DEPICTIONS OF CLASS IN TURKISH TELEVISION: COMPARISON OF ORIGINAL AND REMAKES OF TWO DRAMA SERIES

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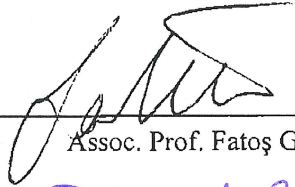
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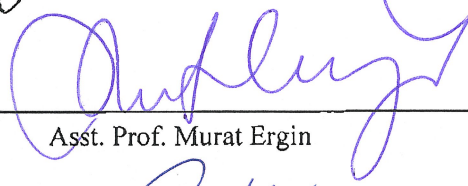
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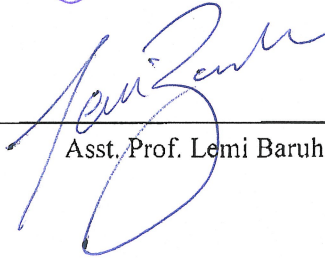examining committee have been made.

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ABSTRACT

DEPICTIONS OF CLASS IN TURKISH TELEVISION: COMPARISON OF ORIGINAL AND REMAKES OF TWO DRAMA SERIES

This thesis examines how the lifestyles of different classes are portrayed in two Turkish television series, *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*, through a comparative analysis of their old and new versions. Notions of Weber's *social status,* Bourdieu's *taste*, *habitus* and *field,* and Lamont's analysis of *morality* were employed to understand how class formations were represented in the TV series. In addition, Read (2009) and Lazzarato (2009)'s discussions that follow a Foucauldian analysis were used to explain the relationship between class depictions and neoliberal portrayals in two TV series. Content analysis was utilized to investigate this relationship and analyze the established hypotheses. It was argued that the new versions of the TV series would depict neoliberal values more in higher class lifestyles, and episodes that represented lower class lifestyles would not be affected by the changes in the neoliberal era. In addition, the new versions would not portray the morality of lower class lifestyles less, but adjust the depiction of upper class lifestyles in accordance with the features of the neoliberal era, due to its promotion of profit-maximization, calculation, self-interest and depoliticization. In a parallel vein, a more extensive of upper class lifestyles was expected in the new versions of the TV series. Significant results in support of the established hypotheses were found only with regards to *Aşk-ı Memnu*. The ways in which *Yaprak Dökümü* deviates from the perused literature will be discussed through its unique narration, and the effects of producers' aim to increase ratings.

TEZ ÖZETİ

TÜRK TELEVİZYONUNDA SINIF TASVİRİ: İKİ DRAMA DİZİSİNİN ORJİNAL VE YENİ YAPIMLARININ KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

Bu tez, sınıfların yaşam biçimlerinin Türk televizyon dizilerinden *Aşk-ı Memnu* ve *Yaprak Dökümü*'nde nasıl gösterildiğini eski ve yeni uyarlamalarını karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde analiz ederek incelemiştir. Weber'in *sosyal statü*, Bourdieu'nün *beğeni*, *alan* ve *habitus* kavramları, Lamont'un ahlak analizleri televizyon dizilerinde sınıf oluşumlarının temsilini açıklamak için kullanılmıştır. Ek olarak, Read (2009) ve Lazzarato (2009)'un Foucault araştırmaları bu iki dizideki neoliberal gösterim ve sınıf temsili ilişkisini açıklamak için kullanılmıştır. Hipotezleri analiz etmek için içerik analizi kullanarak bu ilişki incelenmiştir. Televizyon dizilerinin neoliberal değerleri üst sınıflar için yeni bölümlerde daha fazla betimlediği ileri sürülmüştür ve bölümlerdeki alt sınıf temsillerinin neoliberal dönemdeki değişmelerden etkilenmeyeceği gösterilecektir. Ek olarak, televizyon dizilerinin yeni uyarlamaları, alt sınıf yaşam biçiminde ahlak gösterimini azaltmayacak ama üst sınıfların yaşam biçiminin gösterimini, kar maksimizasyonu, çıkar hesabı, bencillik ve apolitikleşmenin neoliberal dönemde yükselmesinden dolayı buna gore düzenleyecek. Paralel olarak, televizyon dizilerinin yeni uyarlamalarında üst sınıf gösterimlerinin artması beklenmektedir. Sonuç olarak, hipotezleri destekleyen anlamlı sonuçları sadece *Aşk-ı Memnu* içerisinde bulunmuştur. *Yaprak Dökümü*'nün literatür araştırmalarından sapmasını, onun özel anlatımı ve de yapımcıların reytingi arttırma eğilimleri üzerinden açıklanacaktır.

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INTRODUCTION

The media interprets the world and offers its own definitions through certain representations, acting as a medium to present different groups of people with their various living conditions. However, through news, talk shows or television series, the media tends to create differences that may not actually exist among society, which lead to a media-constructed "reality." Gurevitch and Levy argue that media is "a site on which social groups, institutions and ideologies struggle over the definition and construction of social reality" (as cited in Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992, p. 387). The media replaces real world situations with hyper-real depictions by intensifying the usage of dramatic formats, and portraying models of reality without an origin (Gamson et al, 1992). Certain aspects of specific groups may be over-represented or under-represented, and possible complexities among their formations may be ignored. One such example is the representations of class. It is important to understand how the media industry represents "class," because the artificial lifestyles it produces may overstress the boundaries between classes, and fail to capture the roots of those boundaries, which often results in publicizing monotypes of failed class distinctions. Presenting only economically-based distinctions, for instance, may distort the accuracy of representations due to possible alternative differences such as *taste* and *morality*. Such media representations may be peculiar to a certain time period in a specific country. Historical, social, political, and economic conjectures significantly shape media content. Therefore, to understand how the media portrays class, a particular turning point in time should also be considered, such as introduction of *neo-liberal policies*. Since neoliberalism promotes consumption, individuality, and self-interested worldviews, and emphasizes politics of deregulation, it may affect the contents of what the media

depicts. In line with these points, this study analyzed the effects of neo-liberal economic and societal changes on the portrayals of class in two Turkish TV series. The main question of this study was, *how is class portrayed through Turkish TV series?* To answer this question, class portrayals in earlier and later versions of two TV series, namely *Aşk-ı Memnu* (broadcast in 1975 and 2009) and *Yaprak Dökümü* (broadcast in 1988 and 2006), were compared.

Media studies have mostly focused on publications such as newspapers, magazines, and broadcasts such as news, talk shows and TV series, in efforts to understand and explain the messages they contain (Aksoy, 2010, An & Gower, 2008, Bettie, 1995, Bullock et al., 2001, Butsch, 1992, Dağtaş, 2008, Entman, 1991, Kendall, 2005). Aranowitz offers to "trace the *displacement* of representations of the working-class" (as cited in Bettie, 1995, p. 125). He argues that direct representations of the working-class are absent on American TV. Bettie (1995) states that what Aranowitz refers to as the working-class are white males, therefore she analyzes classes "as an identity that is historically and contextually created" in representations of television situation comedies with gender, race and ethnicity (p. 126). Therefore, a fundamental topic in media studies is to focus on portrayals of race, class, and gender. Butsch (1992) looked at class and gender in television situation comedies and found that "...valuations of class on television have been constructed through the manipulation of gender and age traits" (p. 387). Bettie (1995) also reached the same result and further argued that class is primarily represented in an individual-interpersonal way through a character's problematization of classism in a narrative. *Class*, as she uses the term, does not contain a politicized identity but intensely refers to "a sense of one's place" in the culture of meanings (Bettie, 1995, p. 135). In their study of media portrayals of the poor, Bullock et al. (2001) found that media obscured the boundaries between

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social classes, over-represented negative images of the poor, ignored poverty, and linked poverty to crime and race. Aksoy (2010) examined how poverty was depicted in contemporary Turkish daily newspapers, and discovered that while it was ignored in the media, it was represented as an "exhibition" through photographs of women and crime. Dağtaş (2008) studied the uniformity observed in Turkish TV series after neoliberalism, and by focusing on changes in the homes of the rich, found narratives such as community-based affiliations, rich and poor living together, and a life of luxury. Furthermore, media depictions of class differences may ignore class positions at societal levels (Kendall, 2005). That is to say, the poor may be represented as extremely impoverished or the rich may be represented as extremely wealthy. In other words, people's economic status may be overstressed in the media, such as representing different classes as being extremely rich or extremely poor. Consequently, analyzing the contents of TV series may facilitate understanding how class relations are depicted, as well as social change. To this end, this study involved an intensive study on the theoretical background of "class"—which has been dismissed in recent media studies—and compare concepts of class between older versions and contemporary remakes of two TV series. Moreover, the ways in which class relations are depicted in TV series may change over time, based on cultural and economic changes in society and in the media industry. Therefore, to understand *class* in media, historical changes in the country need to be considered as well.

Media portrayals of class in two TV series' in Turkey was examined in this study, namely *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*. Specifically, the main question of this research was, *how is class portrayed in Turkish media through TV series?* Here, class portrayal (or class depiction) refers to specific class representations through media, specific images and characteristics of

groups, which are captured and shown on television as real life and real practices of the

individuals who belong to a certain group. How such groups actually form will be explained

further below. To illustrate class depictions in the TV series, situations that promote consumption,

and working-class, middle-class and upper-class lifestyles were explored. Relationships between

people's status (such as being driver, cook, servant, owner of the house) and their moral values

and tastes were also examined. In addition, occupations of the characters in the TV series were

analyzed in terms of class structure. As in the study by Butsch (1992), media portrayals of class

could be beneficial in understanding *social change* in the society in which the TV series is

broadcast. Kendall (2005) studied media representations by analyzing newspaper articles and TV

shows to explain the media coverage of negative images for the working classes, and privileged

status images for the upper classes in the U.S. Focusing specifically on frames, she found for

instance that rich people were portrayed as generous, caring, and having enviable lifestyles,

whereas poor people was portrayed as deviant characters, and the working classes as buffoons

(Grindstaff, 2006, p. 492). However, according to Grindstaff (2006), she failed to categorize solid

portrayals of class due to the biased sampled drawn from the *New York Times*. Therefore, the

current study expands on Aksoy (2010), Bettie (1995), Bullock et al. (2001), Butsch (1992),

Dağtaş (2008), and Kendall (2005) in two ways. First, it includes a theoretical debate on the

concept of "class" concerning *cultural-moral distinctions*, and second, it considers changes to

this concept as a result of neo-liberalization, by analyzing the old and contemporary versions of

two TV series. In other words, the need for this study stems not only from the fact that class

depictions are crucial to understanding the relations in a specific culture, but also because

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historical changes within countries have been neglected in the analysis of class portrayals in the media studies literature.

Here, historical changes refer to *neoliberalism*, which Foucault argued in Peters (2001) to be era of choices based on rationality, individuality and self-interest with the rise of homo-economicus. Therefore, this study also asks why neo-liberalization is an important factor for class depictions in media, and traces the effects of neoliberalism in the portrayals of class in TV series in Turkey. There have naturally been studies that explain the changes in class depictions on TV series through time. Butsch (2003), for instance, explained representations of working and middle class families in the U.S. changed from 1950 to 1990. However, his analysis made no reference to political and economic conjectures. Conversely, the present study includes changes in historical contexts in its analysis of two TV series in Turkey, which were first broadcast before the 1990s (prior to the neo-liberal era) and their contemporary versions, which were broadcast after the 1990s. In other words, class depictions were compared in the older and newer productions of the two TV series to explain social change in Turkey through the possible impact of neoliberalism, and it is hoped this will prove beneficial in understanding the portrayal of class relations and class boundaries in Turkey.

This study analyzes the history of the media industry and its evolution with the history of the Turkish state and society from 1975 to 2009. In other words, the introduction of neoliberalism in Turkey in the 1990s may have had an affect in transforming class depictions in the media. Transformations in the media industry may also have been influential to this end. Data on class representations was collected by content analysis, and the way the people in the TV series were

segmented and how their characters understood labor and class consciousness, moral values, and class in everyday life were investigated.

A comparative study of TV series between two different time periods makes it possible to analyze structural changes in how class is portrayed by the producers of contemporary TV series, following the introduction and improvement in private channel broadcasting. There are currently many TV channels broadcasting in Turkey, while there was only one in 1975. Therefore, the present study also analyzes the effects of neoliberalism such as privatization in television broadcasting after the 1980s. In the next section, the reasons underpinning this study will be linked to the existing literature on class and media.

CHAPTER 1:

MEDIA PORTRAYALS AND IMPACT OF THE NEOLIBERAL ERA ON THE MEDIA INDUSTRY

I.   Review of the Literature

In this section, first, the concept of neoliberalism and the interplay between neoliberalism and the media will be introduced. Second, the literature on *class* will be reviewed in order to conceptualize the meaning of *class* in this research and frame the theoretical background of this thesis. In addition, changing *class* concepts with the introduction of neoliberalism will be discussed. Third, media and class portrayals will be elaborated, and the history of the media industry in Turkey—especially TV—will be briefly explained.

a. Neoliberalism and Media Representations

Rose states that contemporary media may be considered as one of the "new apparatuses that integrate subjects into a moral nexus of identifications" (as cited in Hallin, 2008, p. 43). That is to say, transformation in the media industry is central to the introduction of neoliberalism. In addition, *media* in the neo-liberal era tends to be in a process of depoliticization, where it disconnects from the public sphere and promotes commerce and consumption (Hallin, 2008, p. 44). In Bourdieuian terms and borrowing from Hallin (2008), with the emergence of neoliberalism, the *field* in which the media broadcasts changed to a field that necessitates a "commodified entertainment industry." In line with the shifting broadcasts in the 1980s, from public service systems to more privatized broadcasting as Hallin (2008) states, this study focused on how the effects of neoliberalism changed class depictions in the media, specifically in two TV series in Turkey. Neoliberalism is marked by an increase in the magnitude of financial markets,

governmental emphasis on deregulation politics, privatization, and expansion of free-market

ideology and entrepreneurial skills in the post-1980s period (Cizre & Yeldan, 2005; Dumenil &

Levy, 2001; Harvey, 2005; Hay, 2000; Lazzarato, 2009). Furthermore, neoliberalism is the

transformation of an ideology generated from buying and selling commodities in the market with

an additional transformation to the *marketplace of ideas*. Therefore, it is more than a political

program which infuses new perspectives of social existence and human nature (Read, 2009).

According to Lazzarato (2009), "neoliberalism has transformed society into an 'enterprise

society' based on the market, competition, inequality and the privilege of the individual" (p. 110).

With neoliberalism, one can observe the weakening of direct state control and the improvement

of self-disciplining subjects (Hay, 2000, p. 54). Moreover, Lazzarato (2009) posits that

neoliberalism promotes competition rather than exchange among individuals and enterprises (p.

117). In other words, individuals in the neo-liberal era tend to possess characteristics such as

calculation, profit-maximization and self-interest (Canpolat, 2010, p. 29). Neo-liberal citizens

calculate costs and benefits for themselves from the variety of social, political and economic

choices; they tend not to cooperate with others to plan those available choices (Read, 2009, p. 35).

Moreover, neoliberalism seems to encourage individualization, insecuritization and

depoliticization (Lazzarato, 2009). Foucault argues that homo-economicus develops

entrepreneurship in individuals to maximize "human capital" among other individuals in society

after neo-liberal transformation (as cited in Lazzarato, 2009, p. 111). Therefore, a shift to a

competition-based society is a basic component of neoliberalism (Lazzarato, 2009). Thus, this

thesis suggests that neoliberalism is the transformation of social relations after the 1980s through

the politics of deregulation, and the promotion of specific characteristics within individuals, such

as individuation, insecurity, depoliticization, profit-maximization, and self-interested calculation of social actions, which all emphasize an "entrepreneur society."

As for the effects of neo-liberal transformations in the media industry, especially TV, Hay (2000) states that television possesses significant power for the maintenance and reproduction of social formation, both as an institution and as a practice (p. 58). This power has changed over time. Before the1980s, state-affiliated broadcast services were available for the production of television and radio programs; however, after the 1980s, with increased privatization, a global-commercial media market emerged (McChesney, 2001). In addition, especially U.S.-based dominant media institutions especially the ones in the USA, claimed that with the advance of neoliberalism, they were not "foreign" but "international," since they maximized profits by investing in and enlarging firms outside the U.S. (McChesney, 2001, p. 3). To illustrate the transformation, McChesney (2001) states that "Once the national deregulation of media began in major nations like the United States and Britain, it was followed by global measures like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the foundation of the World Trade Organization (WTO), all designed to clear the ground for investments and sales by multinational corporations in regional and global markets. This has laid the foundation for the creation of the global media system" (p. 5). Therefore, television industries were able to transform their strategies with privatization and commercialization after the global adoption of neo-liberal policies, such as market deregulation, state decentralization, and decrease in the intervention of state in media communications (Jin, 2007, p. 180). Thus, neoliberalism brought more TV channels, color TVs, development in telecommunication services for program broadcasts, increased commercials to sustain an additional income for the institution, and more importantly,

new technologies such as satellite and cable TV providing an opening for national markets (Jin, 2007). Therefore, the worldwide shift toward neo-liberal practices was coupled with a shift from government-dominated media to the profit-driven private sector (Jin, 2007, p. 192), which also affected the content of the media. To investigate and present the media shift to neoliberal contents in this study, certain categories were composed based on the neoliberalism literature (and will be explained in the following section). Keeping in mind the features of the neoliberal era, such as promotion of commerce and consumption, these categories were used to observe consumption patterns in the TV series, including food, cosmetics, furniture, and clothing choices made by the characters. Moreover, to explain the impact of the neoliberal era on the characteristics of these individuals, other categories were also generated: display of calculation, profit-maximization, self-interest, individualization, and depoliticization. As Canpolat (2009), Lazzarato (2009), and Read (2009) point out, these characteristics are observed throughout society in the neoliberal era as an "enterprise society" based on market competition and individuality, which are emphasized in the neoliberal era. The media industry also shifted to more profit-driven sectors, and began to broadcast the features of the neoliberal era as expected. The possible effects of this change in the media industry on media content was investigated through coding the categories composed from the two TV series before the neoliberal era and in the neoliberal era. (These categories will be further elaborated in the Methodology and Results chapters.) Through the TV series, the study will show that characters became more bound to commodities, especially luxury. The meaning attributed to objects, such as furniture, clothes, and homes all increased significantly in the broadcasts in the neo-liberal era. In Turkey, 1980 was the year commodity trade liberalization and labor market flexibilization was introduced, which was

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completed in 1989 (Cizre & Yeldan, 2005). In describing the process of Turkish neo-liberal policies, Öniş (2004) stated, "the common denominator of neo-liberal populism is that reforms tend to be initiated in a top-down fashion, often launched by surprise and without the participation of organized political forces" (p. 126). Yenal (2009) noted that a new middle-class emerged after the neo-liberal ideology of commodification, financialization and privatization in Turkey that separated itself from other social classes in terms of work and lifestyles.

b. Class Theories

As previously stated, the main question in this study was to find out how class is portrayed on two TV series. It was also argued that the introduction of neoliberalism forged a change in class depictions in these series. To explain how the portrayal of the "class" concept changed, it is necessary to first explain how it was constructed. The theoretical analysis that follows will be built on Weber, Bourdieu, and Lamont. Bourdieu broadens the definitions of the Weberian concept *status* to include preferences of *taste* in it (Lamont & Fournier, 1992). Then, Lamont expands this inclusion through focusing on *moralities* of certain groups (Lamont, 2000). In addition, Giddens's (1973) reading of Weber that differentiates *consumption* and *honor* in groupings will also be employed. However, this study's theoretical framework is basically a cultural-moral analysis of class that combines theories from Bourdieu and Lamont.

Any conceptualization of class must first draw on Marx. According to Giddens's (1973) analysis of Marx, two essential classes appear in every type of society; producers and non-producers. Marx states that non-producers are fewer in number and control the means of production. They benefit from this control to extract a surplus, the source of the producers' livelihood, from producers. Therefore, in Marx's analysis, the means of production and property

ownership defines the relationship of groupings of individuals. However, in his critique of Marx, Weber (1978) argues that an explicitly defined conceptualization of class is missing in Marx's analysis, and emphasizes that "class" refers to "market interests." The fact that individuals exist within market relations does not depend on whether or not they *aware* of them; meaning they may not be aware of their personal situations as opposed to certain other groups. Therefore, class influences people's *life-chances* as an objective characteristic. Moreover, holding property does not always fulfill the requirements that emphasize boundaries within classes. Therefore, Weber (1978) pays more attention to the relationships involving consumption and offers "status groups" that take the form of certain "styles of life" as opposed to the production-based relationship between producers and non-producers. Thus, according to Weber, economic domination does not provide power, in contrast to Marx (Giddens, 1973, p. 44). While this thesis employs Weber's notion of "status," Giddens's criticism of Weber is also utilized because of the confusion of "status" between two elements, groupings in consumption and differentiation based on "honour" (Giddens & Held, 1982, p. 158). Insisting that these two elements do not need to coincide, Giddens suggests *distributive groupings:* "those relationships involving common patterns of the consumption of economic goods, regardless of whether the individuals involved make any type of conscious evaluation of their honour or prestige relative to others" (Giddens & Held, 1982, p. 161). Giddens's *mediate* and *proximal* structuration of class relations (the former being factors regarding market capacities, and the latter localized factors shaping class formations) are not based on income differentiation, but on other segregative factors such as housing or mortgage. Giddens also suggests "class consciousness," or the attribution of meaning by individuals within each class, as opposed to "class awareness," because the latter may involve the denial of the

existence of classes. The meanings characters in the TV series attribute to certain cases will be

analyzed to explain their consciousness of their status in context, such as the housemaids in *Aşk-ı*

Memnu. Therefore, for the exact conceptualization of class in this thesis, the theories of Pierre

Bourdieu and Michele Lamont are utilized in addition to Weber and Giddens, to explain the

effects of culture between and within classes.

To begin explaining the differences of each class, Bourdieu bases his theories on *habitus*,

capital and *field*. He defines *habitus* as a "generative and unifying principle which retranslates

the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle, that is, a unitary set

of choices of persons, goods, practices" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 8). Moreover, *class habitus* is the

internalized form of conditioning of a class. That is to say, in a habitus, individuals have

classifiable practices and works, and a capacity to distinguish each practice to form meaning-

giving perceptions. Therefore, "…lifestyles are… systematic products of habitus" (Bourdieu,

1984, p. 111). In the *field,* agents struggle for power relations by moving around and meeting

with each other; in addition, these agents form *capital*, such as economic capital, social capital,

and cultural capital, in order to make their positions clear in the field to build dispositions and

classification principles as *habitus* suggests (Pignone & Winkels, 2006). Bourdieu argues in

Bennett (2007) that "members of the same class will share the same experiences" (Bennett, 2007,

p. 203). According to Bourdieu (1984) various potential positions in social space are linked to

individuals' various practices that relate to realities and fictions, and also their beliefs in those

realities and fictions. He claims that "social subjects classified by their classifications, distinguish

themselves by distinctions they make" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6), and indicates that cultural practices

depend on educational capital and social origin; for instance, low-educated individuals tend to go

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to the cinema less than highly-educated people. Moreover, he offers "taste" as being the applicable confirmation of differences. Individuals in each position, according to their unique tastes, form a habitus that excludes others as unnatural. Therefore, tastes can function as symbolic manifestations of class positions. For example, choices regarding cosmetics, clothing and home decoration specify one's position in social space. In addition, more education will further shape individuals' tastes, which will lead to an elevation in the social hierarchy. Furthermore, a composition of capital and tastes of food will also signal the differences between and within classes. Bourdieu (1984) explains that "dispositions constituting the cultivated habitus are only formed, only function and are only valid in a field" (p. 94). Therefore, individuals in different fields may attribute different meanings to the same practices. Moreover, Bourdieu (1984) argues that "a class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being, by its consumption… as meaning by its position in the relations of production" (p. 483). Couldry (2005) asserts that according to Bourdieu, social space must be explained through the relations between each space and other spaces, through the concept of the "field" (p. 210). Wacquant (2006) states that a field proposes a variety of stances and moves for individuals: "Just as habitus informs practice from within, a field structures action and representation from without" (Wacquant, L., 2006, p. 8). In addition, individuals adjust themselves with the profits, costs and potentialities of new stances and moves. They adopt unique forms of thought and practice according to their position in the field. Wacquant (2006) continues from this point and asserts that established members of a field tend to "preserve the existing order and criteria of judgement, new entrants an interest in challenging them" (p. 8). Especially after the 1990s, implementation of new policies signals a change to a field of neoliberalism with its new strategies and potentialities. Wacquant (2006)

adds that an examination of social constitution of the agent and an examination of the construction of the particular social universe is necessary to explain a social event. Thus Bourdieu's notions of habitus, capital and field operate in tandem for the analysis of this study. In a parallel vein, analyzing the old and new versions of TV series is beneficial in understanding class portrayals since a transformation period was initiated by the neoliberal turn after the 1990s. In this way, the field of media was broken down in the 1990s to form a field of neoliberalism. After the 1990s in Turkey, transformations in the media field should be interpreted as transformations stimulated by the neoliberal field.

Lamont (2002) states that Bourdieu demonstrated how taste and lifestyle could extend to class struggles, and that for the reproduction of class privileges, symbolic classification was the key. Lamont's (1992) main concern was to discover the "mental maps" people use to categorize symbolic boundaries, such as creating "us" and "them." Lamont's critique of Bourdieu is therefore essential, for she carries the discussion of symbolic boundaries further and criticizes Bourdieu for underestimating the importance of *moral signals* (Linko & Lankila, 1994). Furthermore, she states that *moral status* could explain the differences of class behaviors and attitudes in American and French societies. She differentiates between *symbolic* and *social* boundaries to analyze the impact of individual world views on *inequality*, and states that symbolic boundaries are "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality" (Lamont, 2002, p. 168). In addition, she defines social boundaries as "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social

opportunities" (Lamont, 2002, p. 169). She further adds that symbolic boundaries are necessary but not sufficient to build social boundaries (Lamont, 2002, p. 169). The interplay between social and symbolic boundaries will contribute to highlight durability, visibility, permeability and salience of class boundaries (Lamont, 2002, p. 186). Therefore, in this thesis Bourdieu's habitus and Lamont's critique of his theories will be used to determine the depiction of class in the two TV series, and changes to the concept of class over time. Combining both authors' theories means following a *cultural-moral* analysis that uses taste and morality differences in a culture to reveal class boundaries, and how these boundaries were initially constituted and transformed. Moreover, Lamont argues that Bourdieu does not pay attention to broader structural factors and focuses only on proximal factors. Lamont, in Linka & Lankila (1994) argues that Bourdieu insists on stating that "people with the same class origin and the same social trajectory have the same kind of taste regardless of the type of society they live in" (p. 324). The comparative historical analysis of the two TV series will clarify Bourdieu's underestimation of the importance of time in his equation of class positions regarding habitus through various changes in tastes, especially in lower-classes in the same society, limiting the analysis only to class depictions in the media, in TV series. To link neoliberalism with the changes of class depictions, I argue that *habitus* of individuals in the TV representations adjust in accordance with the relevant fields. In other words, broadcasting in the neoliberal era changed the "field" of media production, which affects how lifestyles of the different classes are represented. Thus, the political field of the media industry has changed with the emergence of neoliberalism; therefore, the habitus of individuals will also change. Furthermore, Linko & Lankila state that, according to Lamont (1992), "upper-middle class draws symbolic boundaries based on three types of status signals; money (socio-economic

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signals, such as power, social position), morals (honesty, sincerity, working ethics) and manners (cultural signals, such as taste, intelligence, refinement)" (p. 322). However, in Lamont's (1992) analysis one cannot find *cross-class comparisons*, therefore her generalizations regarding the working-classes may not hold with different data, such as the data collected for this thesis on class depictions in two TV series. The present study will broaden Lamont's analysis of class boundaries with a *cross-class* approach in a comparative historical perspective.

c. **Linking Class Theories, Neoliberalism, and Class Depictions in The Existing Literature**

Butsch (2003), Wal et al (2005), Dhoest (2004), and Bayrak (2007) all studied media portrayals; depictions of class in the U.S.; depictions of ethnic minorities to emphasize the media's role as a knowledge creator about a condition; depictions of Flemish culture utilizing literary adaptations because of their validity in all ages; and portrayal of poverty in Turkish news, respectively. In addition, Yörük (2005) studied a popular Turkish drama series, *Asmalı Konak*, to investigate television narrative, genre and representation. On the other hand, studies by Palmer (2004), Born (2003), Avraham (2002), and Fernandes (2000) focus on the effect of socio-political changes, such as privatization, on media broadcasts. These researchers found that the social-political environment influences media to adjust its broadcast and publications by perpetuating hegemonic understandings in society, merging the national and the global within society and emphasizing marketing roles. These studies are crucial for three reasons. First, I will trace the possible effects of neoliberalism to the depictions of media which these studies highlight partially as a research question. Second, these analyses are related to depictions of media, how these depictions change through time, and changes of media industry and its content specifically in

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neo-liberal era and globalism. Thus, these studies will contribute to the explanations of portrayal of lifestyles of class before and after the neoliberal era in Turkey.

To begin with, Butsch (2003) explains stereotypical images of working class and middle class families in TV series in USA from 1950 to 1990. He states that middle class family stereotypical images included additional character types after the 1970s while working class men sustained the depictions as buffoonish (Butsch, 2003, p. 32). This study is significant for my research, because my concern in this thesis is about the changing depictions of class in media. In addition, the turning point indicated as 1970s was the first phases of neoliberalism in USA. However, Butsch fails to emphasize the importance of this historical context. Wal et al. (2005) argues that portrayals are crucial because of their influencing power on people's opinions and they are "undoubtedly influential in the shaping of people's opinions about ethnic minorities, if only because most people do not have direct contact and exchange with ethnic minorities thus they rely on hearsay and the media as main sources for their knowledge about ethnic minority groups and issues" (p. 937). They studied the depictions of ethnic minority in order to analyze the negative portrayals in news in Dutch media (Wal, d' Haenens & Koeman, 2005). Furthermore, Dhoest (2004) investigated the efforts of Flemish public broadcasting on education to create a uniform high culture through its depictions of Flemish nationalism. He analyzed class differences among portrayals of Flemish people in broadcasts as rural laborers of the past in building a national identity in society (Dhoest, 2004, p. 400). The study emphasized the importance of education in creating a high culture, particularly using literary adaptations for Flemish television series'. He argues that regarding the significance of studying depictions from television series, which are originally literary works, that classic literature emphasizes universal stories of all ages,

which makes them accessible to all ages. In addition, "literary adaptations not only required less investment in screenwriting and guaranteed basic quality, they also allowed the production to capitalize on the reputation and the success of the literary source" (Dhoest, 2004, p. 404). Bayrak (2007) analyzes changes in the socio-cultural environment in Turkey to define the changing concept 'poverty' after the 1990s. She argues that data from the news shows that the rhetoric of poverty change with the media's increase usage of negative images such as 'purse-snatching', 'city-outskirts' and 'glue-sniffing kids' (Bayrak, 2007). Her main concern is to attract attentions to the media's role on constructing societies and questioning of the reality of this construction. Yörük (2005) studies *Asmalı Konak* in a constructivist manner of cultural studies to analyze narrative and representation of power relations, gender, patriarchy and class struggles. Yörük claims that "polysemy of television narrative is solely possible in a 'structural limitation'" (2005). Concerning the Turkish television series' representations, Dağtaş (2008) argues that there is a conflict in social theory and TV series' representations such that, the former suggests rich people desires to live separately from poor people's settlements; the latter suggests rich people are content to live with the poor. In my thesis, I expand this study concerning the representations of media through *cultural-moral distinctions* among classes for the portrayal of construction of boundaries between them.

Furthermore, Avraham (2002) studies the effects of the social-political environment on an increasing tendency to depict the crime, disasters and disorders regarding minorities. He explains the change in the portrayals of minorities after the change in the socio-political environment. Avraham's investigation regarding the socio-political change and effects of this transformation on the change in the media depiction enlightens my studies of change in the concept of class after

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the change in the socio-political environment in Turkey after the 1980s. Fernandes (2000) explains the cultural transition in India through the depictions of nationalism imposing the imported products will not affect the stability in the nation. He argues that during the cultural transformation in India, the strategy of rationalizing the foreign product lay in Indianizing the representations of newly available commodities. This research contributes to the dimension of value understandings in societies in order to explain the social change in addition with the change in the media contents after globalization. Born (2003) investigated the commercialization of public service broadcasting in UK, to say that commercial funding is a significant factor in analyzing the depictions of media. Considering rising advertisement sector especially after the late 1980s, this study provides additional methodological and theoretical background for my thesis because he highlights "contemporary importance for broadcasters of the development of strategy based on business analysis and market research in the new environment" (Born, 2003, p. 775). This argument is crucial because it suggests that during a transformation from one 'field' to another, contents of media broadcasts will also transform to the new field's expectations, in my case, neoliberalism. Moreover, he also suggests that intense competition after the emergence of multichannel media apply pressure on this industry to rely on more to commercialization and diversification. Furthermore, a further step is from Palmer (2004) who contributes to the literature of class and media relations by studying the transformations of class in lifestyle television. He analyzes construction of taste, fashion, habitus, self, morality in class depictions on television programs through utilizing Bourdieu's theories (Palmer, 2004). Furthermore, his contribution is significant in the debate of imposing learned middle-classness and the forgotten working-class sector. He suggests that there is a shift from a *citizen* to *consumer* especially after

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the 1990s with the privatization of the public sphere. So far, I presented main studies about portrayals to attract attention to the need for a *comparative historical analysis of class concepts depicted in television series.*

II. History of the Media Industry in Turkey

There is need to include the literature about historical transformations of Media in Turkey in order to explain the contribution of this paper to the media studies. That is to say, this study revises and extends the existing literature on media and class relations through incorporating the historical transitions in media in Turkey and explains the social segmentation through the depictions of class in two television series. I previously stated the reason behind analyzing the history of media and its significance on this research. In addition, I will briefly focus on the period of the introduction of neoliberalism in Turkey in the 1980s. An analysis of the history of the media industry in Turkey aims to answer this question: *Why is neo-liberalization an important factor for the depictions of class in media* and *what are the underlying historical transformations that cause changes in the media?* That is to say, history of Turkish media industry is crucial because it is beneficial in a class analysis of media in Turkey to validate the theoretical assumptions and expectations regarding the transformation of depictions of classes in Turkish media content. Institutional changes regarding the media industry may necessitate shifting the contents of earlier broadcasts (prior to the 1980s) to contemporary contents of media. In order to explain this shift, I will address the history of the media industry in Turkey combining two paths, first privatization of TV channels which suggests the change in the content and then the implications of neoliberalism on the media industry.

During the 1970s, there was one channel in Turkey, TRT. Previously autonomous TRT was transformed to a neutral state channel after the military coup in 1971 (MEB, p. 37). The period after the 1971 military coup in Turkey was affected by the politicization caused by the Cold War (Özgen, p. 467). Student rebellions in Paris in 1968 and West European and USA's liberal political views opposing the existing system questioned the western style traditional capitalist thought (Özgen, p. 466). These pressures to change in the global political arena affected Turkish politics and with the January 24, 1980 implementations, import substitutions processes transformed to neo-liberal policies which signified the integration to the western capitalist world (Özgen, p. 467). In addition, parliamentary democracy was established in 1983, which accelerated the implementation of neo-liberal policies. This neo-liberalist pattern in the late 1970s and early 1980s aimed at sustaining open discussion of issues relating to democratization (Öniş & Türem, 2002). These developments altered the broadcasting policies of the media in Turkey, and the introduction of color TVs during the 1980s increased audience interest in watching TV (Koçak, 2005). There was also apolitical mass-magazination in broadcasting as a reaction to the politicized 1970s, after the 1980 military coup in Turkey (Özgen, p. 467).

Turkey experienced the progression of the market forces and privatization since the 1980s. Bek (2011) states that "the six trends altering the mediascapes of Western Europe, commercialization, concentration, deregulation, globalization, proliferation and digitalization" is also valid for the Turkish industry (p. 173). During the early 1980s, political pressures affected the media industry to broadcast more news related to the world of entertainment and sports to sustain economic growth and circulation of this industry. In addition, with a shift to parliamentary democracy in 1983 and the Özal era, socio-economical policies further shifted in

the media industry to an era of consumer and client focused media. Furthermore, the deregulation process in the 1980s liberalized the market and increased the competition (Çakır & Gülnar, 2006). Government was withdrawn from market which affected the media to focus only on the "customer" which is the consumer of the products of media (Özgen, p. 471). These entire internal and external factors during the neo-liberalization process led to the consumer focused tendencies of the media industry. This profit maximizing strategy of media transformed its dynamics to increase circulation of broadcasts and publications. With the multiplied number of TV channels and expansion of culture of mass commercialization, media shifted its broadcast preferences to sports, scandal and popular entertainment (Kaya & Çakmak, 2011, p. 528). For example, privatization in the 1990s ended the TRT's monopolization through deregulation. After this increase in the privatization of media in the 1990s, the most significant improvement in foreign countries to affect the Turkish television sector was the "Television without frontiers Directive" (TD) from Europe, implemented in 1989 and revised in 1997 to sustain a free floaw of broadcasts within Europe (Çakır & Gülnar, 2006, p. 210). In the process of joining the European Union, Turkey signed an agreement on TD in 1993. Moreover, in August 8, 1993, the state monopoly in broadcasting was removed which increased the number of private TV channels in Turkey. Nonetheless, the first private channel that emerged in 1990, namely Star 1, and after the regulation in the constitution regarding the authorization for private channels, competition between TV channels arose (Çakır & Gülnar, 2006). The Gulf War in 1991 was broadcast by Star1 without any censorship on any information transmitted to the Turkish audience, which was a major step in TV broadcasting in Turkey (Özgen, p. 472). TRT censored some broadcasts related to policies and tactical maneuvers of the Turkish government, but Star1 did not. TRTs

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censorship laws diverted public attention to Star1 during the Gulf War. This shift to more TV channels caused the establishment of RTUK (The Radio and Television Supreme Council) in Turkey in 1994 to monitor the broadcasts of TV channels and to penalize illegal broadcasting.

Sönmez in Bek (2011) argues that the Turkish media after the beginnings of the 1990s was dependent on the state because of the states' power on the media. This control of the state shows itself through determining the price of the papers which are used for newspapers, and through official advertisements, bank credits, possible investments and hidden payments or punishment (p.183). Moreover, Keymas (2011) argues that ownership and undemocratic system are the main proponents of Turkish media in the neoliberal era. He discusses the two fundamental aspects of changing media sphere after the 1980s: first one is through the effects of political and economic situations on Turkish media and the second is the restructuring of media by ownership after the economic crises in the beginning of 2000s in Turkey. In a parallel vein, new model of the media after the 1980s includes extreme commercialization (Kaymas, 2011, p.48). Especially strong free market policies during mid 1980s shifted the media ownership in Turkey. Kaymas (2011) asserts that the media ownership was crucial in the sense that it is a fundamental requirement of media pluralism which is not effectively understood by Turkish media. Moreover, relationship between media owners and government deteriorated the media pluralism and harmed the democratic process. Kaya & Çakmak (2011) points out that "unlike many European countries, deregulation and development of commercialization did not decrease the degree of political parallelism in the media institution. Instead, it increased the instrumentalization of the Turkish media by the business interest (p. 528). Therefore, there was a second step on the TD agreements to improve the freedom of speech in broadcasting in 2002 (Çakır & Gülnar, 2006). In 2005, a

policy was inured emphasizing the election of nine RTUK administrators by the government according to their number of chairs in the parliament, which weakened RTUK's independence. There were more competitions in television broadcasting in 2005 compared to the period before the introduction of neoliberalism. Media gained its own autonomy to broadcast anything after neo-liberalization in Turkey. External factors affected the privatization of TV channels in Turkey, such as the process of European Integration and also internal factors, such as consumer oriented media sector. Review of the history of neo-liberalization of TV channels in Turkey contributes to the debate of class portrayals on two television series through the comparison of original broadcasts of the series and contemporary versions. The same two television series are compared, removing the major intervening variable of portrayal differences in other television series' effect on the class understandings. Thus, keeping the television series constant is beneficial in historical comparisons, and historical comparisons will be helpful in understanding class differentiation in time in the same context, namely through two TV series broadcast in Turkey. In the next section, I will state the questions regarding this study and I will additionally state my hypothesis based on the background I have analyzed so far.

III.   Questions and Hypothesis

In this section, first I will state the main questions raised by this study. Also, I will present my hypothesis linking the historical and theoretical literature I discussed previously.

The main question of this study is, *how is class portrayed in Turkish media through two television series, namely, Aşk-ı Memnu and Yaprak Dökümü?* To answer this question, I will analyze the differences in the portrayals of class in Turkish television series by tracing the

relationship between the portrayal of lifestyles of classes, portrayal of values and portrayal of morality comparing the original and contemporary broadcasts of TV series. My aim throughout the study is to explain the differences between these media depictions in *Aşk-ı Memnu* in 1975 and 2008 and in *Yaprak Dökümü* in 1988 and 2006. Because of the existence of the historical effects, such as the implementation of neo-liberal policies, comparatively studying the TV series will be a guide to the understandings of class portrayals in Turkish context.

Second, I will state the hypothesis of this research. In the introduction of literature review of this paper, I stated that neoliberalism transforms the characteristics of the society in terms of competition, profit-maximization, self-interest which emphasizes 'enterprise society'. As opposed to Read's (2009) analysis of neoliberalism's self-governing subjects, I expect that, in the context of depictions of class in two television series, *with the introduction of neo-liberal policies, representations of lower-class people do not transform to a lifestyle of competition, self-interest, calculation, profit-maximization of neo-liberal era.* This transformation will occur in upper-class lifestyle through analyzing status, distributive groupings, attribution of meaning to jobs, tastes (such as choices of cosmetics, clothing and furniture) and more significantly morality. However, in my opinion, morality, as understood by Lamont (1992), does not change among the depiction of lower-class lifestyle in television series. To explain the reasoning behind this expectation, I will now more elaborate 'morality' as Lamont points out in her studies. Establishing class boundaries through analyzing status, distributive groupings, and attribution of meaning to jobs, tastes and morality will confirm this stance I take throughout my research. Lamont (1992) emphasizes, morality can be understood through identifying trust and honesty within the interactions (p. 34). Trust opens a possibility for a productive, relaxing and enjoyable lifestyle

and exhibits features of being dependable, self-reliant, disciplined, patriotic and responsible citizen, sincerity, courage and long term planning (Lamont, 1992, p. 35). Following Lamont (1992), as trust and honesty are most valued character traits among the lower classes, I expect that media portray lower class lifestyle in accordance with this features. That is to say, as lower classes are expected to be more intact in their characters, there will be less segments representing lower class lifestyle as affected by the neoliberal values. Lamont's discussion provides that 'dignity' of lower class segments are much stronger than the upper class segments. As the characteristics such as honesty, trust, being a responsible citizen and long-term planning suggest, lower class individuals tend to be less affected with the external threats to their characteristics. These features of their characteristics which Lamont emphasizes indicate that it will be more difficult and more inconvenient for lower classes to adjust their characteristics to the changes of the neoliberal era which signifies an 'entrepreneur society'. Therefore, I expect that neoliberal era will not decrease the portrayal of morality across lower class lifestyles in the new version of the TV series. However, upper class lifestyles will contain features of the neoliberal era as they do not possess the 'dignity' of lower class lifestyles.

Thus, I argue that depictions of lower-class regarding morality and tastes (especially for the establishment of cultural capital) do not change with the introduction of neoliberalism. It should be noted that, media producers' concern for increasing ratings may conflict the indicators of portrayals of neoliberal values in TV series. For this rating issue, the writers of new versions of *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Aşk-ı Memnu* points out that "audience may think that the writers consciously extend the stories to emphasize the dramatization in the TV series. However we do not think so. Producers grade the writers through the ratings and always ask that why did not we

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earn a rating of 20 instead of the score we earned which is 17" (Gülşah, 2012, p. 12). The statement of the writers clearly shows the possible effects of rating concern on the narration of the TV series.

An extension of my first hypothesis regarding the conceptualization of *inequality* is as follows. As I previously stated, neoliberalism increases the inequalities between class fractions, especially in favor of middle and upper classes. Analyzing only *economic capital* will confirm this stance. However, there may be differences between class depictions of original and contemporary versions of TV series regarding *cultural* and *social capital* including the additional component of 'morality'. That is to say, I expect that, considering each class fraction, representations of lower-class, middle-class and upper-class in their *habitus*, lower-class values, manners and moralities do not change yet middle-class and upper class values, manners and moralities tend to be adjusted by the intervening of neo-liberal characteristics. Thus, already existing inequality regarding property holding, in favor of middle-classes and upper-classes, deteriorate as an inequality regarding social and cultural capital in favor of working-classes. Because, I expect that there is no competition between workers in the depiction of working-classes as neoliberalism suggests.

These two arguments are to say that, I shift the focus on *class* as constructed within *economic boundaries* to the focus on *cultural-moral boundaries* to construct classes. In this way, I argue that neoliberalism did not have intense effects (such as promoting market-oriented profit maximizer individuals) on lower-class lifestyle as upper-class lifestyle, at least considering the framework of class depiction in media. In addition, Bennett states that there are two constitutions of self. The first lives spontaneously in everyday life "reproducing its habitual routines through

forms of consciousness and behavior that remain resolutely single-levelled and those who have psychological and reflexive depth" (as cited in Wood and Skeggs, 2008, p. 184). He further argues that the working class is considered to fit in the former, incapable of self-governance. Thus, because lower-class lifestyle is depicted less as neo-liberal and as Bennett argues, because they possess less complicated *everyday life,* there is an increase in the representation of upper-class lifestyle in the television series and decrease in the representation of lower-class. As Wood and Skeggs (2008) state, "a better life is made through individuals' correct relationship with material goods" such as the excess depictions of upper-classes in the TV series'. Because upper-class lifestyle is depicted as having more intimate relationships with material goods, its depiction will increase in the television series'. Moreover, lower-class lifestyle as depicted in the TV series, will not possess the capacity to self-manage that neoliberalism promotes. In addition, I expect different relationships between portrayal of lifestyles of class, neoliberal values and morality in the contemporary versions of television series, because the 'field' as Bourdieu defines changes with neoliberalism which triggers media industry to change its 'habitus' to broadcast more contents related to neoliberalism, such as promotion of consumption.

To sum up, I have three main hypotheses. First, I expect that portrayal of neoliberal values will not change in the lower class lifestyle depictions in the contemporary versions of television series. In addition, I expect a change in portrayal of neoliberal values in the upper class lifestyle in new versions of television series. Second, neoliberal era will not decrease the portrayal of morality of lower class lifestyles yet it will decrease the morality depiction of representation of higher class. Third, with neoliberalism, representation of upper class lifestyle will increase in the

new versions of television series. In the next chapter, I will present methods and procedures

which will be utilized in this study with presenting the sampling of this research.

CHAPTER 2:

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, first, I will explain the themes used in this study then I will present the methodology namely quantitative content analysis in order to analyze the portrayals of class in media. Second, I will introduce the sampling that is used in this research.

Content analysis is defined as, "a research technique for the systematic, objective, and quantitative description of the manifest content in communication" (Lee & Wadsworth, 1989). In addition, Starosta argues that quantitative content analysis is the translation of "… frequency of occurrence of certain symbols into summary judgments… whatever 'means' will presumably take up space and/or time; hence the greater that space and/or time, the greater the meaning's significance" (as cited in Altheide, 1996, p. 15). To study class portrayals, I captured the instances in the TV series' which lead me to show the status, tastes, values, manners and morality of lifestyles in TV series' in Turkey. In addition, I comparatively analyzed these TV series' with their first broadcasts successively in 1975 and 1988 and their contemporary broadcasts, successively in 2009, and 2006. Furthermore, in order to study the hypotheses raised by this thesis, I created a quasi-experimental research design. I chose these TV series to implement my research, because they were the only two TV series' in Turkey which also have previous broadcasts fulfilling the requirements of this study. These requirements are, first, original versions must be on air before 1990 (before neo-liberal policies), second, they must be completed and long-running seasons for the appropriate analysis of the context where depictions of class will be analyzed. Long-running here stands for television series which do not end after several

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weeks of broadcasts. *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* are completed works. According to above stated issues in content analysis, I created *coding themes (categories)[1]* which describes each situation on the television series to show a correspondence between the theoretical discussions I provided in the literature review. Furthermore, I provided a *coding sheet[2]*, which presents each situation in the television series to show a correspondence with the theoretical discussions. An ethnographic perspective embedded in content analysis extracted the *meanings* and patterns of actions of individuals from the television series. Thus, content analysis contributed to provide the meanings in contexts, such as television series, and how people behave in those contexts. There could be errors regarding the understandings of producers' and directors' comprehension of class and its portrayals. These kinds of errors are eliminated in a whole-series analysis, which employs data from two television series' with two different broadcasting times, namely four seasons.

I.   Themes regarding Class Depiction Analysis in two TV Series

In the analysis of episodes of two television series, I expect some constructs[3] to be depicted more than others in the original versions than contemporary versions. On the other hand, I expect some constructs to be less depicted in the original versions than contemporary versions of two television series.

Content analysis of this research will provide a list of the most frequently depicted elements to define class, class relations and class boundaries in two Turkish television series'. In

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[1] For details please refer to the Coding Manual in Appendix II
[2] For details please refer to the Coding Sheet in Appendix I
[3] Categories driven from the constructs explained here are presented in Appendix II: Coding Manual.

addition, stereotypes and generalizations regarding class will also be added to the *coding sheet* in the Appendix I. There will be coded scenes in the list which includes concepts as, status difference, moral sensitivity, taste, class boundaries, values and morality. *Status differences* will be theoretically driven from the discussion of Bourdieu about the *capital.* In order to code the differences of status, I will code as, for example, workers in the house and drivers as lower-class in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, owner and the people of the house as upper class. Because, as Lamont (2002) argues, *work* is a significant criterion for maintaining the status of a person regarding his/her class. Status difference will include economic and cultural capital, yet I will check whether two versions of the series include this or not. In addition, discussion between symbolic boundaries and social boundaries by Lamont (2002) provides insights concerning the status of people. Individuals are divided into groups and feel membership and belongingness to that group which affects the building of status (Lamont, 2002). In addition, unequal access and unequal distribution of resources generates social interaction patterns which makes the class segregation more identifiable. *Morality* will also be driven from the Lamont's discussion regarding Bourdieu's habitus. The gossip downstairs among the lower-class in the houses or the reaction made by the characters in *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* will provide additional *morality* understandings in the two television series. *Taste* can also be derived from the choices made by the characters from music, book, and movies in addition to Bourdieu's categorizations for the choices of cosmetics, housing and furniture. For example, as Bourdieu (1984) points out regarding the choice of furniture, "…nothing is more alien to working-class women than the typically bourgeois idea of making each object in the home the occasion for an aesthetic choice" (p. 373). Bourdieu suggests that a certain dominant class favors certain goods and fields of cultural

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production associated with this dominant class (as cited in Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 214). For example, Peterson & Kern suggests that high status people demonstrates more omnivorous appropriation in musical taste (as cited in Lamont, 2002, p. 174). Therefore, as opposed to Bourdieu (1984), cultural capital is studied in a multidimensional understanding to explain the construction of social boundaries from tastes in different classes (Lamont, 2002, p.174. *Class-awareness (self-labeling)* is evident when a worker is not involved in the decision-making process in the house as he or she defines himself/herself as working-class, meaning, not included; however I will utilize the concept of 'class consciousness' instead of 'class awareness' as Giddens (1973) suggests. *Values* will be assessed through the theories of Bourdieu and Lamont to show the legitimization of cultural products as one's own class. Lamont (2000) states that: "…workers disassociate moral worth from socioeconomic status and can locate themselves above or side by side with 'people above'… and moral criteria of success … available to all (such as personal integrity and good interpersonal relationship) and by downplaying the status criteria that are the dominant currency of the upper middle class world" (p. 101). Some values, such as allowing girls to go out at night or not will be attributed to the construction of lower-class or upper-class lifestyle depictions. As for the *class boundaries*, Lamont (2002) argued "in favor of an inductive … approach to the study of symbolic class boundaries to assess the permeability and relative importance of different sorts of boundaries across national and group contexts" (p. 173). Therefore, the *class boundaries* category will show the intertwined understandings in values, morality and tastes among all classes in TV series.

II.   Sampling

As I stated previously, I chose the two television series, *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*, because they fulfill the requirements of this thesis. There are other television series broadcast both before the 1990s and after the 1990s; however they fail to meet the two criteria I previously stated as, *complete works* and existing *long-running* seasons of television series. As for the total number of episodes in these television series, first, original version of *Aşk-ı Memnu* provided 7 episodes and the contemporary version of *Aşk-ı Memnu* provided 79 episodes. New version of *Yaprak Dökümü* provided 174 episodes, and original version provided 6 episodes.

My unit of analysis is *interactions* within the television series.[4] I obtained the data through utilizing simple random sampling, thus the findings would be generalized to other cases except from the observations in this study, which increases its external validity. I divided entire episodes of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* with its new and old versions into 5-minute intervals. Then, I randomized those intervals and I selected first 10% of old version of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*, and new version of *Aşk-ı Memnu*. In addition, I selected 6% of new version of *Yaprak Dökümü*, because it has more episodes than *Aşk-ı Memnu* and because there was a time constraint in coding the TV series. For old version of *Aşk-ı Memnu*, I coded 170 unites, for new version of *Aşk-ı Memnu*, I coded 4007 unites, for old version of *Yaprak Dökümü* I coded 359 units, and for new version of *Yaprak Dökümü* I coded 3117 units. For inter-coder reliability, another coder coded the randomized first 300 units of all the data. Krippendorf's alpha coefficient was 0.81 which signals the strong inter-coder reliability.

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[4] For the what will mean *an interaction*, and for the details of sampling please refer to the Sampling Section of Coding Manual in Appendix II.

All in all, the benefit of the probability sampling provided insights on explaining my main hypothesis. Furthermore, utilizing random sampling eliminated the bias of selecting an episode which could overemphasize a variable in this research. Therefore, collecting data with random sampling contributed to the representativeness of the sample in this research. In addition, the reason for my choice of random sampling is useful in capturing the *emphasis* and *meaning* in the series through certain themes, such as, status, value, morality, tastes.

III.   Limitations and Delimitations

In this section, I will state the possible limitations of this study which could be seen as weaknesses of the research. In addition, I will address the boundaries of the study and present the reasoning of exclusion of the rest of the literature about media analysis.

First, major limitation of this project is to focus on relations among individuals only from the point of 'class'. Because, while analyzing behaviors and groups of people and trying to notice the boundaries among them, gender and ethnicity are also crucial. Interactions between symbolic boundaries and social boundaries can be applied to gender studies as well (Lamont, 2002). Tilly argues in Lamont (2002) that dominant groups utilize male and female categories in order to exclude other groups. Furthermore, ethnic inequalities are also important for the reproduction of boundaries within social space. According to Lamont (2002) the transportation of boundaries from immigrant's own countries to the host countries must be studied for an adequate systemization. However, according to my hypothesis as I stated previously, my concern is about the tastes, values and morality of a *group* regardless of their gendered groupings. For example, I expect that representations of lower-class lifestyle will not be affected by the neo-liberalist

impositions regarding moralities, irrelevant of being men or women.. Furthermore, I did not study ethnicity either because of the insufficiency of data of the category in two television series.

Second, as for the delimitations, I only analyze the TV series which have previous broadcast versions. I do not consider other television series broadcast in Turkish television, because that may limit my explanations on one side of the history, either after 1990s or before. Moreover, I only consider the institutional changes in media in Turkey as a historical background. Taking into account complete history of Turkish state and society would prevent this study from reaching its aims. Therefore, I explained the transformations in media and related them to the understandings of class portrayals.

IV. Significance of the Study

This research extends the existing literature on studying the portrayals in a historical approach. That is to say, the comparative approach which provides an analysis of the two versions of the both television series will benefit in understandings of depiction of class differences between two periods in Turkey. Both theoretically and empirically this study contributes to the debate of portrayals of class in media. Moreover, employing content analysis in the research extends the media analysis to understand the 'meanings' among the episodes. With analysis of class portrayals in media and the effects of neoliberalism and privatization of TV channels, this study also provides a legend for a map of portrayal of contemporary class boundaries in Turkish media. The results of this study will further indicate the significance of studying values, tastes, and morality to explain the depiction of class boundaries as in the discussion between Bourdieu and Lamont. According to these points, this study will further

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contribute to the literature about media analysis and discussion about portrayal of values, tastes and moral understandings in Turkish media which could be beneficial in further studies, such as how class is perceived within the society after the media portrays the class.

CHAPTER 3:

PORTRAYAL OF LIFESTYLES OF CLASSES IN *AŞK-I MEMNU* AND *YAPRAK DÖKÜMÜ*: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

I. Results

In this section, I will present the analysis employed to examine the main hypothesis after explaining the measures used in this study. As first analyses, I will examine the portrayal of neoliberal values in TV series across representation of class[5]. Second, I will examine portrayal of morality different TV series across representation of class. Third, I will present the frequency of representation of class in TV series.

a. Measures

There are three measures used in order to investigate the hypothesis in this study: representation of class as a lifestyle, neoliberal values, and morality.[6] First, I used variables of occupation, clothing, furniture, foods, and cosmetics in order to create an index for representation of class as a lifestyle (hereafter *representation of class*). I coded the occupation variable using the display of 'high status occupation' and 'low status occupation'. Interactions including the owner of the house or owner of the factory, executives in a bank or a factory are coded as presence of 'high status occupation' and coded as '1'. For coding the 'clothes' variable, I used the display of 'choosing fashionable clothes', 'wearing fashionable clothes' and 'wearing regular clothes' categories. 'Choosing fashionable clothes' and 'wearing fashionable clothes' categories included

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[5] I omitted representation of middle class from the analysis as that category does not have sufficient population in the previous versions of both *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*

[6] For all the categories used in this study, please see the descriptive statistics presented in Table 1 in Appendix III which shows the percentages of each category within each television series including their previous versions and contemporary versions. 'Old' and 'New' categories show the total of the previous broadcasts of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* and the total of the contemporary versions.

dresses from silk, brand-new suits, pants, shirts and pants. 'Wearing regular clothes' category included dresses, shoes, pants, and suits which seems worn out and seems to be used for several years. Suppose that an interaction included a dress made from silk on a woman for a dinner, I coded '1' on the coding sheet under the 'wearing expensive clothes' category. I used 'expense furniture' and 'inexpensive furniture' to compose the 'furniture' category. 'Expensive furniture' category included the display of silk curtains, brand-new armchairs, beds and closets, antique objects, paintings, plasma and big screen television. 'Inexpensive furniture' category included the display of used armchairs, old and worn curtains, light bulbs, wooden windows. For example, if the interaction I watched included one antique object and two paintings, I coded '3' for that unit on the coding sheet under the 'expensive furniture' category. I used 'expensive foods' and 'regular foods' category to compose the 'foods' variable. 'Expensive foods' category included the display of caviar, beef, menus in restaurants in French and a rich breakfast. 'Regular foods' category included any food item that does not belong to the expensive food category such as cheese, butter, eggs, soup. For example, if one of the rich families in the TV series was having a breakfast in an interaction, I coded '1' if there are 10 items (*i.e.* caviar, etc.) in that breakfast on the coding sheet under the 'expensive foods' category. I composed 'cosmetics' variable using the two categories: 'various cosmetics' and 'regular cosmetics'. 'Various cosmetics' category included eyeshadows, lipsticks, eau de toilette and hand creams which are worldly-known brands such as Loreal and vichy. 'Regular cosmetics' category included all the items in various cosmetics category without a reference to worldly known brands. For example, if there are four items of cosmetics in an interaction, such as eyeshadow, nail polish, hand cream and lipstich of Loreal, I coded '4' on the coding sheet under the category 'various cosmetics'.

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To highlight again, representations of class does not suggest the distribution of social class among Turkish media, they are the indicators that are connected to lifestyles of class. As Bettie (1995) stated, segments representing classes are formed without a politicized identity only referring to a portrayal of 'sense of one's place' through TV series. I recoded the display of 'expensive furniture' category and the display of 'inexpensive furniture' category by assigning 1 for the former, 2 for the latter and 0 for the absence of display of furniture. I also recoded all other variables in line with this reasoning.[7]

Display of occupation, clothing, furniture, foods, and cosmetics showed a respectful internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = 0.692). Principal factors extraction was performed for these items. Initial eigenvalues suggested that first factor explained 45.94% of the total variance. I recoded the saved variable to compose the *representation of class* variable by assigning 1 for the portrayal of lower class lifestyle, 2 for the portrayal of middle class lifestyle and 3 for the portrayal of upper class lifestyle. Descriptive statistics of the *representation of class* variable showed that lower class lifestyle is presented as 43%, middle class lifestyle is presented as 9.6 %, and upper class lifestyle is presented as 47.2% among the sampled data.

Second, I will explain composition of *portrayal of neoliberal values* variable using segments representing the corruption, self-promotion, depoliticization, enterprise society and individuality. I coded 'corruption' category through interactions in the segments indicating theft,

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[7] For the coding of 'clothes' variable I have three categories: wearing fashionable clothes, choosing fashionable clothes and wearing regular clothes. One factor solution was examined for the first two variables as they have strong reliablity (Cronbach's alpha = 0.96). I recoded the saved variable of factor analysis as 'fashionable clothes'. I assigned 0 for absence of fashionable clothes, and 1 for the presence of fashionable clothes. As I only have 'fashionable clothes' and 'wearing regular clothes' category by this way, I followed the similar reasoning I explained above to recode them as 'clothes' variable.

cheating and disrespectfulness to elder people. For example I coded the interactions involving

cheating in a romantic relationship as '1' on the coding sheet under the 'corruption' category.

'Self-promotion' category was indicated through interactions increasing one's own outcome such

as gaining benefit after lying on an issue and planning alternative agendas for the sake of extra

money. For example, for the interactions involving *Firdevs*, (a character in *Aşk-ı Memnu* who is

known for her ambition of having more money) I coded '1' if she is displayed as making a plan

of marrying a rich man. I coded 'depoliticization' category for every interaction involving an

issue about mass-magazination such as seeing one family member was out at night on television.

For example, when interactions included a newspaper image of the leading characters who are

shown to be photographed in a nightclub in the TV series, I coded '1' for this category. The

category 'enterprise society' was coded through interactions involving multiple individuals

treating human behavior as market behavior such as a secret collective plan of a manager of a

company breaking traditional values. For example, if an interaction included fathers' exclusion of

his son from the family for the sake of his company, I coded '1' for this category. I coded

'individuality' category for all segments containing verbal expressions such as 'I', 'me' and

'myself'. These items have high Cronbach's alpha of 0. 647. A principle-components factor

analysis of these items was conducted, revealing one factor explaining the 47.11% of the total

variance. I constructed *portrayal of neoliberal values* by coding 0 for absence of the features of

neoliberal values, and 1 for the presence of the features of neoliberal values. Descriptive statistics

of this variable showed that 16.9% of the sampled data contained representation of neoliberal

values.

Third, I coded the *morality* variable as follows. The content included following criteria: verbal and behavioral expressions of importance of family network, resistance to change, respect to the father figure, protecting the family (raising kids to turn them into 'man', warning daughters for the dangers of potential boyfriends), having dinner with all family member at a specific time. As Lamont (1992) points out, morality can be understood through identifying trust and honesty within the interactions (p. 34). Trust opens a possibility for a productive, relaxing and enjoyable lifestyle and exhibits features of being dependable, self-reliant, disciplined, patriotic and responsible citizen, sincerity, courage and long term planning (Lamont, 1992, p. 35). In a parallel vein, reliability and predictability signal the presence of honesty within an interaction. Morality is depicted as 27.1 % of the old version of *Aşk- Memnu*, 13.1 % of the new version of *Aşk-ı Memnu*, 29.2% of the old version of *Yaprak Dökümü* and 35.3 % of the new version of *Yaprak Dökümü.*

b. Relationship between Representation of Class and Portrayal of Neoliberal Values

As for my first hypothesis, I analyzed the relationship between representation of class and neoliberal values through time (across previous and contemporary broadcasts of TV series) using Chi Square analysis. I expected that representation of neoliberal values do not change in the representation of lower class across TV series, yet representation of neoliberal values in representation of upper class will increase in new TV series.

First, I will present the relationship between portrayal of neoliberal values and the broadcast time of the television series'. Table 1 shows that presence of portrayal of neoliberal values significantly decreases across time, $X^2 (1, 7553) = 81.881$, $p= 0.000$. As this is an interesting outcome contrary to neoliberalism literature, I also examined the relationship between

portrayals of neoliberal values across each television series. Table 2 presents the distribution of proportions across each TV series. In *Aşk-ı Memnu*, portrayal of neoliberal values significantly increases across time, ($X^2 (1, 4176) = 14.072$, $p= 0.000$).on the other hand in *Yaprak Dökümü* portrayal of neoliberal values significantly decreases over time ($X^2 (1, 3377) = 224.511$, $p= 0.000$).

Table 1

Portrayal of Neoliberal Values across Time

	Old Versions Total	New Version Total	Pearson Chi Square	P value
Presence of portrayal of neoliberal values	32.8%	15.9%	$X^2 (1, 7553)$ $= 81.881$	0.000

Table 2

Portrayal of Neoliberal Values across each Television Series

	Aşk-ı Memnu 1975	Aşk-ı Memnu 2009	Pearson Chi Square	P value	Yaprak Dökümü 1988	Yaprak Dökümü 2006	Pearson Chi Square	P value
Presence of portrayal of neoliberal values	6.5%	17.5%	$X^2 (1, 4176) =$ 14.072	0.000	50.5%	13.9%	$X^2 (1, 3377) =$ 224.511	0.000

Second, I analyzed the relationship between representations of neoliberal values across TV series across class. I excluded middle class category as it does not have sufficient population (N=4) for old versions of television series. Table 3 shows the presence of portrayal of neoliberal values in segments representing each class fraction separately. Through Table 3, I will present the distribution of frequencies of neoliberal values depictions in portrayal of lower and upper class lifestyles. As can be seen by the frequencies cross tabulated in Table 3, there is a significant relationship between *representations of neoliberal values* and representation of lower class across TV series, $X^2 (1, 3250) = 210.85$, *p*=0.000. 35.9% of the segments representing lower class are portrayed as having neoliberal values. This percentage decreased to 8.2% for the contemporary broadcasts. Contrary to my first hypothesis, there is no significant relationship between *representations of neoliberal values* and representation of upper class across TV series ($X^2 (1, 4276) = 0.146$, *p*=0.702). This absence of association means that segments representing upper class are formed in ways that emphasize upper class lifestyle with neoliberal values. This situation means that time has no effects on the relationship between the representation of higher class and portrayal of neoliberal values. That is to say that, segments representing the higher class lifestyles are not affected by the broadcast time of the TV series (whether being old or new version) to portray neoliberal values in it. Thus, according to portrayals of the TV series, upper class lifestyle depiction is related with neoliberal values regardless of the broadcast time of the TV series. Previous broadcasts of TV series portray an association between representation of lower classes and neoliberal values more than the contemporary broadcasts. As I explained previously in this paper, this is a contradiction between the findings and the literature and this confusion may be due to the producers' desire for higher ratings and its consequences to the

scripts of TV series. I will elaborate more on this issue in the discussion through focusing on the narration in the both TV series. However, this relationship will be clearer when I decompose the TV series data and analyze it separately for *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*.

Table 3

Relationship between Representations of Neoliberal Values across TV Series across Representation of Class

	Previous broadcasts	Contemporary Broadcasts	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value
Representation of Lower Class	35.9 %	8.2 %	$X^2 (1, 3250) = 210.857$	0.000
Representation of Upper Class	24.5 %	23.1 %	$X^2 (1, 3551) = 0.146$	0.702

For further examination of the hypothesis in order to control it across each television series separately, I presented the relationship between representations of class and representation of neoliberal values across each television series in Table 4. In this table, considering only *Aşk-ı Memnu*, there is not a statistically significant relationship between representation of neoliberal values and broadcast time of *Aşk-ı Memnu* across representation of class. This means that there is no association between representation of neoliberal values and the broadcast time of the TV series across representation of lower class. In addition, it is statistically significant that representation of neoliberal values increased in the new version of *Aşk-ı Memnu*. Thus, the first hypothesis in this study holds for *Aşk-ı Memnu*. On the other hand, in *Yaprak Dökümü*, the

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outcome is the exact opposite as presented in Table 4. Representation of neoliberal values in representation of lower and upper classes significantly decreases (X^2 (1, 2243) = 277.727 p= 0.000 for the former, and X^2 (1, 987) = 24.911, p= 0.000 for the latter) in the new version compared to the old version. Thus, analyzing each TV series separately presents clear and non-confounded results and shows that there is a difference of portrayals of neoliberal values in *Aşk-ı Memnu* and in *Yaprak Dökümü*. The underlying reasons for this outcome will be summarized in the discussion through explaining the narratives of both TV series.

Table 4

Relationship between Representations of Neoliberal Values across Representation of Class across Aşk-ı Memnu and Yaprak Dökümü

	Aşk-ı Memnu 1975	Aşk-ı Memnu 2009	Pearson Chi Square Values	P value	Yaprak Dökümü 1988	Yaprak Dökümü 2006	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value
Representation of Lower Class	6.6%	8.8%	X^2 (1, 1007) = 0.442	0.506	46.4%	7.9%	X^2 (1, 2243) = 277.727	0.000
Representation of Upper Class	6.4%	21.3%	X^2 (1, 2564) = 12.296	0.000	62.2%	27.6%	X^2 (1, 987) = 24.911	0.000

c. **Relationship between Representation of Class and TV Series across Portrayal of Morality**

The second hypothesis in this study states that the introduction of neoliberalism will not decrease the representation of morality in depiction of lower class segments, yet it will decrease the depiction of morality in higher class segments. First, I examined the relationship between morality and time (across TV series). Table 5 shows that portrayal of morality significantly decreases over time, $X^2(1, 7553) = 7.047$, $p=0.008$. Table 6 presents that in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, portrayal of morality decreases significantly ($X^2(1, 4176) = 26.764$, $p=0.000$) and in *Yaprak Dökümü*, portrayal of morality increases significantly ($X^2(1, 3377) = 3.843$, $p=0.000$). Thus, Table 5 and Table 6 suggest that the general decrease in portrayal of morality through time (see Table 5) is due to the stronger decrease in portrayal of morality in *Aşk-ı Memnu* over time (see Table 6).

Table 5

Portrayal of Morality across Time

	Old Versions Total	New Version Total	Pearson Chi Square	P value
Presence of portrayal of morality	28.4%	22.8%	$X^2(1, 7553)$ $= 7.047$	0.008

Table 6

Portrayal of Morality across each TV Series Separately

	Aşk-ı Memnu 1975	Aşk-ı Memnu 2009	Pearson Chi Square	P value	Yaprak Dökümü 1988	Yaprak Dökümü 2006	Pearson Chi Square	P value
Presence of portrayal of morality	27.1%	13.1%	$X^2(1, 4176) = 26.764$	0.000	29.2%	35.3%	$X^2(1, 3377) = 3.843$	0.050

To explain the difference between the changes of portrayal of morality in *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*, second, I analyzed the same relationship across representation of class. There is a significant association between representation of morality and time across representation of class ($X^2(1, 7526) = 7.117$, *p*= 0.008). However, Table 7 shows that there is no association between portrayal of morality and time across segments representing lower class lifestyles. On the other hand, morality depiction decreases significantly ($X^2(1, 3551) = 8.039$, *p*= 0.000) in the segments representing the upper class. Thus, the significant association between representation of morality and class through time is valid only for segments representing the upper class lifestyles. Table 8 summarizes the relationship between representation of morality and representation of class across each TV series. In *Aşk-ı Memnu*, contrary to my hypothesis, portrayal of morality significantly decreases both in lower and upper class segments. In *Yaprak Dökümü*, the results showed that there is no significant association between portrayal of morality and broadcast time of the TV series across representation of lower class. This finding for the representation of lower class lifestyle is consistent with the first part of the second hypothesis in

this study which expects no change in the portrayal of morality across lower class lifestyles in new versions of TV series. On the other hand, in *Yaprak Dökümü*, contrary to my hypothesis, representation of morality also increases significantly in upper class segments in the new version. I will further elaborate on this issue in the discussion section.

Table 7

Portrayal of Morality before and after the Introduction of Neoliberalism across Representation of Class

	Previous broadcasts	Contemporary Broadcasts	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value
Lower Class	31.0%	30.6%	$X^2(1, 3250) = 0.020$	0.889
Upper Class	23.7%	14.9 %	$X^2(1, 3551) = 8.039$	0.005

Table 8

Portrayal of Morality across each TV Series across Representation of Class

	Aşk-ı Memnu 1975	Aşk-ı Memnu 2009	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value	Yaprak Dökümü 1988	Yaprak Dökümü 2006	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value
Lower Class	17.1%	6.8%	$X^2(1, 1007) = 10.763$	0.001	36.0%	41.5%	$X^2(1, 2243) = 2.404$	0.121
Upper Class	35.1%	13.4%	$X^2(1, 2564) = 35.235$	0.000	0%	19.0%	$X^2(1, 987) = 10.445$	0.001

d. The Frequency of Segments Representing Class

I expect an increase in segments representing upper classes with the introduction of neoliberalism across TV series. There is an association between representation of class and TV series which is significant, $X^2(2, 7256) = 115.818$, *p*=0.000 as presented in Table 9. Increase in representation of upper class is significantly more than the increase in representation of lower class. Table 10 shows that the hypothesis still holds after analyzing the relationship between representation of classes across each TV Series separately.

Table 9

Representation of Class across TV Series

	Previous broadcasts	Contemporary Broadcasts	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value
Lower Class	66.7%	41.8%		
Middle class	0.9 %	10.2 %	$X^2(2, 7256) =$ 115.818	0.000
Upper Class	32.3%	48.1%		

Table 10

Representation of Class across each TV Series separately

	Aşk-ı Memnu 1975	Aşk-ı Memnu 2009	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value	Yaprak Dökümü 1988	Yaprak Dökümü 2006	Pearson Chi Square Value	P value
Lower Class	44.7%	23.3%			81.2%	65.4%		
Middle Class	0	14.7%	$X^2(2, 4159) =$ 56.964	0.000	1.5%	4.3%	$X^2(2, 3367) =$ 27.227	0.000
Upper Class	55.3%	61.9%			17.3%	30.3%		

II. Discussion

In this study, I examined media representation of class *in Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* before and after the introduction of neoliberal policies in Turkey. As I stated previously in this study, I included a cross-class analysis to Lamont's (1992) investigations through analyzing segments representing lifestyles of lower and upper class. Moreover, this study broadens the media studies literature because of the embedded comparative historical approach analyzing *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* with their previous broadcasts before the 1990s. I composed *representation of class* and *representation of neoliberal values* varibles utilizing the categories driven from the literature mainly including Weber's *social status,* Bourdieu's *taste*, *habitus* and *field,* Lamont's analysis of *morality*, and neoliberalism literature mainly including Read (2009) and Lazzarato (2009). First, I will explain the underlying mechanisms through constructing the main variables of this research, representation of class, representation of neoliberal values and representation of morality. Second, I will present the three hypothesis of this study, relating the results with the literature. Third, I will briefly provide an account of the narration of both television series, *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* in order to relate them with my results and further discussion.

In line with the literature, the 'styles of life' played an important part for composing the representation of class variable. It emphasized consumption based distinctions and individual preferences, which were portrayed as collective choice of certain groups about goods and practices. As Bourdieu (1984) suggests, producers of the TV series may have thought that individuals have classifiable practices, which is used for identifying a class based lifestyle distinction. This differentiation is necessary for them to portray unique properties as elements of

a specific lifestyle (such as portrayal of choices about cosmetics, clothing and furniture).

Bourdieu states that "the objective homogeneizing of group or class habitus which result from the

homogeneity of the condition of existence is what enables practices to be objectively harmonized

without any intentional calculation or conscious reference to a norm" (as cited in Skeggs, 2004,

p.86). In a parallel vein, *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Aşk-ı Memnu* portray lower and upper class

lifestyles as if they exhibit intrinsic values. Skeggs (2004) emphasizes that those are 'imminent

laws' through which agents internalize objective structures from their earliest age (such as having

a high or low status job, wearing fashionable and regular clothes, choices of food and cosmetics).

As for the literature on neoliberalism, it suggests that in the neoliberal era, individuals calculate

costs and benefits of all their interactions; they emphasize the privilege of the individuals; they

promote consumption and they turn the society into an enterprise society where 'ideas' are traded

instead of 'goods'. Lemke (2010)'s analysis of Foucault shows that "neoliberalism is not the end

but a transformation of politics that restructures the power relations in a society" (p.12).

According to him, neoliberal rationality tries to accomplish a harmony between responsible and

moral individual and an economic-rational individual. What is moral for a neoliberal subjectivity

is defined through rational choice of benefits and costs of a certain action. He also points out that

Foucault's governmentality concept is beneficial to understand neoliberalism not as a political-

economic reality or as a political antihumanism but as a political project. This political scheme

attempts to build a social reality which governmentality suggests that it already exists. In addition,

analyzing through governmentality is valid on both individual body and institutions, because it

can be used as a link between micro and macro political levels (such as competition for

companies and as a beauty diet for individuals). Thus, I focused on understanding how 'politics

of truth' is operated by neoliberal rationality, how it contributed to form knowledge and concepts to create a 'government' of new domain of regulation. In order to analyze this, I investigated the display of cosmetics, clothing, occupation, furniture and foods. Forming a portrayal of neoliberal values from these categories showed that in the new domain of regulation (*i.e.* in the new series), segments representing the upper class increased its relation with the depictions of neoliberal values, but this is not valid for the relationship between the segments representing the lower class lifestyles and portrayals of morality. Thus, consistent with the neoliberalism literature, portrayals of *corruption*, *self-promotion*, *depoliticization*, *enterprise society* and *individuality* composed the *representation of neoliberal values* variable of this study. For the *morality* variable, I employed my *morality* category through Lamont's (1992) analysis. Lamont (1992) emphasizes, morality can be understood through identifying trust and honesty within the interactions (p. 34). Trust opens a possibility for a productive, relaxing and enjoyable lifestyle and exhibits features of being dependable, self-reliant, disciplined, patriotic and responsible citizen, sincerity, courage and long term planning (Lamont, 1992, p. 35). In addition, as Lamont (1992) suggested, nonmaterial distinctions are also crucial in addition to material distinctions to understand the difference in portraying class as a lifestyle.[8]

The first hypothesis in this study states that after the implementation of neo-liberal policies in Turkey, portrayals of lower class do not transform to a portrayal of competitive, self-interested, calculative, profit-maximizing lifestyle of neoliberalism. Following Lamont (1992), because most valued character traits such as trust and honesty are expected to be bigger in segments representing lower class than in the segments representing higher class, portrayals of

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[8] Please see Coding Book in Appendix II for more information.

lower class lifestyles will not be related to the depictions of neoliberal values. In addition, representations of middle and upper class adjust with the representation of neoliberal values as expected from the neo-liberal era. I constructed categories which present the display of neoliberal characteristics such as calculation, profit-maximization, self-interest, individualization and depoliticization through the studies of Canpolat (2010), Lazzarato (2009) and Read (2009). Representations of lower class across portrayal of neoliberal values across time are smaller in percentage in new versions of the TV series compared to old versions. In addition, there is no significant relationship between the broadcast time of TV series and the portrayal of neoliberal values across representation of upper classes. This means that, television series depict upper class as having a lifestyle attributed to neoliberal values regardless of the time. That is to say, portrayal of neoliberal values is not associated with aggregated[9] TV series across representation of upper class. Upper class lifestyle is shown as portraying values that are attributed to the neoliberal values before and after the introduction of neoliberalism. Thus, representation of upper class is seemed to always have an association with corruption, self-promotion, depoliticization, enterprise society and individuality. According to these general results[10], producers of television series seem to utilize a Bourdeuian habitus for representing upper class lifestyle. This is a static understanding of class and implies no interplay between portrayal of neoliberal values and representation of classes. This could be interpreted as the producers' desire to accomplish higher levels of rating levels by overrepresenting the portrayals of values that could accomplish this ideal. These values include a psychological reflexive depth as Bennett (2003) states, such as all

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[9] Comparing the total of old and the total of new versions of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü.*
[10] By general results, I mean the comparison between the total of old versions of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* and the total of new versions of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü.* This terminology is valid in the entire study as well.

the negative value of the neoliberal era. Those values could also be a feature of an era (even before the 1990s) where they are portrayed as attached to certain styles of life (such as corrupted and individualistic lifestyles) as my discussion of Lemke (2010) suggests. I will explain the decrease in portrayal of neoliberal values of lower classes after the introduction of neoliberalism by decomposing two different series[11], because the outcome may slightly change. For *Aşk-ı Memnu*, the relation between representation of class and portrayal of neoliberal values in two different times is in line with the neoliberalism literature. The relationship between portrayal of neoliberal values and broadcast time of *Aşk-ı Memnu* is meaningful. There are more portrayals of neoliberal values in new version of *Aşk-ı Memnu* (in neoliberal era) for both representation of lower and upper classes. However, the increase in portrayal of neoliberal values across representation of lower class is insignificant. On the other hand, nearly 15 % significant increase for the higher class is sufficient to state a difference. Thus, these two results for *Aşk-ı Memnu* concerning representations of upper and lower classes support the first hypothesis of this study. First, there seems to be no change for the representation of lower classes. Second, there is an increase for the representation of upper classes in terms of the portrayals of neoliberal values in newer version of *Aşk-ı Memnu* compared to the older. For *Yaprak Dökümü*, the outcomes are interesting. The relationship between the portrayal of neoliberal values and *Yaprak Dökümü* versions is meaningful. This relationship indicates that the neoliberal depictions of both classes are less in the new versions. Although representation of upper class through portrayals of neoliberal values is higher in newer version compared to the representation of lower class, there

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[11] Decomposing the two series means that to examine the relationship across each TV series seperately, by observing the differences within the old and new versions of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and within the old and new versions of *Yaprak Dökümü.*

is still a decrease in portrayal of neoliberal value in the new version of *Yaprak Dökümü*. This means that, focusing only new version of *Yaprak Dökümü*, segments representing upper class lifestyle is related more to the depiction of neoliberal values than the segments representing lower class lifestyle. Considering old and new versions together, portrayal of morality across representation of upper and lower class lifestyle is decreasing. This issue is related with the higher frequency of segments representing lower class in *Yaprak Dökümü* as I will elaborate more on the following paragraphs. With a higher proportion of lower class lifestyle depictions, *Yaprak Dökümü* exhibits a difference from *Aşk-ı Memnu*. This disparity could lead to a decrease in portrayal of neoliberal values in the new version of *Yaprak Dökümü*. I will also relate this issue with the narration of *Yaprak Dökümü* further with a discussion through the portrayal of morality. In addition to the possible effects of the narration to the results of this study, the deviation of *Yaprak Dökümü* from the expectations of the first hypothesis in this study may stem time when the old version of *Yaprak Dökümü* was broadcast. Because it is difficult to state that the effects of the neoliberal era may began to be observed in 1988. It is very likely that early transition period to the neoliberal era may have also affected the old version of *Yaprak Dökümü* and this may be the reason of the finding neoliberal values in the old version of *Yaprak Dökümü.*

The second hypothesis in this study states that the portrayal of morality through representation of lower class does not decrease with the introduction of neoliberal policies, yet the portrayals of morality through representation of upper class will decrease. This is to say that, representation of lower class will continue to preserve having positive morality values which media might consider as important for their status in their lives as the class literature suggests.

Representations of lower class through portrayal of morality are higher in the new version of television series compared to the old versions. This result suggests that representations of lower class are depicted as showing more positive values in the new versions of television series compared to the old versions. This investigation supports the second hypothesis of the study concerning only the lower class lifestyles. With these results, lower class lifestyle is portrayed as more associated with higher status than the portrayal of upper class lifestyle, because media depicted lower class lifestyle as having more positive values than the portrayal of upper class in the new versions. This might be the reason why lower class lifestyle is represented as related to less neoliberal values in the new version of television series. By this way, lower class lifestyle is portrayed less related to corruption, self-interest and profit maximizing which improves their depicted dignity compared to the higher class representations. On the other hand, portrayals of upper class morality seem to decrease with the introduction of neoliberalism. As a general result, findings are supporting the second hypothesis of this research. Neoliberal era does not decrease the portrayal of morality through the depictions of lower class lifestyle, yet it decreases the portrayal of morality for the segments representing upper class lifestyles.

I also examined the portrayal of morality across each television series separately through the representation of class whether the hypothesis still holds or not. For *Aşk-ı Memnu*, portrayal of morality decreases in the neoliberal era (in new version) for representation of lower classes. Portrayal of upper class lifestyle is also less associated with portrayal of morality in the new version of *Aşk-ı Memnu*. Representation of upper class showed less morality in the neoliberal era. This result does not support the second hypothesis of this study. Actually, this result is in line with the neoliberalism literature expecting an observation of negative portrayals of morality for

both class lifestyle depictions in the neoliberal era, such as corruption and self-promotion. In *Yaprak Dökümü*, attribution of morality for the portrayal of both class lifestyle depictions increases with the introduction of neoliberalism. However, relationship between portrayal of morality and broadcast time of the TV series is insignificant across representation of lower class. This means that, there is no association between portrayal of morality and the broadcast time of the TV series. This supports the first part of the second hypothesis. However, as portrayal of morality significantly increases across representation of upper class in the new version, the second hypothesis does not hold for *Yaprak Dökümü*. I will relate this issue to the narration of *Yaprak Dökümü* in the following paragraphs emphasizing the interactions of characters with the leading character of *Yaprak Dökümü*. I will also discuss further the possibility of confusion on explaining portrayal of morality created by this situation, both in segments representing upper class and lower class lifestyles.

The third hypothesis in this study expects an increase in the segments representing the higher class lifestyle with the introduction of neoliberalism. As a general view there is an increase in the representation of upper class in new versions. Controlling the case across each television series separately, the increase in the representations of upper class lifestyle is significant with the introduction of neoliberalism in both television series. Following Bennett (2003), as lower class lifestyle is portrayed relatively single-leveled, which can be understood by the increase in the portrayal of morality, producers may think that portrayals of higher class lifestyle should be increased compared to the lower class lifestyle. This is because producers may assume that increasing representation of higher class is increasing the representation of a lifestyle which exhibit more psychological and reflexive depth. Bennett in Woods and Skeggs (2008)

further argues that lower class is associated with single-leveled behavior and portrayed as "incapable of acquiring the psychological depth needed for self-governance" (p. 184). Having psychological and reflexive depth may be attributed to the neoliberal values by the producers. As the producers of the TV series may perceive the upper class lifestyle portrayals more complex, in the sense of more association with the psychological and reflexive depth, there is an increase in the representation of higher class lifestyles in the new versions of TV series. The psychological reflexive feature is implied by portraying their behavioral and verbal expression with traits that will benefit as yielding more rating, such as corruption and self-promotion. In a parallel vein with psychological and reflexive depth, higher class lifestyle is portrayed as related with opulence which increases in proportion in the neoliberal era.[12] More depictions of luxury also mean that there are more for upper class lifestyle to show in order to attract the audience attention. Thus, television series emphasize vicarious living through increased portrayals of upper class lifestyle after the introduction of neoliberalism. However, this is not to say that depiction of upper class lifestyle is the dominant portrayal of a class lifestyle in the television series. Contrary to Kendall (2005), the TV series do not portray a classless society. In addition, contrary to Bullock et al's (2001) study, I found that media do not obscure the boundaries of representation of lifestyles of classes. Although there are differences among the portrayals of lifestyles of classes *in Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* as discussed previously, the TV Series clearly portray segmentation of lifestlyes through the interactions of characters. Moreover, As Dağtaş's (2008) study, there are dualities in the representation of class lifestyles in the TV series as portraying the rich and the poor together and in a conflict with each other.

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[12] Please see the Table 2 in Appendix III.

As I exclude representation of middle class in various analyses in this study for having an insufficient population for examination, I should explain the reasons behind this situation.[13] These two television series do not portray middle class lifestyle before the neo-liberal era. This absence suggests that middle class lifestyle emerged and gained importance after the neoliberalism. Depiction of middle class is associated with having moral and neoliberal values at the same time, and in between lower class and upper class lifestyle showing features of both sides, such as wearing both regular and fashionable clothes. Middle class lifestyle is portrayed in a way that it is associated with cultural omnivoreness as Skeggs (2005) puts. Cultural forms previously associated to lower class, is now also associated with middle class lifestyle. That is why representation of middle class includes portrayal of categories from both depictions of lower class and upper class styles of life.

I showed that neoliberal era affected media industry to adjust their portrayals according to the expectations of the hypothesis driven through the studies of Canpolat (2010), Lazzarato (2009) McChesney (2001) and Read (2009). Producers shifted their strategies with privatization and commercialization and they began to produce content related to the neoliberal era. However, as Lamont's discussions provided, interactions representing lower class lifestyle deviated from the mainstream expectations of the neoliberalism literature and those lower class segments are found not to be related by the effects of the neoliberal era. Nonetheless, data obtained from *Yaprak Dökümü* provided alternative results to the hypotheses raised in this study and I will elaborate more on this issue in the following paragraphs.

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[13] To trace the analysis regarding the middle class, please see Table 2 in Appendix III.

The discussion should also include the relationship between results and narration of the television series.[14] In *Yaprak Dökümü* and in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, lower class lifestyle portrayals seem to be more related with morality. Upper class lifestyle is portrayed more related with neoliberal values compared to the lower class lifestyle depictions. This is to say that, as Lamont (2002) explained, nonmaterial classifications (both portrayal of morality and portrayal of neoliberal values) play an important role determining the representation of class. Moreover, in different fields (in old and new versions of *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Aşk-ı Memnu*) it was observed that the representations of class across neoliberal values or across morality could exhibit different properties. This is in contradiction of which Bourdieu (1984)'s argument insists on the similarities of social trajectories and taste in similar class in different fields. Moreover, results showed that lower class lifestyle is (with upper class lifestyle) also portrayed through the status signals of money, morals and manners in addition to Lamont (1992)'s attribution of these signals to upper class lifestyle. To follow these results through both television series', first I will discuss *Yaprak Dökümü*. This television series is based on the father figure's loss of authority over his family regarding the implementation of traditional values. It provides an account of Ali Rıza Bey's psychological reflexes about the events which force his limits to give up the values he believes in. The 'new' and the 'old' is in a conflict in the series. The children and their social networks represent the 'new' and the parents, especially the father figure Ali Rıza Bey represents the 'old' world which necessitates preservation of values (Kanter, 2009, p. 1596). This conflict determines the chain of events in *Yaprak Dökümü*. Considering these points, the reason why portrayal of morality increases in the new version compared to the old version in *Yaprak Dökümü*

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[14] Please see Appendix II for brief summaries of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü.*

could be as follows. The events are portrayed through the characters' confrontations with Ali Rıza Bey who is portrayed as extremely moral and reacts as such. Thus, *Yaprak Dökümü* overrepresents the majority of portrayal of morality through one character, Ali Rıza Bey. Future studies should consider including a coding category for every individual in order to explain the portrayal of an effective morality. Because *Yaprak Dökümü* is a family drama which is about cultural disintegration and a conflict of generation shaped around the father figure (Kanter 2009, p.1596), this could lead a misrepresentation of the societal level of the portrayed morality. In the old version of *Yaprak Dökümü*, the main theme is built on the conflicts of generations as a desire to possess wealth and abundance (such as the daughters' fondness for money), and as a desire to protect values. On the other hand, in the new version, there's a twist in the topic which includes individuals' need to declare their freedom from any values and generational conflicts.[15] This could be the reason why there are fewer portrayals of neoliberal characteristics for upper classes in new version of *Yaprak Dökümü*. Therefore, there is overrepresentation of morality, underrepresentation of neoliberal features of lifestyles. Producers might have thought that a different category gains importance for emphasizing the representation of each class. Portrayed features for each lifestyles of class are depicted as defining that unique lifestyle.

As for *Aşk-ı Memnu*, there are more portrayals of neoliberal values across upper class lifestyle depictions because this television series narrates an extramarital relationship through a duality between human psychology (as emotions) and materiality (as wealth). Thus,

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[15] For example, the younger daughter of the family, Necla, returns to her previous relationship with Cem, not because for his possession of wealth, but because the personal freedom and detachment from the house which Ali Rıza Bey protects as a castle of traditional values. Moreover, father's keeping daughters inside the house and emphasizing conservative values hinders the neoliberal portrayals of lower class.

confrontations of characters with the subjects of this extramarital relationship guides the progress of the *Aşk-ı Memnu*'s story. Therefore, the results regarding the portrayal of neoliberal values and morality across upper class supports the neoliberalism literature. Segments representing the lower class lifestyle is also related with neoliberal values in new version of *Aşk-ı Memnu* which indicates that lower class lifestyle is not portrayed as it exhibits a single leveled lifestyle without self-governance.

To further articulate the effects of narration of television series' to this study, Çelenk (2005) argues that broadcast of Turkish television series' acquire a narrative saturation, which creates inevitableness of *revealing* as a form of expression after the second half of the 1990s. This is explained as the drama's ability to create a window of opportunity for extra advertorial revenues after 1990s. The most ostensible way to accomplish this aim is through fulfilling requirements which is believed as attracting the audience to television dramas such as displaying passionate love, intrigue and conflicts. Çelenk (2005) states that the scenarios are written with overdramatization and narratives of television dramas begin to have inclinations of becoming 'serialised' which creates content problems. *Yaprak Dökümü* exhibits such a particularity through presenting its story on family values. In addition, Yörük (2005) points out that Turkish television series produce antagonisms as in soap operas and as in melodrams. Higher class versus lower class, richness versus poorness, family values versus neoliberal values are examples from Aşkı-ı Memnu and *Yaprak Dökümü* for those antagonisms. Ang (1985) points out that, characters in dramas invite audience for a 'family life'. He also stresses that, dramas emphasize happiness within the family as opposed to threats of external world. In addition, Abisel in Yörük (2005) points out that, Turkish movies legitimize the dominant ideology as a universal and natural

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ideology. This dominant ideology in *Yaprak Dökümü* is the possession of morality and this is overrepresented through the conflicting interactions of characters with Ali Rıza Bey. Thus, this legitimizing shows parallelism with the narration in *Yaprak Dökümü* which could be the underlying mechanism resulted in a less portrayal of neoliberal values and more portrayal of morality in new *Yaprak Dökümü*. Therefore, cross-class examination shows that upper class lifestyle portrayals across depiction of neoliberal values are higher in new version of *Yaprak Dökümü* than the old version. This is to say that general results[16] show that neoliberal values are portrayed as a feature of upper class lifestyle, however in *Yaprak Dökümü*, portrayal of neoliberal values are less in new version because of the unique narration in *Yaprak Dökümü* as explained above. Of course, these results should be interpreted in caution and necessitate replication. Nevertheless, in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, portrayal of neoliberal values increases across representation of higher class in new version as predicted.

All in all, class is portrayed on *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü* through patterns of consumption. This stance is beneficial for explaining the media's understanding of class as a lifestyle and its usage of indicators to draw the boundaries among each representation of class. However, it should be noted that media's choice of depicting class lifestyles through indicators of consumption ignores "how it is financed and supported, or even this lifestyle can be sustained over a period of time" (Kumar, 2004, p.8). Class as portrayed by these TV series is not understood as relations through means of production. One cannot observe the social change on

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[16] Analysis made through combining both old versions as a category and both new versions as a different category.

this kind of production. [17] Thus, producers hinder the social change through this television series in order to gain benefit from the conflicts between characters who are portrayed as having only one dimensioned character, such as a depiction of one character only through a possession of luxurious item or a moral code of preserving the traditional values. However, as Kendall (2005) states, "a greater awareness of class-related realities in the media would strengthen the democratic process" (p. 227). Thus, this study is necessary in the sense that it analyzes the class depictions before and after the introduction of neoliberalism in Turkey in order to provide an account of what 'reality' media disseminate. Further studies should include audience and discuss how they perceive social class and gender through TV series.

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[17] The only indicator of a some kind of social change is only through a conflict between the father figure and the children in *Yaprak Dökümü* through their emotional relationship with wealthier men.

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Coding Sheet: For the purposes of height and width of the pages, I merged 30 categories in one table. Excel Sheet looks like a table with 30 Columns to the right and 7556 units to the below after coding all the sampled units.

Program/Unit	Expensive Furniture	Inexpensive Furniture	Choosing Fashionable Clothes	Wearing Fashionable Clothes	Wearing Regular Clothes	Expensive Foods	Regular Foods	High Culture	Low Culture

Various Cosmetics	Regular Cosmetics	High Status Occupation	Low Status Occupation	Education	Opulence	Commodious House	Prosaic House	Morality	Corruption

Self-promotion	Hierarchy	Self-Labeling	Superfluous Consumption	Self-improvement	Depoliticization	Enterprise Society	Competition at Work	Individuality	Hobbies

APPENDIX II: CODING MANUAL

I.   Introduction

This protocol aims to examine the class portrayals in TV series before and after the

introduction of neoliberalism. The analysis will be completed using random sampled episodes of

old and new versions of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and *Yaprak Dökümü*. Each unit of analysis will include an

interaction, which I defined below. Please record your answers on an empty excel sheet with the

categories explained below and shown in Appendix I as a table.

II.   Program

This category records four items. *Aşk-ı Memnu* broadcast in 1975, *Aşk-ı Memnu* broadcast in

2009, *Yaprak Dökümü* broadcast in 1988 and *Yaprak Dökümü* broadcast in 2006. There are four

recordings respectively, AM1, AM2, YD1, YD2.

III.   Brief Summary of Main Topics of the Television Series

Both *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Aşk-ı Memnu* narrate the effects of modernization and

westernization that was triggered with the affectation for western lifestyle. In *Aşk-ı Memnu*, a

middle-aged wealthy man (Adnan Bey) marries with a girl (Bihter) who has a disrepute family.

Bihter is dissatisfied with the unexciting relationship with Adnan Bey and begins an extramarital

relationship with Adnan Bey's relative Behlül who is known as a vagabond. In the old version,

the story develops around Adnan Bey's daughter (Nihal)'s relationship with her father, Behlül,

Bihter and the others in the family. In the new version, the fiction focuses on the extramarital

relationship between Bihter and Behlül. Characters are mostly portrayed as having one dimension and usually in an antagonism with each other, if one person is 'bad', the other is 'good'.

Yaprak Dökümü narrates its story within the context of the family. It portrays a chain of events through the eyes of the father figure (Ali Rıza Bey) who has a solid morality and tries to keep family values intact.

IV. Sampling Information

All episodes within all seasons are divided into 5-minute intervals for all television series including old and new versions. These 5-minute intervals were randomized for each of the television series. Then approximately first 10% randomized 5-minute intervals were chosen for coding. For example, episode 12 of Aşk- Memnu was divided as such: 12.0005 (from the beginning until the 5th minute), 12.0510 (between the 5th minute and 10th minute), 12.1015 (between the10th minute and 15th minute), etc. The coder should continue coding if interaction (definition below) will not end at the end of one interval. For example, if the interaction does not end at 15th minute of the 12nd episode, the coder should continue coding until that interaction ends.

V. Unit of Analysis

Interaction between individuals is the unit of analysis in this study. An interaction means those following occurrences and should be coded as a unique unit: a dialogue between two people, certain number of people having a dinner on a table, a chase, a monologue, one person packing his/her suitcase, etc. For example, if two individuals are having a conversation until another individual interrupts or joins, this will be a single unit from the beginning of the conversation

until the interruption. Suppose that three people continued talking to each other. Then, coder should code another unit for the interaction between those three individuals. The recording contains three parts, number of the episode, starting minute of the current coding, number of the unit. For example, if one will code first episode of *Aşk-ı Memnu*, beginning from the 11th minute, for the first unit it should be recorded as E01/11/1. When the interaction ends and a new interaction begins, coder should move to another unit an label it as E01/11/2 and so on.

In cases when an individual engages in a behavior by himself/herself, there may not be an interaction between multiple individuals, however there is an event and this should be coded. The most significant indicator of change in interaction and event is scene changes: space or time or both can change which signals a change in interaction. However do not code camera changes and zooms as a change in interaction. In addition, when two people are having a conversation and a third person gets within a hearing distance of the conversation and there is explicit evidence that the third person, despite not interacting with the other two, caused the other two people to lower their voices or stop talking, there is a change in interaction. If the third individual does not affect the other two, then there is no change in interaction. Finally, if there is no interaction, such as a view of a sea, then all the categories in the coding sheet should be coded a 0, and as a separate unit.

A verbal expression means that an interaction or event which one or more individuals reveal information about themselves or about another individual(s) in a conversation. A behavioral expression is an individual's own actions revealing information about that individual.

   VI.   **Categories**

There are 30 categories as presented in the Table 1. Those categories were constructed by the class and neoliberalism literature as explained in the literature review section of this study. There are two groups of categories differentiated by their coding procedure. First I will explain the categories which will be coded between 0-7 intervals (absent, gradual presence), second I will explain the categories which will be coded as 0-1 (absent-present)

1. Measures for categories which will be coded between 0-7 intervals

The coder will code '0' if there is no indication of the explained criteria for that specific category within a unit, will code '1' if there is only one of these criteria, will code '2' if there are two of these criteria, will code '3' if there are three of these criteria, will code '4' if there are four of these criteria, will code '5' if there are five of these criteria, will code '6' if there are six of these criteria and will code '7' if there are more than 6 of these criteria.

a. **Expensive Furniture:** The content will include following criteria: silk curtains, brand-new armchairs, bed and closets, chandeliers, antique objects, sculptures, paintings, bibelots, plasma television, big screen television (more than 35").

b. **Inexpensive Furniture:** The content will include following criteria: old and worn curtains, used armchairs, beds, closets, light bulb, carpets, television, wooden windows.

c. **Expensive Foods** : The content will include following criteria: caviar, beef, menus in restaurant in French, special orderings for cake, more than 10 items as breakfast, lunch, and dinner (items will include any food such as cheese, butter, tomatoes, soup, etc. and every 10 items should add the value 1 for the coding).

d. **Regular Foods**   **:** The content will include following criteria: any food item that does not belong to the 'expensive foods' category such as cheese, butter, eggs, soup, the type of the meal, etc.

e. **High culture**   **:** The content will include following criteria: Listening to jazz and classical music, any behavioral or verbal expression of knowledge of paintings, art, best French restaurant, best wine, organizing an event in a ballroom, speaking French when it is not a must (such as including French words in a conversation when a simpler native language could be better). [18]

f. **Low culture**   **:** The content will include following criteria: hospitality, traditional language (such as 'allah ıslah etsin', i.e. *god heals*), organizing the breakfast, lunch, dinner table collectively with family members, kissing hands of elderly people, children asking permission from their parents (there is no age limit, a 30 year old individual could be a child if there is an interaction with his/her father or mother), praying and cursing.

g. **Various cosmetics:** The content will include following criteria: foundation, eyeshadow, nail polish, lipstick, artificial eyelash, hairsprays, eau de toilette, and hand cream. All of those should be brand-new, in shiny boxes and in a similar shaping with worldly-known brands such as Loreal and Vichy. These criteria are valid for a make-up process and for one or several women with a make-up.

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[18] As there is not sufficiant data for anaylzing the effects of high culture category, I did not run an analyzsis involving this category. To observe the descriptive statistics of this category and other categories, please see Table 1 in Appendix III.

h. **Regular cosmetics**: The content will include following criteria: foundation, eyeshadow, nail polish, lipstick, artificial eyelash, hairsprays, eau de toilette, and hand cream. All of those should be without a reference to worldly-known brands. These criteria are valid for a make-up process and for one or several women with a make-up.

i. **Opulence**   **:** The content will include following criteria: belongings such as boat, house, factory, private vehicle, jewelry and having an ability to travel abroad (verbal expression as such or behavioral expression of actually on the way, or an image of the ticket). If there are multiple of any of each of these criteria within a unit, then that item should be counted as much as its availability. For example, if there are two private vehicles in a unit, this adds up together as '2' items.

j. **Morality**   **:** The content will include following criteria: verbal and behavioral expressions of importance of family network, resistance to change, respect to the father figure, protecting the family (raising kids to turn them into 'man', warning daughters for the dangers of potential boyfriends), having dinner with all family member at a specific time (and the complains if this situation is not sustained). Moreover, as Lamont (1992) emphasizes, morality can be understood through identifying trust and honesty within the interactions (p. 34). Trust opens a possibility for a productive, relaxing and enjoyable lifestyle and exhibits features of being dependable, self-reliant, disciplined, patriotic and responsible citizen, sincerity, courage and long term planning (Lamont, 1992, p. 35). In addition, reliability and predictability signal the presence of honesty within an interaction. If there are multiple of any of each of these criteria within a unit, then that item should be counted as much as its availability.

k. **Corruption**   : The content will include following criteria: theft, being in prison, cheating (either in a romantic relationship or in a business), disrespect to elder people. If there are multiple of any of each of these criteria within a unit, then that item should be counted as much as its availability.

l. **Self-promotion:** The content will include following criteria: any verbal or behavioral expression regarding one's own outcome from any interaction such as gaining a benefit after lying on some issue, planning an alternative agendas for the sake of extra money and wealth, rewarding behaviors which undermine collective sharing. . If there are multiple of any of each of these criteria within a unit, then that item should be counted as much as its availability.

2. **Measures for categories which will be coded as 0-1 (absent-present)**

The coder will code '0' if there is no indication of these explained criteria for that specific category within a unit , will code '1' if there is an indication of any of those criteria.

a. **Choosing fashionable clothes:** The content will include following criteria: hand-made dress from silk, brand-new suits, pants, T-shirts, shirts, belts, shoes. The category includes explicitly a 'choosing' interaction, specifically desiring (having desired) the item and buying (having bought) it for his/her own use.

b. **Wearing fashionable clothes:** The content will include following criteria: hand-made dress from silk, brand-new suits, pants, T-shirts, shirts, belts, shoes. This category explicitly includes a 'wearing' interaction, individuals may or may not own the item they

wear, but the code should code as 'wearing fashionable clothes' if he/she sees an indication of previously mentioned criteria.

c. **Wearing regular clothes:** The content will include following criteria: the coder should code the dresses, shoes, pants, shirts, T-shirts and suits which has worn for several years (5 years) and which seems worn out.

d. **Dressing fashionably :** This category will be created after the coding procedure by subtracting 'choosing fashionable clothes' category from 'wearing fashionable clothes' in order to find out the data for only the units which involve following items: 1 for wearing but not choosing, 0 for no indication of this category.

e. **High status Occupation:** The content will include following criteria: interactions including the owner of the house or the owner of the factory, business, executives working in a bank, factory, business.

f. **Low status occupation:** The content will include following criteria: interactions including the individuals wearing a uniform which is black and have a pinafore on the waist, or individuals wearing regular clothing and a pinafore on the waist, being a driver, being a cook, being a servant in a house.

g. **Commodious House:** The content will include following criteria: houses in each unit (which are attached to the individuals in that unit) having more than 4 rooms and in which at least one gardener lives in order to take care of the garden, rooms in hotels called 'residence suits' or 'rooms for kings'.

h. Prosaic House : The content will include following criteria: houses in each unit houses in each unit (which are attached to the individuals in that unit) having less than 4 rooms and neglected (existing problems such as broke roof, cold, walls without paint, etc.).

i. Hierarchy : The content will include following criteria: mocking others who do not resemble or have and upper level lifestyle, housekeepers' standing up when owners' of the house arrives, bringing owners (business or house owners) everything they asked for.

j. Self-labeling: The content will include following criteria: individuals' emphasis on their social identity, for example, a statement pointing out the poverty of one's own.

k. Superfluous consumption: The content will include following criteria: buying new extra items for one's self such as new clothes, new shoes, new cell phones, etc.

l. Self-improvement : The content will include following criteria: a unit involving an individual's working out in a sport centre, jogging, and personal care such as spa.

m. Depoliticization : The content will include following criteria: every interaction includes a mass-magazine subject such as seeing one family member out at night from a television program or a photo of a friend in a newspaper for reason of gossip, etc.

n. Enterprise society: The content will include following criteria: units which includes interaction treating human behavior as a market behavior. This is differentiated from the self-promotion category in the sense that this category involves verbal and behavioral expressions of multiple individuals.

o. **Competition at work :** The content will include following criteria: the individuals who takes space in order to secure or improve a professional position (an individual tries to increase his/her status in a company or in a bank just in order to earn more money and earn a higher degree.). The setting is a working environment in this category.

p. **Individuality** **:** The content will include following criteria: all verbal expressions including 'me', 'myself', 'I' explicitly.

q. **Hobbies:** The content will include following criteria: carving, travelling with yacht, going out partying, taking care of horses, horse riding, playing basketball.

r. **Education :** The content will include the following criteria: verbal or behavioral activity about going abroad for a university degree, studying in a room, in a classroom, in the garden, teaching lessons, presence with a school uniform or with handbooks or textbooks in any place.

APPENDIX III

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics (in percentages) for each television series broadcast before and after the introduction of neoliberalism

	Aşk-ı Memnu 1975	Aşk-ı Memnu 2009	Yaprak Dökümü 1988	Yaprak Dökümü 2009	OLD	NEW
Morality	27.1	13.1	29.2	35.3	28.4	22.8
Corruption	3.5	10.0	28.8	9.9	18.8	10.0
Self Promotion	0	4.0	18.1	6.2	10.9	5.0
Superfluous consumption	0	1.1	10.4	.9	6.3	1.0
Expensive Furniture	38.8	40.8	13.1	11.5	23.3	28.0
Inexpensive Furniture	0.0	.1	29.2	36.2	17.7	15.9
Expensive Food	0	3.7	2.3	2.6	1.4	3.2
Regular Food	0	.9	1.9	6.4	1.2	3.3
High Culture	21.8	4.8	4.2	3.8	11.2	4.3
Low Culture	4.7	1.3	46.2	22.1	29.8	10.4
Various Cosmetics	22.4	53.7	10.0	23.7	14.9	40.5
Regular Cosmetics	0.0	16.1	1.9	4.9	1.2	11.2
Opulence	44.7	63.4	9.2	28.6	23.3	48.2
Commodious House	.6	18.9	23.5	6.8	14.4	13.6
Prosaic House	0.0	0.0	7.3	24.2	4.4	10.6
Hierarchy	10.0	8.5	0.0	1.8	4.0	5.6
Self Labelling	0	.7	3.5	1.5	2.1	1.1
Self Improvement	0	1.3	.8	.3	.5	.8
Competition at work	0	.7	.8	.5	.5	.6
Individuality	.6	2.9	.4	2.2	.5	2.6
Hobbies	1.8	4.9	.8	1.7	1.2	3.5
Depoliticization	2.9	8.6	.4	1.4	1.4	5.4
Enterprise Society	0	2.9	6.2	2.3	3.7	2.6
Education	4.7	2.4	7.7	3.7	6.5	2.9
Occupation High Status	22.4	23.7	.0	4.2	8.8	15.2
Occupation Low Status	52.4	53.5	6.9	14.9	24.9	36.6
Choosing Fashionable Clothes	61.2	66.0	30.0	39.8	42.3	54.6
Wearing Fashionable Clothes	61.2	69.6	40.0	43.0	48.4	58.0
Wearing Regular Clothes	28.2	21.8	54.2	50.8	44.0	34.5
Dressing Fashionably	0.0	3.9	10.0	3.1	6.0	3.5

Table 2

A General Perspective: Portrayal of main categories before and after the neoliberalism

	Old TV Series			New TV Series			Pearson Chi Square X^2			P value		
	Lower class	middle class	Upper class	Lower class	middle class	Upper class	Lower class	middle class	Upper class	Lower class	middle class	Upper class
Morality (M)	21.7	0	23.7	30.4	27.4	14.2	(2,3206)=85.868	(2,720)=53.899	(2,3522)=16.872	0	0	0
Neoliberal Values (N)	35.9	100	24.5	8.2	14.3	23.1	(1,3520)=210.857	(1,725)=23.231	(1,3551)=0.146	0	0	0.702
Expensive Furniture(E)	0.7	0	70.5	0.4	1.2	57.6	(1,3520)=0.696	(1,725)=0.051	(1,3551)=9.108	0.404	0.822	0.003
Inexpensive Furniture(I)	25.8	25	0.7	32.7	14.6	1.4	(1,3520)=5.695	(1,725)=0.347	(1,3551)=0.464	0.017	0.556	0.496
High Culture(HC)	3.1	0	28.1	0.7	1.2	8.1	(3,3249)=16.845	(1,725)=0.051	(1,3551)=65.498	0	0.822	0
Low Culture(L)	44.6	0	0	21.6	10.8	0.6	(1,3520)=76.991	(1,725)=0.485	(1,3551)=0.819	0	0.486	0.365
Various Cosmetics(V)	0.3	0	45.3	0.5	3.2	83.1	(1,3520)=0.185	(1,725)=0.132	(1,3551)=127.274	0.668	0.717	0
Regular Cosmetics(R)	1.7	0	0	6.4	81.8	0.2	(1,3520)=10.119	(1,725)=17.519	(1,3551)=0.327	0.001	0	0.5668
Opulence(O)	9.1	0	53.2	8.9	6.4	91.1	(1,3520)=0.004	(1,725)=0.272	(1,3551)=204.707	0.948	0.602	0
Commodious house(C)	7.7	75	26.6	1.5	0.4	26.8	(1,3520)=51.553	(1,725)=269.615	(1,3551)=0.004	0	0	0.953
Prosaic house(P)	1	0	11.5	24.1	3.9	0.4	(1,3520)=80.864	(1,725)=0.162	(1,3551)=196.458	0	0.688	0
Hierarchy(H)	2.8	0	6.5	3.9	18.9	4.2	(1,3520)=0.860	(1,725)=0.929	(1,3551)=1.755	0.354	0.335	0.185
High Status Occupation(HO)	2.1	0	72.7	2.7	12.5	70.9	(1,3520)=0.340	(1,725)=0.570	(1,3551)=.195	0.56	0.45	0.658
Low Status Occupation(LO)	13.2	0	0	16.2	80.9	0.2	(1,3520)=1.674	(1,725)=16.514	(1,3551)=0.245	0.196	0	0.621
Choosing fashionable clothes(CF)	13.9	100	99.3	14.8	5.3	99.4	(1,3520)=.149	(1,725)=65.408	(1,3551)=0.012	0.7	0	0.914
Wearing fashionable clothes(WF)	23	100	99.3	22.4	7.9	99.2	(1,3520)=.46	(1,725)=43.783	(1,3551)=0.003	0.83	0	0.955
Wearing regular clothes(WR)	65.9	0	0	59.8	90.7	0.5	(1,3520)=4.001	(1,725)=37.049	(1,3551)=0.696	0.45	0	0.404

Note: An example to read: for morality, there is an association between lower class fraction and the time when the TV series broadcast, X^2=(2,3206)=85.868, p=0.000.

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Table 3
A General Perspective: Portrayal of main Categories within each TV Series

	Aşk-ı Memnu 1975		Aşk-ı Memnu 2009			Yaprak Dökümü 1988			Yaprak Dökümü 2009			Pearson Chi Square		
	Lower class	Upper class	Lower class	middle class	Upper class	Lower class	middle class	Upper class	Lower class	middle class	Upper class	Lower class	middle class	Upper class
M	16	35.1	6.8	21.7	12.5	24.2	0	0	41.2	52.7	18.6	$(6,3206)=549.547^*$	$(4,720)=106.813^*$	$(6,3522)=191.376^*$
N	6.6	6.4	8.8	15.8	21.3	46.4	100.0	62.2	7.9	7.5	27.6	$(3,3250)=304.734^*$	$(2,725)=29.167^*$	$(3,3551)=68.586^*$
E	0.0	70.2	.9	1.2	65.2	0.9	0	71.1	0.1	1.5	37.2	$(3,3250)=10.073$	$(2,725)=0.137$	$(3,3551)=221.564^*$
I	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	35.1	25.0	2.2	47.6	78.2	5	$(3,3250)=698.068^*$	$(2,725)=529.335^*$	$(3,3551)=124.296^*$
HC	9.2	31.9	0.6	0.2	7.4	0.9	0.0	20.0	0.7	6	10.1	$(3,3249)=58.603^*$	$(2,725)=30.276^*$	$(3,3551)=77.034^*$
L	10.5	0.0	1.4	5.6	0.2	56.9	0.0	0.0	30.8	33.8	1.5	$(3,3250)=449.854^*$	$(2,725)=90.467^*$	$(3,3551)=19.641^*$
V	0.0	40.4	0.3	3.6	85.5	0.5	0.0	55.6	0.6	1.5	76.8	$(3,3250)=1.663$	$(2,725)=1.641$	$(3,3551)=167.111^*$
R	0.0	0.0	7.6	95.1	0.2	2.4	0.0	0.0	5.9	23.3	0.4	$(3,3250)=14.221$	$(2,725)=384.923^*$	$(3,3551)=2.420$
O	10.5	72.3	15.8	4.3	95.4	8.5	0.0	13.3	5.8	15.8	79.7	$(3,3250)=78.321^*$	$(2,725)=24.571^*$	$(3,3551)=497.408^*$
C	1.3	0.0	3.9	0.2	28.9	10	75.0	82.2	0.3	1.5	21.4	$(3,3250)=113.323^*$	$(2,725)=271.965^*$	$(3,3551)=124.127^*$
P	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.4	0.0	35.6	35.1	20.3	1.4	$(3,3250)=539.392^*$	$(2,725)=118.546^*$	$(3,3551)=670.321^*$
H	10.5	9.6	8.4	22.4	5.1	0	0.0	0.0	1.8	3	1.6	$(3,3250)=93.252^*$	$(2,725)=27.830^*$	$(3,3551)=29.707^*$
HO	6.6	89.4	1.5	4.9	84.6	0.5	0.0	37.8	3.2	45.9	35.1	$(3,3250)=15.719^*$	$(2,725)=167.715^*$	$(3,3551)=848.861^*$
LO	50.0	0.0	41.4	94.7	0.0	0	0	0.0	4.6	19.5	0.5	$(3,3250)=749.907^*$	$(2,725)=405.743^*$	$(3,3551)=9.963$
CF	14.5	98.9	17.0	0.7	99.8	13.7	100.0	100.0	13.8	25.6	98.2	$(3,3250)=5.357$	$(2,725)=188.471^*$	$(3,3551)=27.751^*$
WF	14.5	98.9	32.0	2.2	99.6	26.1	100.0	100.0	18.1	33.1	98.2	$(3,3250)=75.599^*$	$(2,725)=177.934^*$	$(3,3551)=19.207^*$
RF	63.2	0.0	33.0	95.1	0.0	66.8	0	0.0	71.9	71.4	1.8	$(3,3250)=402.886^*$	$(2,725)=105.663^*$	$(3,3551)=47.310^*$