and to manufacturers who needed help to meet the difficulties imposed by shortages of materials, labor and manufacturing equipment” (Pulos, 1988:197).

At 1944, when ADI moved its legal base from Illinois to the East Coast, New York where was already a center for the first generation of *pioneer* industrial designers who were practicing the profession since the late 1920's (Pulos, 1988:198). As explained before, they were coming from diverse backgrounds such as engineering, illustration, advertising, stage design, graphics and display design. For Pulos, "their growing reputation had been capped by their outstanding contributions to the planning and the design of New York World's Fair" (1988:197).

Pulos makes a very important point as he states that "New York State's tax authorities decided that the earnings were taxable under the unincorporated business tax statute". This is rather interesting, as it means that The State had perceived those industrial designers and their practice as a business rather than being a profession. However, those designers were protesting against this "misconception" as "their earnings, like those of architects, were derived from services rendered rather than from the sale of goods" (Pulos, 1988:197). Thus, Henry Dreyfuss, Raymond Loewy and Walter Dorwin Teague hired an attorney in a trial concerning this issue. For them, industrial design was a profession not a "trade" or "business". Also, it was a special and expert field of practice and discipline with many independent educational institutions such as Pratt Institute, Carnegie Institute of Technology (today, Carnegie Mellon University), the Universities of Illinois and Michigan and New York University who offered the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Industrial Design (Pulos, 1988:197). Although none of those three designers were formally educated in the field of industrial design, they frequently asserted that they had single handedly created the necessary "body of knowledge on which the new academic programs were based" (Pulos, 1988:197). In the end, designers have won the case, and were exempted from unincorporated-business taxes:

"Since that time, despite repeated attempts to tax industrial designers under the unincorporated-business tax law, they have always found exempt. This is taken as prima facie evidence that industrial design is a profession. (Since the establishment of 'professional corporation' status for those in the traditional professions, the issue has become academic; even incorporation does not excuse them from liability)" (Pulos, 1988:199).

Pulos observes that the profession of architecture had followed a similar course, some 90 years before designers, American Institute of Architects had won a similar case that allowed them to be paid and taxed as professionals rather than being businessmen or tradesmen (Pulos, 1988:197).

Immediately after resolving the tax issue, Dreyfuss, Loewy and Teague came together to establish a truly *professional society* that would “promote high standards and would protect designers’ professional status should that again become necessary” (Pulos, 1988:197). Together with industrial designers such as Norman Bel Geddes, Don Deskey, Egmont Arens and Russel Wright, they exchanged ideas over the possibilities.

Three months before ADI moved to the East Coast, Delaware in Upstate New York, 15 practicing industrial designers, who met at Teague’s office laid down the foundational stones for a new professional society on February 7, 1944 (Pulos, 1988:197). At first the membership was only limited to those who were “successfully engaged in industrial design and the heads of the academic programs”. For long years, the organization did not accept non-practitioner academicians to a membership status (Pulos, 1988:197). Initially, the definition of an industrial designer was “one has successfully designed a *diversity* of products for machine and mass production” (Teague, 1944, quoted Pulos, 1988:199). Pulos (1988:197) also notes that, this definition was the main issue of argument between ADI and this newly formed organization.

On August 29, 1944 the organization took the name of Society of Industrial Designers (SID), and became legal under the law of the State of New York. At the beginning, Teague was the president, Dreyfuss was the vice-president, Loewy was the chairman of the executive committee, Harold Van Doren was the treasurer, Egmont Arens was the secretary and finally Philip McConnell who was the former secretary of New York’s World Fair Design Commission, was the appointed executive secretary (Pulos, 1988:200). Donald Deskey, Norman Bel Geddes, Lurelle Guild, Ray Patten, Joseph Platt, John Gordon Rideout, George Sakier, Joseph Sinel, Brooks Stevens and Russel Wright were the initial founding members. Pulos quotes that, Wright has thought of the possibility of accepting some ADI members into the SID, such as George Nelson and Charles Eames; yet they were not “found acceptable” for their work was only limited to furniture design (Pulos, 1988:200). In 1945 the membership criterion became clearer, as a flyer states the minimum conditions which “specifically excluded businessman, specialists, handicraft designers and engineers”:

“To be acceptable a candidate must have practiced Industrial Design for several years and in the course of his practice must have had three or more of his products manufactured and offered for sale in the usual marketing channels. He must have honorably and satisfactorily served three of manufacturers...The term industrial designer is defined to include persons who are professionally engaged in designing a diversity of products for machine and mass production” (McConnell, 1945:5-6, quoted Pulos, 1988:200).

The 1947 AMA(American Management Association) report, which was based on a survey conducted upon the request of SID is especially noteworthy, as it shows the perception of industrial designers in American Industry (Pulos, 1988:200):

“The report stated that there had been 50% rise in the reliance of business on professional designers to give their products consumer appeal from the standpoint of art, engineering and merchandising. Those companies using industrial designers included 90% of the companies making consumer goods, 80% of those making packaging and 50% of the manufacturers of industrial products. The majority felt that industrial design was a function of top management and that senior officers should be responsible for selecting the industrial designers. The summary of AMA report noted that the hiring of persons to perform industrial design work had begun shortly after 1925 Paris Exposition. Hiring had grown steadily through 1930’s until the war, then had leveled off. However, in 1943, the numbers had begun to climb again, reflecting preparations for peace... It would seem at this point industrial design has entered the level of other professional services that expand the capabilities of top management.”

Another important milestone in the professionalization process was the appearance of industrial design in magazines. The first such magazine was *Interiors* magazine, who used the subtitle of “+ industrial design” on its title page in 1945 (Pulos,1988:200). In 1949, the same magazine spared an entire section, for the first time, for industrial design and they proclaimed industrial design to be the “most rapidly expanding of all design fields” (Pulos, 1988:200). Finally, in 1955 Whitney Publications started *Industrial Design*, as a “sibling” to *Interiors* and which was solely dedicated to the field.

With the rising interest and public awareness of industrial design, New York State Department of Commerce established a design section in 1944 whose aim was to “... become responsible for the encouragement of well designed products, thereby making goods manufactured in the state of New York more readily sold at home and abroad” (Society Of Industrial Design Archives, 1944, quoted Pulos, 1988:201). Interestingly, Pulos states that this attempt was never successfully finished.

In 1948, depending on a suggestion from the board of trustees, ADI tried to open its membership to packaging designers. However, thinking that their identity may be lost, packaging designers founded their own association, Packaging Designers Council, and the opportunity for establishing an “umbrella organization for designers was lost for that time (Pulos, 1988:202). In 1949, the same board of trustees recommended that the name of ADI should be changed to Industrial Designers Institute in order to “identify themselves with the developing and emerging profession of industrial design” (American Designers Institute Meeting Minutes, 1950, quoted Pulos, 1988:202). In 1951, members approved this idea which came from the board of trustees, and the American Designers Institute became Industrial Designers Institute (IDI). In 1955, the headquarters of IDI was moved to New York and “had over 200 active members” (Pulos, 1988:202). At that time, IDI also strived for a more elucidate definition of “industrial designer”, in order to “conform the requirements of New York State’s Education Law while avoiding the precincts of architecture and engineering” (Pulos, 1988:202). The new definition was created by the president of IDI, Benjamin Nash and approved by all the members:

“... a person practicing industrial designing... who is able to perform, or who does perform , professional service such as consultation, evaluation, planning, design including structural design, or reasonable supervision of construction or operation, in connection with any machine made, mass-produced commodity for consumer use or accessory thereto, wherein the safe guarding of life, property or human benefits are concerned, or involved, when such service requires the application of Art, *Science of Design*, and construction based upon the principles of aesthetics, humanities and industrial techniques” (IDI Papers, quoted Pulos, 1988:201-202,emphasis added).

On the other hand, SID changed its name to American Society of Industrial Designers (ASID), in order to emphasize the national bonds for members who were also operating in numerous foreign countries such as Raymond Loewy and Donald Deskey (Pulos, 1988:203).

The first signs of collaboration between ASID and IDI came in 1955, when those two associations organized an exhibition called “Industrial Design: Today and Tomorrow”, in Chicago. After that time, many such events of collaborative effort was initialized including the participation in the international exhibition in Brussels in 1958, the Milan Triennales in 1954 and 1957 and the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1958. In the same year, the first efforts to combine those

two societies began to appear (Pulos, 1988:204). However, the largest problem was the membership requirements of those two associations. IDI accepted members who had only designed products for a single company whereas ASID insisted on three products produced by different industries: “The latter requirement was eventually accepted as evidence of the fact that industrial design was a generalist rather than a specialized profession” (Pulos, 1988:204). Finally, on January 25, 1965 the conflicts were overcome by the younger generation and Industrial Designers Society of America (IDSA) was born, with Henry Dreyfuss as the president, John Vassos as the chairman of the board, Robert Hose, Joseph Parriott, Donald Dailey and Tucker Madawick as vice-presidents, and George Payne as the treasurer (Pulos, 1988:204). The newly formed IDSA decided to continue the before-established programs of Design Awards Program, Student Merits Award and Walter Dorwin Teague Scholarships for gifted students of industrial design (Pulos, 1988:205).

By the end of 1950's the practice of industrial design was carried out in two arenas: 1) Consultant designers who ran their own offices 2) Corporate designers who worked as in-house members of the product development teams of the companies. However the perceived roles of those two distinct groups were different than each other. It was not expected from corporate designers to act like “star consultants”, who expressively demonstrated their talents and individuality. On the contrary, corporate designers should be able to submerge their egos and act accordingly with the needs of the specific departments they worked for. For instance, they did not always work under design or styling departments but rather in marketing and engineering and had to transform their professional practice in accordance with the departmental policies and strategies (Pulos, 1988:207). However, major companies generally did possess large corporate design departments, whose managers were at the same level as the managers of engineering or marketing departments and directly reported to the top management. In some companies such as General Electric, the design department acted as an independent design office who worked as a “company within the company” (Pulos, 1988:207). Those larger companies also did use outside consultants for fresh insights and new directions. Sometimes, consultants were given special tasks such as exploring the future possibilities for the companies and they are even engaged in product planning beginning from late 1950s (Pulos, 1988:208):

“More than once a respected industrial designer rose above oversimplified classifications to be retained by a corporation as consultant design director, charged with establishing standards of excellence and providing overall philosophical and cultural guidance for the company.”

4.3.2 Emergence of Industrial Design Education in America

As shown in the previous chapter, industrial design activity had started in America between two world wars, as a direct answer to the needs of the industry where a profound stagnation has settled as a result of the Great Depression. Although the first practitioners had come from diverse backgrounds, the dramatic developments in the field had quickly turned into a demand for “specially trained industrial designers” (Pulos, 1988:164).

Apart from the first industrial designers who had been extensively supporting the establishment of the very first industrial design programs, “a number of teachers of art, commercial art, and arts and crafts moved into industrial design education” (Pulos, 1988:164). Other than those educators, numerous artists, architects and designers who had either fled from Communism or National Socialism had migrated to the US, especially prior to the Second World War.

The first school who had dedicated its curriculum solely to industrial design was Design Laboratory, which had been established in New York in 1935 under the directorship of Gilbert Rohde. Initially supported by Works Progress Administration (WPA), the school was taken over in 1936 by the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians and the name was changed to the Laboratory School of Industrial Design. The school was closed in 1940 (Pulos, 1988:164).

In a paper which has been published by the Society for the Study of Education, Gilbert Rohde made some remarks about the qualities that a prospective industrial designer should possess. The comments are rather interesting, as they illuminate the perception of the profession at those times (Pulos, 1988:164):

“... 30 percent of a student’s capacity for industrial design lay in an ability to see where products could be improved combined with an instinctual ingenuity in thinking of ways to effect the improvements, 30 percent in an ability to sense what most people will like, 20 percent in scientific-mindedness (a feeling for materials and construction, manifested at an early age), and 20 percent to aesthetic form. He rated aesthetic sensitivity last because with it alone one could be an artist or craftsman but not an successful industrial designer.”

On the other hand, the first degree-granting industrial design program in the US was established by Donald R. Dohner (a graphic artist who had worked in Westinghouse's "Art-Engineering department and participated in numerous projects for redesigning virtually everything that the company produced) and Alexander Kostellow (an instructor in painting and design) at Carnegie Institute of Technology (today Carnegie Mellon University), again in 1935. According to Pulos (1988:165), the school was first of its kind in combining aesthetical sensitivity with empirical exploration and practical experience, which later become the core principles of industrial design education in America.

After the foundation of the program in Carnegie, Donald Dohner accepted to launch a similar program at Pratt Institute in 1936, upon an invitation by the dean of Pratt Institute's art school, James Boudreau. At the same time, Peter Müller Munk, who had come to the US from Germany, with degrees in humanities and silversmithing, moved to the position of Dohner at Carnegie (Pulos, 1988:166). Munk had initially worked at Tiffany's in New York, before starting his own silver studio. After designing some chinaware for New York department store, he had expanded his business to other sectors such as electrical appliances and consumer goods (Pulos, 1988:166).

The first industrial design school which was initiated in the West Coast was California Graduate School of Design (1937) which had a two year graduate program to support undergraduate "design" courses in other schools with an emphasis on "technological, social and economic factors in industrial design" (Pulos, 1988:167). With most of the male students going to war, the school was "absorbed" by the California Institute of Technology (Caltech), and the name was changed to California School of Design. The school was directed by Walter Baermann, who moved to California from Munich and had degrees in architecture and engineering (Pulos, 1988:167):

"The first-year of the program at the California School of Design was devoted to exploratory design projects and workshops in industrial materials and processes and lectures and seminars on economics, sociology and technology. In the second year, the assigned programs were on a larger scale and an independent design thesis was required."

However, in 1942, Baermann left California for becoming the head of the design program at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Michigan. For him, an independent art

school was more suitable for teaching design compared to the more restrictive environments of technology institutes (Pulos, 1988:169). Also, at those times key figures such as Charles Eames, Ray Kaiser, Harry Weese, Harry Bertoia and Eero Saarinen were part of Cranbrook (Pulos, 1988:169).

In 1937, following the demise of Bauhaus at the hand of Nazis, Walter Gropius asked the support of “Chicago based Association for Arts and Industry” for founding a “New Bauhaus”. He recommended Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, who directed the foundation program at Bauhaus, as the new director of the school (Pulos, 1988:169). Thus, the New Bauhaus was opened in Chicago in 1937. The faculty was mostly formed by former emigrates from Europe. In 1938, the financial support was withdrawn, due to the “differences between the faculty and the sponsors”. There had been rumors that Bauhaus approach was not appropriate for the needs of the American industry (Pulos, 1988:169). In 1939, the school changed its name the School of Design and found some new sponsors. After Moholy-Nagy’s death in 1946, the school encountered grave difficulties in attracting new students. Thus, Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) absorbed the school and changed its name to the Institute of Design in 1949 (Pulos, 1988:170). After the resignation of Serge Chermayeff in 1955, Jay Doblin became the new leader and the director (Pulos, 1988:170).

There had been interesting arguments in the educational scene, especially between architects and industrial designers. In 1940, a conference was held at School of Architecture at the University of Michigan, about the academic relationship between architecture and industrial design. Apart from the deans of architecture faculties of Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, Cranbrook and Michigan, three industrial design educators were present at the conference (Peter Müller Munk of Carnegie Tech, Walter Baermann of the Graduate School of Design and Donald Dohner of the Pratt Institute). Especially Dohner had come up with serious criticisms against the idea that industrial design was belonging to the domain of architecture: “To me architecture is a tailor-made job, it still has a lot of handicraft. Industrial design is based on the machine and what the machine can do” (Architectural Forum, 1940, quoted Pulos, 1988:171). Naturally, this perspective was unacceptable and non-understandable for architects. For Walter Gropius of Harvard, industrial design was one of the so-called optical arts, and thus he considered it under the same context

with architecture (Pulos, 1988:171). Although other deans accepted that architecture can benefit from the approaches of industrial designers which advocated direct experience with materials and processes; they believed that” design was design, suggesting that the only difference was in the area of specialization” (Pulos, 1988:171). Eventually, art schools “won the case” and industrial design never became a part of architecture in many institutions. Furthermore, first industrial designers in America were artists rather than being engineers and architects (Pulos, 1988:171).

Expecting a dramatic rise to the need for the services industrial designers provide, especially after the Second World War, Society of Industrial Designers and American Designers Institute hastened their efforts to contribute to the industrial design education. When ADI moved its headquarters to New York in 1944, the educational committee formed by Alexander Kostellow, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Donald Dohner, John Vassos, Ben Nash and George Kosmak, prepared an ideal, “prototype curriculum” for the industrial design education (Pulos, 1988:172). Although that curriculum was over-loaded and thus did not have the possibility to be covered by a four or five year program, it provided the basis for most of the curricula that followed. It was a combination of arts, natural sciences, the behavioral and social sciences and the humanities (Pulos, 1988:172).

As Pulos argues, John Vassos was one of the first professionals who was concerned with the legal status of industrial design profession. In 1944, the educational committee “proposed an amendment to the New York State Educational Law that would have established the educational requirements and the licensing regulations for industrial designers” (Pulos, 1988:172). This amendment, which was put on paper by Benjamin Nash and two assisting attorneys, defined the practice of industrial design in the following way:

“... a science and art whereby a person educated and trained in the humanities, in the industrial techniques and in the principles of aesthetics, applied his knowledge and skill to modern technology in the designing for mass production of commodities which are functional , safe and possess inherent aesthetic qualities...” (Pulos, 1988:172)

The amendment was two times debated in state legislature, respectively in 1947 and 1948. However it was not passed, due to a heavy lobby of industrial designers who feared that the proposed amendment was a direct threat to their independence.

Furthermore, the very same designers, who were no thrusting the newly forming design academia was reluctant to “submit to the scrutiny of their peers” (Pulos, 1988:174). Interestingly, the course of events is parallel to the line of argumentation regarding the professionalization of industrial design, which was borrowed from Julier in the previous chapters. The licensing issue was revitalized with Henry Dreyfuss who became the president of IDSA in 1966, yet the same arguments again plagued the attempt:

“The biggest stumbling block was whether or how to license a designer who might design a product in one state that would be manufactured in a second state and sold in a third state to a consumer from a fourth state” (Pulos, 1988:174).

The first educational bulletin was published by SID in 1946. It was followed by a second and reflected doubts of the professional members who accused the existing programs to be “too narrow” (Pulos, 1988:174-175).

Two conferences which were held at Metropolitan museum in 1944 and 1946 are remarkable events for the design education in America. As Pulos (1988:176) argues, these conferences has surfaced the problems between professionals and design educators and also addressed issues regarding the “proper relationship of design professions, and about whether humanistic, technological or aesthetic values should dominate design education” (Pulos, 1988:176). Pulos notes that those arguments are still continuing today on all fronts, and an immediate solution is nowhere to be found. In other meetings which were organized by SID and ADI following 1946, professionals occasionally expressed their concerns about “inadequate design education” especially in the areas of science and technology (Pulos, 1988:176). There was a growing debate that classical art-based approach to industrial design education was not adequate for prospective industrial designers. Industrial design curricula should include courses in social and behavioral sciences: “... technical courses might drive away some artistic students, but in the long run such courses would raise the standards of design education and the competence of the graduates” (Pulos, 1988:176). Therefore, it was begun to be understood that “art studies appropriate for an industrial designer” were not identical with those appropriate for artists. Industrial programs in art schools should be leveled with the programs in technology institutes where a great emphasis was put on workshop and laboratory courses (Pulos, 1988:176).

Another particularly important event was the “Conference on Industrial Design: A new Profession”, which was organized by the New York Museum of Modern Arts in 1946 with the participation from members of SID, ADI, design educators and other interested professionals such as “architects and lawyers”. One of the dominant themes of the conference was about the industrial designers’ identity: Were they primarily artist or something else? Here, names like Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Kostellow and Boudereau engaged in lengthy debates about the nature of industrial design education.

SID published its third educational bulletin titled “How Industrial Designers Should Be Trained?” in 1948. The bulletin clearly stated that there were profound problems in industrial design education resulting from the antagonisms between institutions, educators and the “real needs” of industrial design profession (Pulos, 1988:178):” Most of the existing programs were art-oriented and thus lacked the courses in psychology and merchandising that would help students understand marketing issues”. Furthermore, sufficient knowledge about science and technology was absent in most of the programs.

However, there was no real collaboration between ADI and SID which were the two societies of industrial designers in the US. On one hand, SID endeavored to “familiarize managers and engineers with the practice and values of industrial design” (Pulos, 1988:180). On the other, ADI prepared solid suggestions for ideal curriculums and tried to establish a legal status for the profession “through licensing”. Moreover, members of those associations actively involved in design education whereas non-practicing educators were not granted memberships.

In 1955, the Industrial Design magazine, dedicated a complete issue to industrial design education and addressed the need for a nation-wide dialogue to address the problems. Shall the schools choose a rational approach that held technical proficiency superior to imagination or a “blue-sky approach” putting emphasis on creativity? With the assistance of the magazine, Joseph Cariero, who was the head of the industrial design program at the Philadelphia Museum School of Art, organized a meeting in Philadelphia where representatives of the two industrial designers’ associations and representatives of the schools came together in 1955. One of the major questions that was tackled by participants for over two decades was:

“...whether industrial design was to be taught as an art or as a science. Were designers primarily artists applying their aesthetic judgment to the products of industry (their very presence in the art schools seemed to support this position), or were they technologists who solved the problems effecting public safety, comfort and convenience?” (Pulos, 1988:181)

Another issue was the much-debated role of industrial designers as taste-makers and pioneers of good taste: Should they raise the overall taste and standards of the industry or the public or should they “gauge the needs of and desires of the public” so that industry could meet them. Last but not the least, was design only a tool to an end or was it “an end in itself” (Pulos, 1988:181). As Pulos observes, these issues were neither solved at those times nor have been unraveled today. The mental domain of the industrial designers seem to be forever divided between those two sides and this very paradox become the locus of their identity.

Although design educators had taken a “defensive” posture in Philadelphia meeting, they still agreed to continue the collaboration. In 1956, a second symposium was held at Institute Design of IIT which was arranged by Jay Doblin. Although practitioners demanded a more structured and formal organization from design educators, in a fear that they may loose their authenticity and freedom, they were rather doubtful about such an organization. The series continued with another meeting in Los Angeles in 1957 (Pulos, 1988:182). Arthur J. Pulos of Syracuse University hosted a group of practitioners and educators where they decided to found a third national association, Industrial Design Education Association (IDEA); also to act as a mediator between IDI and SID. For the first time, American industrial design educators had been connected in a network of communication and collaboration. In the second meeting of IDEA, which happened in 1958, degree granting schools of industrial design compared their curricula and consulted the situation of non-practitioner educators who were not accepted into either IDI or SID. In the meeting of 1960, IDEA had grown to 50 members representing 20 schools. The major issue of that meeting was the minimum traits that were accepted from industrial design graduates:

“Practicing designers insisted that schools should train students for the practice of design as it existed; educators on the other hand, insisted that the role of the school was to educate students for the profession as it should be” (Pulos, 1988:182).

The arguments over whether prospective industrial designers should be “educated or trained” had grown and expanded. Both groups (practitioners and educators who, in

fact, mostly did not come from an industrial design background), strived to reach some academic minimums that could be agreed upon (Pulos, 1988:183). Finally in the 1962 meeting, a consensus was reached over a relative balance between two approaches:

“Art courses in the first year, courses in two/three dimensional design and familiarization with materials and industrial processes in the second year, theoretical and practical design problems in the third year, and courses in economics and professional practice along with deeper design challenges in the fourth year” (Caplan, 1962).

In 1967 IDSA organized a meeting and invited practitioners and educators to prepare a list of recommended industrial design schools that would appear on IDSA’s list. However, the meeting left unresolved and no schools for that time was recommended (Pulos, 1988:190). In 1968 another meeting was organized by IDSA educational committee and the need for academic minimums once again expressed. Pulos conveys an interesting anecdote from the meeting regarding the industrial designers’ perceptions about the industry and the state:

“...we cannot survive in this jungle on the basis of selling good design. Congress and industry are not interested. All they want is profit. We smuggle in virtue... We give clients good things in spite of them” (Chapman, 1968, quoted Pulos, 1988:190).

Upon this meeting, a set of minimums were constructed and approved by the members. As Pulos asserts, from that day on, school constructed their own programs based on those minimums and each strived to reach their own goals. Some schools trained students that are closer to the needs of the industry whereas other has provided their students a somehow “loftier” position, which does not immediately correspond with the material conditions of the labor market (Pulos, 1988:190-191). Thus based on the agreed minimums, each school followed and created its own way, “some emphasizing theory, some practice and others personal or social expression (Pulos, 1988:190-191).

4.4 Emergence of Industrial Design in Turkey

Industrial design appeared in Turkish context in a rather peculiar fashion, before the actual need in industry materialized (Er, 1993). Thus, the “story” of emergence of industrial design in Turkey is not a story mainly concerning the “practice” but “education”. Once again, it must be clearly stated that this section does not aim for a

complete “history” of industrial design in Turkey. On the contrary, it only provides some Lacanian “capitane points” through which the empirical study and the involved discursive manifestations can be comprehended more easily.

In his 1993 article, *The State of Design: Towards an Assessment of the Development of Industrial Design in Turkey*, H. Alpay Er draws a clear picture of the emergence of industrial design. In this article, Er analyzes the professional development of ID in the context of Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs). For a more extensive argument on the development patterns of ID in NICs, other studies conducted by Er and Bonsiepe can be revisited (Bonsiepe, 1990; Er, 1992; Er and Langrish, 1993; Er, 1994; Er, 1997).

According to Er (1993:32-33), between 1960s and 1980s, a domestic market oriented Import Substituting Industrialization (ISI) policy and strategy were applied in Turkey, resulting in a prominent production capacity mainly in “consumer and intermediate goods”. The immediate result was an over protective domestic market, with companies lacking any real international competitive edge. Without serious competition and investments in technology, production and R&D, domestic firms transferred standard products from international markets. Protection, combined with the lack of any other serious alternatives made Turkish companies enjoy dramatic profits in the “comfortable” environment of Turkish market (Er, 1991). In such a context, the differentiation and competitive advantage provided by industrial design services were obviously needless.

Interestingly, the first attempts to establish industrial design profession in Turkey appeared in this rather paradoxical context, and can be traced back to the late 1950’s (Er, 1993:33). The predominating “Modernist Development Paradigm” (Bonsiepe, 1990) supposed that the developing countries would follow exactly the same pattern as western economies did previously (Er and Langrish, 1993). Hence, eventually NICs would need industrial design and new product development activities with their growing industry no matter what the contextual conditions are. To this end, industrial design education must have been initialized for training future industrial designers.

As mentioned before, industrial design emerged in the educational institutions long before the actual practice and need was actualized (Er, 1993:33). The first attempt to start an educational program was resulted from an international development

program that was initialized by the US government in late 1950s (Er et al., 2003). Turkey was one of the countries that were chosen by International Cooperation Administration (ICA) (Pulos, 1988). In this framework, Turkish Ministry of Industry and American Agency for International Development (AID) collaborated to advance industrial design in Turkey (Er, 1993:33). Furthermore, Peter Muller-Munk Associates was commissioned to help Turkey, Israel and India to “raise the quality of their craft products (Er et al., 2003:26). Yet, these attempts were not successful, far from producing any tangible results.

The second attempt to establish an educational institution came right after the military coup in 1961. AID had planned to found an industrial design and product center at Middle East Technical University which was also established in 1956 with the help of an American support coming from AID and the Ford Foundation. Er et al. (2003:27) states that the initial plan was to initialize a design center with the active collaboration of Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, Massachusetts. Due to the political atmosphere and the extensive resources that were needed to complete the project, it was postponed for a third time (Er et al., 2003:28).

In 1969, David Munro (an American industrial designer) was assigned by AID to officially establish a program in METU. Despite working for two years, opening some electives for Architecture students and writing some reports, the department couldn't be officially founded due to the political problems and student unrests in the university (Er et al., 2003:29). In 1971, Munro returned his country and AID also stopped its efforts to support such attempts. Yet, some assistants trained by Munro from the Department of Architecture continued to give the elective classes in industrial design to architecture students.

During those times, the efforts to establish an institution dedicated to industrial design education was much more advanced in the economic capital of Turkey, Istanbul, where a significant portion of the manufacturing industry is located (Er, 1993:34). Er asserts that during late 60's and 70's interior design department at Istanbul State Academy of Fine Arts (IDGSA) offered some projects to its students regarding furniture and some house-hold product designs. The department changed its name to the department of interior and industrial design in 1973 (Er, 1993:34). It was the first degree granting program, which has granted an MA equivalent degree.

In 1978, the department was divided into interior and industrial design departments. Thus, the very first industrial design department in Turkey was born.

1978 has witnessed another important development: With the support of one of the most important corporations in Turkey, Eczacıbaşı, and some other private sector firms, Industrial Designers Association (ETD) was established in Istanbul (Er and Korkut, 1998: 8). However, following the turmoil after the 1980 military take-over, the organization was closed in 1984 (Turan, 2006:379).

In 1979, finally the industrial design department was officially founded in METU. Yet, as Er (1993:34) observes “the department was established without any financial and professional assistance from abroad, it just relied on the limited experience accumulated during 1970s”. Furthermore, the faculty was formed by architects instead of industrial designers similarly with the educators in IDGSA who were either architects or interior architects (Er, 1993:34). This lack of “professional feedback” (Er, 1993:34), which still marks the industrial design education in Turkey, “was rooted right at the beginning” (Er, 1993:34).

1970s also witnessed some events that endeavored to promote industrial design in Turkey. In 1971, the first national design competition was organized by Eczacıbaşı and OrAn (Er and Korkut, 1998:7). Furthermore, there were several exhibitions in Istanbul and Ankara respectively in 1971, 1972 and 1976 (Er and Korkut, 1998:7).

Meanwhile, the protected Turkish industry continued to produce household goods, electronic components and specialized mechanical equipments under the license agreements of foreign firms in 1970s (Er, 1993:35). Also, Turkish firms generally preferred “copying” products from the catalogues and samples obtained from foreign companies. Yet, according to John Reid, who was “a British designer who visited Turkey in 1970s as part of his UNIDO mission on the state of industrial design in developing countries (Er, 1993:35), Turkish companies were not totally oblivious to design (Reid, 1978, quoted Er, 1993:35). Depending on Reid’s observations, Er classifies that activity under two categories: 1) “A few large to medium private furniture firms” 2) “Large manufacturing companies” (Er, 1993:35).

Er (1993:35) states that Reid visited three companies and a private R&D center, which form the second level of his observations. These companies were Turk Traktor in Ankara, R&D unit of Koc Holding, Arcelik AS which is a large white goods

manufacturer operating under Koc Group and Profilo AS which was the biggest competitor of Arcelik at those times. The departments were mostly formed by engineers and a few industrial designers some of which were educated abroad. Mostly those departments organized their activities around “well planned product modification activities on the basis of adapting product technology to local manufacturing and marketing conditions” (Er, 1993:35).

Although export promotion and liberalization of the domestic market “replaced the ISI strategy during early 1980’s” (Er, 1993:35), Turkish industry was largely still uninformed and was oblivious to the industrial design profession. This was partly due to the fact that the protected market had created weak enterprises in terms of new product development and competitive advantages. Hence, educational developments again dominated in 80’s. In 1982, the first national congress on design was organized in Istanbul Technical University (ITU) and in 1982, IDGSA transformed into Mimar Sinan University (MSU). At the same year, graduate education in master’s and doctoral level was initiated at the same university. In 1985, the third industrial design department in the nation was opened at Marmara University Faculty of Fine Arts. In 1988, ETMK (Industrial Designers Society of Turkey) was founded in Ankara. Even today, ETMK is the only professional association that Turkish industrial designers have. Yet, the number of the members is still limited compared, to the number of industrial design graduates in Turkey. In 1989, a graduate program was initialized at ITU where the undergraduate program started in 1993 (Er and Korkut, 1998):

“However, the quality of these education programs has hardly matched the over expansion of industrial design education. With the political pressure to increase the number of students enrolled in university programs, the design departments were forced to accept more and more students, although they were not ready to accept so many students. More importantly, there was no contact with the industry about whether it needed such large numbers of industrial designers; and if it did, what kind of qualities it sought from an industrial designer. In fact, the absence of a design promotion program supported by the government, the industry was either unaware of the possible contribution of design in competitive performance, or extremely reluctant to employ industrial designers due to a highly discouraging economic environment. The increase in student numbers in 1980s eventually resulted in an unemployment problem for industrial designers in early 1990s” (Er, 1993:37).

Interestingly, especially after mid 80’s, industrial design began to become a popular area of education. Despite the absence of a significant demand, industrial design

education was especially favored by female students. This is rather startling, as the condition is quite the reverse in UK and United States. Also, the rate of employment of women in industry is quite low in Turkey (Er, 1993). Er argues that this can only be explained by comprehending the perception of design profession in Turkey: “One may argue that, in Turkey, an industrial design degree is increasingly perceived as a clean, arty, trendy career, a sort of ‘soft’ access to the consumption oriented business culture, rather than a productive, ‘hard’ profession” (Er, 1993:37).

Beginning from mid 1990s the “gloomy” situation of industrial design has begun to change gradually but rather slowly. Turkey’s integration into EU Trade Union, changing world conjuncture, effects of ever increasing international competition and globalism began to have their impacts on Turkish society and industry. Although a comprehensive picture of what has happened between 1995 and 2007 will not be given here, a few valuable highlights can still be provided.

Firstly, a “lively” design press (Er, 1993:38), especially in the form of monthly magazines, has appeared. Although not solely dedicated to industrial design, these magazines covered a large spectrum especially in architecture, interior architecture and decoration. Although there had been and is, numerous “design magazines”, Art+Decor (AD) is noteworthy with its “short but significant” influence in Turkish design circles. Founded in 1993, AD was originally an art and decoration journal. In 2003 it has turned into a “architecture, art and design” magazine, yet due to an increasing competition and loose of readers, forced to be closed down in 2005 (Kapucu and Ariburun, 2006). However, during those years, the editorial board of the magazine was formed by individuals who mostly came from an industrial design background. AD was the key organizer in the Turkey’s first “design fairs”, namely ADesign Fairs which happened in 2003 and 2004. Following the closing of the magazine, the name of the events were changed into Istanbul Design Week and passed to other organizations and became annual events starting from 2005. Except some former congresses and exhibitions, these events become the largest “happenings” that brought together foreign and Turkish designers, students, educators and the public. Apart from AD, Designer on-line design portal, which was originally an initiative of an industrial design student at ITU, became an internationally well known medium in 2000s.

Late 1990s and 2000s also witnessed a “boom” in the number of departments that give industrial design education, both in state and private universities. However, in the absence of sufficiently trained design educators, the situation of many educational institutions is still a big question mark.

Most of the large Turkish companies has started their own in-house design departments, and began to collaborate with well known designers and design consultancies beginning from late 1990’s. Also, the first western-like industrial design consultancies, albeit few in number, appeared. Star designers such as Ross Lovegrove and Karim Rashid began to create whole lines for large Turkish corporations. However, the penetration rate of design into SMEs, which form the bulk of Turkish industry, is still considerably low. Most of the industrial design activity takes place in Istanbul, which is slowly becoming an international attraction.

Moreover, especially in 2000s Turkish industrial design schools and independent Turkish designers began to participate in international events such as Milan Furniture Fair. Both in industrial and educational fronts, exposition to international factors and collaboration with international bodies accelerated. With the increasing public interest, and the continuous coverage in press, design became a “trendy” phenomenon. However, despite all these so-called “positive” developments, industrial design is still a largely unknown and “mysterious” profession.

Beginning from late 1990’s, debates over the “identity” of Turkish design and designers began to appear. For a more detailed account of the concept of “national design”, Kaygan’s (2006) research can be visited. Kaygan (2006:2-3) asserts that his main objective is to formulate ‘Turkish design’ and the ‘Turkish designer’ as discursive constructs, which influence the design practice and become a basis for certain positions and statuses:

“Aimed at this direction, the study focuses on how national design styles inform the designerly evaluation of products towards bestowing certain designs and designers with particular statuses” (Kaygan, 2006:3).

For analyzing his hypothesis, Kaygan employs a discourse analysis over the selected texts from Art+Decor (AD) design magazine. As mentioned before, AD had positioned itself as a design magazine rather than putting an emphasis on lifestyle and decoration. AD had also claimed the “patronage” of Turkish design by the exhibitions it organized (Kaygan, 2006:3). After formulating his theoretical

perspective, Kaygan conducts a case study over the selected texts which date between 2003-2005. For this very purpose, Kaygan identifies a number of definitions within the discursive territory of Turkish design, which are ‘taken for granted’:

- “- ‘design as a marketing function, responsible for construction of trends and brand identities, in especially the global market;
- And ‘design’ as a marketing element, an ‘added’ value for manufacturers and products, as used in ‘design products’ and ‘design companies’.
- ‘design culture’ as a particular form of consciousness, namely, ‘design consciousness’, specific to designers , implying the permeation of this consciousness down to the people, and the education of people about the significance and value of ‘design’, as in design culture for the manufacturers, consumers and the masses;
- ‘designer’ as a creative individual and professional, positioned as the ‘creator-designer’;
- ‘designer’ as an elite in cultural terms, in accordance with the above-mentioned definition of ‘design culture’;
- And eventually, ‘designer’ as a ‘national designer’, particularly Turkish designer, who is informed and influenced inevitably by the culture s/he was born into, in addition to those s/he has lived in or been exposed to” (Kaygan, 2006:77).

Building up on those definitions, Kaygan concludes that two different factors are utilized in “bestowing status upon products”.

- “-First, the evaluation of a product is controlled by making use of the responsibilities of the subject position, Turkish designer, namely, the promotion, sustenance and progress of Turkish design, culture and identity; as well as the discovery, revival and preservation of certain cultural values;
- And second, by benefiting from those ‘cultural elements’ considered Turkish in origin; whether of historical and contemporary nature” (Kaygan, 2006:77).

For another version of the “national style” argument, Karakuş’s (2007) work can be visited. Following the “İlk in Milano” exhibition, which is one of the first planned “show-offs” by Turkish industrial designers, Karakuş wrote some sections of the book “Turkish Touch in Design” which is also the catalogue of the exhibition. Compared to Kaygan (2006), his attitude towards the phenomenon of “Turkish style” is not critical. Rather, he embraces the idea with an enthusiasm.

Once again, it must be said that late 90’s and 2000’s deserve a more detailed study and attention. However, the aim of this section is not to provide a comprehensive

archeology of Turkish design but to shed light upon the emergence conditions of the industrial design discipline in Turkish context.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PRELIMINARY STUDY

This chapter introduces the research methods used throughout the study. This chapter also states the aims of the study as well as introducing and describing the preliminary study and its findings.

5.1 The Aims of the Research

“Narrative history limns process, as does any other description which attempts to be faithful to human affairs. But the ideal type that I advance establishes structure, which is fixed and static. How can this be justified? It is its very fixity that allows an abstract model to serve as an unchanging point against which one can compare and sort out the constantly changing empirical world” (Freidson, 2001:7).

Following Freidson’s words, the aims of this piece of research can be summarized in the following way:

- To establish links between the theories regarding *professionalization* and *socio-cognitive approaches to ideology*, through a rigorous and synthetic review of relevant literature.
- To understand the socially shared mental representations, namely the *professional ideology* of Turkish industrial designers as a social group.
- To investigate the structure of this particular *professional ideology*.
- To make a comparison between the *consistent and inconsistent* parts of the structure.
- To identify the ideological *common points* and *differences* of Turkish industrial designers, with particular reference to their relative positions within the group hierarchy and structure.
- To explore the *inter-group relations and conflicts* of Turkish industrial designers with other social/professional groups.

- To shed light upon the system of *professional beliefs, norms and values* those are shared by Turkish industrial designers.
- To clarify the *others* before which Turkish industrial designers claim their professional identity.
- To have a better understanding of the *professional development process*, that ID undergoes in Turkish context.
- To analyze the links between the *actions* and *goals* of Turkish industrial designers.
- To comprehend how those actions and goals are *legitimized and neutralized*.
- To make an introduction to the *socio-cognitive schemas* which regulate the social practices of Turkish industrial designers.

As Freidson asserts, social phenomena, such as group ideologies, are difficult to analyze given their ever changing dynamic contexture. However, this very fact does not diminish the value of research conducted over such phenomena. Quite the contrary -once again referring to Freidson- , those studies create solid anchor points against which empirical data can be collated. In parallel with this perception, the ultimate aim of this current endeavor to analyze the *professional ideology* of Turkish industrial designers; is to constitute a basis for future investigations in the field.

5.2 Research Methodology and Preliminary Study

Similarly with many other studies executed over social processes, this exploratory-descriptive study, utilizes several distinct research methods. Since particular research problems require different approaches, the selection of research methods is mostly based on the characteristics of research topics. Within this framework, the research methods that have been used during this study can be classified as a) Literature review b) Discourse (Textual) analysis c) Structured interviews.

However, it must be noted that the preliminary study has not been a subject of a separate chapter. This is due to the fact that the findings of the preliminary study have profoundly influenced the rest of the process and methodologies employed afterwards. Hence, preliminary study became a section under the methodology.

5.2.1 Literature Review

The literature review is generally assumed to be one of the most important parts of any scholarly study (Silverman, 2000:226). As Silverman argues, literature review chapters address the following questions:

- 1) What do we already know about the topic?
 - 2) What do you have to say critically about what is already known?
 - 3) Has anyone else ever done anything exactly the same?
 - 4) Has anyone else done anything related?
 - 5) Where does your work fit in what has gone before?
 - 6) Why is your research worth doing in the light of what has already been done?
- (Silverman, 2000:227).

Nonetheless, for interdisciplinary studies, literature review has a different meaning. Since interdisciplinary research encompasses different fields; literature plays an important role in locating and formulating the research topic (Mutlu, 2003:6). Furthermore, a researcher should be equipped with a variety of perspectives if she/he aspires to venture into the fuzzy and vague zones that form the interdisciplinary boundaries.

Within this framework, this particular research has greatly benefited from a variety of approaches that have been borrowed from social sciences and humanities. Classifying and screening among different conceptions of “ideology” comprised the most important and rigorous part of the review. Within the vast amount of approaches that have been explored, Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive and multi-disciplinary approach to ideology is of crucial importance. This versatile theoretical tool not only connects the individual to the social, but also provides an explicit structure and research schema upon which a comprehensive analysis of any ideology can be constructed.

The second part of the literature analysis is an attempt to establish a connection amid the sociology of professions and Van Dijk’s conceptions. To this end, the works of scholars like Freidson, Abbott, Larson, Kennedy and Macdonald have been critically investigated. Especially, Larson’s “professional project” and Macdonald’s version of this theory contains important clues for binding profession’s literature to the relevant theories of ideologies. As professions are mostly depicted as interest groups who

ultimately aim a monopoly in the labor market, it easier to understand why professional ideologies have developed in the first place.

Despite the theoretical richness of social sciences and humanities, design literature – except sociologists’ interest in architecture- is rather oblivious to the theories of “professional development”. On the other hand, except Kennedy’s research, there aren’t many studies which examine the *ethos* of the design disciplines from a sociological point of view, specifically in the Turkish context. Therefore, linking design literature to the sociological/humanitarian sources may pose a future challenge for researchers from both fields.

5.2.2 Preliminary Study

The preliminary study is formed by a discourse-ideological analysis of e-mails, which has been sent to the ETMK (Endüstriyel Tasarımcılar Meslek Kuruluşu) Platform (ETMK-P) e-mail group, since 2004. ETMK-P is the biggest and oldest communication medium that is used by Turkish industrial design society. Not all of the findings are satisfactory in terms of the theoretical framework that has been laid down in the second and third chapters. However, the preliminary research phase had considerable effects over the methodology of the rest of the research process.

5.2.2.1 Methodology

The methods used for analyzing the e-mails have largely been derived from Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive theory of ideology. Therefore, before elucidating the details of the methodology, a brief outline of Van Dijk’s conceptions, which have been argued lengthily in chapter 2, can be given (Van Dijk, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1998, 2000):

- 1) “Ideologies are cognitive”: It must not be forgotten that although ideologies are social and/or political entities, they have a profound cognitive element. Ideologies are shared social representations of group members, yet each member or actor uses and applies ideologies in specific, personal occasions. They are “belief systems”, that is, they involve mental entities such as ideas, values, thoughts, and judgments yet at the same time they serve to regulate those elements in a social level. Consequently, the individual (micro) level of ideologies can only be comprehended with the help of theories borrowed from psychology and cognitive sciences. This very cognitive approach is the

key element that renders Van Dijk's theory different from other one-sided formulations of ideology.

- 2) "Ideologies are social": Every single social group – both dominant and dominated- has ideologies that they identify with. Those ideologies regulate goals and actions of a certain group in social arena. Apart from dominant and dominated ones, other social groups such as professionals, action-groups (environmentalists, anti-globalists...etc), organizations and intuitions (the military, bureaucratically bodies...etc) also have ideologies. Socially, ideologies are utilized as tools for persuasion, legitimization and naturalization. In this context, they are both utilized in the group (for the purposes of initiation of new members or eliminating deviants) or outside the group.
- 3) "Ideologies are sociocognitive": Ideologies act as "interfaces between the social and the cognitive" (Van Dijk, 1995:245). Similar to the usage of language, although there is a meta system or grammar (ideology) that sets rules on the usage of language, each individual uses the language differently in a personal level:

"In the same way as (grammars, norms and rules of) natural languages, ideologies are *both* cognitive, while involving basic principles of social knowledge, judgement, understanding and perception, *and* social, while being shared by members of groups or institutions, and related to the socio-economic or political interests of there groups" (Van Dijk, 1995:245).

While ideologies act as a schema that help group members to comprehend and interpret social reality ,to regulate their relations with other groups and their daily acts in social situations (Button, 1991); they also operate in a cognitive level involving beliefs, values, attitudes and opinions. At social level, ideologies help groups to establish frameworks regarding their social, political and economic benefits. On the other hand, they provide each group member a "set of instructions of action" which they can re-interpret in every social occasion, such as deciding or not deciding to participate in a demonstration against globalism as in the case of an environmentalist.

- 4) "Ideologies are not true or false": Van Dijk does not evaluate ideologies on the basis of truth or falsity as opposed to classical approaches. Rather, he

seeks to understand ideologies to analyze their functions in serving a certain group's interests. In this sense, ideologies are pragmatic social entities that help self-seeking social groups in a variety of social situations and conflicts

- 5) "Ideologies may have various degrees of complexity": Ideologies do not always come in the form of a well established, total system that governs the social acts of individuals. Quite the contrary, they may be inconsistent pieces of a bigger "-ism" such as communism or leftism. "Rather, they should be seen as (the basic axioms) of a naive, implicit social theory of a group about itself and its position in society" (Van Dijk, 1995:246). As long as they serve as an interface for controlling social action, they can be mixed, vague, inconsistent and not well defined. Furthermore, different members of a certain group may have different views of the same ideology. For example - depending on the social role of an individual- ideologues and leaders in a certain group may have a more complex understanding and articulation of that specific group's ideology.
- 6) "Ideologies have contextually different manifestations": Personal ideological manifestations of group members can be quite varied and sometimes be very contradictory. However, this does not mean that ideologies themselves are inconsistent. Depending on various factors, people may have different expressions of the same ideology under different circumstances. Moreover, ideologies are not deterministic: "They may influence or monitor social discourse and action, but they do not 'cause' or 'determine' these, nor are they the only mental systems controlling discourse production and comprehension" (Van Dijk, 1995:247). Social actions developed under different social motivations and practices may produce various context models. Also, the individuals' personal histories are determining in the formation of different mental models including the context models.
- 7) "Ideologies are general and abstract": Van Dijk's theory states that ideologies are context free abstract systems. Only, their expressions in different situations and context may vary. This notion helps us to understand why group members –more or less- have consistent discourse in a variety of social situations.

Following these main points, Van Dijk (1995a, 1995b, 1995c 1998) and Wodak (2002) offer some categories that define the inner-structure of ideologies. However, these categories do also constitute a solid theoretical basis for an empirical analysis of ideologies and their effects over discourse:

- 1) *Ideological discourse defines who and what we are*: The self-identity descriptions of an ideology are generally positive. Also such discourse defines “the others”, the ones we exclude from our group. Generally, a negative description of the others is one of the most crucial factors of our self-identity. Also, such discursive manifestations clarify the admission procedures of a group: What is required to become a part of Turkish Industrial Design Community? As Dijk states (1998); these kinds of self-identity expressions generally occur in groups who feel that their very existence is *threatened* by some other groups or factors.
- 2) *Ideological discourse defines our relations with other groups and our relative social position*: As mentioned in the previous category, a positive self representation is generally constructed over a negative other presentation. This negative presentation of other groups also defines “our” group’s place in social landscape.
- 3) *Ideological discourse defines what we do*: This kind of activity description is common for professional groups since a “profession” is generally defined as “formally rational abstract utilitarian knowledge” (Murphy, 1988:245). That is, a profession is a way to do something or accomplish a task. This kind of discourse also includes the expected social roles of a specific professional group. These activity descriptions are generally followed by positive definitions of social goals, which make those activities meaningful and respectful before the public.
- 4) *Ideological discourse defines our norms and values*: Typically, professional ideological discourse focuses on what is right or wrong for a certain profession, including professional ethics. For example, as originality and innovation are in the locus of industrial design profession; there are various topics in ETMK-P involving debates over idea-theft and intellectual property rights.

- 5) *Ideological discourse generally involves resource description.* As social resources such as knowledge, expertise, jobs, reputation, status, income... etc are as scarce as economical resources, conflict between different groups over the acquisition of such resources is inevitable. For example, industrial designers and graphic designers were fighting over the ownership of certain areas of expertise such as the design of interactive displays and information systems for years, whereas a totally new professional group, interaction designers, emerged to claim their rights over the same domain of expertise at the end of 80's.

On the other hand, Van Dijk's own methodology for analyzing ideological discourse is over-linguistic. That is, one of his main objectives is to analyze the specific uses of language that cover or uncover ideological expressions. However, this method is time consuming and it involves the analysis of grammatical and rhetoric strategies even in the level of a sentence. In this setting, it is nearly impossible to analyze big amounts of data within the time limitations of this study. Therefore, Van Dijk's ideological categories have been used for sorting and classifying big chunks of data under explicit and well defined headlines. These headlines served as starting points for the evaluation of the professional ideology of Turkish industrial designers.

5.2.2.2 Scope, Screening and Analysis

The above mentioned theoretical framework was used to illustrate the ideological-landscape of ETMK-P. Yet, as this is an "all-purpose" e-mail list, the author did not expect complete answers for each and every category postulated by Van Dijk. Nonetheless, this introductory preliminary study served to construct a basis for the main empirical research that would be conducted. Furthermore, it helped to clarify and hone the questions that were used in the interviews which form the main body of the empirical research.

Within this perspective, there are five reasons why ETMK-P was chosen to conduct such a preliminary, ideological-discursive analysis:

- 1) ETMK Platform has been the largest communicative medium that is used by Turkish industrial designers with its 1110 members, since 1999.
- 2) The list encompasses not only Turkish industrial design professionals but also industrial design students, academicians and some other professionals-albeit

only a minority- who are coming from different backgrounds such as graphical design, interior architecture , architecture, etc... and who are involved with industrial design in different contexts. Therefore, ETMK Platform inherits the variety which is crucial for such an ideological analysis.

- 3) Ideology is basically a shared group belief that is the source of this specific group's social representations as mentioned in the previous sections of this text. Although elites, ideologues or leaders of a certain group may affect a group's ideology more profoundly than other members; the group ideology is not limited to their ideas. On the contrary, production and evolution of a professional ideology is a collective act that continues simultaneously in many different layers of a group. Unlike other discursive sources such as architecture and design magazines or interviews of Turkish designers in daily newspapers which only contains the ideas of an "elite minority" of Turkish Industrial Designers or academicians; e-mail groups are open to every member of Turkish Industrial Design community.
- 4) Although there are other e-mail groups that involve a large body of industrial designers such as Dexigner and Ideology, ETMK is the oldest, most homogenous and the largest one. Therefore, it is easier to track the evolution –if there is any- of the professional ideology.
- 5) One of the key elements of a successful ideological analysis is uncovering hidden expressions behind the discursive manifestations. Such a masking generally results from contextual constraints. For example, as racism is a universally detested phenomenon, racist people generally obscure their true emotions about minorities in public discussion. Since, ETMK Platform is a closed group that excludes employers, academicians and professionals from other disciplines such as engineering; members of this list can openly discuss and share their beliefs and opinions regarding their profession without such contextual constraints. For instance, an industrial designer may not want to express his/her true opinions about engineers or his/her employers in a magazine interview which is open to a larger and more diverse public.

To obtain a broad illustration of the "professional ideology" of Turkish industrial designers, the author rigorously read and analyzed 4051 e-mails which have been sent to the list in 2004, 2005 and 2006 (1538 e-mails in 2006, 1312 e-mails in 2005,

1201 e-mails 2004). From its establishment in 1999 to the beginning of 2007, a total of 7736 e-mails have been sent to the list. Thus, author's analysis covers 52.37% of all mails which is slightly more than the half as illustrated in the figure 5.1.

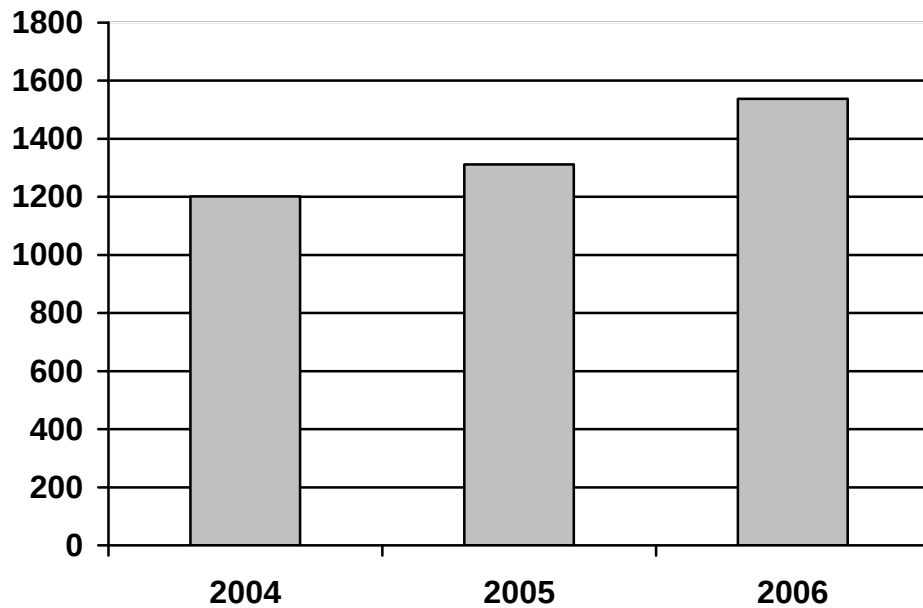


Figure 5.1: The distribution of e-mails sent to ETMK platform from 2004 to 2006

The content of the 4051 e-mails, which are evaluated for the analysis, greatly varies. Apart from discussions over professional matters, there are also various other topics sent to the list such as job-ads, event, meeting and exhibition announcements, obituaries, inquiries over professional/technical problems or any other popular topics including the current social and economic problems of Turkey. This variation was expected, regarding the nature of e-mail groups. Thus, the author screened some 4051 mails and eliminated the ones that have non-ideological content relying on Van Dijk's (1998) and Ruth Wodak's (2002) conceptual categories for ideologies. These conceptual categories were referred in the section 5.2.2.1.

In the light of these hypothetical categories, the author has determined the e-mails which had ideological content. According to these criteria 183 e-mails in 2006, 287 e-mails in 2005 and 176 e-mails in 2004 were found out to be ideological in content, making a sum of 646; which was 15.95% of all mails in these three years. This distribution is illustrated in the figure 5.2. Furthermore, these 646 e-mails have been sent under 21 topics in 2006, 21 topics in 2005 and 19 topics in 2004, making a total of 61.

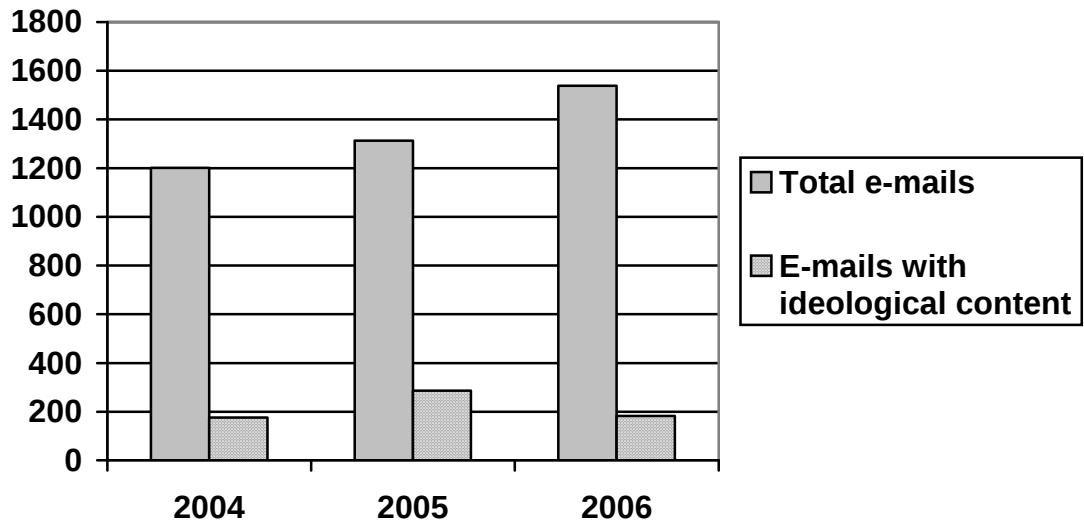


Figure 5.2: The distribution of e-mails with ideological content to total sent to ETMK platform from 2004 to 2006

5.2.2.3 Findings

The initial screening of the e-mails showed that, the 61 core topics, which are deemed to be ideological, fell under 11 categories: a) Negative reactions to job-ads that are posted by the employers b) Negative reactions to the design competitions that are organized by large and well-known firms c) Turkish design/ nationality in design/foreign designers d) Problems with employers e) Design education f) Intellectual property rights g) Relations with other design disciplines h) General problems of the profession in Turkish context g) Design policy in Turkish context h) Definition of design i) Others: This category is a collection of individual topics that do not fit into any other category. The distribution of the topics under the above mentioned categories can be outlined in the following diagram 5.3.

Furthermore, these topics can be grouped under Van Dijk's hypothetical categories as in the table 5.1 that define the structure of ideologies. However, this classification is highly subjective and open to changes. The main point is to give an idea of the usage of those theoretical divisions. Also some topics, such as education may not be put under any specific category. Nevertheless, as education has a prominent role, especially in the formation of professional ideologies.

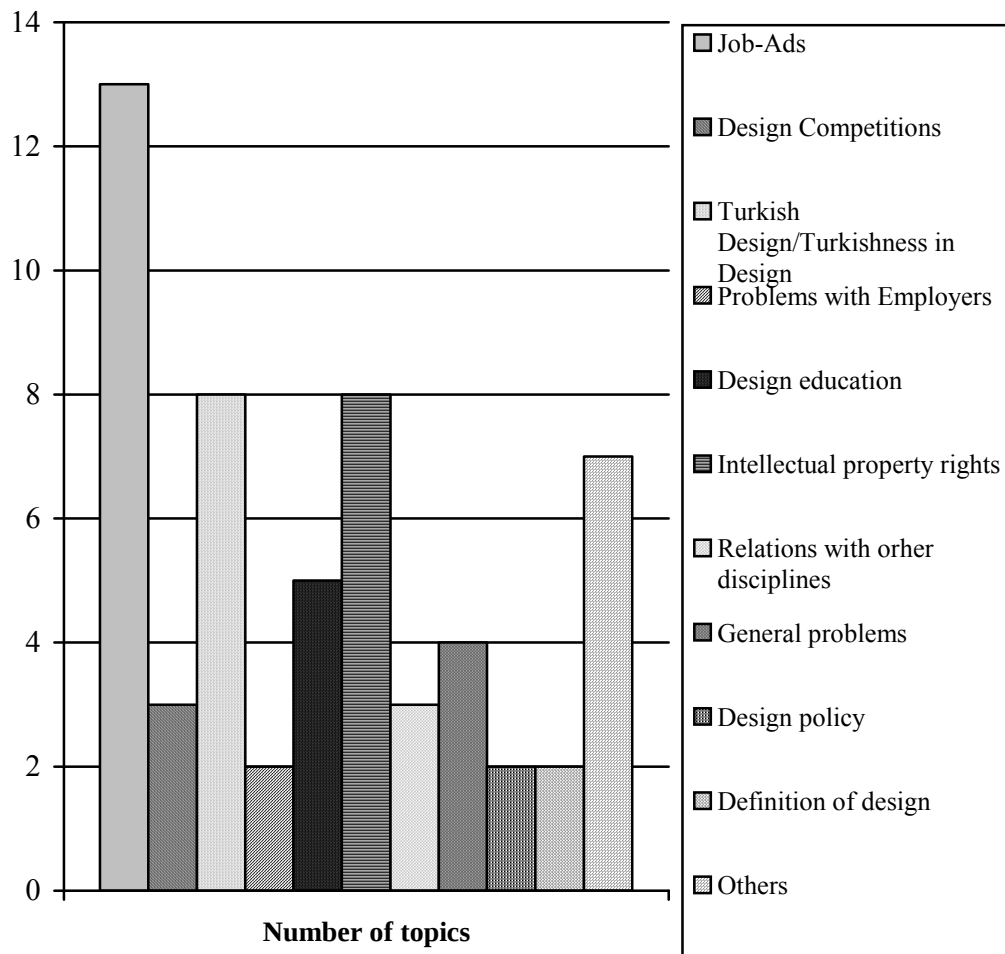


Figure 5.3: The distribution of topics under the mentioned categories

Table 5.1: Topics classified under Van Dijk's hypothetical categories

<i>Van Dijk's Categories</i>	<i>Identity/Membership Criteria</i>	<i>Typical Activities</i>	<i>Aims /Goals</i>	<i>Norms and Values</i>	<i>Relative Position to Other Groups</i>	<i>Social Resources</i>
Topics	a) Job Ads b) Design competitions c) Definition of Design d) General Problems	a) Job Ads b) Definition of design c) General Problems	a) Job Ads b) Design Policy c) General Problems	a) Job Ads b) Design competitions c) General Problems	a) Job Ads b) Design competitions c) General Problems	a) Job Ads b) Design competitions c) Problems with employers d) Relations with other disciplines d) General Problems

At first glance, the empirical data that is collected from ETMK-P seems to provide an empirical richness. However, not all the topics listed under Van Dijk's categories are suitable for theoretical analysis. This is due to the fact that, some topics only include mails from a few list members. As ideologies are socially shared mental

representations of group members and cannot be limited to personal opinions, these topics have been eliminated from the analysis. Therefore, the following paragraphs summarize the most important topics and discussions. The common point of all those discussions is a high participation rate by ETMK-P members.

As stated in the previous section, every ideology needs “negative others” upon which it can postulate a positive self-identity. The professional ideology of Turkish Industrial Designers is no exception. It can be argued that, there are 4 main “big” negative others of Turkish industrial design: Turkish industry and/or employers, foreign designers, other professional groups, especially mechanical engineers and finally the consumers (or the public).

One of the key elements of a discursive analysis is repetition. As ideology is - roughly- a shared belief system, it is crucial to identify the key themes that are shared and expressed by the majority of the group members. Among 61 topics that were analyzed; there are 11 topics posted concerning negative reactions about job-ads which, thereby, had the greatest frequency.

Since one of the most important characteristics of a professional ideology is the definition of activities of a professional group; this situation is not surprising. In ETMK-P, most of the mails regarding job-ads are negative reactions against the employers who are perceived to be oblivious about industrial design profession’s activity areas. That is, according to the most of the members who posted e-mails within these topics, majority of the Turkish enterprises are unaware of the “superb” professional qualities, talents and various services that industrial designers can offer (Güneş, 2006; Bıcı, 2006; Gencoğlu, 2006; Yalım, 2005; Oral, 2005; Gencol, 2004).

Furthermore, many list members also think that most of the Turkish companies “do not respect” (Yıldız, 2006) the “merits” of industrial designers , and do see industrial designers as CAD technicians whose value is evaluated according to their specific knowledge on using certain software packages such as AutoCAD and 3d Studio Max (İçgüdel, 2006; Karakaş,2006; Güneş, 2006; Kудay, 2006; Örsel, 2005; Topçu, 2005).These “disrespectful” companies who do not appreciate the importance of designers are also oblivious to the fact that ID is one of the most “difficult” professions (Borand, 2004; Güneş, 2004; Neci, 2005). In parallel with this topic, most of the industrial designers who post mails to the list have complaints about their positions in the organizational structures, their working conditions, job descriptions

and salaries (Kuday, 2006;Gürkaya, 2006; Helvacıoğlu, 2006 ; Gencoğlu, 2006; Yeşil, 2006).

The second most frequent topic is the arguments and criticisms about design competitions. It would not be wrong to connect this debate to the general image of Turkish companies who are mostly perceived to be exploiting designers and their talents.

Naturally, not all the competitions are accused of transgressing designers' rights. However, the statements of the writers of ETMK Platform regarding the companies that arrange the accused competitions seem to be nourished from the “negative other-representation” of Turkish enterprises. For instance, in a topic about a design competition organized by Starbucks, writers harshly criticize the company for not granting proper prizes for the winners (Bağlı, 2004; Asatekin, 2004). In another topic, Durmuş (2005) accuses Starbucks being “malicious” as he declares “A so-called giant world-wide company is again organizing a makeshift competition to exploit the designers and for paying them ‘nothing’ for their designs”. On the other hand, some list members think that some companies organize these kind of competitions just to have as many design alternatives as possible for the price of a few. Also, they see designers as “fatheads” and “goofs” (Erkan, 2004; Durmuş, 2005; Tunçer, 2005).

Apart from these negative other-representations; list members do have another great nemesis that shapes their socio-cognitive landscape: foreign designers. The large Turkish corporations –who do have in-house design teams and who are thought to be having a better idea about defining what a designer is- are thought to “admire” and respect foreign designers –especially Italians- as the true bearers of aesthetic taste and judgment (Gürsu, 2005; Örsel, 2005; Tartan, 2005). Although debated in various mails under different topics; the locus of the argument crystallizes in a topic titled “O Sole Mio Bellona”. Among 61 topics that were investigated, this is the longest one considering number of mails and participants. Shortly, the topic begins with the depiction of a TV advertisement of a Turkish furniture company, Bellona; showing superbly talented Italian designers creating “miraculous” sofas. As the argument develops, list members claim that large, famous Turkish enterprises are aware neither of the potentials nor professional talents of Turkish industrial designers. Furthermore, it is believed that they have no trust in Turkish designers at all (Oral,

2005; Uşaklıgil, 2005; Yağız, 2005; Asatekin 2005). Even one list member characterize this TV-ad as an “ignorant attack made on Turkish design and the proud of Turkish people” (Yağız, 2005). Moreover, Aksu (2005) finds “especially Turkish SMEs” worthless and identifies this “worthlessness” as the key factor of the underestimation of Turkish design by those companies. Even, Turkish industry is illustrated as an “imitator of foreign firms and products” which is incapable of creating novel products (Helvacıoğlu, 2005). These notions also appear in the debates regarding job-ads over and over again.

Interestingly, most of the list members that post e-mails under this topic see this situation as the reflection of a xenophilia (admiration of foreigners), which they see as one of the inherent qualities of Turkish culture, and which has “infected” Turkish modernism for years (Kuday, 2005; Yeşil, 2005; Uşaklıgil, 2005; Yağız, 2005; Akman, 2005; Güneş, 2005). Despite some counter arguments; most of the participating arguers reach an agreement as the focus shifts from unconscious companies to the unconscious Turkish public and their unawareness of design profession. According to some industrial designers (Yağız, 2005; Gürşimsek, 2005; Kuday, 2005; Ürgen, 2005; Gürsu, 2005) this “unconscious” policy to employ foreign designers is a reflection of the marketing strategy that targets an oblivious public who lacks the proper understanding of design culture. Therefore one of the key responsibilities of industrial designers is not only “educating” the industry but also “injecting” design culture to the public.

Naturally, “Turkish design” and an emphasis on a conscious reinterpretation of Turkish cultural values emerge as the dialectical twin before the foreign designers. According to Oral, Uşaklıgil and many other ETMK Platform members (2005) “Turkish Design” must be promoted for creating a global brand such as “Italian”, “German” or “Finnish” design.

In another topic, the list members engage in a discussion over the statements of the mayor of Istanbul in a newspaper interview. In that interview, the mayor “heralds” the plan to install the street-lightning that had been designed for the French city of Lyon (Daybelge, 2004). Daybelge perceives this situation as an emergency, even a “danger” that needs immediate action: “Definitely this country has the production and design potential to produce it own street-light to be proud of for the next 30 years” (2004). On the other hand, Cansu (2004), formulates this grave danger in

terms of filling the streets of the most important Turkish city with “objects” that do not belong to “Turkish culture” but represent Turkey’s “awry” modernity.

Most of the designers engaged in topic agree on the point that this is an outward sign of mistrust for Turkish designers: “This attitude is no worse than the attitudes of our many “respectable” firms, who employ designers from abroad. Similarly, those producers assume that the results of Turkish designers’ works are unpredictable. So, the safest choice is employing foreign designers who proved themselves before” (Efeoğlu, 2004). The topic continues with “calls” to unite in a collaborative action to proclaim the “righteous” cause of “forgotten” Turkish designers (Daybelge, Cansu and others, 2004).

The three ideological negative “big others” of Turkish Industrial Design seem to form a vicious cycle in the mental realm of Turkish Industrial Designers. It can be argued that, this vicious cycle with its elements continuously referring to one another –thus obscuring the real referents- leads to a specific state of alienation from the public and the industry, which deeply affects the “self-identity” of Turkish Industrial Designers. A feeling of insecurity makes them to feel obliged to “unite against industry and others” (Trupia, 2006) for defending their rights. However, at this point, the reactions seem to be impulsive rather than rational.

Another common notion that maps the shared beliefs of Turkish industrial designers is a common mistrust directed against Turkish design education and educators (Aydın, 2005; Baltacı, 2005; Topçu, 2005; Tartan, 2005). The arguments about design education are very detailed. While some of points in these arguments deserve a more detailed analysis, they are mostly well beyond the limits of an ideological inquiry, especially within the categorical limits that has been set. Nonetheless, the attitudes of the list members against design education is rather paradoxical as they constantly mention about the superior “qualities” and “talents” of Turkish Designers specifically during discussions about the “malicious foreign danger”.

Last but not the least, the final ideological enemy of Turkish industrial design is other professionals that intrude on the expertise and professional domain of “educated” industrial designers. Not surprisingly, most of the professionals that fit into this category are either mechanical engineers or individuals coming from other design disciplines such as architecture, interior design and graphics design. However, as there is no legal regulation that grants a license or superiority to the educated

industrial designers; Turkish industrial designers seem to have difficulties about defending their professional positions, at least in front of law. These notions melt into larger and multi faceted arguments regarding the boundaries of the very nature of industrial design profession. Thus, without losing the current flow of our discussion, it will be sufficient to say that those “other” professions establish a crucial part of the “positive” self identity of industrial designers. This point will be elucidated in the following chapter which includes the main empirical research conducted within this study.

5.2.2.4 Results

The initial findings of this limited preliminary study support Er’s (2007) claims about the nature of the development process of industrial design in Turkey. According to Er (2007), Turkish industrial design faces a “profound crisis” upon its encounter with Turkish industry –mainly formed by SMEs- which are undergoing their own “authentic” economical modernization processes. The main reason of this “shock” is the deep dissonance between the Turkish industry and the Turkish industrial designers who are educated and conditioned to “operate” under the well defined conditions and processes of western-like modern economy. Furthermore, endowed with a cultural mission to educate both the public and the industry about the merits of “good design”, the Turkish Industrial Designer fails to recognize the real core of the problem (Er, 2007).

Within this perspective, it is interesting to observe the harmony and consistency between Er’s socio-economic analysis and the cognitive “mapping” of the collective mind of the Turkish Industrial Designer. Industry and public are still continuing to be the “big others” or negative representations around which industrial designers form the social projection of their professional group identity, namely their professional ideology.

On the contrary, not all of the empirical data that is obtained from ETMK-P corresponds to the Van Dijk’s hypothetical categories mentioned in chapter 4.2.2.1. For instance, for the category of *norms and values* there are just a few quotes and arguments. As those statements are made by only a few designers, it is hard to evaluate them as the “signs” and “expressions” of a group-based, professional ideology. Nonetheless, this situation is not unexpected. Professional norms and

values, such as the ethics code, are the last elements to appear during professionalization process of a certain occupation. Complex ethics codes are generally perceived as the “true” sign of well-developed professions. As industrial design is still fairly young profession in Turkish context, the lack of a complex system of norms and values is not surprising.

Similarly, there are not many topics and e-mails, which can be examined under the hypothetical category of *tasks, goals and activity descriptions*. At first look, this situation may be interpreted as an anomaly since “activity and task descriptions” are the main components of a “professional ideology”. Contrarily, lack of activity descriptions hint at the existence of a professional ideology: Apart from a few deviants and dissidents, the members of this specific professional group have –more or less- coherent mental definitions about “what they do”. In other words, lack of task descriptions show an underlying agreement which is taken as granted, specifically about the very nature and practice of a profession.

Having clarified those two significant points, it may be right to pose questions about the abundance of “negative others” that shape the mental domain of Turkish industrial designers. As Van Dijk (1998) argues, a positive self-representation and negative other-representation is one of the most basic properties of ideologies. However, Dijk (198) also states that, the multitude of negative-other postulations are generally “hallmarks” of social groups who feel that their very existence is threatened. This feeling of “insecurity” is a direct reflection of the “peculiarities” which characterize the unique development of industrial design profession in Turkey.

Lastly, it must be noted that the value of this preliminary study is not its empirical richness. Contrarily, the results that can be derived from this open-ended investigation are very limited. However, the insights that have been acquired during the preliminary phase profoundly influenced the rest of the research. Moreover, preliminary study provided some focal points that dominate the professional ideology of Turkish industrial designers. These points will be subjected to further arguments in the following section, which is about the methodology of the “main” research.

5.2.3 Interviews

Interviews are one of the most important and frequently employed research methods that are used in social sciences. According to Briggs (1986), strength and significance of interviews comes from the fact that they are very effective in understanding the experiences, attitudes, opinions, feelings and beliefs of individuals. As argued in the second chapter, these five elements, namely experiences, attitudes, opinions, feelings and beliefs, are the fundamental entities that constitute the locus of the ideologies. Furthermore, it can be asserted that an interview seeks to describe and the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say (Kvale, 1996).

As it has been argued in the second chapter, ideologies are mental objects that bind individuals' personal narratives in a group's shared social representation. That is, each and every group member has a place in the formation process of ideologies. However, the role of every member may vary depending on her/his relative position in the group hierarchy. Thus, personal narratives of the every group member are of great importance in understanding a specific ideology.

For the reasons mentioned in the previous two paragraphs, structured in depth interviews were chosen as the method for this piece of *descriptive-exploratory study*. The research was mainly carried out in Istanbul, which is the economic capital of Turkey. Also, most of the industrial design activity and education is concentrated in Istanbul.

The chosen sample for the interviews consists of 10 industrial designers and 4 industrial design academicians. There are 2 main reasons why the research was not solely conducted with practitioners: a) Universities and university education is of profound significance in the constitution of professional ideologies b) Academicians act as "ideological elites" which have a "privileged position" in expression, articulation and reproduction process of professional ideologies. On the other hand, while 5 industrial designers have their own design consultancy firms, the remaining 5 work as in-house designers in Turkish companies. This binary characteristic of the sample is necessary as industrial design practice has different conditions of existence in those two different contexts. Therefore, to have a holistic understanding of

Turkish industrial design, both in-house and freelance designers should have been included.

On the other hand, another important criterion, namely the universities that the designers had graduated, was considered while choosing the sample. Different universities may create different ideological perspectives among the professionals. To this end, the sample chosen from academicians and designers evenly distributed to the 4 oldest and most influential Turkish universities that give industrial design education: ITU (Istanbul Technical University), METU (Middle East Technical University), MSGSU (Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University), MU (Marmara University). Table 5.2 represents this classification.

Table 5.2: The distribution of designers according to their universities

<i>The Name of the University</i>	ITU	METU	MSGSU	MU
<i>No of Freelance Designers</i>	1	1	1	1
<i>No of In-House Designers</i>	1	1	1	1
<i>No of Academicians</i>	1	1	1	1

The last designer, who is an influential figure in Turkish design community, was graduated from a foreign university. Therefore, he is kept in the sample as a “dissident”, whose opinions may be utilized as tools of cooperative analysis. Also an in-house designer from his office has been included in order to test his arguments. Each of the chosen designers has at least 5 and more years of experience in the field. In terms of experience, the academicians have at least the title of “assistant professor” and have 10+ years of teaching and research experience. The detailed numeric figures about the background of the interviewees will be provided in the following chapter.

At first glance, it seems difficult to claim that 14 industrial designers are sufficient to represent the whole community of Turkish industrial designers. However, as Kennedy (2005:99) also asserts, some recent approaches in qualitative methodologies have produced some solutions for such theoretical problems, namely *judgment sampling*:

“Sometimes called *purposive sampling*, this sort of sampling requires the researcher to use his or her best judgment to select a sample. Judgment sampling makes sense when the researcher has a great deal of knowledge about the population of interest. It is also useful when the point of the research is to obtain information not about the ‘average’ member of a population but (for example) about the *atypical* member” (McIntyre, L.J., 2005: 105).

Since the researcher is also an industrial designer and thus, has “a great deal of knowledge about the population of interest”, the size of the sample does not pose a problem. Interestingly, after the fifth interview, the answers became extremely repetitive.

5.2.3.1 The Questionnaire

To a great extent, the interviews benefited from the preliminary study and its findings. Van Dijk’s six ideological categories (membership, activities, goals, values/norms, position/group relations and resources) have again been utilized as a structuring meta-schema for the questionnaire. However, some hypothetical categories were emphasized while others received less attention, in accordance with the findings of the preliminary study. For instance, as values/norms are the last fractions of an ideology to develop, this section involved relatively few questions. The findings of the preliminary study also support this hypothesis. On the other hand, questions regarding resource description were not presented as a separate category. This is due to the fact that resource descriptions appeared in every category within preliminary research. That is, industrial designers are also mentioning about the conflicts over social resources (such as jobs), when they engage in conversations regarding their relations with other design professions. Shortly, more detailed and numerous questions appeared under the categories that are dictated by the results derived from preliminary study.

In this context, the explanations of the questions that form the questionnaire may be given in the following way:

The first group of questions is about the personal histories of the interviewees. This is especially important for locating the ideological deviations resulting from the differences in personal narratives. Also personal information is a valuable source in comprehending individual’s mental structures:

A) Personal Info

- Place and date of birth
- University graduated and date of graduation (If there is any education other than bachelor's degree it must be indicated)
- Work history (For how many years has the designer been working? Which companies and departments? In what positions?)

After the section about the personal information, the questions grouped under Van Dijk's categories are asked:

B) Identity and Membership (who are we? who belongs to and who does not?)

- Who are we?

- How do you define industrial design and industrial designer in Turkey?
- Do you think being an industrial designer affects your outlook on life and your personality?
- Do you think that industrial designers form a homogeneous group and is it possible to talk about a shared culture of industrial design in Turkey?

-Who belongs to and who does not?

- What do you think about the importance of having a legitimate diploma for being an industrial designer? Should there be a legislation system?
- Who is an industrial designer and who is not?

C) Tasks and Activities (What do 'we' typically do? What is expected of us? What is the role or task of our group?)

- What is the core of industrial design practice?
- Are there any differences between the things industrial designers are supposed to do and are expected to do?
- What are the difficulties that you encounter while doing your job in Turkey? What are the problems that industrial designers face?

D) Goals and aims (why do we do this)

- What should be the aims and goals of industrial designers as a group both socially and economically in Turkish context?

- Why do you think industrial design –as a profession- is important in Turkey’s economic and social system?
- What do you think about the concept of “Turkish design”?

E) Norms and Values (what is good and bad)

- What are the professional norms and values you have as an industrial designer?
- Do professional ethics of industrial design exist in Turkey? If so, how do you define it?

F) Position (What is our position in society, and how we relate to other groups?)

- What do you think about the social prestige of industrial design profession compared to other professions?
- What do you think about the relationships of between designers and other professionals such as engineers and marketing people? What are the common points and conflicts?
- What do you think about the relationships between industrial designers and professionals coming from other design disciplines such as architects, interior architects, graphic designers...etc?
- What are your opinions about the attitude of Turkish industry towards Turkish designers?
- What do you think about the foreign designers operating in Turkey?
- Have you noticed any differences or expectations in the way people perceive you due to you being an industrial designer?
- What do you think about the public perception of design in Turkey?
- What do you think about the relationship of the profession with the state in Turkey?

The preliminary study showed that Turkish industrial designers felt that their social position and access to social resources are threatened by other social groups: employers, foreign designers, engineers...etc. Therefore, this last category has the highest number of questions. After Van Dijk’s categories, two other groups of

questions have been added to the questionnaire: *Education* and *general questions* that do not fit into any other category. Education's importance in the formation process of ideologies has been argued before:

G) Education

- What are the reasons that you have chosen industrial design education?
- What type of an industrial designer image you had throughout your education? How can you compare it with the image you have today?
- Was the knowledge you have gained during your education sufficient for your work in the field?
- Was the institution you graduated from any different from the others? If so in what ways?
- Do you think that industrial design education needs special talent?
- What do you think about the situation of industrial design education in Turkey?

H) General

- What is the greatest problem that industrial designers face amongst their own community, in their relations with each other?
- What is the biggest threat for industrial design in Turkey?
- Can there be an autonomous ideology of the industrial design profession that is separate from political ideology? If so what is it?

6. RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter states the findings of the research under the related categories of the study.

6.1 Context of Research

As stated in the previous chapter, the interviews were conducted with 14 industrial designers and academicians in Istanbul in 2007.

To ensure that the industrial designers will be expressing their views openly, it is promised that their actual names will not appear within the study. Therefore, a coding system has been developed to address the interviewees. Each respondent has been given a number and represented as RX-I/A/F where R stands for respondent, X for the number and I/A/F for the current occupation. In this system, *I* represents in-house designers, *A* academicians and *F* freelance designers. For instance, R13-I is the 13th respondent who is working as an in-house designer.

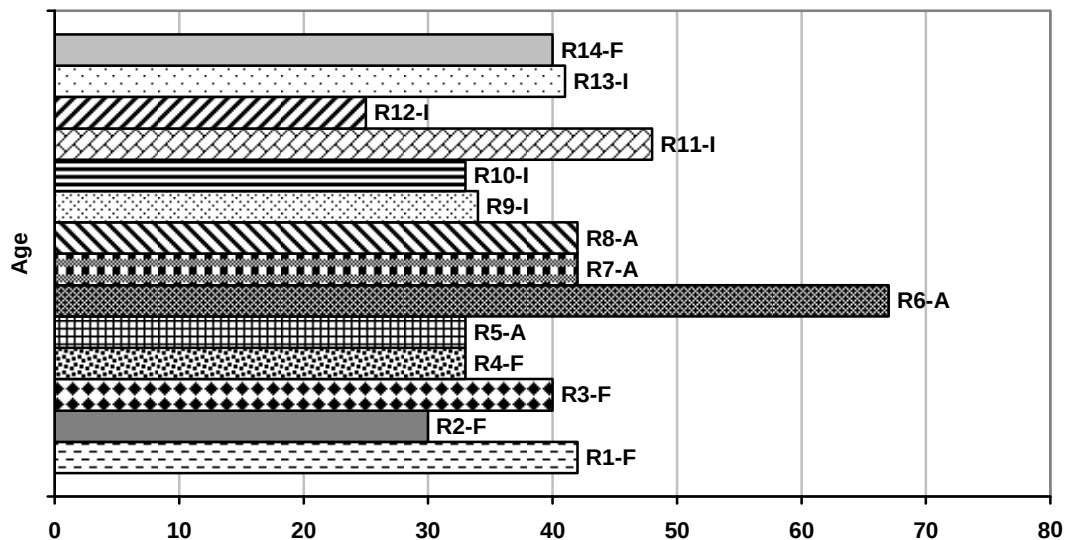


Figure 6.1: Ages of the designers

The average age of the 14 participants were 39.3 years. This average was 36.8 for freelance designers, 46 for academicians and 36.2 for in-house designers. The figure 6.1 shows the age of each participant.

The average work experience for the interviewees was 15.7 years. For freelance designers it was 14.8, for academicians it was 21.2 and for in-house designers it was 12.2 years. The following table 6.2 shows the years of experience of each individual.

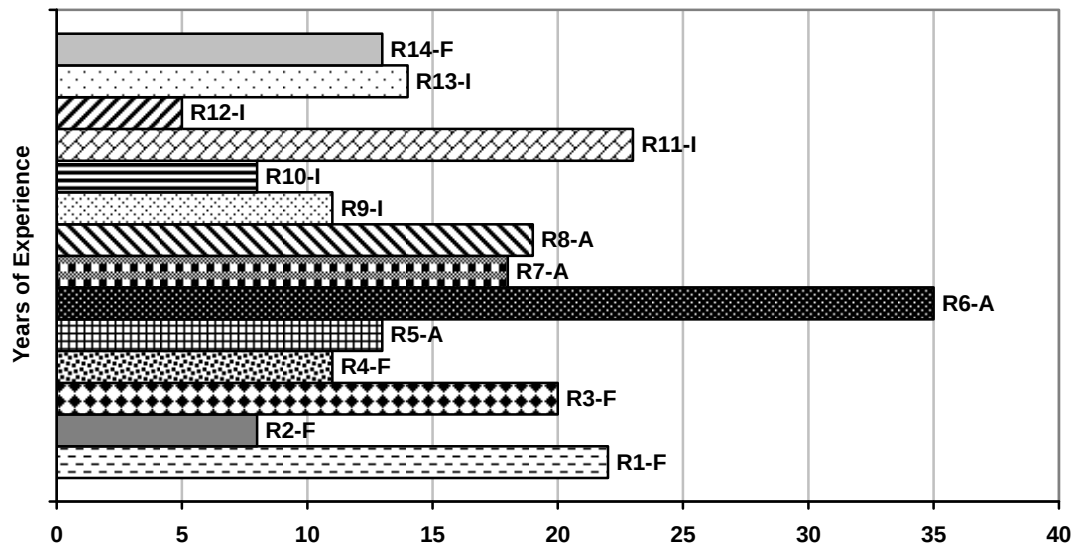


Figure 6.2: Designers years of experience

6.2 Identity-Membership and Tasks-Activities

Identity-membership and tasks-activities form two separate categories in Van Dijk's original ideological schema. However, in professional groups such as industrial designers, group identity and membership is closely related with the activities performed by group members. This phenomenon is not unexpected, since professional groups are defined by their professional practices, tasks and actions. In the light of this understanding, the findings that were derived from those two separate categories are combined in this section.

In this part of the interview, industrial designers answered 9 questions. Nearly all of the respondents identified the notion of "increasing the total quality of life through better and innovative artifacts and products" as the core principle of ID practice. Apart from this common and central theme, there are several other core-principles, characteristics and definitions that have been asserted by the interviewees:

- Idea and concept generation (R1-F),
- Problem solving, the relations between users, ergonomics, materials, production techniques (R2-F),
- Interdisciplinary coordinator defined as a uniting factor between engineering, marketing, management and production (R3-F),
- “Interdisciplinary leader and coordinator” (R3-F),
- “A mixture of technical knowledge, artistic skill and aesthetic taste combined with a childish curiosity” (R4-F),
- Creativity and generation of novel alternatives (R5-A),
- Mass production, creation of the every sub-principle (form, function, aesthetic components, ergonomics) that are related with the usage of products (R7-A),
- Providing advantages in terms of product-cost and producibility (R7-A),
- “A viewpoint that encompasses all disciplines” (R9-I)
- Permanence (R10-I)
- Process (R12-I)
- Predicting future (R13-I)

However, all of the interviewed industrial designers agreed on the fact that ID profession has a rather different definition in Turkish context compared to the “rest of the world”. This “distorted” definition was based on an “unconscious” perception which is produced by Turkish industry and public. Furthermore, all of the respondents complained that this “distorted” formulation was, in fact, a direct result of the various different and mostly contradictory sub-definitions of ID practice in Turkey. Interestingly, most of those definitions oscillated between two extremities: ID was either perceived as a solely technical occupation or, quite the contrary, only associated with creating “fanciful”, “aesthetic” and “charming” shells for the products (R3-I, R7-A, R8-A).

According to interviewee R11-I, a Turkish industrial designer could not produce successful projects if she/he only dealt with the “soft side” of design. That is, in

contrast with their western counterparts, Turkish industrial designers should not only create novel ideas, visuals and innovative product concepts but also should be endowed with the relevant technical knowledge to realize their ideas (R11-I). Moreover, Turkish industrial designers must have an extensive knowledge of production techniques and must possess the appropriate skills to communicate with the “technical” personnel in companies (R11-I):

“Today, we have to act accordingly in our own company as well. This is called “design engineering” in the world. This discipline has to be established in Turkey as a separate profession. Or, Turkish industrial designers must be conscious of this function. Otherwise they cannot operate in Turkish market.”

Parallel with this statement, another respondent admitted that he had to transform himself into a designer-engineer in accordance with the above mentioned “perception” of ID (R1-F):

“Naturally, my ideal definition is very different and is not dependant on Turkey’s perception of the profession. Firstly, ID is idea and concept generation for me. Upon this, I adopted a “mission” to make products “producible”. I was not educated on this, yet my background enabled me to do it. Does it make me happy? Sometimes yes. On the other hand, I get very bored when I am overwhelmed by technical details. However, if you think in terms of a total control over the product and the process, it is a very necessary ability, especially in the absence of a suitable R&D team that shares your responsibilities.”

A more pessimistic interpretation of the same topic can be found in the comments of the interviewee R4-F, who named Turkish industrial designers as “millimetric” designers who are seen as technicians that operate certain CAD packages. Another industrial designer (R12-I), found this situation as the reflection of the “wretched” and “frustrating” condition of ID in Turkish enterprises.

On the other side, respondent R3-F pointed out that she was very disturbed by the one-sided characterization of ID which focused solely on the “aesthetic” side of design practice. Worse than that, this over-simplifying explanation excludes ID from the current debates, which were concerned with constituting a framework for innovation in Turkey. She added that innovation could only be made “usable” with the help of design and those “unconscious” formulations formed a great obstacle. Furthermore, according to interviewee R8-A, the most prominent reasons for this “wrong” impression were the underdeveloped Turkish market and companies:

“Here, in Turkey, ID is generally understood as designing the “outer shells” of products. We are always trying to explain that ID should be utilized as a primary function, beginning from the first steps of product development process. Yet, this kind of an approach, user research, identifying latent user needs are only possible in sophisticated markets. Only large corporations, who make big investments, can use such techniques. For instance, who develops the most innovative tooth brushes? Oral-B. Who is Oral-B? It is a part of a giant corporation with such a production volume that they can conduct the necessary research. In Turkey, what is Banat doing? They are only concerned with creating differences with the help of new visual elements. Contrary to a deep approach that tries to find the latent needs of the customers, Turkish firms focus on those small visual “innovations”. Therefore, industrial designers generally work only over the formal qualities of products, trying to make products more “beautiful”. What does beautiful mean? “

After the positing their definitions concerning ID discipline, respondents answered questions about their views over group definition and membership: Do industrial designers form a homogeneous group in Turkey? Is there a shared culture? What is the importance of a legitimate diploma for being considered a part of ID community? Who is excluded from this community and why?

None of the participants that surveyed thought that industrial designers form a homogeneous group in Turkey. Furthermore, except three (R3-F, R5-A, R11-I), none of the interviewees believed in a collective and shared professional culture of ID in Turkey. Respondent R13-I, summarized this point in a rather exaggerated way: “Apart from everyone knowing that there is a French guy called Philip Stark, no shared culture exists in Turkey”. According to some respondents (R2-F, R7-A, R8-A), different admission procedures (talent based or through math/science based knowledge measured by a central university exam) and educational approaches of universities (fine arts schools compared to technical universities) could be mentioned among the most significant reasons of this lack of professional common ground. Both technical universities and fine arts schools have their own perspectives and thus, created industrial designers with divergent approaches whereas foreign schools had more or less coherent and similar attitudes (R8-A). In the case of different perspectives and conceptions, foreign schools used different names such as “industrial design engineering” as opposed to an all-inclusive concept of “industrial design”.

Secondly, as most of the graduates of industrial design schools could not find “proper” and “real” industrial design jobs, economic conditions forced them to work

in different fields such as graphics design, interior design, web design, advertising, exhibitions design...etc. Hence, a collective culture could not be formulated since industrial designers could not practice their very own discipline (R4-F, R7-A, R8-A R9-I). Although this situation is slowly changing, some industrial designers have certain doubts. For instance, respondent R14-F evaluated Turkish industrial designers as "...incapable of taking successful collective steps towards a common goal. We have ETMK but even it is not well organized." One industrial designer (R10-I) was even more pessimistic:

"I think that there are just a few people who practice "industrial design" in an ideal sense. A group of people has an ethically flawed approach which is solely based on commercial interests as opposed to idealistic concerns. A group of people is seeking to establish a balance, trying to make both producers and users "happy" at the same time. Yet, another group of people is designing with a Karim Rashid-like attitude, they do take into consideration neither producers nor users."

The remaining three industrial designers (R3-F, R5-A, R11-I), who thought that Turkish industrial designers possess a shared professional culture, had quite divergent views on the subject. For instance, respondent R3-F argued that those industrial designers, who practiced their profession with "love" and "passion", indeed shared professional conventions. What lied in the heart of those principles is Turkish culture and taste. On the other hand, despite the differences in educational perspectives, interviewee R11-I assumed that university education acted as a bond that united industrial designers with similar ideals and perceptions. Nevertheless, respondent R5-A had a totally different and negative viewpoint. According to her, there is a common culture which is determined by mass media. This market oriented, PR based culture is widespread among some designers who do accept it without a second thought. Yet, there are a handful of designers –mostly academicians- , who do refuse and resist this over-commercialized and popular formulation.

Even though majority of the interviewed industrial designers thought that a shared professional culture did not exist; they reached an interesting consensus about the effects of their profession over their outlook on life and personality. "Being extremely critical about life and artificial objects" (R1-F, R8-A R9-I, R10-I, R11-I, R12-I, R14-I) and "adopting an analytical viewpoint about our surroundings" (R8-A, R9-I, R10-I, R11-I R14-F) were the focal points of their argumentation. In this

context, some respondents emphasized that being a designer gives an individual a more questioning (R3-F, R9-I) even a septic (R11-I) attitude towards everything:

“When I work inside a team, I always realize that I am the most questioning and critical member. Engineers and architects do not pose “why” questions as much as we do. For instance, they have been using the same material for years. But even once, no one had asked: “Why this part has holes on it?” When I come up with such questions they become extremely surprised, they cannot answer so they begin to question...” (R3-F)

Nonetheless, this over-critical standpoint may become problematic in industrial designers’ relations with “normal people” and “real life” (R1-F, R8-A, R10-I, R12-I). Interviewee R12-I addressed this problem as a “professional deformation” that had profound marks on his outlook towards people, clothes, objects and life styles. Another respondent (R4-F), called this “passionate devotion to details” a “professional illness” that sometimes caused problems even in his professional life. For R1-F, being a designer makes him pessimistic, as he constantly seeks flaws, defects, imperfections and deficiencies in everything including buildings, products, and systems. Thus he referred to famous Rolling Stones lyrics to clarify his difficult situation:

“I can get no satisfaction. When I say that ‘This is something very beautiful!’, I get extremely anxious. This implies that something better or more useful cannot be achieved. A designer should always feel that everything can be improved or can be made more advanced” (R1-F).

In terms of the relations with “other” and “normal” people, most of the surveyed designers stated that they had problems. This “over-questioning addiction for details” (R4-F, R10-I, R8-A) disturbs other individuals since they cannot understand designer’s real motives. Since design education is about educating the “eye” to acquire a “good taste”, industrial designers are much too nice to enjoy ordinary objects (R8-A). Hence, they always “deviate” from average consumers: “I cannot even get along well with my mother. It is always as if I am speaking an arcane, meta-language that no one else understands.” (R8-A)

Although this obvious “dissonance” was depicted as a negative phenomenon, industrial designers seemed to be proud of their “eccentricity”. However, only one respondent openly admitted the situation: “Yes, I take a strange pride in being an industrial designer, in being different, interesting, eccentric...” (R5-A)

The next question was about the importance of having a legitimate diploma for being an industrial designer in Turkey. This question was especially important as it revealed some of the people who were “mentally” excluded from industrial design community. Except five industrial designers (R3-F, R4-F, R5-A, R12-I, R14-F), majority of the interviewees assented that a legitimate diploma is very important for practicing the profession.

For respondent R1-F, not only industrial design but every single occupation and profession should be practiced by legally educated and trained individuals: “Even a simple plumber without an education can make a great deal of damage to your house. Design is a far more complex phenomenon”. Contrarily, he asserted that in a society which lets “worthless” individuals to be successful, everyone can open a “design shop” and thus, claim to be a designer. Yet, it is the design education itself that grants individuals a certain system of thought and discipline, which is the locus of design thinking (R1-F). Although this specific “design philosophy” can be acquired in time, the real point is to put an emphasis on education as:” ... everyone must not and cannot do everything...” (R1-F)

In accordance with the comments of R1-F, some other industrial designers expressed similar ideas. For instance, respondent R2-F identified “professional discipline” as the most significant attribute that education provides. In this context, she put an emphasis on the jury mechanism, which is quite widespread in the evaluation process of student works in design schools: “Unfortunately, if a person has not walked the same paths as we did, he/she is not an industrial designer for me. Our profession is a matter of self-discipline. Even educated industrial designers have ego and discipline problems.” (R2-F) Similarly, R7-A and R11-I stressed the points of design thinking, design process/methods, professional discipline and industrial design profession as a discipline. In this sense, discipline is a combination of “designerly” methods and approaches, which can only be given in university education. This rigorous training process bestows certain responsibilities upon industrial designers. At this very point, interviewees R7-A and R11-I drew a very clean line between a designer and an “industrial” designer. In their perspective, industrial designer is an individual who uses a specific “process” with well defined reason, motives, inputs and outputs. Industrial designers always act deliberately, pursuing specific goals whereas designers act on “impulse” and mere “inspiration” (R7-A, R11-I). Thus, university

education is the primary determinant that distinguishes “industrial” designers from designers.

On the other hand, two industrial designers (R9-I, R10-I) were more strict on the subject. Respondent R10-I pointed out that university education is a “sine qua non”. Spending minimum 4 years, among dedicated people, who are working and endeavoring with similar motives towards a common goal, is a very important component that shapes individuals professional characters (R10-I):

“There are some people who have been graduated from, let’s say a one year ‘god-knows-where’ course in industrial design in England. What is worse, those worthless so-called designers claim that they can do industrial design, engineering, graphics... everything you can imagine and they shamelessly put those titles on their business cards. To me, they are charlatans, jackals who suck the blood of real industrial designers. In the absence of an authority, those people can secure a place for themselves. Naturally, media and unconscious public have a profound role in these processes.”

Correspondingly, industrial designer R9-I expressed his “anger” about master’s programs who accept students from diverse backgrounds. According to him, those programs enable those individuals to use the title of “industrial designer” without really deserving it. Again, in a country where industry, media and public is “unconscious”, those graduates constitute a “threat” for “real” industrial designers.

Finally, participant R6-A accepted that there are some accomplished industrial designers, who did not have a university degree. In fact, those uneducated industrial designers may not have been that successful if they had been trained at all (R6-A). However, this situation does not shadow the significance of a degree. Within this framework, interviewee R6-A makes a very honest comment about the role of a diploma: “Educational processes and diplomas are important insofar as they serve to protect the rights of our colleagues. Moreover, the concept of diploma is of great prominence in terms of professional ethics and establishing a unity among our community.”

The other respondents, who argued that a legitimate degree is not very important, have diverse explanations for their position. For R3-F, a combination of talent, passion for research, curiosity, dedication and self-motivation can turn anyone into an industrial designer. Also, compared to the successful but uneducated industrial designers, there are many graduates who do not practice their own profession.

Industrial designer R4-F, also focused on the notion of “curiosity”, and indicated that Hartmut Esslinger, who is the founder of the famous design consultancy, Frog Design, was indeed an engineer.

The final part of this section of the interviews consisted of questions about the problems that industrial designers faced in their professional lives in Turkey. Another point of interest was the dissonance between the expectations of the industry and designers’ own professional ideals.

One of the biggest problems that was depicted by the respondents is “a widespread lack of vision and unconsciousness that has plagued Turkish industry and public for many years” (R12-I). Numerous variations of this line of argumentation emerged in the statements of different industrial designers, throughout the interview:

- “No one knows what industrial designers exactly do. Where does their expertise start? Where does it end? There are just a few people who can answer these questions in industry...” (R1-F)
- “There are many enterprises that, in fact, need the services that industrial designers provide. But, because of a lack of vision, they do not demand such things” (R2-F).
- “In general, companies do not know anything about what they can expect from industrial designers” (R4-F).
- “Even if they do know that they need industrial designers, companies intervene too much in design processes. As they see industrial design as an activity solely involved with tastes and aesthetic judgment, they try to manipulate and control industrial designers” (R5-A).
- “As industrial design is not a well-known profession in Turkey, there are many contradictory definitions in industry that creates a big mess” (R9-I).
- “There is no design culture but a big ignorance. Visionary companies do not exist in Turkey. Worse than that, firms do not know how to work with designers. No matter how professional our approaches are, we always confront big gaffes. It is all because of ignorant people who have the control over money and power” (R10-I).
- “No one knows what we do. There are some managers who think that we are mere visualization technicians. They force us to draw the products that they have seen in their dreams” (R12-I).

The list can be extended, but obviously, respondents had a consensus on the obliviousness of Turkish industry regarding industrial design profession and its professionals. Nonetheless, interviewees R2-F and R9-I posited that Turkish industrial designers themselves are directly responsible for the above mentioned

unconsciousness and contradictory perceptions. According to R2-F, Turkish designers failed to produce a coherent and lucid formulation of industrial design. Every single designer has his/her own definitions, therefore these multitude of approaches and attitudes establish a profound confusion in the mental realm of employers (R2-F, R9-I). Furthermore, Turkish industrial designers could not achieve to constitute a common, shared discourse that can unite them (R2-F). This controversial debate will be revisited in the following sections, which deal with the relations between industrial designers and other relevant social groups.

Another common problem was the nature of industrial design projects in Turkish context. In the first place, only a small portion of Turkish enterprises do utilize the function of industrial design in their new product development processes. On the other hand, when companies do use industrial design, they employ industrial designers for creating “small visual differences” on existing systems (R1-F, R5-A). Thus, novel, “conceptual”, products that inherit “real” innovations cannot be designed (R1-F, R10-I, R14-F) limiting industrial designers to styling. According to respondent R14-F, Turkey and Turkish industrial designers have the potential to create products that can “really change the world”. Moreover, he states that he likes to design not only the products but “the existence of products” within the extensive network of relations, perceptions and experiences. Yet, such holistic approaches are very rare in the absence of visionaries (R14-F). Only some large Turkish corporations have the insight and potential for developing such products. Even in that case, those novel artifacts are only a small portion of their total production volume as there is a tendency for minimizing the risks (R1-F):

“We know some Turkish corporations, large ones indeed, who have the financial means, human resources and technological potential to create their own concepts. However, if they develop 100 products, only 2 or 3 of them are of that kind: I mean really innovative. That ratio must –at least- be 10%. This is the situation of large and established firms. What about SMEs? Nothing...”

Additionally, most of the participating industrial designers have pointed out the difficulties and problems that occur during the new product development and industrial design processes. In this framework, lack of design culture or unawareness is not the problem. Since an “industrial culture” (R13-I) is non-existent, Turkish companies do not have sufficient knowledge and strategies which are imperative for “healthy” R&D processes (R1-F, R5-A, R13-I). As most of the firms cannot regulate

their own product development processes, Turkish industrial designers must also act as “industrial consultants” (R1-F). That is, their duties and functions generally trespass the borders “traditional” disciplinary boundaries of industrial design. Therefore, industrial designers who especially serve SMEs, have developed “schizophrenic” professional personalities (R1-F). Another shortcoming that arises from the above mentioned “crippled” (R13-I) industrial culture, is an inability to provide appropriate design briefs (R3-F, R12-I). This inaptitude can also be perceived as a sign of an unprofessional attitude, which is the “trademark” of many Turkish companies and corporations (R12-I). Coupled with the absence of a common professional terminology (R13-I), such a shortsighted perspective is a short-cut to imminent failure (R9-I, R12-I).

Cost and especially time pressures are other factors which prevent designers from being “innovative” (R11-I, R12-I, R14-F). Industrial designers are always forced to be quicker and therefore, they cannot proceed through “ideal” design processes. Apart from having negative effects on designers’ concentration, this forced “haste” also influences the quality of the products: “If they give us 6 months instead of 1, we can develop quite innovative approaches. However, in a relatively short time period you can only make something superficial...” (R14-F). Likewise, respondent R11-I criticized employers for being extremely impatient: “In Turkey, everyone feels very good when they solve something quickly and ‘practically’. They never turn back and think about the consequences. Design is not something like that. Being experimental is a must. You have to make many different proposals and persuade people...”

Interestingly, some interviewees thought that this meaningless “hurry” does not have its reflections on the market-launch of products. In this context, R2-F observed that Turkish companies have extremely long product development periods. As a result of a lack of communication and coordination, products are subjected to many revisions (R14-F). Like other developing countries, Turkish industry suffers from the absence of methodic approaches to processes. Combined with weak infrastructures and inexperienced personnel, unsystematic Turkish companies have to “work” a lot more than their western counterparts (R11-I). As industrial design is the most “trivial” component of the new product development process, companies do not hesitate to shorten the time interval which is reserved for this function (R11-I). To complete this chaotic picture, R2-F mentioned the urgent need for capable design managers: In

most of the companies, there are no professionals who can really control, coordinate and direct the industrial design process. Most of the times, marketing specialists endeavor to undertake this responsibility but only as an off-shoot function (R2-F).

Apart from the disputes over processes, most of the respondents remarked that they have to overcome conflicts with engineers and marketing experts over a variety of issues. This subject will be further elucidated in the section 5.3 . Yet, some brief quotations may be relevant within the current course of our argumentation. According to interviewee R2-F, marketing specialists are always profit-oriented, despite having a large discourse about so-called “consumers”. Besides to all, marketing departments are generally inadequate in providing sound design briefs. “Generally, they try to make us do something similar to their competitors. On the other hand, she depicts engineers as “they try to feed their *technical egos* “(R2-F, emphasis added). Although engineers do also care for user needs, they cannot be as practical as designers for they don’t possess as much knowledge over user psychology, perception and ergonomics (R2-F). Engineers are more “humane” and “innovative” compared to marketing people yet they lack the knowledge of the market. Nonetheless, sometimes they can be “stubborn” and “lazy” about adapting novelties (R4-F, R6-A). At this very point, the designer has to undertake a difficult and a controversial role: He/she has to act as a mediator, without compromising his/her professional ideals (R2-F).

Naturally, financial problems form another façade of the problematic existence of Turkish industrial designers (R1-F, R2-F, R4-F, R6-A). All of those 4 respondents agreed on the fact that Turkish industrial designers are not paid well enough for their professional efforts and services. Also, paying solely for ideas is simply “out-of-question” for Turkish industry (R2-F). Therefore, industrial designers simply cannot advance their business. Despite their reasonable price offers, companies are generally reluctant and find those wages extremely high (R1-F, R2-F):

” Companies do not want to pay for the things that were previously achieved by their workshop-technicians. Before, they solved their problems for free, and sold products successfully. But now, they cannot do the same because of the competition and EU regulations. Someone comes and tells those companies that they need designers. Naturally, those guys have great difficulties in understanding why they should pay for such services.” (R2-F)

For R4-F, the problem is even more complex and cultural: “Virtual services and ideas are not valuable in our culture. Why? Simple. Turks cannot think abstractly. Turkish bosses do not believe in anything that they cannot touch.” What makes the matters worse is the state’s indifferent attitude about the current situation (R1-F). The taxes are high and there are no special financial support programs for industrial designers (R1-F): “Someone produces *makeshift* plastic clothes-pegs or plastic forks and can benefit from credits and government support as he is classified as an SME. But although I realize 20 industrial designs per year, I am not considered an SME.” (Emphasis added)

Another interesting problem is professionally inadequate “industrial designers” (R1-F, R2-F R11-I). Most of the new graduates, and even some designers who had been in the labor market for years, are not capable of solving the complex technical and design problems of the customers. Furthermore, there are many industrial designers who think that their job finishes after submitting the initial, conceptual visuals (R1-F, R2-F). Thus, many firms who had worked with such “incapable” industrial designers had to deal with “tremendous production problems” (R2-F, R11-I). As they have lost time, money and valuable resources, those companies had become very distrustful and skeptic about industrial design. Even, there are some firms who totally abandon the idea of working with designers after such incidents (R2-F, R11-I). R11-I identifies this problem as the main reason why long-term design consultancy mechanisms have not developed in Turkish context, especially in the recent years. Secondly, Turkish design studios or in-house design offices cannot find accomplished and “talented” industrial designers to employ (R1-F, R14-F). For respondent R1-F, the “mediocre” university education which cannot teach the “technique of design” is the chief responsible. Also, he emphasized that “technique of design” does not necessarily involve engineering or production knowledge but methods for creating novel products (R1-F).

Last but not least, some participants (R6-A, R8-A, R10-I, R11-I) indicated a profound mental dissonance between industrial designers and the given conditions of the labor market in Turkey. Educated as idealists (R6-A, R8-A), industrial designers seek some “higher” and “sublime” (R8-A) goals. Furthermore, they wish to emphasize the social side of design (R6-A) by putting a special value on users and the environment:

“Industrial designers long to design something that they can put their signatures on, something they can be proud of. Something that can be blessed by “good design awards” or be a highlight in design magazines...At least, they desire a product that can solve an important problem or become a real contribution to human life...” (R8-A)

Furthermore, industrial designers generally yearn for going “deep down” (R8-A) to question the “conditions of existence” of the products that they design (R8-A, R14-F). Apparently, the fundamental motive in the industry is the maximization of profits. To this end, the main function of industrial design is to create the “next” product - which is generally dictated by the “previous ones”- with smallest possible budget (R6-A, R8-A). Hence, designers engage in struggles to establish a difficult balance between their “dreams and the harsh reality” (R10-I). Besides to these inevitable discordances, there are serious socio-cultural conflicts between industrial designers and Turkish SMEs (R8-A). Generally coming from upper middle class families, industrial design graduates have to work with people and in environments that they had never experienced in their lives. Especially in Istanbul, many firms are located in industrial districts that are at the peripheral regions of the city. In the final analysis, such contrasts generate a deep “trauma” which profoundly affects Turkish industrial designers (R8-A).

6.3 Aims/Goals and Norms/Values

The third category in Van Dijk’s theoretical tool is the one that defines a social group’s social aims and goals. Goals and aims enable us to understand how a group “legitimizes” its very existence before other social factors. In professional groups, they are closely related with economical interests.

Without exception, all of the participating industrial designers agreed on the fact that industrial design profession is a vital and consequential factor in the economical development process of Turkey. Respondents R1-F and R8-A asserted that Turkish society is not a “productive” community despite its huge population. “When I look around, all I see are people that do nothing or produce nothing, but talking. The more you talk the more valuable you are” was how R1-F depicted the current situation. Thus, “productive” professions like industrial design are key elements in an economical transformation process (R1-F, R8-A). In this “developmentalist” context,

“boosting export” through “innovative products with added value” is industrial design’s primary mission (R3-F, R4-F, R6-A, R7-A, R8-A, R11-I).

To this end, industrial designers should act as missionaries who should “educate” and “transform” an “unconscious” industry, especially SMEs (R3-F, R7-A, R8-A, R10-I, R11-I, R12-I, R13-I). Yet, it must be taken into consideration that this education is not only about making those firms “conscious” of the advantages that Turkish industrial designers may provide. Solely “injecting” the so-called “design culture” is not sufficient (R3-F). Missionary industrial designers should create a “world-vision” that can integrate each and every Turkish SME into global economic system (R7-A, R8-A, R9-I). This integration may even include developing new business models or introducing new materials and markets to the firm. Thus, Turkish industrial designers should be less product-centric and must not limit industrial design activity to mass produced items (R8-A). Such a complex mission can only be undertaken by designers as they have a more holistic perspective of the industry compared to engineers or marketing experts (R13-I). However, most of the respondents stated that this “education” should not be understood in terms of making “pro bono” design projects for SMEs (R2-F, R3-F). In accordance with this view, R2-F criticizes some Turkish design schools: “Design schools should not be our rivals. Under the name of “collaboration”, some schools do design products or make their students run projects for unreasonably cheap wages.” As Turkish companies cannot easily embrace the notion of “paying for ideas or intellectual work”, such schools and designers who work for cheap wages become a “big threat” (R3-F).

The second goal, which was designated by the majority of the interviewees, is a social one. Except two respondents (R3-F, R13-I), the surveyed industrial designers posited “improving general public taste” as a significant responsibility. However, they have not reached a consensus on how this “mission” can be achieved.

According to R1-F, industrial designers must produce “real work” as opposed to so-called star designers who perceive design as a “show business”. Only in doing so, industrial designers can really be beneficial for the society (R1-F). In this framework, when designers “do their job properly” (R1-F), that is, when they design “beautiful and quality” artifacts which do inherit certain “aesthetic values”, they can advance the “the taste” of their societies (R1-F):

“It is not a matter of ignorance but a problem of access. Think of people who live in the shanties. In fact, they can live in better conditions with the same expenses. Yet, they are not aware of those possibilities. When people are presented good quality and well designed products for the same price as their third-class counterparts, at the same time you are – indirectly- teaching those individuals what good taste is.”

Similarly, respondents R7-A, R8-A and R9-I believed that consumers can be “informed” or “educated” only through elaborately designed products. If the artifice or material culture is ameliorated, public taste will be improved automatically (R6-A, R8-A). For R6-A, industrial design has a central role compared to other design disciplines that have roles in creating the artificial environment. However, design is only a small part in a system. As exemplified by the case of a street furniture, which is not properly installed by the municipality; “good design” cannot always be a solution to problems of a greater scale (R6-A). Industrial designers, should always be one step ahead of the public (R10-I) as they bear “great” responsibilities. Being individuals who “foresee” the future (R13-I), industrial designers should not design for the current conditions but for an ideal society that they long for (R10-I):

“Every single person, who occupies a responsible position, must work towards improving the society. For me, no politician, no leader or no designer, has the luxury to ask the public what they want. There is no question in that. For instance, if we ask the people: “Shall we open the North Istanbul forests to settlements?” 98.8 percent will definitely say yes. Will you do it? No, definitely not! You must not do what the public wants. You must not give in to them. You can go to the public, yes, but only for raising their expectations and tastes to a higher level...” (R6-A)

Adding another twist to the argument, respondent R11-I indicated that he prefers the term “social responsibility” instead of “social mission”. For him, “mission” involves a deliberate course of action whereas “responsibility” implies a belief in slow “evolution”. “Changing people’s viewpoints” is too pretentious for industrial designers. Instead, designers should aim for incremental developments (R11-I). In accordance with this perspective, R5-A points out that, seeing industrial designers as authorities over public taste may place design practice in a problematic domain. Designers should not see themselves in a “higher” cultural and intellectual position compared to the general public. Instead of seeing some cultural behaviors (such as placing laceworks over TV sets) as “funny expressions of a sub-culture”, designers should endeavor to comprehend the real motives lying behind such attitudes.

Industrial designers should neither give in to “public taste, nor impose their own values (R5-A):

“No no no... You are extremely symmetrical. And symmetry has been considered ‘wrong’ since Bauhaus. We should do asymmetric things to be more modern. We will teach you... Designers must not be in such a mood. On the contrary, they must be ‘in-betweeners’ who shall establish a difficult balance...”

R13-I is even more critical. For him, “improving public taste” is an extremely chauvinist utterance. In the exact moment when a designer uses the word “public”, the rest of the society becomes an alien “other”. Hence, communication becomes impossible (R13-I). Another designer, R3-F also explained that improving general taste is “utterly nonsense”. In a society where large scale economical problems prevail, talking of a “design culture” or a “design-consciousness” is “ridiculous” (R3-F).

Despite being expressed only by three interviewees, the issue of creating a “Turkish” design identity, with a particular reference to certain cultural values considered “Turkish” in origin, is noteworthy. Only three respondents (R2-F, R3-F, R6-A) expressed such a goal.

R2-F discussed that Turkish people are “heirs” to an “amazing” cultural heritage, which had profoundly affected the “world” for centuries. However, most Turkish people have forgotten that “Turkish culture” has inherited such significant values. Therefore, one of the primary duties of Turkish designers is to remind the “general public” of their “real” essence and character (R2-F):

“No one else can narrate this cultural heritage... For instance, other professional groups such as lawyers or doctors can simply not do that. As Turkish industrial designers, first we have to make our people remember our past. We have to *wake them up*! Then we have to reveal this great richness to the rest of the world. We have to find and interpret the ‘modern’ in our own essence.” (R2-F, emphasis added)

Respondent R6-A assigned a similar mission for Turkish designers. He argues that Turkey does not only have a rich cultural background but also witnessed an “impressive” crafts tradition and “design” tradition. All of these local “authenticities” should be reinterpreted in the light of “modern” needs and must be reconsidered in the context of “mass production” and industrialization (R6-A). This is not only crucial in terms of a healthy economic growth (R6-A) but also creating a modern

“Turkish taste” in the design world (R3-F). Such efforts are of utmost importance in establishing “Turkish design” as an “universal” brand, which can compete with the notions of “Italian, Scandinavian or Japanese design” in the international arena (R3-F). Naturally, Turkish industrial designers should play a leading role in these collective efforts to construct a coherent character for Turkish design (R2-F, R3-F, R6-A). For a more detailed account of those claims, Kaygan’s (2006) line of argumentation can be visited.

The harshest criticisms to the notion of “Turkish design”, came from interviewee R13-I. For him, mentioning about the possibility of “Turkishness” or “Turkish culture” as a source for creating a national design style, is “utterly nonsense” (R13-I). Turkish people are not living in this so-called “Turkish culture” anymore:

“The people who are trying to do this find a couple of Ottoman motifs from some books and put those on some products. What is our culture? Drinking tea from tulip glasses? This is a great ignominy. In the end, what they achieve is to abuse some visual materials and degrade our culture before others” (R13-I).

In accordance with the same perspective, R11-I declared that “this whole business of Turkish identity in design” is a “romantic” and “naïve” approach. Turkish people form a society who had forgotten their very roots and whose bonds with their past had been seriously “damaged” (R11-I). In this amnesiac environment, Turkish designers must be aware of their past and play a key role in categorizing those forgotten artifacts. However, transforming those into contemporary products is another issue (R11-I). Such approaches can only be successful in some “speculative” designs such as furniture or lightning. Yet, “hard-core” industrial products do not fall into this category. For instance, a concept of an “all-Turkish” car is simply “ridiculous” (R11-I).

If “Turkish” design will really emerge and be respected internationally, it cannot be accomplished “by force” (R8-A, R11-I). If Turkish companies can come up with successful products designed by Turkish designers, if those designs are awarded by authorities such as RedDot or If, only then, incrementally, “Turkish design” may secure itself a place as a successful international brand (R8-A, R11-I). Some momentary “leaps and flickers” (R8-A) are not sufficient. Turkish companies and especially designers must be “patient” and put their efforts in a rigorous, long-term, collective continuum. That is, “accumulation is the key word” (R8-A): “Turkish

design has a long way to go. If we do our jobs properly, the rest will come in time, but slowly...” (R14-F)

After expressing their angle regarding aims and goals, interviewees answered the questions about their professional norms, values and ethic codes. However, surveyed industrial designers did not manifest a coherent system of norms and values. Although each had their own ethical standards or values, these norms were outwardly expressions of their individual characters rather than being a part of their professional attitudes.

This situation was not expected by the researcher. In the course of a professional development, a coherent system of values and ethical codes is the last component to appear. As industrial design is a very “young” profession in Turkey, such a state of professional maturity has not been reached yet.

Having said those, some highlights from respondents’ statements may be given:

- “Designers should not work for less than what they deserve. Most of the companies are not willing to pay for “ideas” and designers should not worsen the current situation, which is already a big problem. There are some firms who offer 5000 dollars for a work that will be finalized in 6 months! ” (R1-F, R3-F)
- “If I don’t feel that a certain product will not contribute to our society, I don’t like designing it at all. But the conditions of the labor market is very harsh, sometimes you don’t have many choices” (R2-F).
- “Industrial designers must be very careful about the commercial secrets of the companies they work for” (R3-F).
- “I do not serve two rival companies who work in the same field at the same time. It is not ethical” (R3-F).
- “We always tell our students: “Do not kill or harm anyone with your designs, be very honest first to yourselves than the rest...” (R6-A)
- “You must be open to criticisms” (R11-I).
- “Respect the nature. Respect the environment. Respect human beings...” (R14-F)

As some industrial designers proposed, Turkish industrial designers have not yet reached a state of “professional autonomy” that will enable them to form their own systems of professional norms and ethics (R5-A). On the other hand, R7-A asserts that Turkish industrial designers are inevitably affected by the “confusion of norms and values” that infects the Turkish society in general. Furthermore, Turkish

industrial designers have not yet produced the relevant mechanisms to unite them under a single, shared “professional cause” (R7-A). In this context, professional ethics can be developed in a long term period, specifically with the increasing number of companies who employ industrial designers (R14-F). Once again, accumulation is a prerequisite for establishing a professional value chain (R8-A). Since industrial design practice is not regulated and the degree of professional organization is very “weak” in Turkey, individual initiatives become dominant in this context. For instance, English industrial design community has a journal which exposes “good” and “bad” deeds that are committed by fellow colleagues (R8-A).

6.4 Position

This section contains questions, which aim to clarify the relative “social position” of Turkish industrial designers as a social group. As social positioning is directly related to the formation of a group’s identity, this section can also be read under the light of the findings that were presented in section 6.1. Furthermore, definition of a social position inherits the representations of “negative-others”.

The first two questions that were asked under this topic were about the social prestige and public perception of industrial design profession in Turkey. In interviewees’ mental models and representations, there is a deep antagonism between the term of “designer” and “industrial designer” (R1-F, R2-F, R3-F, R4-F, R6-A, R7-A, R8-A, R9-I, R11-I, R14-F). To a great extent, general public is evaluated to be “unaware” and “unconscious” of industrial design profession (R1-F, R2-F, R3-F, R4-F, R6-A, R8-A, R9-I, R10-I, R11-I, R12-I, R13-I, R14-F). Within this framework, it is meaningless to question the public perception and social prestige of the industrial design profession as “no one knows what industrial design is” (R1-F, R2-F, R3-F, R4-F, R8-A, R9-I, R10-I). Compared to “western countries”, Turkish people do not attach a “high value” (R6-A) to industrial designers: “Industrial designer is a powerful identity. In London, when I told people that I am a designer, they looked upon me as if I am a god” (R2-F). Although industrial design is a largely unknown speciality, it is “strangely” popular in Turkey (R1-F, R4-F, and R12-I):

“When you look at the places where industrial designers work, you can easily notice that they are not suitable places for *being popular*. Industrial designers work for the factories and/or in the factories. Generally, those factories are located in industrial districts. And those industrial

districts generally happen to be in the *unpopular, peripheral* regions of the city. If you are designing shoes, for example, you work in places with an awful smell of leather... Other than that, you generally work with engineers, technicians or the firm owners who, as you can guess, are not *colorful* personalities. The heart of the real industrial design profession beats in industrial districts, not in the city center. Every industrial designer must be aware of this fact. Unfortunately most of us seem to be not..." (R1-F)

In reality, not industrial design but the vague and "ill-defined" notion of *design* is popular (R1-F, R3-F, R4-F, R6-A, R7-A, R8-A, R9-I). At this point, interviewees drew a very sharp line between *designer* and *industrial designer*:

"Designer, as it is perceived, is a person who lives in a certain circle. That specific person does not care about the producibility of the things he/she designs. His/her only concern is to underline his/her name and become famous. What does this individual do? He takes the centuries old tulip shaped tea glass or the water pipe, and –without even thinking why- turns them into *robot like, make-shift things*, which bear no real design elements or *designerly concerns*. Moreover, those people live in certain regions of Istanbul and, if you ask me, are very far from the realities of the *real* world or the society they live in. They are so much alike to "Servet-i Fünun" poets. I cannot call them *artists*. I cannot call them industrial designers. First, design chairs that cannot be sit on, then glasses from which no one can drink. Then continuously participate in activities that occur in a small circle. To add the finishing touches, find some shoes and outfits that no one knows where they can be bought.... In fact, they are trying to form a *high society of design*. I cannot call it design *elite* as elite is something good, something advanced" (R7-A).

Correspondingly, respondent R4-F believes that the current "abundance" of boutique designers and design shops, is a sign that industrial design does not "exist" in Turkey. Even though this statement is somewhat exaggerated, it is a clear indication of a certain viewpoint: Designers are people with a lot of money and spare time (R4-F) and whose only motive is to become "stars", whereas industrial designers are "silent heroes" or "foot soldiers" that strive to produce "real" industrial design work for the Turkish society and industry (R1-F, R4-F, R7-A). Only those who make a show of what they do, can have a press coverage (R1-F).

Within this problematic public perception, designers are construed as "half-mad lunatics that bring color and joy to our lives through eccentric little objects" (R5-A). To a large extent, this "strange" and "popular" impression is created by the "populist" media and the "magazine press" (R1-F, R5-A, R6-A, R11-I, R13-I). This "so-called design press" (R6-A), who desperately needs "glamorous stars" (R6-A, R11-I, R13-I), fabricates a distorted image of an "ego-centric" and "crazy magician"

(R5-A, R13-I). This queer figure is capable of creating “hocus-pocus tricks with a slight gesture of a hand” (R5-A) and, in reality, closer to the well known public perception of fashion designers (R1-F, R2-F, R9-I, R11-I, R14-F). Since design disciplines are all “visual professions” ; the public and the media are not aware of the individual differences and therefore, focus on the well established imagery put forward by fashion design (R9-I, R14-F). But, eccentricity combined with an extraordinary outlook, do not ensure “good designs” (R9-I).

The second focal point, which was denounced by the participants as “dangerously misinforming”, is design fairs (R2-F, R5-A, R6-A, R7-A, R13-I). Starting from 2003, these events were organized each year under different names such as “ADesign Fair” and “Istanbul Design Week”. However, these events are accused to stray far from their real cause which is to bring together designers and the industry for establishing business relations (R2-F, R5-A, R6-A, R7-A, R13-I). On the contrary, they had become funfairs and circuses where design, industrial design, arts, crafts and “a large number of other anomalies” are presented together in a chaotic, “surreal environment” (R2-F, R5-A, R6-A, R7-A, R13-I). There can always be crossovers between design, arts and crafts; however, the concept of design is very new for Turkish general public. In this context, such confusing and disorienting events are “harmful”, before the assimilation of the basic definitions and perceptions (R2-F). The respondents, who had participated in such events in the past, verbalized that they couldn’t get any real benefits from those fairs (R2-F, R14-F). In those fairs, the few representatives, who had come from the industry, began to think that all “industrial designers” are “worthless crazy eccentrics” that cannot produce real solutions to industry’s everyday problems (R2-F). Those companies either prefer foreign industrial designers or work with a designer who had served their competitors in the past. Therefore, industrial design activity cannot “get outside a narrow circle” and new industrial designers cannot earn experience (R2-F). Two quotations are especially striking to convey interviewees’ understating and perception regarding design fairs:

“What do those people, who participate in design weeks, or who appear in the popular media say? ‘We were sitting and thinking with some friends and suddenly a marvelous idea has appeared. We immediately went to the nearby grocery store and picked up two orange crates and put one on top of the other... At home, we had some ping-pong balls... We cut them in half, and glued them over our crates... It became so comfortable to sit on...Also we bought

two hinges from the hardware store across the street. So we had a marvelous chair with foldable legs! Then we painted it with orange, and green and blue and red... There it was!’ [If this rubbish appears in the popular design media with headlines such as ‘colorful dimensions of design’, then it becomes impossible to mention about a serious design activity...]” (R6-A)

“When you go to a so-called design week, the only thing you see is a funfair formed by so-called designers. Those designers try to produce ‘art’. On the other hand, the art of this age is design. Art is dead... This is true, but you have to be very mature and accomplished to be able to produce such pieces. Those people are either designers who design some objects for niche markets, or they are hard-core industrial designers, who also design that kind of things occasionally...However, in Turkey this phenomenon is totally misunderstood. Balloons swimming under the Galata bridge... Red haired women who make jewelry... Some girls and boys inside strange outfits... 60-year-old guys who still try to be different...When you combine all those in a single picture, there is only one word that depicts the scene: Circus. In fact, Turkish industry should be there. These occasions are not industrial design events but design entertainment...” (R5-A)

One last comment about the public perception of the industrial designers was the emphasis made on the word “industry”. That single word sometimes frightens the average people and makes them think that industrial design is some over-technical occupation which does not have real bonds with daily life (R1-F, R-10-I).

This problematic perception of design, inevitably effects industrial design education itself. There are many students, who want to become industrial designers to become popular (R1-F, R13-I). Most industrial design students strive to become “design stars” overnight. As those young people cannot construct suitable social identities within the “awry” Turkish educational system, they “ache to become designers” for a privileged social status (R1-F, R5-A, R13-I). Most of those “starlings” are unaware of the real needs of the Turkish industry and “swim in ungrounded dreams”, thus face a great shock when they graduate (R1-F).

After making comments on public perception and social prestige of industrial designers in Turkey, the interviewees answered some questions about the Turkish industry’s attitude towards Turkish industrial designers and their opinions about foreign designers who work for Turkish companies.

Most respondents gave extensive explanations in section 5.1, when they answered the questions about the problems they have within Turkish industry. Yet, there are some other points which can be denoted.

Apart from a general obliviousness, Turkish enterprises who are “aware” of industrial design, have trust problems regarding the merits of Turkish industrial designers (R1-F, R11-I). Nonetheless, they are not totally wrong. Firstly, most of the graduates of the industrial design departments, are not equipped well enough for the problems and circumstances of Turkish industry (R1-F, R4-F, R9-I, R11-I, R13-I). As most SMEs lack the technical staff and know-how to realize design projects; Turkish industrial designers must possess the necessary engineering knowledge to offer a full range of solutions (R1-F, R2-F, R4-F, R11-I). Most firms do not have the interface that can fill the gaps between the conceptual ideas and production constraints. Therefore, Turkish consultants must not only provide “traditional industrial design” services but also a full set of product development skills (R1-F, R2-F, R11-I).

On the other hand, even accomplished industrial designers with decent technical skills have to struggle with “strange” expectations (R7-A). Most small firms view designers as magicians or inventors, who can grant rapid profit growths to those companies. Naturally such a perspective can be quite frustrating (R7-A). Weakly institutionalized, those firms encounter major difficulties about locating industrial design in their long- term plans. For they don’t have clear ideas or experiences through which they can really benefit from industrial designers; those SMEs fall into profound contradictions. Some of those antagonisms emanate from the patriarchal inner-organizations of those enterprises, which is reluctant to give some of the managerial jurisdictions to designers (R7-A). Thus, Turkish industrial designers engage in “heartbreaking struggles” to disseminate design culture into the very fabric of Turkish firms, who mostly don’t inherit “design in their DNA” (R2-F).

In accordance with the findings of the preliminary research, all of the interviewed industrial designers believed that Turkish companies, especially large corporations are “infected with a xenophilia” which has “poisoned the Turkish culture since the last days of Ottoman empire” (R1-F, R2-F, R3-F, R4-F, R6-A, R7-A, R9-I, R10-I, R11-I, R13-I). Hence, foreign industrial designers are always more valuable compared to their Turkish counterparts (R1-F, R4-F). Most of the time, those foreign designers or design studios are paid “ridiculous amounts” where Turkish industrial designers always face “fierce bargains” (R1-F, R10-I, R13-I). There are many capable Turkish designers who can produce the same or even better quality work,

generally in a shorter time period(R1-F, R4-F, R10-I, R13-I). Before putting thrust, Turkish companies has to test and try Turkish designers (R1-F). Furthermore, some of those designers exploit Turkish culture as exemplified by Ross Love grove and Karim Rashid (R12-F).

Nevertheless, xenophilia is not the only determinant in preferring foreign designers (R11-I). Competition is an unavoidable fact of market economy, and Turkish designers must be well prepared before accusing external conditions and constantly enhance themselves to adapt to the changing world (R11-I, R14-F). Turkish enterprises may decide to work with foreign designers for a variety of purposes and not all these factors have negative consequences. The interviewees distinguished various reasons why foreign designers and design companies are employed:

- To bring in a different perspective and fresh ideas (R1-F, R9-I).
- To use the name or “signature” of a well known, accomplished designer to have more press coverage and advertisements (R1-F, R2-F, R4-F, R10-I).
- Shortcut for gaining prestige (R8-A).
- To enter a foreign market with the help of designers who know the specific conditions of that market and who are recognized by the consumers in that region (R8-A).
- To learn from their approaches and design processes (R8-A).
- When in-house design teams are thought to be “stuck” (R1-F, R8-A).
- To work with specialist (glass, ceramics, furniture) design firms (R8-A).

Conversely, this collaboration can be viewed as a “good thing” (R14-F), as long as it is a planned act done with “conscious intentions” (R8-A). For instance, some firms who have never worked with any designers before, “suddenly” decide to work with a “famous” star-designer. Naturally, such efforts are a “waste of money” and are “doomed to fail” (R3-F). In this context, working with foreign designers is a means to transfer technology and know-how (R8-A). Also, Turkish design firms are “educated” about the design processes and the “methods of collaborating with designers” (R2-F, R14-F). With each foreign designer coming to Turkey, design culture penetrates deeper into the very fabric of society and companies (R2-F, R14-

F). Besides, this is a “good chance” for Turkish designers to “prove their worth” and “improve themselves” (R2-F, R3-F).

After expressing their standpoints about the attitude of Turkish industry regarding Turkish and foreign industrial designers, respondents answered questions about their relations with engineers, marketing specialists and other design professionals such as interior designers, architects, graphic designers...etc.

The interviewed industrial designers had contradictory feelings and opinions about engineers. These perspectives can be classified under two distinct categories.

The first view, which essentially locates engineers as a “negative other”, involves a pejorative definition of engineering profession. Turkish engineers reflect the “genetic laziness of Turkish society” (R4-F). They are resistant to change, innovation or anything that falls out of their narrow, limiting perspective (R4-F). These routines are endless repetitions of “mental and technical templates” which they have been using for a very long time and which they never want to transform (R10-I). Engineers’ minds are always focused on problem solving. Thus, they tend to perceive the innovations, new proposals and creative ideas as “big problems”: “So, they always want to sabotage your creative ideas. That is not their fault, their education makes them so...” (R10-I). In this context, engineers tend to prefer “easy” solutions, at the expense of “design driven competitive advantages, which can eradicate our foreign competitors” (R6-A). Compared to idealistic industrial designers who dream to change the world (R4-F), engineers try to manipulate and control industrial design processes to “literally standardize everything” (R9-I, R10-I). What makes them even worse is the fact that they underestimate designers and their expertise (R8-A, R9-I, R10-I, R12-I). For most engineers, industrial design profession is needless, as engineers can also design products, even in a better way (R8-A, R10-I).

In Turkish context, industrial design generally “surrenders” to engineers (R1-F). Since engineering is an older area of expertise, companies generally do not value industrial designers. Furthermore, they are not given their “rightful places” (R1-F): “When engineering takes the reins, products may be of the highest quality. But unfortunately, they are generally far from being innovative, devoid of sound concepts.” For industrial design departments had to make lots of compromises to

“gain a foothold” in many companies, today, they have “grave difficulties” in ameliorating their hierarchical position in the corporate structures (R9-I). For not being overwhelmed by engineers, industrial designers should be well equipped with relevant technical skills and state-of-art knowledge about production techniques (R1-F, R10-I, R11-I, R12-I, R14-F). Furthermore, designers have to “comprehend and solve the world of engineers” (R7-A).

The second view positions engineers not as “enemies” but “a neighbor profession” which has to collaborate closely with designers for mutual benefit (R11-I, R13-I). As products become more complicated, the whole process cannot be undertaken by a few individuals. Such “integrated product development processes” where various different disciplines cooperate towards common goals, is the new dominant phenomenon in R&D phases (R8-A). There is a natural and essential contradiction between industrial design and engineering professions. Yet, this conflict is a “necessary evil” which is the driving force in numerous innovations (R11-I). The so called “wars” among those two disciplines is the part of a “long forgotten past” which must be surpassed (R11-I).

Within the above drawn framework, it is a major injustice to condemn whole engineering profession (R14-F). Although some engineers are “really resistant to every single change or new proposal” (R14-F), there are “many open-minded, creative engineers who try countless different methods to bring your concepts to real life” (R14-F). As there are stubborn engineers who insist on certain methods, there are also “countless stubborn industrial designers” who are not aware of the “rightful constraints of production and industry” (R14-F).

Having made the comments about engineers, participants proceeded with their conceptions regarding marketing specialists. The essence of their beliefs can be characterized as being “natural yet slightly slanting towards negative”. Even though marketing claims to have a “complete set of knowledge” about the market conditions and customer preferences, mostly they base their arguments on “fundamentally flawed assumptions” (R12-I). According to participant R2-F, marketing experts have an individualistic, subjective approach to products, in contrast with the holistic perspectives of designers:

“Once, we had designed a faucet for the middle segments. During the initial presentation, marketing manager told me that he wouldn’t put such a product inside his own bathroom.

Well, this comment has shown that we had designed the right product, as he did not belong to the target segment. For countless times, I had to draw the segmentation pyramid on the blackboard. They are generally very arrogant; they think that they know everything, the market, customers... If you ask them, they are *even* experts on user-product interaction which is one of the primary areas of industrial design discipline..." (R2-F, emphasis added)

Once again the motif of "idealistic industrial designer" appears (R4-F): "You can see the numbers and dollar signs in their eyes". In the absence of leader and visionary companies, "me-too" marketing experts demand products which are similar to their successful competitors' (R8-A). Most of the times, not the existence but the absence of marketing departments pose a real problem in the engineering-dominated environment of SMEs (R7-A, R8-A).

Nevertheless, marketing can also be "utilized" for useful purposes (R1-F, R3-F). When engineering becomes "too dominant"; marketing can be persuaded to "rule-out stubborn engineers (R1-F, R3-F). As marketing departments are generally in higher positions in corporate structures, reasoning with marketing specialist can become a strategic tool for industrial designers (R1-F).

In this context, interdisciplinary role of industrial design profession becomes more prominent (R1-F, R3-F). Being "interdisciplinary coordinators" (R3-F), who are closer to users and their "real needs", industrial designers have to establish a difficult coordination and communication between marketing and engineering (R1-F, R3-F). To this end, designers must be "good managers and diplomats who are also proficient in brand management and marketing culture" (R3-F).

The following question was about the relations and cross-overs among industrial design and other design disciplines such as graphics, interior design and architecture. Most of the interviewees stated that industrial designers had to penetrate other fields mainly because of the specific economic conditions of Turkey (R1-F, R2-F, R4-F, R8-A, R9-I, R10-I, R11-I, R13-I). Since most industrial designers cannot find proper industrial design projects to work on, they had to switch to other related fields especially graphics, exhibition and interior design. Despite the fact that today there are more industrial design jobs, still many industrial designers have to work in such projects and areas. Ideally, this situation is not right (R2-F, R6-A, R8-A R11-I). Today, specialization is becoming even more important, as "creative processes evolve into more complex forms" (R2-F, R6-A, R8-A R11-I). "If we think that we

can do everything, then, we have to doubt that our profession is a true area of expertise” (R1-F, R11-I).

Aside from these views, some participants believed that cross-overs between neighbor disciplines are quite normal and fruitful (R3-F, R5-A, R12-F, R14-F). For all design disciplines are related with visuality (R12-I), if individuals are “talented enough” and “have the right skills” (R12-I, R14-F), then anybody can design anything (R12-I, R14-F). Industrial designers have to compete and “prove their worth” in today’s harsh labor market (R12-I, R14-F). “Industrial designers should not be professional-chauvinists” (R3-F). Also, in the absence of multidisciplinary design consultancies, industrial designers have to “jump” (R8-A, R14-F) to other fields for the sake of “smooth design processes” (R14-F).

However, interviewees located architecture in a different position. Either, they believed that architecture and industrial design are two “enormously different disciplines” (R3-F, R6-A, R7-A) with no real bonds (R3-F, R7-A); or they viewed architecture as an “arrogant discipline” (R6-A) who try to impose a hierarchical order among design disciplines, putting architecture to the top (R6-A, R8-A). It is noteworthy that the two supporters of this perspective are both academicians.

The perspectives of two respondents were particularly striking, as they placed industrial design to a central focal point which can dominate other design disciplines (R9-I, R10-I). According to R9-I, industrial designers with their versatile and general education, have a greater influence on artificial world. Most other disciplines have to use products that are primarily created by industrial designers. This central role of industrial design gives a privilege which is non-existent in other design professions (R9-I). Skilled industrial designers may easily do graphic or interior design projects and they can even design buildings up to a certain level. This “Swiss army knife like quality” (R10-I) gives a certain edge and advantage over other designers. For instance, graphic designers cannot easily involve in industrial design projects as “their world is mostly two dimensional” (R10-I). Commanding three dimensional the world enables industrial designers to come up with *better* graphic design projects. Thus, all of these disciplines are “jealous of industrial designers” (R9-I, R10-I) as none has an area of influence larger than industrial design practice (R9-I).

The last question of this section of the interview was about the relations of design profession with the state in Turkey. Without exception, all of the participants emphasized that such a relations does not exist. Where fashion designers are promoted all over the world, Turkish state does not have a conscious policy to support industrial designers. Furthermore, the state does not have a clear plan or projection about the estimated needs for industrial designers. Where numerous departments in private universities are being established in an “enormous pace”, there is no such demand in the labor market. However, some “enlightened” (R8-A) governmental organizations, such as TUBITAK, TIDEB, TTGV...etc are aware of the industrial design discipline in an environment where concept of innovation becomes more prominent (R7-A, R8-A). Yet, they generally perceive industrial design synonymously with “cosmetics”, failing to grasp its real value (R8-A). Without a systematic support by the state, developments in the field can only reach a “certain critical limit” (R13-I).

6.5 Education

Education is not originally a part of Van Dijk’s theoretical categories. But, university education has a profound effect over the formation of ideologies, especially professional group ideologies. Therefore, 6 questions regarding education were added to the questionnaire.

The first question was about the respondents’ reasons for choosing industrial design education. Without exception, all interviewees explained that they had made a conscious choice. For respondents R1-F, R5-A, R6-A, R7-A, R9-I, R10-I, R11-I, R12-I, R13-I and R14-F everything began with a love for “drawing and painting”. 6 industrial designers (R1-F, R2-F, R7-A, R11-I, R13-I, R14-F) indicated that they always liked to make three dimensional objects, such as scale models of cars, ships, etc... Interviewees (R2-F, R3-F, R8-A) stated that, they were planning to be either architects or interior designers before discovering industrial design profession. For R3-F, R4-F, R5-A, R10-I and R13-I, a close friend or a relative had been influential while making their choice.

The following question focused on the differences between the image of “industrial designer” which participants had throughout their education and the one that they

have today. Except respondents R6-A, R13-I and R14-F, remaining interviewees pointed out that there are significant contrasts among those two images.

R1-F had the impression that he was solely responsible for proposing “creative concepts”: “At that time I had thought that technical difficulties had been none of my concern”. This, he notes, was due to the fact that his education did not include technical aspects and the “hard-facts” of the “real world” (R1-F). R3-F had entirely different concern. She had believed that the foreign designers, whom she had seen in some design magazines, had been “creatures from outer space”. “We thought that they were light-years ahead of us. But now I know that they are also human, and we are not that different” (R3-F).

On the other hand, respondent R7-A had perceived industrial designers as artists, who had infinite freedom. Yet, today, he defines industrial designer as a disciplined professional who follows a well structured, multi-disciplinary path that leads to a definite target (R7-A).

Several industrial designers criticized their education as it failed to provide a realistic picture of “what industrial designers did in real life” (R9-I, R11-I, R12-I). “As most of our teachers and professors did not have a single object that they had designed, they couldn’t draw a realistic picture of industrial design profession. Everything was theoretical” (R9-I). Also, collaborations with the industry were very scarce and only place where one can have a “glimpse of real world” was internships (R9-I). Being away from the “hard-facts” of industry gave industrial design students a more idealistic perspective. They could believe virtually in anything, without ever contemplating if those ideas were really possible to implement or not (R11-I).

Industrial design education attributed many roles to industrial design students. Although this is necessary for giving a holistic perspective, it can also create profound confusions (R12-I). For instance, during design education, industrial design students decide on what they will design or for whom they will design and even the range of materials which they will utilize. They undertake the responsibilities of engineering, marketing and management at the same time. This, sometimes sustains an illusion that industrial designers are “omnipotent beings” who are the sole controller of product development process (R11-I): “We were told that industrial

designers can save the world, can change the world. But now I see that we are only a tiny gear in the big system of capitalism” (R12-I).

Finally, interviewee R8-A remarked that she had a restricting education that limited the definition of industrial design solely to “mass produced goods”. During her university education, experimentalism, crafts, art, kitsch, etc... anything that did not fit into the traditional definition of industrial design, was condemned to be impure.

“Now I see that such restrictions only result in missing the core of the subject. We must avoid a professional fetishism. If the real thing is to ameliorate the total quality of life, maybe you have to abolish the objects. If we don’t change our view immediately, industrial design will face a territory problem... Where will we put interaction design? Systems design? Service design? If industrial designers do not become extremely well equipped and open minded, their jobs will be taken over by other professionals, such as better trained engineers or social scientists. Old borders have all been erased, look at Hüseyin Çaglayan. Is he a fashion designer? Is he an artist? Or is he merely a thinker? We have to embrace interdisciplinarity and we must transform our profession in order to survive in the new world order...” (R8-A)

Moving to the next question of the interview, most of the respondents indicated that they did not have a sufficient university education. Only three industrial designers (R1-F, R9-I, R-10) reported that “in terms of the fundamentals and vision” (R10-I), their training gave them, at least, a good base to start with. The remaining industrial designers listed several shortcomings:

- “We did not have enough classes over materials and production techniques. We were not trained on perceptual psychology. Too much drawing, too much art history. We did not have sufficient relations with the industry. We did not make any conceptual projects; our viewpoint was always too realistic” (R3-F).
- “We had to train ourselves!” (R4-F)
- “As we were in Ankara, we were so isolated from the industry” (R5-A).
- “Industrial design education can never cover every aspect or field. It can never be sufficient. How can it be? There is too much of everything” (R7-A).
- “We were only trained in the ‘soft, conceptual side’ of design. We lacked the necessary technical knowledge” (R11-I).
- “I only learned about the design process. But making the actual thing, realizing my projects ... No! That, I learned in Arcelik” (R14-F).

After commenting on their own university education, respondents evaluated the today's industrial design education in Turkey. Except four participating academicians (R5-A, R6-A, R7-A, R8-A), the other interviewees believed that the current condition of industrial design education is not promising. Most of the graduates are technically insufficient, and are unaware of the realities of the market (R1-F, R9-I, R11-F, R13-I, R14-F). Furthermore, students are educated in an isolated system. That is, they cannot be aware of the fact that industrial design is just one of the components that participate in product design processes (R1-F, R11-I). Majority of the students choose this education only for its popularity and do not have the necessary traits to become industrial designers (R1-F, R4-F, R5-A, R11-F, R13-I, R14-F). Industrial design is a special profession and everyone cannot be an industrial designer (R4-F, R6-A, R9-F, R10-I, R11-I, R13-I, R14-F). Therefore, entrance exams are of utmost significance. However, both systems in Turkey (talent based examinations and math/science based examinations) are not satisfactory for choosing right candidates (R4-F, R6-A, R9-F, R10-I, R11-I, R13-I, R14-F).

One other issue was the criticisms about professors and educators which work in the universities. Most of these individuals do not have a practical experience in the field (R4-F, R9-F, R10-I, R11-I, R13-I, R14-F). As industrial design is a profession that is based mainly on practice, "hands on experience" industrial design cannot be taught (R4-F, R9-F, R10-I, R11-I, R13-I, R14-F). Moreover, overcritical and negative attitudes of most professors "produce students without self respect and confidence" (R1-F, R14-F). The inadequate departments of the newly established private sector universities add the finishing touches to the picture. They neither have the necessary infrastructure nor the experienced teaching staffs (R4-F, R6-A, R9-F, R10-I, R11-I, R13-I, R14-F). "What they produce are only mediocre students, who fancy themselves as industrial designers" (R13-I).

Linked with the above mentioned argument, participants also commented on the differences between four oldest industrial design schools (ITU, MSGSU, MU, ODTU) and the importance of "special talent" in industrial design education.

Without exception, both art school graduates (R1-F, R4-F, R6-A, R7-A, R9-I, R11-I, R14-I) and the industrial designers who had graduated from technical universities (R2-F, R3-F, R5-A, R8-A, R10-I, R12-I, R13-I); asserted that industrial designers are

“special” individuals and “talent” is necessary for a successful ID education. However, the definition of “talent” varies from respondent to respondent.

For respondents R1-F, R2-F, R4-F, R5-A, R6-A, R7-A, R9-I, R10-I, R11-I, R12-I and R14-F, being able to “sketch and draw” is consequential. “Reproducing reality on a piece of paper with the help of hand-eye-brain triangle” (R11-I), is an outwardly sign of a strong visual memory and perception (R6-A, R7-A, R11-I). If a person can “draw”, this means that he knows how to “behold” and how to analyze (R7-A, R11-I). There are many brilliant students who enter into universities with the central examination system. As they cannot draw, they become extremely frustrated and angry. Combined with a “destructive ambition”, those “poor youngsters” strive to become popular design stars within a media controlled perception (R5-A, R13-I).

Along with drawing, a “world vision” and “aesthetic perception” should also be found in industrial designer candidates (R9-I). Even though technical skills can be taught, such a vision cannot be given (R11-I). Practical intelligence (R10-I), sense of humor (R7-A, R10-I), and three dimensional thinking (R4-F, R7-A, R12-I) and finally creativity (R3-F, R12-I) are other primary components of a “talented” individual. According to R1-F and R2-F every single profession require talent. In this sense, pre-university education is of profound significance to direct young pupils to the right occupations (R1-F, R2-F, R11-I).

Only interviewees R3-F and R8-A did not associate this above mentioned talent with the ability of drawing but with an aptitude towards invention and creativity.

In the light of this line of argumentation, interviewees’ responses over the differences between the ID schools in Turkey can be investigated. At this point, the antagonism between the “art schools” and technical universities rise up to the surface. Interestingly art school graduates (MU, MSGSU) have a neutral attitude towards technical universities (ITU, ODTU); whereas technical university graduates allege superiority.

The criticisms of the technical university graduates focus on the educational approach of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (MSGSU). Marmara University (MU) is generally totally excluded from the picture. According to respondents R3-F, R10-I and R13-I, the anachronistic education in MSGSU, which is based on a hierarchical master-apprentice relationship, creates stereotypic industrial designers. Such

environments prevent students from developing their own, autonomous professional characters:

“Once, MSU students had participated in an exhibition at our university. Although their drawings were awesome, it was as if they were created by the very same person, there was no originality, no authenticity. They come from a repressive, dogmatic education where there is only one truth. However, in METU we were free to discover our own professional identities” (R13-I).

Within this framework, most art school graduates are perceived to be oblivious to the restrictions of real world. Furthermore, they generally do not contemplate on the consequences of their professional deeds (R3-F, R10-I):

“An industrial designer, who comes from a technical background, starts any projects with a research phase. Yet, art school graduates generally take a pen and begin to sketch. Generally they end up in total frustration. They tend to see themselves as artists who can do whatever they like. An industrial designer is *responsible* for anything he/she purposes. Such “artistic” approaches cannot be successful within the hard realities of industry. Industry means discipline and seriousness...” (R10-I)

Similarly, interviewees R3-F, R10-I and R12-I believed that they had a better and more sophisticated education; compared to industrial designers, who were graduated from art schools. With the help of a more structured education and a close collaboration with engineering departments, technical university graduates tend to have more “down-to-earth” approaches and attitudes (R3-F, R12-I). Also, two academicians asserted that art schools are isolated from the rest of the world and suffer from academic staff who does not have a decent control over foreign languages (R5-A, R8-A).

There are also some “rivalries” between the graduates of the technical universities. Two METU graduates indicated that their university provides the best industrial design education in Turkey (R10-I, R13-I). One other industrial designer (R5-A) stated that she believed that the education in ITU is more “PR” oriented whereas METU is the bearer of a deep-rooted university culture. On the other hand, R2-F posited that “Being in Istanbul is a great advantage for ITU. Ankara is so far from everything, industry, culture...”

As mentioned before, MSU and MU graduates did not have such clear-cut standpoints, which positioned technical universities as “negative others”. According to R1-F and R11-F, apart from the way that students are accepted into the

universities, there are not “any big differences between the schools”. Nevertheless, R6-A makes his own classification as he asserts that each school has a different mission:

“Our students can earn their living after their education. This is an important point. Not only industrial design but they can work in any field of *fine arts* including animation, illustration and even painting. Each institution that gives industrial design education has a different mission. Our mission is to educate *creative* individuals. *Creativity* is our focus. We are the bearers of a proud history and tradition. In these very corridors, pioneers such as Sedat Hakki Eldem and Bedri Rahmi had walked. Thus, creative power and expressive visual skills will always be important for us. For instance, METU comes forward with its focus on theory and analysis... As I said before, each school has a different mission. Our mission is creativity...”

Whereas R6-A sees his school as the bastion of creativity in Turkish industrial design education, Marmara University graduates observed that MSU always had an elitist approach which is “a bit disconnected from material reality” (R4-F, R7-A). MU graduates locate themselves as the followers of an “applied and down-to-earth Bauhaus tradition”, where production and realization are also “extremely important” (R4-F, R7-A). Apart from the before mentioned issue of “talent”, only remark about technical universities was the perception of ITU as a follower of METU tradition, in which theory predominates practice: “We cannot write long articles as our colleagues from METU do. We get bored with that kind of work...” (R7-A)

6.6 General Issues

This section contained 3 questions that did not fit into any theoretical categories, which were proposed by Van Dijk:

- What are the biggest threats that Turkish industrial designers have to face?
- What are the greatest problems that industrial designers face amongst their own community and in their relations with each other?
- Can there be an autonomous ideology of industrial design profession that is separate from political ideology? If so what is it?

10 industrial designers (R1-F, R3-F, R4-F, R7-A, R9-I, R11-I, R12-I, R13-I, R14-F), argued that the instable Turkish economy and unconscious companies who do not know “how to use industrial designers and their talents”, are the most significant threats that Turkish industrial designers confront. There is an inclination in Turkish

industry, especially in large corporations such as Koç and Sabancı, to abandon “hard-core” production and shift their focus to trade and commerce. This short sighted mentality may initially result in dramatic increases in the profits, yet in the long term, Turkey will become a dependant society who cannot produce knowledge and technology (R2-F, R4-F, R9-I, R12-I).

The second threat is paradoxically the industrial designers themselves and the industrial design education (R5-A, R6-A, R7-A, R8-A, R10-I, R13-I). Most industrial designers, especially the young generation, are not aware of the “real needs” of Turkish industry and are also not well equipped for the harsh conditions of the labor market. Incompetent private universities add another dimension to the overall picture : “Industrial design students do graduate with an enormous fake-self confidence. Everyone wants to be stars, every single new graduate wants to become popular like Karim Rashid or Philip Starck” (R10-I). Such irresponsible designers ruin the “non-existent” image of Turkish industrial designers in the eyes of employers, who already do not put trust in Turkish design (R10-I, R13-I):

“Either industrial design education and industrial designers will transform themselves, or we will be assimilated by other professions. We are in the heart of innovation processes, yet everyone else claims ownership. Design engineering is becoming more and more important. Industrial design shall embrace the concept of *integrated product development*. If industrial designers fail to grasp the technical and social aspects of design processes, they will be overwhelmed by engineers and social scientists, and become mere stylists. Already, most other professionals perceive industrial designers as such” (R8-A).

The third threat is foreign designers (R2-F, R3-F). With the effects of the dramatic globalization and internet, accessing foreign resources is easier, compared to the past. As this issue was debated lengthily in section 6.3, further elucidation is not necessary.

Finally, 2 respondents (R1-F, R13-I) identified a “general cultural corruption “as a fundamental “menace”. In a country where concepts such as good/bad, right/wrong loose their meanings and melt into a “chaotic turbulence” , in a society which has deprived of all its roots; mentioning about “well designed products” becomes “absurd” (R13-I).

Surprisingly, for the second question, respondents reached a clear consensus. Resulting from the harsh economic factors of Turkish labor market and the scarce

demand to design services, there is a fierce competition between Turkish industrial designers. However, compared to the number of industrial designers, design jobs are limited. Coupled with the “egoist selfishness” (R1-F) of creative professions, competition damages the communication between Turkish designers. Coming from an educational system where individual success is encouraged, industrial designers cannot co-operate within product development teams or in their own community. Furthermore, they do not know how to share knowledge and ideas. Thus, a common culture of industrial design profession cannot be established. All of these problems result in an inability to form successful professional organizations, to defend the rights and boundaries of the industrial design profession in Turkey.

Naturally, all participating industrial designers had their own definitions of professional ideology. However, it is difficult to identify a coherent pattern.

“I think that the professional ideology is a sum of the issues, which we have been talking about, since the beginning of our little talk. Industrial design is something important. With all its dimensions, it determines the economic growth of the country and the behaviors of individuals in artificial environments. Therefore, industrial designers and design educator have ideals about the economic development of their country” (R6-A).

In accordance with this “developmentalist” perspective, R8-A also asserted that industrial designers and their professional ideology must be related with developmentalism. Similarly, definition of industrial design must not solely be limited to increasing the total quality of life.

Three respondents (R2-F, R7-A, R10-I), formulated professional ideology as a manifestation which inherits the “ideal” definitions of design and designer. This “ideal way” defines industrial designer as a whole that is formed by solid responsibilities, within a sphere of influence created by the users, the producers, the society and the environment. In this context, ideology defines what “good design” and “good designer” is. Yet, respondents R7-A and R10-I are skeptic about the possibility of establishing such a structure:

“For years, I have defended the very notion of such an ideology. But gradually, I am beginning to think that it is impossible. Is industrial design really as important as we believe? What is the real significance of an industrial designer to a company? I think we confuse styles with ideologies. You can follow minimalist design or ethnic design, but these are only styles not ideologies. Ideologies presuppose manifestations, but today we do not share anything with anyone...” (R7-A)

Likewise, interviewee R3-F believes that lack of organization prevents industrial designers from founding a solid, coherent ideology. In a world where egoism and narcissism prevails amongst industrial designers, the very notion of an ideology is absurd (R3-F).

On the contrary, for R1-F, ideology is only a “harmony between thoughts and action”. If an individual has a solid, coherent view of life, than he can also have a professional ideology. Scandinavians or Japanese produce designs which are directly related and consistent with their way of living. This is the only possible way to produce a beneficial professional ideology. The opposite case in which people force themselves to “create ideology” is “always doomed to fail” (R1-F).

7. CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, after a brief overview of the study, conclusions derived and insights obtained through the study will be discussed. Moreover, any shortcomings will be stated, indicating opportunities for future studies on the subject.

7.1 Introduction

As stated in the Chapter IV, the aims of this research study were to:

- To establish links between the theories regarding *professionalization* and *socio-cognitive approaches to ideology*, through a rigorous and synthetic review of relevant literature.
- To understand the socially shared mental representations, namely the *professional ideology* of Turkish industrial designers as a social group.
- To investigate the structure of this particular *professional ideology*.
- To make a comparison between the *consistent and inconsistent* parts of the structure.
- To identify the ideological *common points* and *differences* of Turkish industrial designers, with particular reference to their relative positions within the group hierarchy and structure.
- To explore the *inter-group relations and conflicts* of Turkish industrial designers with other social/professional groups.
- To shed light upon the system of *professional beliefs, norms* and *values* those are shared by Turkish industrial designers.
- To clarify the *others* before which Turkish industrial designers claim their professional identity.
- To have a better understanding of the *professional development process*, that ID undergoes in Turkish context.

- To analyze the links between the *actions* and *goals* of Turkish industrial designers.
- To comprehend how those actions and goals are *legitimized and neutralized*.
- To make an introduction to the *socio-cognitive schemas*, which regulate the social practices of Turkish industrial designers.

Apparently, such an ambitious research schedule cannot be successfully completed within the limitations and possibilities of this piece of study. However, under the light of the theoretical perspective that was put forward in the second and third chapters, this study becomes an initial attempt to comprehend Turkish industrial design profession in a sociological perspective.

7.2 Towards an Analysis: Professional Ideology of Industrial Design in Turkey

Despite all the differences in professional and educational backgrounds, interviewees mostly have given similar answers to the questions that were asked. As the previous chapter has shown; a coherent and well structured meta-mental-schema can be identified through their responses. Although this mental schema does not cover the full spectrum of Van Dijk's (1998) six ideological categories; it can still be considered as a professional ideology since it illuminates the social identity and material interests of Turkish industrial designers as a professional group. The missing structural components do not reveal an absence of a professional ideology. Speaking in Larsonian (1977) terms, the current maturity level of this ideology hints at a profession which has not completed its "professional project". Given the current condition and the dramatic evolution of industrial design practice in Turkey, this statement is undoubtedly true. Yet, it must also be stated that design professions do not fit into the classical schemas of professional development.

Ironically, the locus of the problematic identity of Turkish industrial designers crystallizes in their paradoxical relationship with Turkish industry. On one hand, industry is an ideological enemy, a "negative other", who fails to recognize the significance of industrial design profession and the superb merits and talents of Turkish industrial designers. Devoid of design culture, vision and sufficient organization and plagued by an oblivious attitude towards innovation; those unconscious firms must be educated by missionary industrial designers. However,

that is not an easy task as most Turkish firms do not have the sufficient know-how regarding new product development processes. Thus, Turkish industrial designers should undertake the responsibilities of full R&D teams.

On the other hand, industry is a close friend, even a comrade for whom all sorts of sacrifices should be made. Within this second view, the respondents positioned themselves in a developmentalist perspective. ID is one of the key components to ensure healthy economical growth and a dramatic increase in export. Within the new innovation economy, novel products with added value are the most effective weapons in competition. Hence, one of the primary goals of Turkish industrial designers is to provide economic benefits for their society. Moreover, those industrial designers should also create a world vision that can integrate, especially SMEs to global economic system. Such a profound transformation is only made possible by the holistic and interdisciplinary character of the profession. Since every ideology must legitimize itself before other social actors, this developmentalist discourse serves as a solid anchor point in such an effort.

The tension between those two extremities constitutes a deep fissure in the shared mental realm of Turkish industrial designers. Yet, this crack is not the one and only turbulence that contributes to schizophrenic identity of the profession.

The second “other” that respondents formulated was the unconscious general public. Nourished by the superficial perspective of the “magazine media” and the powerful imagery produced by fashion designers; average population perceives designers as half-mad eccentrics, who are full of wonders and magic tricks. The tension between the creator/educator designers and the “unconscious” general public was also identified in the preliminary study. This notion also supports the “new petit bourgeoisie” concept of Bourdieu (1984). Embedded in the “symbolic work of producing needs”, Turkish industrial designers position themselves as taste makers, who are endowed with a cultural mission to educate the “uninformed masses” through the products that they design. Such a statement postulates everyone except designers -even some of the designers-, as strangers or aliens. Hence, from the very beginning, Turkish designers distinguish and marginalize themselves before a vague social entity called consumer or the user. As shown by Oygür (2006), this relative state of marginalization separates Turkish industrial designers from “real-life consumers”, leaving a distorted mental image behind.

At this very point, the third “negative-other” persona appears: the designer. Designer is a mirror image of industrial designer, albeit a distorted one. Industrial designers are silent heroes who seek higher goals whereas designers are self-seeking individuals striving for fame and popularity. In this context, in contrast with the systematic methods and processes of industrial designers who plan their way to an innovative solution, a designer acts on impulse and “inspiration”.

Although there are some “talented” industrial designers without a proper university education, a legitimate diploma draws a sharp line between designers and industrial designers. Accordingly, industrial design education provides individuals with the necessary discipline, systematic approach, rigorous design methods and most importantly, the designerly ways of thinking. Therefore, a diploma is not only a token of technical competence but also a sign of dedication which bestows industrial designers with significant responsibilities towards the society they live in.

The third ideological nemesis, which can be derived from the participants’ views, is ironically industrial designers themselves who has failed to produce a coherent definition of industrial design profession. Furthermore, a significant majority of the industrial designers lacks the talents and practical knowledge to operate in the challenging conditions of labor market. Where industry needs professionals who are also competent in a broad range of technical skills in terms of mechanical design, manufacturing methods and materials, mediocre industrial design education creates individuals that can only be successful in the “soft side” of design(which is concept and idea generation). Most of the graduates perceive design profession as an area in which “astonishing visuals” and “brilliant ideas” can remedy the profound problems of industry. To make the matters worse, those inadequate graduates view industrial design as a short-cut for fame, media granted popularity and social prestige, blurring the fine line that distinguishes a designer from an industrial designer.

Numerous companies suffer from such irresponsible so-called industrial designers, who waste valuable resources with no visible outcomes. Coupled with irresponsible events such as design weeks that add to the chaotic and distorted image of industrial design; such unfortunate experiences ruin the trust of the industry, which is already at a very low level.

The fourth “other” before which industrial designers reinforced their positive self identity descriptions was another professional group, engineers. Yet, as in the case of industry, interviewees had contradictory outlooks about engineers.

As opposed to the concept of idealistic industrial designer, the first standpoint construes engineering profession in a rather pejorative way. Within this framework, engineers, as a direct result of their limiting education, tend to be resistant to any change and innovation, which may cause disturbances in their routines. Industrial design profession is also needless, since industrial designers generally create problems rather than solution. On the other hand, engineers had been doing the same job before any industrial designers emerged. Dominant in many firms, engineers prevent those firms from being more innovative with their conservative standpoints. This pejorative notion can also be read under the light of Abbott’s “jurisdictional disputes” (1988), where two professions engage in struggles over the control of specific domains of knowledge and power.

Nonetheless, not all respondents shared this pejorative attitude. Engineers are also “solution partners” with whom extensive collaboration is inevitable to ensure successful new product development processes. Thus, it is unfair to condemn a whole profession for being lazy, conservative and stubborn.

Divided between those two viewpoints, Turkish industrial designers –mostly- cannot establish a healthy communication with engineers.

Although preliminary research had shown that foreign industrial designers who had operated in Turkey were perceived as a threat, majority of the interviewees did not agree on that point. Without exception, all participants asserted that “Turkish companies are infected with a xenophilia that has poisoned Turkish culture since the last days of Ottoman Empire. However, this is not the only reason for employing foreign designers. If Turkish designers who are equipped with the “right” tools can prove that they are same or better than foreign designers, the tide will turn against them. Within a free market economy, such conflicts are inevitable and in fact, fruitful.

The dissonance between the preliminary research and the perspectives of the interviewed industrial designers is not surprising. In the preliminary study, most of the list members were rather young industrial designers, who has just graduated or at

the beginning of their career. On the contrary, the participants in the interviews are experienced and accomplished industrial designers who had secured their positions in the labor market. Therefore, the feeling of insecurity is stronger in the first group, who still try to constitute their professional identities. Yet, this does not mean that there can be exceptions from both sides.

As a matter of fact, the above mentioned four ideological negative representations have profound and prominent effects over the group identity of industrial designers in Turkish context. Despite defining industrial design's foremost concern as increasing the total quality of life, respondents stated that this profession has a "strange" definition in Turkey. Struggling with powerful antagonisms, the industrial design profession has become a pendulum that swings back and forth between two vertices. That is, either it has been positioned as a solely technical expertise or in direct contradiction, a specialization which deals only with aesthetics –or cosmetics-. Therefore, industrial designers can easily become technicians or stylists, who do not have rights to intervene in the decision making process.

Among the four ideological nemeses, "general public" deserves further attention when it becomes a tool for ideological legitimation, through which industrial designers derive goals and affirm their existence. Within this framework, industrial designers should improve the material culture and aesthetic taste of the society, by and through the products they design. Positioned as elites who are authorities over good taste, they must design for "an ideal world which they long for". Endowed with an over-questioning, analytical attitude towards artifice, they are deviants who can be distinguished from the rest of the society with clear lines. Although this profound difference may create problems in relationships with *normal* people, interviewees seemed to be proud of their eccentricity. Being always one step ahead, they work for an ideal society which exists in an imagined future.

In terms of Abbottian jurisdictional disputes, the research did not point to any particular design professions, which were perceived to be intervening in industrial designers' professional domains. Apart from some academicians who saw architecture as claiming superiority over other disciplines, interviewees asserted that industrial design has a very specific area of expertise which only has minor intersections with other design disciplines. However, a hidden assertion has risen to the surface during some interviews: As industrial designer has an extensive education

and mass produced objects are the primary components of the artifice, industrial design profession plays a more central role compared to some peripheral design disciplines such as graphics, interior design or fashion design. Even in some cases, industrial designers can engage in architectural projects depending on the complexity. Yet, it must be noted that there are also many statements that characterizes interdisciplinary cross-overs as neutral phenomenon within design disciplines.

Another interesting finding was the about the current debates over Turkishness or Turkish identity in design. The main line of argumentation of this thesis was provided in Chapter 4, especially in Kaygan's (2006) study. Also, in the preliminary study, ETMK-P members had positioned a Turkish design identity nourished from the rich "Turkish" cultural values. However, except a few respondents, interviewed industrial designers did not designate such a goal. According to them, Turkish design taken as a word-brand such as Finnish or Italian design can only be established within a long-term accumulation process. Furthermore, this cannot be achieved by using cultural elements that are associated with "Turkishness" such as tulip shaped tea glasses or water pipes. To achieve such status, Turkish companies in collaboration with Turkish industrial designers and R&D teams, should produce well-designed, quality products that can be sold successfully in world markets. Thus, instead of a PR oriented attitude that forcefully utilizes the so-called notion of Turkishness; a long-term collaborative effort is needed.

Yet again, the seeming dissonance between the findings of preliminary study and the responses of the interviewees can be explained by the differences in participants. The market conditions and economical facts bestow a more "realistic" viewpoint to most of industrial designers who do not act based on a solely culturalist or essentialist perspective.

Having said those, it must be stated that Turkish industrial design has not yet come up with a well articulated norm and value system, including professional ethics. This phenomenon was also not unexpected. In most sociological theories deal with professional development, such systems are the last components of a professional identity to emerge. Having not been able to achieve a complete professional autonomy, Turkish industrial designers have more fundamental problems such as securing their economical existence. Furthermore, the current conditions of Turkish

labor market do not allow industrial designers to act as an organized whole, as most practitioners cannot find suitable positions as industrial designers. Norms and ethics can only be formulated over a long period, with the help of the stacking cases that pose problems. Currently, industrial design projects have not reached that critical mass.

Perceived threats do also constitute an important part of a professional ideology. As mentioned before, interviewees positioned “industrial designers themselves” who lack the necessary skills and knowledge and strive for “overnight popularity”, as a significant threat. Apart from the four academicians who participated in the interview, rest of the respondents believed that “mediocre” industrial design education was a directly responsible from the above mentioned condition. Thus, industrial design education also poses a threat. Moreover, misinformed by the market conditions and professional roles, design graduate confront deep problems when they enter the world of SMEs and harsh market conditions. Finally, and most importantly, fragile economic conditions of Turkish market threaten not only the current condition but also the future of the profession. Fierce inter-competition coupled with weak organizational skills, prevent Turkish industrial designers from acting as a united body, who is aware of the need for a Larsonian professional project.

A sponsoring elite (industry) or the open support of the state is one of the most prominent elements in achieving market monopoly in Larson’s professional project. Although interviewees are aware of the relative importance of that support, they cannot formulate any coherent policies to achieve such assistance and thrust.

To sum up, despite the differences in their educational backgrounds and the much debated antagonisms between art schools and technical universities, it can be posited that Turkish industrial designers do indeed share a common mental representation. First and foremost, the distinctions between those two traditions/approaches are not as deep as it is generally thought. Secondly, the conditions of the labor market and global economic system, “normalizes” industrial designers who think and act in similar patterns.

However, it must be born in mind that, Turkish industrial design profession has its own existential peculiarities and schizophrenic personas. Divided between fierce antagonisms, the Turkish industrial designer endeavors to form a coherent

professional identity in a country where consistency is as scarce as penguins roaming in deserts. At the beginning of a long path of professional development, this profession has much to achieve and much to learn.

7.3 Shortcomings and Opportunities for Future Studies

As mentioned numerous times before, depicting a group ideology in its wholeness is a task that cannot be undertaken by a single researcher, especially within the preset boundaries of a limited research. However, this limited study can be an introductory starting point for a more extensive study. Then, it can be asserted that this piece of research does not draw a complete picture but sketch a space of possibilities and possible pathways to follow.

Besides to this obvious shortcoming, some parts of industrial design community may not have been represented adequately. Industrial design students and some professionals, who actively contribute to industrial design practice and discourse but coming from other background, were not interviewed during the study. Yet, such shortcomings may be remedied in future studies which distribute over a longer time interval.

Finally, it must be said that Turkish industrial design profession cannot be totally understood without positioning its current condition in a historical continuum where it is compared with the professional development processes where ID has undergone in other countries.

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