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From Modernism to Postmodernism: Getting Drifted by Vacuuming Power

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Abstract

In this study, it is asserted that many gadgets and accordingly habits which we reckon as normal and indispensable part of our lives are indeed modern and postmodern outputs yet they are displayed as necessities. This standpoint is reviewed in terms of correlation to modernism and postmodernism over two models of vacuum cleaners and robotic vacuum cleaners that can be regarded as pioneers. The invention of vacuum cleaners should be evaluated in regards of developments in last two centuries. The invention, marketing and sale of vacuum cleaners are related to aims of civilized people to have crystal clear houses with reasons like hygene, investment to public health and also labour force, public sphere-private sphere division. It is aimed to get rid of the dust reminding connection to the soil and past restraints. Becoming apparent of borders of house in micro-size, nation state in macro-size necessitate exclusion practices by accepting or refusing hard-edge decisions. The practice of beating-sweeping-cleaning and later disposing functions in both sizes. Robotic vacuum cleaner inholds time-space split, loss of agent, even surveillance devoted to Big Data and consumption cycle in the name of spare time. As a nominee of symbol for postmodern threshold, it vacuums and render all our privacy, routines, time-space perception meaningless. In mapping which is common thread of modernism and postmodernism, whereas in former large scale is on focus, in the latter it is seen that the last castle of privacy, home is the primary target.

Keywords: Modernism, postmodernism, robotic vacuum cleaner, panoptic watch.

Modernizmden Postmodernizme: Çekim Kuvvetine Kapılmak

Özet

Bu çalışmada, hayatımızda normal ve vazgeçilmez zannettiğimiz birçok gerecin ve buna bağlı alışkanlıklarımızın modern veya postmodern birer üretim sonucu olduğu ancak bir ihtiyaç gibi gösterildiği savunulmaktadır. Bu görüş elektrikli süpürgenin ve robot süpürgenin öncüleri sayılabilecek iki modelin tanıtımları üzerinden modernizm ve postmodernizmle bağlantıları açısından değerlendirilmektedir. Elektrikli süpürgenin icadı özellikle son iki yüzyıldaki gelişmelerle birlikte okunmalıdır. Elektrikli süpürgenin icadı, pazarlanması ve satışı halk sağlığına yatırım, hijyen gibi gerekçelerle uygar insanın evinin tertemiz olması amacı, işgücüyle ve kamusal alan-özel alan ayrışmasıyla da ilgilidir. Toprakla bağı hatırlatan tozla birlikte geçmiş bağlardan da kurtulmak amaçlanmaktadır. Mikro ölçekte evin, makro ölçekte ulus devlet sınırlarının netleşmesi, dışlama pratikleriyle kabul edilme-reddedilme keskinliğinde kararları gerekli kılar. Döven-süpüren-temizleyen ve sonra atan pratik her iki ölçekte de işler. Robot süpürge ise zaman-uzam kopmasını, öznenin yitimini, hatta Büyük Veriye adanan gözetlenmeyi, boş zaman adı altında tüketim döngüsünü içinde barındırır. Postmodern bir eşiğin simge adaylarından biri olarak dövmeye ihtiyaç duymadan mahremiyetimiz, rutinlerimiz, zaman-uzam algımızın hepsini içine çeker ve anlamsızlaştırır. Modernizm ve postmodernizmin ortak noktası haritalandırmada ise ilkinde büyük ölçek hedefteyken, sonrakinde mahremiyetin son kalesi evin odak noktasında olduğu görülmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Modernizm, postmodernizm, robot süpürge, panoptik gözetim.

Introduction

The fact that the society-individual relationship is based on a two-way interaction rather than a oneway deterministic structure can be considered as the main point of avoiding tendencies that almost deify or enslave the agent. The multiplicity of our presuppositions and assumptions about our modern life, in which we live in nation-states adorned with a capitalist system that makes it feel natural and as if it has existed since eternity, covers the social construction like a curtain. However,

even the comparison of today's societies with the more traditional ones under the influence of social, political and economic structures a few centuries ago, shows that change is only possible with construction. The process of reaching this stage of daily life, which we can no longer imagine how we can live without fast means of transport, media of communication and household appliances, should also be taken into consideration. The crisis experienced when devices such as smart phones and cars cannot be used even for a day reveals the extent of modern man's new addictions such as staying online, connected and constantly consuming. Bauman (2012: 7-8) also describes a cycle in which the modern individual, who has lost all ties in the liquid society, desperately attaches to other people and floats around in order to establish a new bond in the next stage. In order to hypostasize the issues, it would be useful to focus on a simpler example and conduct a discussion on modernism and postmodernism, which deeply affect our living conditions and also mentality.

In this study, the first accessible promotions of the two brands, which are seen as the pioneers of vacuum cleaners and robot vacuums, are subjected to a sociological analysis and their relations with modernism and postmodernism are discussed. Although the article does not include a history of technology or a technical evaluation, the interaction and mutual projections of two generations of vacuum cleaners with the dominant understandings of their periods are discussed. First of all, in the first title, the first periods of vacuum cleaners are briefly mentioned. Then, a leaflet of Hoover in 1921, one of the first known vacuum cleaner brands in our country and in the world, is examined. Based on the fact that the hoover is referred to as 'vacuum cleaner' in its original language in the promotions, it is mostly considered together with the meaning of both vacuuming and cleaning. In the next subtitle, the messages in the leaflet of Electrolux's Trilobite model, one of the first commercially available robot vacuums, are examined.

1. Vacuum cleaners reaching into houses

In the last three hundred years, which can also be called the machine age, steam engines, water turbines, steam turbines, internal combustion engines were the main triggers. Firstly, mostly new markets were found, followed by the inventions to be sold to these markets. Inventors unconsciously began to transform the society they lived in with their inventions and the spread of new products (Forbes, 1958: 148). In addition to the familiar primary effects of the industrial revolution such as migration from villages to cities and the transformation of business areas, clarifying the distinction between public and private spheres began to change the 'house', which is a kind of symbol of the private sphere, and housework. Working conditions were already tough enough. Thus, ideas that would make housework easier had to reach new consumers in the form of household appliances, through the sequence of inventions, patents, incorporation, production, marketing and distribution. One of these developments was the production of different devices for sweeping, which did not change dramatically until the 19th century and was handled with traditional tools like brooms.

Since the invention of the mechanical ancestor of the vacuum cleaners, the indispensable device of cleaning, can be dated to two centuries ago and its electrical version can be traced back to a century ago, it means that we address to a new device in terms of world history. Starting from the 1860s until the 1900s, there were several models that can be called as sweepers. In 1907, asthma patient James Murray Spanglar made a portable vacuum cleaner that reduced the workload of the user with his design because he was disturbed by the dust of the sweeper. It turned into an investment in 1908 after the patent was sold to businessman William H. Hoover. In a short period, it spread over to Europe until 1912. Nearly ten years later, it attracted more attention with the motto "Hoover, it Beats, as it Sweeps, as it Cleans". In the 1930s, it made its debut with the advertisement that it illuminates the place where it goes, referring to the light they add, and that even unknown dirt can be seen (Yalım, 2019).

The transition from pioneers, carried by horse-drawn carriages and cleaning inside the house from outside, to portable vacuum cleaners can be considered as the initial process. Smith (2007: 314)

states that in the 1920s and 1930s the electrical industry intensified its promotions to the middle and upper classes for cleaning the house with vacuum cleaners, yet still many houses did not receive electricity and electricity was expensive. With the reduction of the mentioned disadvantages and the fierce competition of different brands, the use of vacuum cleaners has spread over the years to vast majority of public. Today, it is considered quite normal for almost everyone with a regular income and standard of life to possess a better or worse vacuum cleaner at home. In fact, recently robot vacuums with a new attraction force have been taking the place of vacuum cleaners day by day. Considering all the stages, it can be argued that the vacuum cleaner was not always seen as indispensable, instead it was popularized from the very beginning through advertisements and promotions, and it reached its present position over time. As it is one of the first examples, the initial situation is discussed in the second title with a leaflet of the Hoover in 1921.

2. The reign of vacuum cleaners in eighty years

Hoover has become the world's largest vacuum cleaner manufacturer, with the effect of using new sales strategies even at the beginning such as free trials, selling via commission agreements with stores, and bringing vacuums to customers as promotion and also the development of technology and marketing techniques. An international trade chain was established by producing in Canada and selling to the UK. Even in England, some people still use the verb 'hoovering' for sweeping (Ohio History Connection). The question of how the idea of cleaning the house with a vacuum cleaner flashed into minds and was gained admission by the society should be answered by taking into account the prevailing understandings of the era when vacuum cleaners inventions began. For instance, Smith (2007: 287) states that health consumption patterns were formed in Britain in the second half of the 19th century, and the philosophy of living healthy and avoiding diseases was adopted rather than dying or high health bills. For this reason, sanitation became a big business. In the 1900s, the idea of public hygiene also extended to the international arena from the industrialized countries. The 20th century was perhaps one of the rapidly rising period when great social transformations were experienced in terms of the hygiene, cleaning awareness of consumers, attracted by the innovations brought by modern products.

Hence, the adoption of vacuum cleaners in a short time is one of the reflections of the philosophy of healthy living at home. In other words, vacuum cleaners have begun to be sold to a market that was (made) ready to buy and use different products for cleaning the house. In order to understand how these household items, which have become widespread in a short time, the Hoover vacuum cleaner leaflet published in 1921, shown in Image 1, is examined.



Image 1: Hoover vacuum cleaner leaflet in 1921

In the leaflet, initially the striking motto "It Beats-as it Sweeps-as it Cleans" which outlines the claims of the product, appears right below the brand name. And in summary of the text, the main idea is that an investment in Hoover reduces carpet cleaning costs and improves family health. Only Hoover cleans up embedded dust by beating, sweeping and cleaning. For these reasons, it is noteworthy that even in the short paragraph of the leaflet, the term 'investment' is used three times, instead of just using the concept of cleaning. Word choices reveal that cleanliness has also become commodified and turned into a capitalist quality. The eligible consumer is the one who has the understanding of cleanliness as reflected in the advertisements and constantly spending money for it. Only in this way a hygienic environment can be reached. According to the message given in the background, for

hundreds of years, people have led an 'unmodern' life covered with the dust and dirt. At this point, the vacuum cleaner emerges as an ideal symbol in terms of showing a break that tries to get rid of the dust of the past, nature and smooth over the traditional cracks.

Smith (2007: 284) presents the perspective in conversations about cleanliness: Now cleaning would make people happy, keep the civilized man safe at home, and the workforce would be more disciplined. Therefore, people can preserve the cleanliness, order and health of their families by spending much more from the previous generations and investing in higher model vacuums each time. This sense of constant need to reach hygiene with advertisements helps to establish new habits by making the supply of necessary materials indispensable and continuous. The message beneath the the surface is that hygiene and family health can only be achieved with these devices. According to Stoppani (2011, 50-51), the boundaries between inside and outside of the house are blurred when vacuum cleaners, the symbol of the mechanization of cleaning, collect the dust from the house and throw outside. Dust keeps history and values. It is associated with doing nothing. Since dust is a threat to order and control as well as cleanliness, it must be eliminated. The management of dust goes hand in hand with domestic economy, privacy, cleanliness, and the fragmentation of private sphere in the 20th century. On the contrary, considering the view on the borders in this discourse; it can be deduced that with getting rid of dust, the boundaries of the house are not blurred, but rather cleared. The passion to keep the interior of the house as a dust-free area first requires that the exterior doors and windows of the house shall be opened only when needed. The perception of cleanliness within and outside these boundaries is obviously different. Houses, which are separated from the outside world by the separation of man from nature, are conceived as an orderly and clean place under control, where dirt, dust, and surely the crumbs of the past are marginalized and excluded. Since, in the separation of public space and private space led by industrialization, it is necessary to determine the boundaries by discarding the unwelcomed ones out of the private sphere. The shaping of spheres by modernism is possible by drawing the citizens into the borders of the nation-state at the macro scale and the individuals within the borders of the private sphere at the micro scale. The questions of who will stay inside and out and how the interior will be designed are related to compliance with modern state human patterns.

Housework, determining who will do it with what and how, without allowing alternatives, is similar to dictating the definition of eligible citizen and their expected acts as civic duties. Just like the house in the macro plan, the nation state also removes dirt, rust and dust beyond its borders metaphorically. Any entities that disrupts the order of the nation state by their differences is beaten first. The second stage is the sweeping the offscourings. In the end, the unwelcomed ones are expelled to get a clean and organized image. In other words, modernism embodied in the nation state shows a feature that beats the other, sweeps away the differences, reaches every place and space, and polishes by constantly acquiting itself. According to Bauman (1997: 37), the modern nation-state has a bureaucratic structure that makes it easier for society to be seen as a garden to be taken care of, thus aiming to weed out couch grass, and this paves the way for the Holocaust. Similar to this order, which is shown to be reasonable with instrumental rationality, the cleaning process is started by means of a 'modern broom', since all the others are considered filth. 'Just as we keep our house clean, we must also keep our society, nation and state clean.' thought is rationalized and polished gradually. When others who don't line up with dominant groups, they will undergo at least the dilemma of 'Love it or leave it!'. It is not surprising that the word cleaning is used in the sense known to majority and can be quickly associated with a connotation such as 'ethnic cleansing'. It is also suitable for the profile of a civilized person who is trying to be disciplined at home as the act of cleaning as a method of coping with stress or an activity that relieves people's anger. However, this beating-sweeping-cleaning-disposing period, which we associate with the vacuum cleaner, is also coming to an end.

3. Enjoy Life While Being Watched

Electric cables have surrounded every part of our living space like the blood vessels of modern life. In the places where electricity reaches, vacuum cleaners have been the honor guests among many household appliances. As a modern invention, when vacuum cleaners have reached many houses, and a new and more attractive type of vacuum cleaner has begun to be produced. According to Stone et al, (2016: 24), although it is known that prototypes of many different robot vacuums were made or produced until 2001, the first commercial home robot is Electrolux Tribolite. It had a simple obstacle avoidance and navigation system. Next year, iRobot's Roomba model came out with ten times less price. Since then, millions of Roomba and other robot vacuum brands have been sold worldwide.

It is reported that while worldwide robot vacuum revenues were 0.81 billion dollars in 2015, 2.5 billion dollars in 2020, it is estimated to reach 5 billion dollars in 2025. According to the interviews on user experiences in Turkey, the positive features of robot vacuums are labor saving, remote control, time saving and detailed cleaning, respectively. The pleasing aspects of these devices are that they can sweep without needing anyone, that they can memorize the house with mapping, and that their cleaning is detailed. The negative aspects are that the container fills up quickly, is expensive, gets stuck on objects very often, cleans slowly and cannot reach everywhere (Tor-Kadıoğlu 2020, 2527-2530). Although the reasons for preference change, the demand for robot vacuums continues to increase. This trend is also linked to the lifestyle promised by robot vacuums or similar products. As a harbinger and pioneer of a new era, the leaflet of the Electrolux Trilobite model in Image 2 is examined.



"I am Trilobite – your personal vacuum cleaner. I do the vacuuming so you can do other things"

Image 2: Electrolux Trilobite leaflet first page

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In Image 2, below the photo of model, a quotation of robot itself comes along: It introduces itself as "I am Trilobite-your personal vacuum cleaner. I do the vacuuming so you can do other things." In these expressions, a personified profile which is constructed by taking one more job from the humankind and is a candidate to be promoted from objectivity to subjectivity. A device that does the cleaning for us so that we can do other things says 'hello' to human beings just at the beginning of the 21st century. In Image 3, the main text can be seen.

Let me take the strain out of cleaning. Just leave me on the floor. I will vacuum for you. Automatically.

My built-in, advanced sensors scan the room when I vacuum. I charge myself and switch off when the job is done. Just leave me to do the job.

Time to enjoy life

Let me vacuum the kitchen when you are surfing the net in the other room. And I will take care of the room when you cook in the kitchen. Let me vacuum a room each day when you go to work. I will take care of spilled rice and sugar. I am Trilobite – your personal vacuum cleaner. I do the vacuuming so you can do other things, as often as you want, and without taking up your time.

Of course you're impatient and want to switch me on right away. No problem. All you need to do is to:

- 1. Charge me as shown on page 24.
- 2. Place me as shown on page 20.
- 3. Press the start button, ① (upper right button).
- 4. Confirm by pressing the vis button (lower right button).

But before starting, read the precautions on page 22-23!

Electrolux

Image 3: Electrolux Trilobite leaflet second page

The main motto in the leaflet of the first commercial robot vacuum cleaner shown in Image 3 is "Time to enjoy life".!" It assigns a suitable role of postmodernism by telling us to have fun. In the sentence "Let me vacuum the kitchen when you are surfing the net in the other room", it is said that it will do its job while we are dealing with another thing anywhere else, which shows that it is a device that can operate independently of the space or even the user. The cleaner that has let go its stick no longer needs physical power or constant intervention. In other words, it can be said that it has features that can symbolize the time-space break in postmodernism and the loss of the meaning of the subject. In addition, the emphasis on time and entertainment is related to a different dimension of consumption that has not been dwelled on.

As a commodity subject to exchange value in the consumer society, the demand for time is pretty high. Leisure time is also bought, sold and consumed. Provided that a purchased product reduces

labor of a work to be done or shortens the time to be spent, the money of reduced time is reflected in the cost and bill. As in the example of the washing machine, the housewife is preparing for a new consumption with the advertisements she watches in her spare time. Holidays can also be explained not simply as the need for rest and entertainment, but with the reproduction role they play in the production-consumption cycle. Moreover, as in Huxley's 'Brave New World', where pleasure seeking and leisure time activities increase, leisure time has a symbolic exchange value (Baudrillard, 2008: 193-203). The price of a purchased robot vacuum includes saving time for the user, spare time for leisure and entertainment. Therefore, the main issue marketed in the promotion is that it will not take our time. The user is also offered things to do in this workplace: Going to work, having fun, doing other things or surfing the Internet, in other words production, consumption and leisure activities. In the phrase 'your personal vacuum cleaner', the symbolic exchange value that makes the user feel privileged is compacted. Instead of the standardization of mass production, the image of personality is also sold to consumers, who have begun to experience the effect of post-fordism with simple flexibility such as color change or voice command. Therefore, the sale of a device is not just a material exchange. Whereas family or public health investments are marketed under the name of modernity in vacuum cleaner promotions, the pioneers of a postmodern lifestyle beyond cleaning and health are highlighted in robot vacuums. At this point, a feature of postmodernity is seen in accordance with Giddens's (1994: 10-11) perspective that what modernity brings along has become more radical and universal rather than entering an edgy postmodern era. Additionally, shining indications of the general framework of the new order are emerging.

Indeed, the appeal of the new version of robot vacuums lies in the aestheticization of the situation in which all the capabilities of technology are hybridized in one device, where space, like the perception of reality, is largely distanced from time. It is a fascinating development that, after mapping a space, the robot vacuum can do its work without the need for physical intervention and return to its home, perhaps more precisely than a human. However, the potential of the internet infrastructure required for remote access can also be reached by outsiders via detecting vulnerabilities or through simple neglects is frightening enough. According to Genç (2021), in an age when hackers infiltrating baby monitors can talk to children unaware of their parents, it is easy to make more and exploit them against users of robot vacuums. If it is asserted that robots of all sizes used in workplaces, houses or outdoors inhold a postmodern risk, it is not about a 'virtual' threat in a science-fiction movie.

It should also be considered that in the age of surveillance, we have brought Big Brother's eyes into our living space with an irresistible desire. According to Han (2017), the transition from dominating power to disciplinary power is related to industrialization and has evolved into the need to discipline the body as a production unit. While Bentham's disciplinary panopticon makes a superficial control, the digital panopticon leaves no place to escape by infecting emotions and thoughts. In fact, the digital subject, as its own panopticon, is also immanent to the roles of surveillant/surveilled, criminal/victim. The digital users make a gift to Big Data by keeping their own records. It has replaced biopolitical punishments with a data-driven psychopolitical orientation that does not miss any details of each user with micro-targeting. From these perspectives, postmodernism proceeds with the openly Huxleyian exploitation of consumers who no longer feel the need to be beaten and who are ready for anything without even seeking consent. In this respect, the robot vacuum cleaner set out to overtake the space in the house as private sphere. In addition to its revolutionary effect on cleaning habits, it constantly collects data on the move in the private sphere and adds new dimensions to surveillance. One of the last places to be disciplined, house is now in the coverage area with its map/sketch.

Excluding the exceptional features, the qualities that robot vacuums bring different from vacuum cleaners and the basic elements of transformation are shared in Table 1.

 Table 1. Vacuum cleaner and robot vacuums in terms of their relations with modernism and postmodernism

In terms of its relations with Modernism and Postmodernism;	
Vacuum cleaner	Robot vacuums
time-space dependent	Time-space independent
It requires constant physical contact to be able to move	The command is enough for it to move
Not remotely accessible	Remotely accessible
No room for surveillance	Open to surveillance
No mapping/sketch	Mapping/sketching of the house is common

According to this table, it can be claimed that robot vacuums can get rid of time-space constraints for their users, there is no need for physical contact, and they can be easily accessed remotely with applications on the internet. The ability to monitor the two basic features that make other features work, and the mapping or sketching of the house and space comes with the risk of being surveilled. Thus, it creates new patterns that are initially related to each other but develop in different directions, open the door to an ambiguity and confusion suitable for postmodernism. In this respect, the robot vacuum represents a brand new threshold beyond the needs, which has begun to change over the certain modernist scope symbolized by the vacuum cleaner.

Conclusion

It is debatable whether production is based on real needs in modern society. Indeed, including this article it is argued that at least some productions are not derived from needs, on the contrary, needs are extracted from the production system. Advertising also serves to present this production as a need. The desire to possess a higher model every time is part of the consumption cycle to reach so-called happiness. Society is accustomed to this consumption and advertisements contribute to the value adoption process. (Baudrillard, 2008: 70-95). First of all, vacuum cleaners are advertised how economical, useful and necessary for hygiene and so they are to replace traditional cleaning methods. In addition to its physical function, the purchase of this new device also features a symbolic exchange as a sign of civilization. By disposing the dust of the past, separating from the others, a solitary environment is created for the modern individuals who are separated from their land and each other. This bell jar is preserved by the beat-sweeping-cleaning and disposing method of the interior of the house as the inner set and the borders of the nation-state as the outer set. This unending modernist passion, which we call 'getting drifted into vacuuming power', can manifest itself as the purchase of a higher model vacuum cleaner for the consumer, and the practices that will bring a more homogeneous country for the state.

The vacuum cleaner of modernism has worked so strongly with its higher vacuuming power that the vacuum effect it created in the end absorbed almost everything like a black hole including itself. Individuals, who are thrown into a whirlpool where meaning is lost and ideals are abandoned, are

trying to find their way by groping in the dark. A bend is on the horizon where nothing needs to be beaten, cleaned and disposed any longer since outside inside binary oppositions and distinctions are about to disappear. Or from Serdar's (2001) point of view, although postmodernism seems to embrace others, it is actually just an illusion that reflects itself as if it were pluralistic instead of the coercive sanctions of modernism. Just as robot vacuums can work automatically once installed by transcending time-space dimensions, the cleaning habits of the modernist infrastructure can continue as if it were very natural in the postmodern period, despite the loss of the agent. Even though there is no need to beat the others because everyone is merely enjoying themselves. By the way the capitalist and imperialist system continues to have a vacuum effect with 'user-friendly' applications where the others are swallowed and transformed into the desired format as data. Han (2017, 71-72) underlines that consumers voluntarily surrender themselves to panoptic surveillance and it directs and satisfies their needs. Additionally, no user data processing is neglected, even while cleaning is in progress. With the strike of a panoptic machine that we installed with our own hands, the last remaining walls of the house and privacy, the last stronghold of the private sphere, were also destroyed. The postmodern individual is now scattered and shattered like crumbs in a datum format, constantly striving to stay connected in a liquid society and is just waiting to be devoured by a panoptic machine.

In short, the increasing importance of mapping in modernism goes hand in hand with the efforts to embody the boundaries of the nation and the separation of the private from the public. In postmodernism, whereas the national borders have lost their importance to some extent, mapping has broken into the house. Surely, a sharp distinction such as the modern and postmodern periods with certain boundaries and durations is not the case. On the contrary, the trends that can be experienced simultaneously are referred to as the continuation of modernity. The vacuum cleaner can be recommended as the symbol of modernity and the robot vacuum cleaner as a symbol of postmodernity are due to the fact that they reflect the dominant understandings of the periods in which they gained weight. The transition from physical contact to remote access, the gradual reduction of time-space dependency, and voluntary contribution to Big Data are among the features of the transition from modernism to postmodernism that can be observed through the transformation in these devices. Whereas the modern individual, who is demanded to be purified from the dust and soil symbolically, is drifted into vacuuming power of the the vacuum cleaner, with the approach of a postmodern whirlpool, new consumers are trapped in the panoptic eyes of the robot vacuums that direct them to consumption and entertainment.

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