THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND MORAL
BOUNDARIES IN TURKEY

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This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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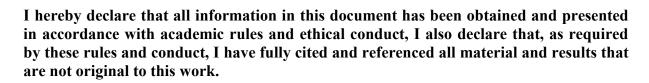

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ABSTRACT

THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND MORAL

BOUNDARIES IN TURKEY

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Comparative Studies in History and Society
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This study aims to explore how the segments of the society in Turkey differentiate themselves by constructing cultural, socio-economic and moral boundaries. To examine this process, the theories generated on the relationship of social class and culture is depicted as the starting point of the study. Based on the previous studies on class and culture, this research is designed to look at an understudied section of the construction of cultural boundaries. Since the literature tends to focus on how 'elite' constructs their cultural boundaries and how they differentiates themselves from the working-class, this thesis tries to speak to the gap in the literature, which is how the subordinate classes construct their boundaries. Within the scope of this research, construction of cultural boundaries is considered to be a mutual process which *both* subordinate and dominant classes are involved in; not as a process *only* defined by the elite segment of the society. For this aim, the research is conducted based on the qualitative techniques. In-depth interviews conducted in four cities and a village in Turkey to analyze the perceptions of the respondents in various spheres, including their socio-economic conditions, cultural consumption, ethnic and cultural differences, religion and their political orientation. Based on the in-depth interviews, this study concludes that subordinate classes also construct their cultural boundaries, as dominant classes do. In some cases members of the subordinate classes give consent to consume what is left from the elite in the cultural arena. However, the data depicts that many of the respondents from subordinate classes draw clear boundaries and differentiate themselves from the dominant class and from the dominant culture.

Keywords: boundaries, culture, social class, cultural consumption

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KÜLTÜREL, SOSYO-EKONOMİK VE AHLAKİ SINIRLARINI İNŞASI

Kayagil, Ayşegül
Karşılaştırmalı Tarih ve Toplum Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı
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Bu çalışma Türkiye'de toplumun farklı katmanlarının kültürel, sosyo-ekonomik ve ahlaki sınırların inşa etme aracılığıyla kendilerini nasıl farklı konumlandırdıklarını incelemeyi amaçlar. Bu süreci incelemek için, sosyal sınıf ve kültür arasındaki ilişkiyi irdeleyen teoriler başlangıç noktası olarak alınmıştır. Sınıf ve kültürle ilgili daha önce yapılmış çalışmalara dayanarak, bu araştırma kültürel sınırların inşasıyla ilgili olan az çalışılmış alana katkıda bulunmak için tasarlanmıştır. Literatür, elit kesimin kendi kültürel sınırlarını nasıl çizdiklerini ve kendilerini işçi sınıfından nasıl ayırt ettikleri üzerine odaklandığından, bu çalışma literatürdeki bu boşluğa binaen madun sınıfların kültürel sınırlarını nasıl çizdiğine bakar. Bu çalışma kapsamında, kültürel sınırların inşası hem baskın hem de ezilen sınıfların dahil olduğu karşılıklı bir süreç olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu amaçla, nitel araştırma tekniklerine dayanarak saha araştırması yapılmıştır. Türkiye'de dört şehir ve bir köyde yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlarda görüşmecilere, kendi sosyo-ekonomik durumları, kültürel tüketim, etnik ve kültürel farklılıklar, din ve siyasi duruşları gibi çeşitli alanlarla ilgili görüşleri sorular sorulmuştur. Derinlemesine mülakatlara dayanarak, bu çalışma ezilen sınıfların da, baskın sınıflar gibi kendi kültürel sınırlarını inşa ettikleri sonucuna varır. Bazı durumlarda, ezilen sınıfların, elit kültürel tüketimi dışında kalan alana rıza gösterdikleri gözlemlemiştir. Buna rağmen, çalışma kapsamında toplanan veri, madun sınıflardan görüşmecilerin de keskin sınırlar çizerek kendilerini baskın sınıf ve kültürle farklılaştırdıklarını göstermiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: sınırlar, kültür, sosyal sınıf, kültürel tüketim

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This thesis is dedicated to *Tülin* and *Faik*

INTRODUCTION

In the village in which some of the in-depth interviews were conducted for this study, the 7-8 year-old son of an interviewee took me to see the animals in the barn during our stay in the village. When I could not manage to walk in the mud which surrounded the way, he said: "You cannot fit in here [meaning the village he lives in], as we cannot fit in your place [meaning the city I live in]". The boy thought that I was poorly equipped with the necessary skills to survive in the village, as he was to survive in the city. He conceived his village his niche, and me, an urban dweller, as two antagonist elements. To this young boy, the cultural boundaries surrounding us were very clear.

Culture could be conceptualized as information, practices, goods, ideas or other symbolic products and values (Gans, 1999). These values can be political, social or aesthetic either in explicit or implicit forms (ibid.: 6). Having the possibility of the variations of these values and products in mind, it is likely for people to construct their cultural niche in various ways. In this regard, this study is an attempt to see how people differentiate themselves culturally from members of other social classes. The aim of this study is to depict how people construct their cultural boundaries.

Various studies made on this issue of cultural consumption, social class and formation of cultural boundaries, starting with Bourdieu's (1974) introduction of cultural capital. In "Distinction", Bourdieu (1984) focuses on the role of practices of cultural consumption in the organization of everyday life which leads to social differentiation. According to Bourdieu, the preferences of a manual worker and a professor of law would change in the very field of social life from education to the taste of music. In other words, *habitus* as the generative of a set of dispositions common to a class, is the determining factor in the actions of the agents (Lechte, 1994: 47).

The sphere of culture for sociologists is a highly debated subject. There have been various interpretations of culture. The discussions have created theoretical questions regarding the conceptualization of culture which Kaufman summarizes as:"Whether culture itself should be treated as a unique social object worthy of in-depth analysis (Kaufman, 2004: 353) or the cultural systems should be analyzed with their relation to social power and class reproduction" (Bourdieu cited in ibid.: 349). Although "culture itself is now being treated as a unique social object worthy of in-depth analysis" (Kaufman, 2004: 353), in my opinion, other domains should also be taken into consideration while examining the sphere of culture.

As Devine and Savage (cited in Bottero, 2004) suggests, there is another alternative "culturalist class analysis" which refers to the various settings of social life, the way processes of inequality are produced and reproduced and how the analysis involves both economic and cultural spheres. Following this argument, as Lawler (2005: 797) suggests classes are not empty signifiers of employment, housing and so on filled with "interchangeable social actors"; class is something that is lived in and also something we are. In this regard, there are classed identities that have resulted in the challenge between the social system and the social actor. Thus, this study looks at the challenge between the social system and the social actor both by taking economic and cultural spheres and also, not by taking these spheres as independent or separate. On the contrary, the study conceptualizes both economic and cultural spheres as in relation with each other. In this regard, to explore this relationship, qualitative research techniques are adopted throughout the research. Thirty-three in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents from four different cities and a village in Turkey. The questions posed in the in-depth interviews included housing and demography, cultural and leisure activities, children and their cultural activities, visual exploration of taste and moral boundaries (See Appendix).

I.1. Statement of the Problem

Within the scope of this research my main research question is: "How do the subordinate classes in Turkey differentiate themselves from the dominant classes in constructing their cultural boundaries?" In addition, there are also a series of sub-questions:

- "How do the members of the subordinate classes in Turkey construct their cultural boundaries?"

- "How do the members of the dominant classes in Turkey maintain distinction with regards to their taste and consumption practices?

- "How and to what extent social class background is a determining factor in the construction of cultural boundaries?"

- "What is the relationship between the moral, socioeconomic and cultural boundaries of an individual?"

It should be noted that within the context of this research, a subordinate social and cultural formation rests upon the hegemony of a ruling class. That is to say, social relations between the classes are conceptualized as they are reproduced in the frame of existing dominant or subordinate form (Clarke et al., 1997: 103). Subordinate classes include working-class with its relation to the hegemony of the ruling class (ibid). The social groups researched under the name of "subordinate" brings discussions on "subculture". By definition subordinate also includes subculture, subaltern or subterranean (Thornton, 1997: 4). Subcultures have been considered beneath 'society' or 'culture' due to two reasons: first, groups studied as subcultures in the literature are positioned by themselves and/or others as deviant or debased, second, social groups perceived as subcultures are regarded as lower down the social ladder in relation to the social differences of class, race, ethnicity and age (ibid). To Thompson (in Fantasia, 1995) working-class culture is a subculture whose products are invested with

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meanings which oppose the dominant cultural rules. Thompson (in ibid) thinks that a way of life and a shared culture is constructed as a response to the exploitative social relations that are embedded. This study will only make use of this part of the discussion of the subculture, since the main aim of the research is to examine how subordinate classes position themselves and construct their cultural boundaries.

Although subordinate classes' perspectives are bound and contained by immediate practical concern (Clarke et al., 1997: 103) and the opposition to dominant values cannot become a common phenomena among subordinate class members, as Clarke et al. (ibid) have emphasized the subordinate classes have developed their own culture, forms of social relationships, characteristic institution, values, and modes of life. Hence, subordinate classes are not passive or deferential to ruling class ideas. This study aims to find out how subordinate classes in Turkey produce or shape their cultural boundaries.

I.2. Significance of the Study

The main aim of this research is to look at the meanings produced and reproduced by consuming cultural products, and ways in which the other spheres of culture have been conceptualized by the members of different socio-economic backgrounds, namely the construction of cultural boundaries. Several studies have been conducted about this particular issue, the construction of cultural boundaries. However, all the previous studies on this issue mostly consisted of the voice of the elite and they lacked the perspective of the lower or lower middle-classes. The construction of cultural boundaries in American and European societies have been studied by researchers such as Bourdieu (1984), Lamont (1992), Peterson and Kern (1996), Gans (1992) and Crane (1992). However, the case of Turkey has not been explored as much as the Western cases. In the literature for the Turkish case, the issue of cultural capital has not been examined with as large a sample as this study is uses. My main interest is

focused on the formation of cultural, socio-economic and moral boundaries and their functioning in the social structure of the society in Turkey. Therefore, this study will look at the construction of the symbolic boundaries in Turkey. By this, the study will explore how the upper and subordinate classes differentiate themselves by constructing cultural, socio-economic and moral boundaries. Although making use of Lamont's and Bourdieu's theoretical frameworks and their implications, this study will consider the construction of cultural boundaries as a mutual process in which *both* subordinate and upper classes are involved; not as a process *only* defined by the elite segments of the society.

The focus of previous studies generally constituted how the elite interpret and construct boundaries, however, this study looks at lower-socioeconomic status groups to discover how they construct their boundaries. Since subordinate classes' interpretation has been neglected in the literature this thesis will address the gap in the literature by conceptualizing the construction of the cultural boundaries as a mutual process. Additionally, the construction of boundaries is conceptualized in this study not only with economic factors, but also cultural, social and moral factors as well. This would provide another dimension which has been understudied in Turkey, and thus, this study will provide a perspective of culture in relation to power and class structure. However, this will not lead to a conceptualization of individuals unconsciously reproducing the already existing cultural boundaries. On the contrary, subordinate classes comprehend different cultural worlds in the same way as upper classes.

Previously, studies were held in the Western developed societies. In the current study, an insight about the cultural boundary formations about a society other than the advanced capitalist societies will be provided. Also, lacking a comprehensive analysis on this issue, this study will contribute to the cultural studies literature in Turkey, as well. That is to say, this

study will help the future research on the significance of moral and cultural boundaries in the literature of the sociology of culture.

I. 3. Organization of the Study

In this part, an overview of the chapters is presented. Culture, as a pattern of beliefs and values is inseparable from the action and the social organization; both culture and society refer to the "ways of life" (Thornton, 1997: 5). In this regard, the relationship between culture and consumption is an important issue for sociological inquiry due to culture's connection and dependence on consumption in the modern world (McCracken, 1988: xi). Cultural consumption is fundamentally a social act; it is always affected by the social context and the social relations in which it occurs (Storey, 1999: xii). Consumer goods can be conceptualized as bridges to hopes and ideals which will refer to cultural meanings that cover irrational, fantastic and escapist attachments (McCracken, 1990: 104 cited in Storey, 1999: 141). Cultural consumption resembles a "bridge" by linking the cultural meanings, according to McCracken (ibid.: 141) that consumer appetites never come to the point of "enough" and continues to consume vigorously. Thus, the ways in which people use the texts and practices they consume to make culture is the main interest of this research.

The relationship of culture and consumption does not necessarily refer to the consuming of goods which resonate with its consumers; there are no universal rules to define who will consume which particular cultural product. However, consuming cultural products for consumers refers to acquiring the meanings attached to those particular products. Thus, cultural consumers also look for constructing meaning for themselves by consuming particular goods, as a part of the consumption process they are involved in (Kaufman, 2004: 7).

Chapter II consists of theoretical arguments and approaches to class, culture and consumption. The role of social structure and the social classes has primary importance in comprehending the relationship between culture and consumption. Chapter II concentrates on the key concepts such as class, structure, culture industry, ideology and cultural consumption which constitute the basis of the theoretical discussions regarding the boundary formation. In the beginning of the chapter, an overview of the social class discussions is provided. Following social class, culture, cultural consumption and symbolic boundaries are presented. Since this study comprehends culture and cultural distinction in relation with *habitus*, social structure requires attention to see the relation between class and culture. Therefore, structure, culture and ideology are the following parts which discuss the "dominant" and the "subordinate". The culture industry, as one of the most highly debated topics in the sphere of the sociology of culture is also presented to give a wider scope of the mass and the popular culture and their implications. The dichotomy between the high and the popular culture is another aspect that will be discussed in the construction of cultural boundaries. That is why the following part focuses on how high and popular cultural products are determined. This theoretical chapter continues with an overview of the studies held in Turkey on the construction of cultural boundaries.

In Chapter III, the methodology of the research is presented. First, the qualitative research technique adopted throughout the research is explained. Then, the design of the research is outlined and the sample and the interviewing process are described. The term social class and to what extent it operates in the study held in the Turkish context is the focus in this part. The last part of the methodology chapter focuses on the limitations and the delimitations of the study.

Chapter IV "Before the differences: Commonalities" looks at the common elements in the answers of the respondents throughout the research. The data showed that many of the

respondents both within and across each socio-economic group had similar accounts of their socio-economic position and how they value education. The construction of boundaries necessitates differentiation and distinction. However, commonalities also need attention to offer a wider-scope of the cultural boundaries. That is why this part elaborates on the respondent's perception of their economic and social positions and educational attainment. Moreover, similar responses were also given to the particular cultural items consumed. Of the questions asking about favorite sports and amount of time and money spent football was the most frequently given. Many of the respondents mentioned football as their favorite branch of sports either as a fan or as only following it occasionally. However the meanings attached to this same choice varied a lot. The following part analyzes the answers from respondents when they were shown two paintings, the same cultural item, and asked to select the one liked the most.

Chapter V is entitled "Identity: How are the boundaries constructed from 'below' and 'above'?" This chapter is mainly divided into two parts. The first part looks at perceptions of the rich and the poor which seem to reveal explicit boundaries that respondents construct about both the rich and the poor. Some of the respondents exhibited macro-level reasoning for the extreme economic differences in the economic positions of rich and poor people in Turkey, by mentioning the lack of state implementations. Some of them found both rich people mean and some others accused poor people of being lazy or stingy. The second part looks at the boundaries in cultural consumption, and if "masses" only consume popular cultural products. As Bourdieu suggests, the level of education and the economic capital is important to determine taste. In this regard, it is expected that working-class consumes mass cultural products, whereas, elite consumes high culture. This part looks at the consumption of cultural products in the sphere of television, cinema, reading and music. In the following

section of the Chapter V, the discussion of the sphere of music analyzes consumption of different genres and omnivorousness.

Chapter VI 'The role of Morality' focuses on construction of religion and religiosity in terms of moral boundaries. The first subtopic reviews the moral boundaries regarding their perceptions of religiosity and religious people in Turkey. Respondents' accounts of religious people carried crucial similarities. In general, respondents made a distinction between the "real" and the "pseudo" religiosity. Regardless of their own perception of religion and different attachments to religion, and regardless of the different social class backgrounds moral boundaries are constructed with "pseudo" religious people who the respondents define as immoral. The second subtopic of this chapter focuses on the relationship between the moral boundaries and the political views of the interviewees. The following parts explain the importance of the moral boundaries while drawing conclusions on the cultural consumptions, and determines homologies among spheres such as religion and items of cultural consumption. In this sense, the relationship between dining out and boundaries were explored and the data showed that along with religious customs, cultural boundaries are also important for dining out. The data also showed that respondents' choice of celebrating specific dates and choosing not to celebrate occasions are linked with the moral boundaries they draw. Thus, the relationship of moral boundaries and special occasions is examined in the section. The data shows that in the case of the celebrating special occasions, moral boundaries and ethnic and cultural differences operate together. Thus, the following part focuses on ethnicity and its relation with choosing specific dates to celebrate.

Chapter VII is the Conclusion, giving an overview of the study and making some suggestions for further research. First, the implication of the study on the boundary formation process is presented. The findings, presented in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters, demonstrate how this study depicts the construction of cultural boundaries by different

segments of the society in Turkey. Second, the same Conclusion gives suggestions for further studies in parallel with the previous studies conducted and the results of this research.

CHAPTER II

CLASS, CULTURE AND CONSUMPTION: APPROACHES

The relationship between class, culture, consumption and identity formation has been discussed from several perspectives. The literature focuses on concepts such as social class, *habitus*, culture industry, cultural capital and cultural boundary. This chapter concentrates on these concepts and their relationships with each other, which make up the theoretical background of this study.

II.1. Class

Class has been a widely studied topic in sociology. For some sociologists such as Warner (1960 cited in Wright & Perrone, 1977: 33) and Parsons (1970 cited in ibid), class is associated with occupying common positions within status hierarchies. For Dahrendorf (1959 cited in ibid) and Lenski (1966 in ibid), class is about conflict groups which are in relation with positions within the authority and power structures. The Weberian tradition has another view which analyzes class as being determined on the basis of "common economic life chances" (ibid). This approach considers economic life chance of an individual in relation with his or her place in the capitalist market. Thus, a Weberian understanding of class refers to "communities" (Le Grand, 2008), yet, to Weber, social class refers to the totality of the class situations within which individual and social mobility (one's life chances and position in capitalist market relations) is possible and expected (Giddens & Held cited in ibid). Giddens (cited in ibid) calls this the class "structuration" in which people sharing the same class

positions form social classes. Class structuration as Giddens uses, also involves the translation of economic relations into non economic relations.

On the other hand, the primary concern of the Marxist tradition is the structure and production; conceptualizing class in direct relation with common structural positions within the social organization of production (1960 in Wright & Perrone, 1977: 33). Although Marx himself has never given a formal definition of class, Ossowski (1998: 54) defines social class in the Marxian understanding as "groups determined by their place in the social process of production". It is important to note that class is relational and these relations are rooted in the social organization of production. Within the social relations of production, classes constitute common positions. That is to say, classes should be analyzed on the basis of their relation to other classes (Wright & Perrone, 1977: 33). The understanding of class as encompassing a historical and interactional phenomenon refers to classes as social configurations which are both engaged with material and symbolic relations and also with the interclass relations (Fantasia, 1995: 275). Yet, Wacquant argues (cited in ibid) that classes are always partial configurations in the sense that they are in a permanent change of organization, disorganization and reorganization. This change takes place in relation with the conflicts among classes. This dialectical relationship necessitated additional theoretical tools to analyze the changing patterns of social class relations.

Lenin's approach to classes should also be emphasized as a part of the Marxian outlook. From Lenin's point of view, classes are groups of people which can appropriate the labor of others, owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy (Ossowski, 1998: 26). There are three dichotomic relationships in the Marxian conception of social classes. First dichotomic relationship is about the ownership or non-ownership of the means of production. The following criterion is employment and non-employment of a hired labor force. These criteria lead to the third phase, which is the

separation of classes of those who own the means of production but do not employ the hired labor (ibid.: 33). These criteria were the tools to understand the nineteenth century capitalism where the control over *product of labor* and *activities of labor* are merged in entrepreneurial capitalist. However, to Wright and Perrone (1977) an expanded typology is needed to keep the trace of the differences took place after the nineteenth century. This typology generated by Wright and Perrone (1977: 34) operates with a new concept of managers, referring to the wage-laborers who do not own their own means of production and do not formally pay wages to laborers. Yet, these managers have control over the labor power, which differentiates them from the workers and petty bourgeoisie (ibid). These class categories are not designed in terms of occupation. The difference between occupation and class is made clear as follows:

> The term occupation designates positions within technical division of labor, i.e., an occupation represents a set of activities fulfilling certain technically defined functions. Class, on the other hand, designates positions within the social class relations of production, i.e., it designates the social relationship between the actors" (Wright & Perrone, 1977: 35).

The authors (Wright & Perrone, 1977: 36) exemplify the impracticality of occupational distribution as a tool to be used, for instance, while making social class analysis of a carpenter. The information about an individual which tells he or she is a carpenter and within the technical division of labor, simply, would not tell anything about his or her social class position as a worker, petty bourgeois producer, manager or a small capitalist. Along with occupation, education is another aspect in class analysis. As Wright and Perrone (1977: 52) argue, education is a tool for the legitimization of power inequalities. Moreover, education is an apparatus to socialize people to particular work habits, patterns of discipline and, most importantly, education socializes people to have different social demands in the production process.

Although one's occupation and education are regarded as independent from one's social position, occupation and education deserve a deeper analysis according to Goldthorpe

(cited in Evans & Mills, 1998) especially to identify the members of the traditional middle and new middle-classes in the class structure. As the authors indicate, the relationship between the employer and employees, despite the existence of a contract, is not complete, so it is impossible to foresee all the actions that an employee should undertake. Thus, the notion of trust acquires importance in this kind of a relationship to ensure that the employees will work for the best interest of their employers. Yet, this amount of trust would vary with the position of the employee. A white-collar employee is expected to have more duties and a closer relationship in the sense of the trust, whereas a blue-collar worker tends to establish lower amounts of trust with his or her employer (ibid.: 89). White-collar employees may even define the goals and the tasks of the job in a blurry manner, through bringing positions of flexible working hours and paying a salary rather than an hourly rate. To achieve a high rank in the career ladder, a white-collar worker needs to fulfill the satisfactory performance which is again blurry by definition. Therefore, a trust relationship is formed among the white-collar workers and their employers, which involves white-collar employees diffusing duties requiring discretion. On the other hand, a blue-collar worker's working hours are contractual and formally monitored. Also, the working schedule is designated concretely (ibid). This is the difference between the "service" and "wage-labor" relationship, so that these job attributes are of importance for social class analysis according to Goldthorpe (cited in ibid). All in all, the job attributes differ a lot among the blue-collar and white-collar workers.

In the case of education, Goldthorpe (cited in ibid) uses the Rational Action Theory (RAT), which has two aspects, to explain class differences in educational attainment. The first aspect describes the cultural factors shaping the resources that individuals possess. The second proposes that the choices are made through rational choice decision making, but not with the influence of norms and values. However, as Savage (cited in ibid) argues, one cannot escape cultural traits such as norms and values easily, so that making choices is always

culturally mediated. Choices are set in a meaning context therefore, educational decisions cannot be read merely as a result of structural positions. To Savage (cited in ibid: 5-6), Goldthorpe creates a dualism between culture and economy and he does not take into account the importance of cultural elements in the class analysis. His understanding of class is rather nominalist and does not treat classes as real social groupings. To Le Grand (2008), Goldthorpe fails to acknowledge classes both as real social groupings and as having cultural and economic elements, however, without reducing the cultural to the economic. By including the conception of intermediate classes, rather than seeing society as splitting into two asymmetrical classes, the social structure is conceived differently, which Ossowski calls "scheme of gradation" (Ossowski, 1998: 41). In simple gradations, people's membership to classes is characterized as being objectively measurable along lines such as gradation of wealth, amount of property, size of people's share in the national income (ibid.: 42). However, the size of budget does not presuppose a certain "style of life", for, the same money can be spent in very different ways, once the so-called minimum subsistence is exceeded (ibid.: 49). It refers to the level of wealth expenditure, educational level, occupation and descent (ibid.: 51). This synthesis is facilitated by economic conditioning of the non-economic factors of social prestige shapes "the style of life". The measurement of style of life is made by the amount of expenditure being made that the style which gives evidence of greater wealth is attributed as being higher (ibid.: 51).

In addition, some discrepancies might occur with the level of education of individuals and their economic situation, especially in the context of the norms of a particular milieu of individuals. That is to say, there could be a tension released between the status and class. People might have high income and at the same time they might be lacking elementary education or might be holding university degrees, but earn barely enough for their simple subsistence (Ossowski, 1998: 53). Thus, individuals would deviate from the generally

accepted patterns of the social class that they belong to, so that eventually their social status

and psychological attitudes would be affected. Therefore, the consistency among the factors

of synthetic gradation is itself another factor to determine one's social status (ibid.: 53).

II.2. Culture

As class background only explains a part of why people choose the culture they do,

other factors, such as age, gender and race are incorporated in the analysis of the relationship

between culture and class, (Gans, 1999: 9). To put it another way, people are making cultural

choices in relation with their class background, age, gender and race. Also, as will be

discussed further, members of a particular class do not have to limit their choice to a certain

cultural product in accordance with their class background. There is no universal rule for the

members of a particular social class to act in determined ways or to consume the goods

supplied particularly from them. People, to a certain extent, have power to choose what they

want to consume other than what has been offered them to be consumed.

Focusing on the cultural elements in a class analysis, the neo-Durkheimian approach

makes a realist (as opposed to the nominalist analysis of Goldthorpe's) class analysis of social

formation (Le Grand, 2008). Grusky (cited in ibid) acknowledges the process of class

structuration as economic class locations giving rise to class communities. In terms of the

occupational sphere Grusky thinks occupational groupings are like "small" classes. Yet, along

with the occupational sphere and realm of production, social relationships, social networks,

leisure time activities and consumption should also be taken into consideration while

analyzing classes. As Bourdieu states:

> …class or a class fraction is defined not only by its position in the relations of
> production, as identified through indices such as occupation, income or even
> educational level, but also by a certain sex-ratio, a certain distribution in geographical

space (which is never socially neutral) and by a whole set of subsidiary real principles of selection or exclusion without ever being formally stated (Bourdieu, 1984: 102).

According to Bourdieu (1984: 106), social class is not defined in terms of fundamental property nor the positions in the relations of production. Moreover, social class cannot be defined by a collection of memories which refer to properties of sex, age, social origin, ethnic origin, income and educational level, either. To Bourdieu, social class is defined by the structure of relations among all pertinent properties mentioned. That is to say, one single determinant is not enough to define social class. Cultural, social and symbolic capital are determinants of the social class along with the economic capital. Many scholars in the Marxist tradition viewed social class in terms of relations of production. However, as Marx (cited in Calabrese, 2004) elaborated in Grundrisse, production has strong ties with consumption, too. Marx opposes to the idea that production and consumption are binary opposites. This is an un-dialectical tendency. According to Marx, a mediating movement takes place between production and consumption. That is to say, without production, consumption will remain without an object (ibid.: 10). At the same time, consumption produces production in two ways. First, the product can only become a product when it is consumed. Second, consumption brings the need of new production which refers to the actual impetus for the production to take place (ibid). In this sense, the following part will focus on consumption.

II.3. Focusing on Consumption

The notion of class has been interpreted by its centrality to the conflict between capital and labor (Savage, 2000). However, the way of obtaining income has changed a lot during the early and mid-twentieth century. Now class is determined by both receiving a return from a capital and by selling labor. Regardless of the changes that have taken place in the relations of production, consumption has become crucial. In this sense, Bourdieu and Bauman consider

consumption as a significant factor in the analysis of social sphere. Bauman relates the changing patterns of consumption between the old modern and the post modern societies with the imposition of the system. "Consumption beyond the natural limits" starts to shape people's lives almost in every sense and Bauman tries to explain this role of consumption in his theory. Bourdieu also links the importance of consumption to the analysis of the class and class structure. According to him, the changing patterns of class structure are directly related with the consumption in three spheres; economic, social and cultural capital. Thus, he arranges all the class relations by making "consumption" the focus of his analysis and I adopt his way of thinking and conceptualization for this study.

Consumers build their identities on what they consume. According to Bauman, people define themselves through the messages they transmit to others, through the goods and practices that they process and display. By manipulating and managing appearances they create a "self-identity" (Warde, 2002). The construction of self is not about being placed in the society according to one's lineage. Each person must consciously create a personal identity. In Bauman's theory, this construction is possible only through being an appropriate consumer.

Bourdieu focuses on the differences coming out from the consumption habits. Bourdieu widens the commonsensical notion of capital as an entirely economic resource institutionalized as right of possession and convertible into money and opens the way to the sphere of culture and non-production centred social relations (Joppke, 1986: 25). Economic capital refers to ownership of wealth and the economic potential of individuals. It can immediately and directly convert into money and it may be institutionalized in the form of property rights. Yet, this is not enough to determine class positions.

Cultural capital refers to cultural knowledge as a resource of power used by individuals and social groups to improve their positions within the social class structure

(Joppke, 1986). Education is considered to be a part of cultural capital which has an important role in intergenerational mobility. Educational attainment becomes a tool to provide upward social mobility. Compared with economic capital it is more difficult to measure the cultural capital, because there is no exact equivalent with the medium of money in the sphere of culture. Mainly within the family socialization, cultural capital is in interaction with the symbolic, cognitive and aesthetic competences (Joppke, 1986). To Bourdieu (in Bennett, et al., 2009), the crucial component of cultural capital is the ability to appreciate "abstract" cultural forms distanced from practical necessity of daily life, which stems from the Kantian understanding of aesthetic. For Kant, art objects and use objects are intrinsically opposite (Rose, 1988: 76) and an object is beautiful when there is a complex process in the Kantian model of judgment (Guyer, 1997: 61). As Rose (1988: 77) suggests, for Kant "the affirmative character of art was grounded … in its rewarding value, the possession of which distinguished the 'higher' order of the society, the educated from the 'masses'". That is to say, according to a Kantian understanding, appreciation of art necessitates having educational traits. Bourdieu (cited in Barnett and Allen, 2000) emphasized the close relationship of the embodied cultural capital and the appreciation of legitimate or high culture which contributes to the maintenance of the boundaries. He proposes that familiarity with high culture is a tool to distinguish members of the dominant class from the members of the subordinate class.

Social capital is about the possession of durable networks. It is made up of social obligation, and it is convertible into economic capital. Under certain conditions it may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. The more activities the agents are involved in, the more social potentials they have. Yet, there is also always a risk of having no network at all. However, strategic use of social relations would improve one's position. Therefore, according to Bourdieu social capital always functions as symbolic capital (Joppke, 1986). Symbolic capital refers to the values and norms transmitted to generations which affect

individuals. Symbolic capital is identified with its ideological functions in Bourdieu's theory. It is a subjective reflection, acknowledgment and legitimization of a given distribution of economic, cultural and social capital (Joppke, 1986: 26). Bourdieu's conceptualization of class is the combination of the above mentioned four categories of capital. Class, in his analysis, is made up of agents whose dispositions coincide. According to Bourdieu, cultural artefact is an objectification of a relationship of distinction. Class-specific consumption is related with the cultural artefact and the consequent distinction.

As introduced by Bourdieu (1984), class locations in the social sphere are closely related to these different types of capitals. In this sense, social class analysis requires additional considerations, such as consumption and cultural distinction. Consumption of cultural goods renders possible the accumulation of cultural capital which refers to the markers of economic and social distinction in society. In Bourdieu's theory, economic and symbolic wealth play important roles, since they are distributed unequally. A person's class location structures their cultural consumption and leisure participation in material constraints and as invisible constraints. Material constraints refer to the access in terms of the amount of money and time available, such as car ownership or residence. Invisible constraints refer to the access to the cultural competences (Murdock, 1989). By regarding class as processual, and underlining the importance of culture, Bourdieu also emphasizes symbolic elements being fundamental to the social class analysis (Le Grand, 2008: 7).

II.4. Classed Identities

According to Lawler (2005) class is a lived process of identity construction, directly in relationship with classed identities. The identity formation is crucial because classes are constructed by people via symbolic means and social practices (Lawler, 2005). However, this is not a praise of "end of class" discussions, which conclude that the societies are not

composed of classes anymore. Rather, meritocracy forms the basis of this composition. Again as Lawler (2005) states, another characteristic of the "classless society" view puts the blame on people who are on the losing end of the class system. That is to say, individual subjectivities are held responsible for their unequal position, which leads to the "social exclusion" and "underclass" literature (ibid). As Walkerdine (2003, cited in ibid) elaborates "the language of psychology has come to replace a grammar of exploitation".

In this sense, in line with Bourdieu, the notion of class structuration is dynamic and this dynamic character of class is in direct relation with classed identities. That is to say, the classed identities that are not just about the "empty signifier to be filled by social actors, but also something we are" (Lawler cited in Le Grand, 2008: 7). By dynamic, Lawler refers to a continuum where the class identities are made and re-made. Although the focus of cultural studies and class analysis intersects, the two literatures do not speak to each other. The gap between the two literatures has two main reasons. First is the exclusion of identity politics from the discussions of social class. Second is analysis made of culture without taking class as identity. However, neither cultural signifiers could be regarded as distinct from the economic systems, nor could cultural and symbolic signifiers be reduced to economic relations (Lawler, 2005). People are not judged as lacking or disgusting because of their poverty, rather tastelessness and lack of knowledge becomes a marker of working-class labeling. It implied that due to lack of knowledge working-class people cannot spend their money properly with a consumerist approach (ibid.: 800). This "tastelessness" could only be regarded as a lack of bourgeois taste[1] which is not only a desire but also an imperative.

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[1]   Bourgeois taste in Bourdieuian sense rests upon a distinction of taste and knowledge, which could also be interpreted as the legitimate culture.

As Lawler (2005) aptly points out, identity formation is not just an issue of subjectivity. As she quotes from Gagnier (2000 cited in ibid), objectivity referring to the convergence of opinions of others may conflict with subjectivity. One may feel like a king, but will not be treated as a king in a bank (Gagnier, 2000 cited in ibid). Working-class has long been regarded as "masses" or "mob". Yet, it is uncertain if anyone defines him or herself a member of the "mass" or "mob" (Lawler, 2005). Here, in the sense of individuality attributed, a distinction between the working and the middle-classes occurs. Moreover, working-class people are criticized of having "damaged" cultural identities by middle-class observers. Thus, the poor is judged because of having a wrong kind of life, and consequently working-class culture is being regarded as the "point zero culture" (Skeggs 2004 cited in ibid). Contrary to this looking down upon the working-class, middle-class culture is regarded as "real" culture which covers intelligence, good childcare, taste etc. According to Bourdieu (1998), being poor is associated with being immoral, alcoholic, degenerate, stupid and lacking intelligence. In line with Bourdieu's argument, other studies have also shown a similar result. Roberts (1999 cited in Lawler, 2005) demonstrates that studies conducted in the 1960s also found out that poverty was almost a synonym of stupidity. Seeing class in its relationality and dynamism, culture and class are very much interdependent. In this sense, looking at the identity or boundary construction, class should be analyzed in more than occupational and economic terms. That is to say, class should be conceptualized as something *done* both in the private and public sphere. Class does not constitute a distinct area separate from gender, race, sexuality, nation and so on. Indeed, it constitutes an axis "around which identities and cultures are formed" (Lawler, 2005: 804).

In this regard, Bourdieu (in Bennett et al., 2009) argues that each cultural field, such as visual arts, journalism, literature, music, cinema, sports, dining and so on, has its own autonomy, none of which could be reduced to another. Yet, there are homologies across fields

that similar principles could be detected across these different fields, such as visual arts, journalism and so on. For instance, individuals who are listening a particular genre of music may choose to go to a certain type of restaurant. This means that there is a homology between the two cultural fields, music and dining out choices. In this sense, it is also important to emphasize *habitus*. *Habitus*' role here is being the social space where the agents meet, interact and form a social class. *Habitus* is a generative principle that mediates the objective spaces of economic and social conditions and class-specific lifestyles on the level of individual actor in his or her quality as a member of a class (Joppke, 1986: 27). *Habitus* is best characterized by revealing the class-specific tastes and lifestyles. The *habitus* of all classes differs. The *habitus* of working-class unconsciously favours the passive consumption of physically oriented, combative sports like boxing or football. On the other hand, the *habitus* of upwardly mobile middle-class promotes competitiveness, the cult of bodily fitness. The ruling class' *habitus* would prefer sports which guarantee the maximum elitarian distinction such as tennis, horse riding…etc (Joppke, 1986). Bourdieu (cited in ibid) draws attention to reproduction and inheritance through habituation of people's certain routines and the continuation of those routines across generations. Although Bourdieu defines *habitus* in loose and flexible terms, he insists on *habitus* being the product of same conditions of existence of a particular class and it has a decisive function, so that it unites and distinguishes people coming from similar conditions (ibid.: 25). *Habitus*, to Bourdieu is a social space explained as follows:

> …necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application…of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions (Bourdieu, 1984: 170).

It is with *habitus* that an agent's set of practices become systematic and become products of same schemes and again systematically differs from the practices of another style of life. Bourdieu states that *habitus* is a structuring structure, but at the same time, it is a

structured structure. Each class is defined in terms of its intrinsic and relational properties which are derived from the position in the system of class conditions. *Habitus,* as a system of practice-generating schemes, works in accordance with the principles of differentiation which are perceived as natural (ibid.: 171). As Bourdieu puts it, "lifestyles are systematic products of *habitus*, which perceived in their mutual relations through the schemes of the *habitus*, become sign systems that are socially qualified" (ibid.: 172). Class *habitus* accommodates practice-unifying and at the same time practice-generating principles. To put it another way, class *habitus* is the internalized form of class condition (ibid.: 101).

In his view, families equipped with cultural capital lead their children to certain cultural forms which necessitate high levels of educational attainment to be capable of handling the "abstract" and "formal" categories which would eventually allow them to have advantaged positions (Bennett et al., 2009). Again, people's receptions are being shaped by their *habitus* (ibid: 22). There is a homology among the lifestyle spaces of an individual's or a group's taste so that there are similarities in their choices in different cultural fields. For example, a literary field must also apply to the individual's or group's taste in another cultural field (ibid.: 25), such as the sphere of music. According to Rutz and Balkan (2003), along with the general commodification of culture developed by the increase in cultural consumption objects, new knowledge based industries have been established. Among these culture industries education (and even the quality of education) became the most prominent tool through which cultural capital could be accumulated.

In addition, while talking about divided *habitus,* a resonance between the consumer's social class background and the consumed product's symbolic attachment is not a must. As Lahire (in Bennett et al., 2009) argues there are "dissonant taste profiles" referring to cross-over tastes and practices that diverse groups may share and set those tastes and practices apart (ibid.: 28). Supporting this discussion and following Warner's arguments of social class being

based on similar attitudes, Holt (1998) underlines that each status group forms a unique way of life in which the consumer good and activities adopted remain arbitrary. That is to say, factors other than income and economic conditions also contribute to the stratified consumption patterns (ibid). Holt (1998) shows that differences in consumption patterns among different classes should be analyzed in terms of taste, pleasure and desires, rather than the strategic or instrumental action of the consumer. However, recent studies have argued that the constraints of *habitus* are surmountable, so that audience's practices could step out from the actor's own social positions and constraints (Bennett, et al., 2009: 22). This approach attributes fluidity to the materials of cultural consumption due to the capacity of broadcasting, which has not been foreseen by Bourdieu (ibid.: 22). New paradigms such as digital media replaced the patterns of dissemination in traditional forms of high culture.

Regarding the critique of *habitus*, Lamont (1992) uses the term symbolic boundaries which include the combination of social, economic, cultural and moral boundaries. All these indicators together have a role for upper middle-classes in defining their identities and distinguishing themselves from other classes. In addition, while she emphasizes the power of agency to define and distinguish, she criticizes Bourdieu for overemphasizing the importance of *habitus,* thus the social structure to which individuals are born to. Lamont's analysis is crucial in the sense that she adds another characteristic, moral boundary, to the literature of boundary making. However, one main point she underemphasizes is the interpretations of subordinate classes. Lamont focuses on upper-middle-class individuals, and does not integrate the definitions made by subordinate or working-classes.

II.5. Symbolic Boundaries

"Boundaries" constitute a system of rules which directs the interaction of people in terms of coming together; as well as the kind of activities they engage in and whom they involve in those activities with. Boundaries are often determined by the available cultural resources, spatial, geographic and social-structural constraints (Lamont, 1992: 12). The public evaluation of behavior and the degrees of conformity to social codes are in the centre of analysis of boundaries. Thus, both differences and similarities with others are crucial in the process of construction of boundaries. Moreover, boundaries could also function as a set of collective norms and may develop a general sense of organization and order in communities (ibid.: 11).

The formation of boundaries results in the separation of people into classes, working groups, professions, species, genders, and races which give rise to a segment of the society to acquire status, monopolize resources, or legitimate their social actions (ibid). There are three types of symbolic boundaries. Lamont (1992) defines moral boundaries as qualities such as honesty, work ethic, personal integrity and consideration for others. Within the context of this research, religiosity and political affiliation of the individual will be included under moral boundaries. Socioeconomic boundaries refer to people's social position concerning their wealth, power, or professional success. In this study, the definition of socioeconomic will be made in terms of their occupation and income. Cultural boundaries are characterized by education, intelligence, manners, tastes and command of high culture (ibid.: 4). In this study, I will define cultural boundaries as the level of education and people's choice of cultural and leisure activities.

In a comparative study analyzing the American and French social elite's cultural life, Lamont (1992) challenged a number of ideas developed by Bourdieu. According to Lamont

(1992), the term "symbolic boundaries" is a theoretical tool to understand how and why individuals act in certain ways. Instead of linking individuals' motives only to material interests, Lamont argues that the relationship between moral, cultural and socioeconomic boundaries varies across time and space (ibid.: 181). Thus, they should be considered and examined case by case. One of the most extensive critiques to Bourdieu's research (1984) is made by Lamont (1992). According to Lamont (1992), Bourdieu's study on the Parisian social elite's life underestimates the importance of moral boundaries. She argues that Bourdieu narrowly equates moral behavior and discipline, asceticism, legalism, puritanism or propensity to save and at the same time ignores virtues such as charity, peacefulness, personal integrity and solidarity (ibid.: 185). In addition, Bourdieu defines social actors as socioeconomic maximizers who are in need of maximizing material and symbolic payoffs (ibid.: 185), and *habitus* shapes one's values, tastes, opinions, and codes used to classify others (ibid.: 187) which is like a kind of grammar of actions functions to differentiate one class from the other (Lechte, 1994: 47). According to Bourdieu all these values, tastes, opinions and codes are strongly in relation with people's position in the power fields which mediate their strategies. Bourdieu thought that the social structure becomes the main force behind the social action, *habitus* as a cultural mechanism is a part of this structure (Bourdieu cited in Kaufman, 2004: 343). Therefore, criticizing Bourdieu for overemphasizing *habitus* in studying the social action of individuals Lamont (1992: 188) argues that individuals could borrow the cultural models which are decoupled from their own lives, cultural models which do not resonate with them.

Another important debate is the reproduction of inequalities. According to Bourdieu, difference of any kind is political and would lead to inequality, whereas for Lamont (1992), boundaries do not necessarily result in inequality. Bourdieu, in the same line with structuralism, argues that the semiotic codes and their relational meanings would result in

differentiation which will directly lead to hierarchalization (cited in Lamont, 1992: 182). To understand whether differentiations stemming from boundaries and hierarchalization have a direct relation or not, Lamont (1992) suggests the strength of symbolic boundaries should be the unit of analysis.

Bourdieu, by no means, underestimates the importance of culture; as Lamont and Fournier (1992: 5) state, he "is one of many social scientists who read power relations between groups through their relations with culture". For Lamont (1992: 5) Bourdieu's conceptualization is weak since, Bourdieu did not pay enough attention to the importance of moral boundaries whereas he exaggerated the significance of cultural and socioeconomic boundaries. She argues that boundaries separate people into classes, professions, species, genders and races (ibid.: 12). As boundaries provide these groupings and separation, they have potential to produce inequality, too. However, Lamont (1992: 174) discusses the effect of variations in the strength of subjective boundaries (which are moral and cultural boundaries) on objective socioeconomic boundaries. In her study, Lamont (1992: 174) specifies the conditions under which symbolic boundaries can foster objective socioeconomic boundaries. For instance, morality transcends the class difference, and at the same time, she finds out that boundaries could have more effect on class reproduction – thus, on inequality – more in France than in the U.S. (ibid.: 176).

II.5.1. Omnivorousness

Regarding drawing cultural boundaries, omnivourousness requires attention. As Bourdieu argues embodying high culture, and in Kantian terms being capable of thinking in more abstract terms are not the only tools to provide distinction. Lamont (1992) and also Peterson and Anand (2004) proposed that other than the high culture, "popular culture" may serve as a tool for social exclusion, either. With their study of the musical tastes of the range

of status groups, Peterson & Kern (1996) pointed to the cultural symbols of class position that are undergoing a deep transformation. According to the study (1996), cultural omnivorousness is a trend that persons and groups show their high status by consuming both fine arts and appreciating many forms of popular culture at the same time. Hence, a transition from *snob* cultural consumption patterns which are considered as a part of high culture or elite, to the *omnivore* consumption patterns, which includes middle and lowbrow forms of cultural products, is observed by the authors (ibid). Thus, it results in the construction of boundary of upper-classes to acquire more extensive cultural repertoires. Omnivorous type of consumption becomes a market for distinction of middle and upper-middle-classes.

II.7. Culture and Ideology

For many of the Marxist scholars, culture is conceptualized as a form of domination. For instance, according to Williams (1977: 117) the relations between cultural, political and economic institutions are themselves very complex, and the substance of these relations is a direct indication of the character of the culture in the wider sense. And it can be assumed that sum of all these institutions is an organic hegemony whose reproduction should not be reduced to "ideological state apparatus" (ibid.: 118). The state serves as an ideological apparatus in many contexts, but it may not be the only source of hegemony. For instance, according to Williams, along with socialization, public education transmits necessary knowledge and skills, however this selection constitutes a particular choice from the available rest. By selection, it is possible to identify common features in family, school, community, work and communications which would result in incorporation and thus, self-identification with the hegemonic form (ibid.: 118). Finding the traces of culture in it, practices of everyday life that attain importance, as argued by Williams, since culture is ordinary and could be

found in mundane and ordinary preoocupations of everyday life (Williams, 1958 cited in Bennett and Watson, 2002: xvii).

For Eagleton (2000: 37) both culture and ideology are strongly in relation with domination and essentially, both culture and ideology have to do with meanings attached. Dominant power could legitimize itself by promoting beliefs and values which are in parallel with it. Moreover, dominant power could disparage different ideas which might challenge it, and exclude rival forms of thought and even obscure social reality in ways which are appropriate for its permanence (ibid.: 7). The most powerful tool to transmit the dominant form of thought is the media and the everyday culture. In this sense, culture becomes a form of domination. The dominant class, as it owns and controls the means of production, also forces or ensures that dominated classes use the concepts provided by the dominant class. Thus, even in a case of rebellion or a protest, the medium of the dominant classes, are used (Abercrombie & Turner, 1978: 154). However Abercrombie and Turner (1978) claim that the contemporary capitalism and the dominant ideologies are not completely adopted by subordinate classes. Both dominant and subordinate classes, by virtue of their relationship to the means of production and out of their general conditions of existence generate for themselves a culture which gives expression to that particular class' material conditions. Under different economic circumstances social classes have different interests. To put it this way, each class forms a separate system of beliefs, the character of which is determined by the interests of a particular class (ibid.: 150-151).

The idea of the individual actor, who consciously produces the social relations imposed by the structure, is not valid for Althusser, instead, he thinks each subject becomes an agent of the system (ibid). Agent is an ensemble of ideological state apparatuses from which he or she can never escape, namely, religion, education, family, legal system…etc. (Thomson, 2009). For Althusser, "reality exists in a displaced form in the social formation in

question… the contradictions in the system are… not immediately visible… [but] must be rendered visible by science" (ibid.: 39). According to Althusser, for subordinate classes, definitions of reality institutionalized within the ideological state apparatuses (Clarke et al., 1997: 102); ideology forms subjects and locates them in a system in which existing class relations are maintained (Lechte, 1994: 40). Hence, hegemony, through ideology, is sustained by primarily inserting subordinate classes into key institutions and structures which function to maintain the dominant order (Clarke et al., 1997: 102). However, a struggle against class subordination, also takes place. Since, hegemonic ideology can never fully absorb subordinate classes into the ruling class, there is always a "won space" from the dominant culture (Clarke et al., 1997: 103). This "won space" refers to a cultural space in the neighborhood and institutions, real time for leisure and recreation and actual room in the street or street-corner (ibid). Besides, relations between the classes trigger an oppositional outcome which results in a repertoire of strategies and responses brought by the subordinate classes. Subcultures are shaped on the level of subordinate classes, which are not simply ideological constructs, as Althusser would argue. To Bourdieu, only culture emerging from the struggles of artists and intellectuals would differ, since it has a relevant autonomy both from the market and the state (Bennett et al., 2009). Although Bourdieu does not refer to the culture defined in terms of struggle as subculture, he has a parallel argument with Althusser's in the sense of the conceptualization of the possibility of an alternative definition of culture other than the one imposed.

In this regard, turning back to Althusserian terminology, cultural and moral boundaries shaped by the subordinate classes include both the structural factors and the patterns of beliefs and values of the members of the subordinate classes. To Althusser, men and women live their real conditions of existence through ideology (Storey, 1999: 129). By the ideological practice, individuals' lived relations transform into the social formation, which is mainly

provided by offering false, yet, ostensibly true solutions to the real problems. This, according to Althusser, is "profoundly" an unconscious process (Althusser cited in Storey, 1999: 129) which is maintained by representations of the real conditions via myths, concepts, ideas, images, discourses, rituals, customs, patterns of behaviors and ways of thinking (ibid).

In the production and the reproduction of class subordination the Ideological State Apparatuses, with all their power to dominate the cultural consumption, enter into the scene. That is to say, needs and desire for consumption are generated via patterns of cultural consumption, which eventually would refer to a sense of identity. However, in the post-structuralist discussions, this does not necessarily mean that identity is something fixed and determined (ibid.: 135). Identity is a production, rather than an ascription by birth. Also, it is constituted in history and in culture (ibid).

As Hall argues, identities, rather than referring to where individuals come from or to their roots, are about what individuals are going to do and what their routes are (Hall cited in Storey, 1999: 135). Turning back to the discussions on the nineteenth century, identity formation primarily targeted the urban elite (Storey, 1999: 134). However, now identity formation is conceptualized as engaging in all subjectivities. In this sense, as Sarup argues, cultural consumption becomes a way of gaining an identity (Sarup cited in Storey, 1999: 136). Our identities are constructed via what we watch, listen, wear, read, eat, drink and etc. To Sarup (cited in ibid), what one consumes provides a script which he or she can stage and perform in a variety of ways. Keeping these in mind, it should also be noted that identity formation is also conceptualized as a totally free area, from which individuals could freely choose their identities. Contrary to Sarup's arguments, Skeggs (1997 cited in Bottero, 2004) claims that except being a site of differences, class is about conflict, power and opposition. Classes are historically produced formations which are developed to provide the continuance and strengthen the power of a particular group on another. The lack of class conflict or class

struggle has also resulted in the re-theorization of class as an individualized process partly in response to the mentioned process (ibid.: 992). Thus, through ignoring the wider spectrum of cultural hierarchy, it becomes possible to say this individualized processes are pertinent to the shifts in organizational culture (ibid.: 991).

This study conceptualizes members of subordinate class as constructing their cultural boundaries along with the dominant class, rather than subordinate classes being subject to the remaining area left from the dominant class culture. However, while giving agency to subordinate class, it is important to note that agency from Althusserian perspective is an ensemble of ideological state apparatuses. Yet, struggle occurs between the subordinate and dominant classes and there is a "won space" in which subcultures are shaped. Social class is in relation with culture as it is discussed earlier, but, also it is in relation with the ideology. Since this study regards social classes as dominant and subordinate, the relationship of culture to the ideology should be taken into consideration. In this regard, next part focuses on culture industry, since ideological manner of the products of culture industry produce alienated art and shape. Through these objectifications alienated humans become unaware of their own best possibilities (Garnham, 2000: 156).

II.8. Culture Industry

The Frankfurt School presents another outlook, which conceptualizes cultural consumption as manipulation of the masses. In this regard, *culture industry*, pointing out the processes and the products of the mass culture, produces a standardized culture which discourages the masses from thinking beyond what has been presented by the culture industry (Storey, 1999: 19-20). The increasing emphasis on the exchange value rather than the use value is the crucial feature of the *culture industry* (Adorno, 1992).

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Adorno was one of the first theoreticians who studied and conceptualized popular culture within the context of *culture industry. Culture industry* is a term that cannot be detached from popular culture. He states that the fundamental characteristic of popular music is *standardization*; as a result the hit will lead back to the same familiar experience and nothing fundamentally novel will be produced (Adorno, 2002). The whole is pre-determined even before the actual experience takes place. Every detail could be replaced and listener would capture the same framework even when those details are changed. It is not a coincidence that the system of *culture industry* first flourished in liberal, industrialized countries where the means of communication such as cinema, radio and magazines were successful. Without a doubt, *culture industry* needed capitalism and its regulations (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996). Culture has always contributed to subjugate the revolutionary instinct, so too does the industrialized culture. Thus, it becomes easy to be involved and to be merged with masses (ibid.: 45). *Culture industry* could not exist without adapting itself to the masses, but it misuses its concern for the masses in order to duplicate, reinforce and strengthen their mentality, which it presumes is given and unchangeable (Adorno, 1992: 86). The entire practice of the *culture industry* transfers profit naked onto cultural forms. Ever since these cultural commodities placed in the market they had already possessed something of this quality.

Williamson (1995: 70) suggests that "In buying products with certain 'images' we create ourselves, our personality, our qualities, even our past and future" (Williamson, 1995: 70). Consumers consume the product by buying it, at the same time, consumers are the products. Thus, consumers become the artists who create the face, the life style (ibid) and the roles, according to Williamson. Since culture could not be conceptualized merely as products produced by culture industries, it could neither be explained in the basis of appropriation of cultural products by their consumers. Emulation has been used as a key concept to explain the

birth of consumerism. Yet, to presume that cultural consumption is a top-down flow of influence would be misleading for an in-depth analysis of class and culture. Here, Bermingham (in Storey, 1999: 6) argues that culture is not the province of the elite. The concept of emulation becomes a tool to understand the role of the upper-classes in the creation of consumer society (ibid). That is to say, a servant may try to follow his or her aristocratic employer in his or her consumption patterns. However, as Campbell (cited in Storey, 1999: 9) argues this imitation does not necessarily refer to emulation. Wearing similar dresses with their employer's does not imply that employees are seeking to be like their employers (ibid). Historically speaking, the relationship of employer and employee starting from eighteenth century led social emulation an engine for growth, a motive power for mass production (McKendrick in ibid.: 10).

In this regard, the understanding of popular culture as "structure" and the conceptualization of popular culture as emerging from below exists together. That is to say, popular culture could be understood as "agency" rather than the structure, too. Here, Gramsci (in Storey, 1999: 150) uses the term "compromise equilibrium" to define contradictory nature of culture industry; both "below" and "above" forces. The point that I want to underline here is that together with the suppliance of certain cultural commodities, the appropriation of the consumption of those particular commodities into particular meaningful acts is as important as the cultural commodities *provided* (ibid). This does not necessarily mean that the determining role of production on cultural consumption should be neglected. In addition, this study does not seek to focus on the dominance of the consumers of cultural products. On the contrary, this study seeks to comprehend the cultural consumption issue from both sides: structure, culture industry and agency, cultural consumers.

II.8.1. Mass Culture

The "mass culture" has also been criticized for having negative effects on the society, popular culture audience, on high culture and on popular culture creation. In line with this, the reducing effects on the level of cultural quality and encouraged totalitarianism by creating a passive audience have also been discussed within the context of mass culture (Gans, 1999). Also, Fiske (cited in Storey, 1999: 153) has opposed the argument which interprets "people" as passive, helpless beings who are subject to imposed cultural products promoted by the capitalist ideology. Fiske (cited in Storey, 1999: 154) in line with Gramsci believes that culture is still a site of struggle, and therefore, it is not simply an imposition from above to economic and ideological ends. As Bourdieu (cited in Bennett et al., 2009) also emphasized, the political dimension of culture could not be tossed out.

Culture industries offer materials for its own critique (Willis cited in ibid) to the masses to be consumed. Willis argues that the market provides a cultural empowerment of choice to a certain extent, but this does not give individuals the power to set a cultural agenda. However, available extent of consumer choice is being expanded by the market itself, so that it is not reasonable to talk about a total free-choice, since people select a product among the products that have been supplied by the market for their consumption. Yet, the market could sell the rope which could kill the market itself, just as it could sell the cultural products which would lead to cultural emancipation, even if it could only be considered partial emancipation (Willis cited in ibid).

II.9. High vs. Popular Culture

The appreciation of high culture as superior to popular culture is another crucial issue while discussing construction of cultural boundaries. The command of high culture can be

analyzed as a means of social distinction and as a means of domination. The attempt of big corporations, for example, to enter to the domain of art and culture (Wu, 2005: 22-23) constitutes a major case where cultural boundaries are being constructed and made use of. For instance when, with the cultural practice that a corporation has involved in, it gains a social status and a value. Cultural capital as it is used by Bourdieu turns into economic capital, by the same token, with the aim of reaching economic success, corporations try to attain cultural capital (ibid.: 25).

As DiMaggio (cited in Wu, 2005: 210) describes culture capitalists, who use the command of high culture as a means for distinction, are the cultural managerial capitalists who climb to the top of the corporate ladder through a managerial career. Also, the involvement in arts is a locus of social distinction to which their elite status and class aspirations are tied. For instance, participating in art sponsorship refers to a distinct style of life, a more sophisticated one, strengthening their social status with the economic power of the corporations they are working for. Thus, this involvement serves the interests of the corporations (ibid.: 213). This phenomenon has its roots in the nineteenth century. There had been a strong relationship between social status and cultural taste. Peterson and Simkus argue (1992: 152) that, as it has been previously elaborated by Berger (1972), DiMaggio (1982), Levine (1988) and DeNora (1991), the idea of fine art as high culture, which served as a basis for making of social class position, was propagated in the nineteenth century by moral entrepreneurs.

Given the fact that there are no universal rules to define high or popular cultural items, the boundaries between the two are blurry. Crane uses the term *culture world* which she borrowed from Becker's conceptualization of art world (Becker in Crane, 1982: 72). She uses *culture world* as a theoretical tool which would apply for a wider range of phenomena (Crane, 1992: 60, 72). As Crane (1992) argues, each *culture world* has different interpretation of

cultural works. By *culture world* Crane (1992: 60) refers to urban culture worlds as "consisting of culture creators and support personnel, conventions and shared understanding of what culture should be like, gatekeepers who evaluate cultural products, organization within or around which cultural activities take place, displaced or produced, audiences whose characteristics can be a major factor in determining what types of cultural products can be displayed, performed, or sold in a particular environment". With this definition, Crane includes both institutions and the audience to her analysis, which can be considered different from Lamont's conceptualization of production and reproduction of symbolic boundaries.

To Lamont, individual cases are of importance, whereas Crane underlines the importance of networks, organizations and gatekeepers along with the audience. Crane also emphasizes the differentiation among the *culture world*s when the audience for particular forms of culture is drawn from the middle and upper classes, the products of that form of culture are considered "high culture" (ibid.: 60). On the other hand, critics within social theory and historians generally did not include lower class and minority groups in the definition of high culture (ibid.: 61). That is to say, subordinate classes are not taken into account in the literature as much as the ruling classes. Another important point in Crane's analysis is that high culture does not have an intrinsic content. Briefly, high culture is associated with social contexts, as in the case of opera, symphony orchestra, museum or art galleries, are not easily accessible to the members of the working-class (ibid.: 64). She argues that definition of high culture is not static anymore and urban cultures could include forms of culture created for the working-class. At the same time, the products of popular culture which are mainly disseminated by media or non-profit organizations could differentiate among themselves. Crane conceptualizes these changeable patterns of *culture worlds* by looking at the organizations and institutions, such as corporate elites, government institutions and media

conglomerates involving themselves in the domain of culture with power to define culture (1992).

As Gans (1999) argues, the most important difference between the popular and high culture lies in the size and the heterogeneity of the audience of the two. A popular television program could appeal to more than the half of the population in a country, however, a high culture product might only attract a small number of people. In addition, while high culture constructs itself with exclusiveness of its tastes, popular culture covers a wide variety of aesthetic standards referring to a more heterogeneous group then the high culture appreciators (ibid.: 32). In this sense, popular culture has been discussed to be standardized and perceived as mass culture in the light of the issues discussed above. Regarding the difference between high and popular culture, Gans (1999) talks about the *culture war,* which does not only include tension between the high and popular culture. It is also about the nature of "good culture" and the ones who should dominate in the society (ibid.: 4). In this sense, culture war refers to the class conflict of cultured, educated and more affluent against uncultured, uneducated and less affluent (ibid.: 6).

As in the case of omnivorousness, convergence of choices of different classes became a more common issue that lower-middle taste publics could show up in the art museums, or in independent movie screenings (ibid.:10). However, this kind of a convergence is rare when a particular cultural product requires artistic schooling or some knowledge other than the most popular symbols and metaphors, to be consumed (ibid.: 11). Thus, education, age, gender and race are critical in terms of cultural consumption along with the class background of an individual. According to Gans (1999: 18), few decades ago it would be humiliating for middle-class adolescents to consume cultural products associated with working or lower classes. Nowadays, even though parents direct the cultural lives of their children in class-based ways and with class-based goals, there is a chance for the youngsters to resist this kind

of a parental authority and giving them a more liberal outlook on cultural consumption. Thus, people are more prone to become *omnivores* then in the past (ibid).

II. 10. The Turkish case

The class and culture studies on the Turkish case give clues about the process of cultural boundary formation. In Erdoğan's study (2007) the importance of moral boundaries are reflected with the interviewees conducted with members of the subordinate classes. The data shows that "being honorable" becomes the most powerful tool to survive from the material and symbolic domination for the members of the subordinate classes (ibid.: 70). For example, the legitimization of the reason why rich people become rich is made by the phrase "the wrong ways lead to the sky, the right ways get you nowhere" (ibid.: 79). Özyeğin (2002) focuses on rural to urban migrates who work as maids and tenants in the city. She underlines the importance of the modern vs. traditional dichotomy in defining their identity and thus, shaping their behavior. Özyeğin's study addresses the importance of moral boundaries. The data in her study depicts that maids thought their employers were not fully accomplishing their gender roles (ibid.: 77). Maids have strong moral boundaries since they think women have certain gender roles to be performed. In this logic, lacking these gender roles means lacking womanhood, which is equivalent of not fulfilling assigned moral obligations.

The Turkish case has also been elaborated in the context of middle-class. The new middle-class in Turkey is conceptualized from two perspectives. First is by referring to suburban dwellers. Ayata (2002), in his research on the new middle-class conducted in suburban neighborhoods in Ankara points out to the physical separation of new middle-class from the irregular surrounding of the city center. This obsession of the new middle-class with order is one of the variables of the desire to emphasize the class differences (ibid.: 41). Also, the changing consumption patterns, gender roles are important signifiers to reflect those

differences and to construct cultural boundaries. However, other than the urban dwelling of members of this new middle-class, there are different views on how the middle-classes should be conceptualized. Occupation and education, again, becomes the focus of these debates.

To some of the new class theorists (Bruce-Briggs, 1979; Brint, 1984; Lamont, 1987; Kriesi, 1989; Esping-Andersen, 1993) middle-classes are divided into two, namely, the new-middle-class consists of knowledge workers, whereas, the old (also called as *traditional* by Goldthorpe, or *core* by Rutz & Balkan) middle-classes are defined as business owners or industrialists. To Kriesi (in Güveli et al., 2007), again, middle-class is divided into two; *technocrats* who give priority to integrity of the organization of the work and *specialists* who are more client-oriented. In this sense, specialists are assumed to be the new middle-class with the purpose to defend their or their client's relative autonomy (ibid).

The prominent characteristic of this new middle-class emphasized in the literature is their support for the new social movements. In this sense, Güveli et al. (2007) underlines two approaches to the political orientation (which is defined in terms of voting behavior). First one is the sociological approach which suggests the social milieu has great importance in shaping people's voting behavior and binding people to a particular social group. Second is the economic approach underlining the importance of the relationship between the parties' policies and the economic advantage of the voter (ibid). By integrating these two approaches, Güveli et al. (2007) suggests that cultural and social specialists are fonder of voting for leftist parties than the technocrats. Since cultural and social specialists, generally working in the public sectors, have the jobs in the sectors, which are not directed in the profit maximization such as health and education, they require state subsidies. Thus, they vote for the leftist parties which are clearly supporting the social state practices and responsibilities.

On the other hand, technocrats with certain autonomy are expected to vote for right wing parties due to their emphasis on promoting privatization, lowering the taxes and so on

which are parallel with technocrats' economic and organizational assets used for profit maximization. Goldthorpe (cited in ibid) asserts that service class (cultural and social specialists working in the public sector), being essentially conservatist, is more fond of the right-wing parties due to its more privileged occupational position in the society. In addition, service class want to preserve the status-quo, as a result political orientation of the core middle-class would be towards the rightist movements. Considering Goldthorpe's analysis, Güveli et al. (2007) argues that class structure changes gradually, and therefore, the political orientation of the middle-classes changes gradually as well and becomes more crystallized. Güveli et al. by defining social class in terms of occupations negates the argument of Goldthope's. They find out that, based on occupational structure (the sector of employment), members of the service class (cultural and social specialists) are more likely to vote for leftist parties.

It is assumed that the political orientation of the new and the core middle-classes differentiate. As the study of Güveli et al. (2007) shows, in the Netherlands, the new middle-class' tendency is significantly towards the rightist parties compared with the core middle-class'. Güveli et al.'s (2007) study, in this regard, also shed light on the contemporary situation in Turkey. The Turkish new middle-class and the core middle-class' political orientation follows a parallel pattern. The new middle-class in Turkey tends to vote for the right-wing political parties, whereas, the core or traditional middle-class would be more close to left-wing parties.

Rutz and Balkan (2003) discuss how the newly emerged middle-class uses education to draw boundaries. They point out that, following the shift in economic policies from protectionism to global integration during the 1980s in Turkey, the education system was influenced by this change in the state policy. The effects were dramatic in terms of middle-class welfare and social consciousness (Rutz & Balkan, 2003). After the liberalization period

in the 1980s in Turkey, the opportunities of acquiring "quality education" [2] have been

dramatically decreased for the core middle-classes. As the authors define, core middle-classes

are made up of public servants, public administrative managers, corporate middle-level

managers and other professionals who are well-equipped with "national culture which is

composed of cherished Republican ideals of equity, national unity and service demanded of

cultural elites since the founding of the Republic, 1923" (ibid.: 3). This core middle-class,

after the rapid liberalization, found itself in economic crisis with falling incomes, inflated

prices, added tax burdens and so on (ibid). With this economic degradation, a new class has

emerged along with the core middle-class, namely the new middle-class.

As the state reduced education expenditures, state schools increasingly lacked

teachers and textbooks after 1980 (Rutz and Balkan, 2003). In addition, private investment

seized the sphere of education. Eventually, it became economically harder for the core

middle-class to acquire quality education. However, the new middle-class, with economic

capital, has the tool to acquire quality education, which shifted towards the private schools,

instructed in foreign languages. Although the core middle-class tried to emulate this attempt

to acquire private education, lack of economic capital prevented their taking a part in the new

middle-class. The core middle-class even became déclassé (ibid).

Since the quality of education is one of the main tools for middle-classes to distinguish

themselves from subordinate classes, the education hierarchy provided the social hierarchy.

This resulted in the benefit of the new middle-class; mediocre students of the new middle-

class started to be able to acquire quality education, in Turkish private schools, without the

need of high ranks of grades in the nation-wide tests. In this regard, education became the

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[2]   As Rutz and Balkan (2003) explains, quality of education is conceptualized as "degree from one of a handful of Turkey's prestigious universities and/or a degree from a prestigious foreign university. Speaking a foreign language, especially English" (ibid: 2) and in terms of the access to the best schools which resulted as a competition among the core (pre-1980) and New (post-1980) middle-classes in İstanbul.

main area of struggle among core and new middle-classes which resulted in the triumph of the

new middle-class (ibid).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

III.1. Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative methodology is defined broadly as "interpretivist" since it is interested in how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced and produced (Mason: 1996). There are different versions of qualitative research which a researcher could adopt. A researcher could look at social meanings, interpretations, practices, discourses, processes or constructions, with qualitative methodology based on the methods of data generation (Mason: 1996). This data generation is flexible and appropriate to the social context. The main purpose of the qualitative research is to produce rounded understandings based on rich, contextual and rich data. Rather than focusing on statistical forms of analysis, qualitative research aims to make "holistic" forms of analysis (Mason, 1996).

This research is based on the data gathered by the qualitative research generated by the project entitled "The Construction of Cultural Boundaries: Relations Between Cultural, Socio-Economic and Moral Status Symbols in Turkey," and funded by TUBITAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey). This research project is focused on collecting data to explore the processes of construction of cultural boundaries. In-depth interviews and observations made during the interviews (in the interviewee's houses) of the project constitute the primary source of information. Interviews are semi-structured due to two purposes: not to ban the stream of thought of the interviewee and to facilitate the interview. Another important point to note about the research is that the design of the in-depth

interview questions was made in accordance with Bennett et al. (2009)'s research in UK. Since Bennett et al.'s (2009) research is one of the first and the most comprehended studies conducted in this area, this research followed the same basic steps concerning the content of the topics and subtopics of the question sets.

Within the scope of the research, culture is conceptualized via looking at everyday life. At this point, home becomes an archetypal site of everyday life. Home is conceptualized as the key social institution which has a prominent role in shaping and structuring social practices, relations and establishing values by Bennett (2002). Although Bennett looked at the domesticity, home life, the position of women in the home and architecture, his work is influential in the sense that cultural products that have been consumed in home both as a physical, architectural unit and as a social unit is of importance. In this regard, the items of cultural consumption consumed within the houses of the informants are variables to be looked at to have a better understanding of the respondents' cultural boundaries.

The difference between *private* and *public* culture is crucial. On one hand, there is public culture referring to entertainment, enlightenment or information thus to the vicarious, on the other hand the private culture referring to the created and practiced in private spaces such as home. The difference between the two, as Gans (1999: 6) argues, is like the difference between the art and the life. Although art and life would imitate each other in various aspects of life, in many other aspects they take different roads, with various different impacts on them. In this regard, conducting the interviews at home, where the private culture is being produced, is of importance within the context of this research, not only to see the differences between the two types of culture, but to be able to comprehend both types of culture perceived and experienced by the respondents.

III.2. The Design of the Research

III.2.1. The Sample

To collect data the research project worked with a research company in order to reach the respondents. The sample was constituted of 48 interviewees who were selected from three cities: İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Van and a village close to Ankara. İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, are the largest and most populous cities in Turkey. Moreover, these are the three cities where members of the upper and subordinate classes meet and may have generated relational subjective boundaries. In order to have a bigger picture of the boundary formation in Turkey, Van is selected as a relatively smaller city. We also added a sample from a rural area where there are lower levels of encounters with the items of high culture, to have wider scope in the analysis of construction of cultural boundaries. Therefore, we selected a village close to Ankara which based its subsistence on animal husbandry and, to a smaller extent, agriculture.

We conducted 17 in-depth interviews in İstanbul, 10 in Ankara, 10 in İzmir, 5 in the village and 6 in Van. We chose to make more interviews in İstanbul due to its heterogeneous and highly populated structure of the city. However, after we finished conducting 46 in-depth interviews, we realized that we were not able to reach the elite who both acquired high amounts of economic and cultural capital. Therefore, we conducted extra 2 in-depth interviews with elite respondents.

Gender is another variable which shapes the sample that consists of 25 female and 24 male respondents from different socio-economic backgrounds. First, 46 interviewees are selected by a private Research Company and after we realized that the private Research Company we worked with was unable to provide elite respondents, the last 2 elite interviewees were reached by the personal networks of the professors of the research group

and by snowball sampling to reach upper-class respondents. The interviewees helped us to contact other respondents from the elite.

These characteristics would not be able to provide the study a representative sample. This sample is only able to provide a theoretical sample. This research does not aim to provide an accurate representation of the whole population in Turkey. Thus, the sampling is made non-probabilistic. However, to increase the validity of the study these differences among cities, socio-economic status, age and gender have vital importance. Overall the field study lasted for four months. Conducting interviews with the selected sample started in the beginning of December, 2009 and continued until the end of March, 2010.

III.2.2. The Interviews

To find out how the interviewees feel or think about a certain issue, conducting in-depth interviews was a better option than conducting a survey. Since semi-structured interviews were more like a conversation, we thought interviewees might feel more comfortable to tell how they really feel about a particular cultural product. However, the first few interviews, lasting 1 hour to 1.5 hours, were not that efficient to have in-depth answers. This inefficiency may be due to two reasons. First, maybe for the first time in their lives the interviewees were asked questions by a stranger regarding their views on homosexuality, religion, trustable persons and so on. Second, there are a lot of subtopics and questions quantitatively that might be answer in a short period of time. Conducting the interviews in a hurry, without giving time to the respondent to think and elaborate more on the answer avoided the interviewees to give more detailed answers. After we realized that limitation, we started to elongate the time interval for each interview from 2.5 to 4 hours. Yet, there had been no changes made in the questions. We tried to make the respondents not to talk in a hurry, so that they could express themselves more freely, without limiting themselves with

time. This time extension was important for respondents to feel more comfortable with the interviewer as well. Longer time intervals also make it possible to establish a bond with the respondent so that respondents may not comprehend interviewers as total strangers and feel more comfortable while giving answers.

However, there are certain limitations concerning the nature of in-depth interviews. The statements of the respondents are important in the context of this research, without attributing importance to the reliability of their sayings. That is to say, what a respondent tells about him or herself, his or her conceptualization of any subject is the point of reference regardless of its "correctness". This research focuses on how an individual comprehends and defines his or her boundaries. Respondents' statements as reflecting their definitions of cultural boundaries are of ascendance. Although this seems like a limitation of the nature of the qualitative research, this is exactly what this research aims to look at: how people define and perceive their boundaries. That is to say, their subjectivity is of importance.

First of all, I assume that interviewees' answers are reflecting their true experiences and thoughts. Consequently, the account of each interviewee is treated as the objective truth in itself, and the analysis is based on their statements. Hence, as a researcher, I kept in mind that interviewees may not tell their real experience or thoughts on certain issues that they might not want to talk about in public; their political stance, views on ethnic conflict …etc. However, the reliability of the data in this sense is not the most important criteria. This limitation is at the same time important to see the boundaries shaped by the respondents. Thus, whatever the respondents say is valuable for the study since, their statement is reflecting their perception of the boundaries. Therefore, the respondents' perception is the main interest of this study. That is why the validity of the research is more of importance; whatever the respondent's account is the valid source of information within the scope of this research. In addition, concerning the validity issues, working with a team of researchers while

constructing the interview questions and then conducting interviews with teams (at least with two researchers) is another way to increase the validity of the research.

Along with the interview, observation becomes an important tool in the data collection of the research. An observation sheet prepared for the "observer" researcher of the team so that he or she did not forget noting items of interest to the research. In this regard, another reason that the interviews were conducted in the respondents' houses is to make more valid observations. As discussed above, the respondents sometimes did not feel comfortable talking about certain issues while the recorder was turned on. For instance, a 42 year old, upper-middle class male respondent did not want to talk about the ethnic and cultural differences in Turkey. However, after we turned the recorder off, and I asked permission to re-ask the question, he agreed to talk about his thoughts yet, not in a very overt manner. His statements after the tape recorder had been turned off were noted by the assistant interviewer and added to the observation notes. Thus, none of the statements of the respondents were missed. There have been several examples like this. Yet, for the sake of the validity of the research we have been very careful about the observation sheets written throughout and after the interviews, having one of the interviewers take notes of the unrecorded part of the conversation on the observation sheets.

Rewording the same questions is one of the methods we used during the interviews, in order to see the boundaries more clearly. In this regard, formulation of the questions was crucial. For instance, when we asked "What matters to you in life?" to the respondents, we frequently heard the same answer "my child/ren". However, we wanted to get into detail of the respondents emphasis on particular moral values. Thus, we probed the question as "What do you value most? Could you describe these values?"

III.2.3. Conducting In-depth Interviews

Forty-six interviews were conducted by a group of researchers in our project. The project was in total 3 professors, 6 graduate students and 1 undergraduate student. The interviews were conducted by all of the members of the research team, but after the first three interviews, interviews were generally conducted by 7 assistant students. We were paired in three teams. One member of each team conducted the interview and the other made the observations part of the interview. I conducted 14 interviews and attended to 26 interviews among the 48 respondents. Since transcriptions of all the interviews were made, I read all of the interviews' transcriptions and the observations kept during the interviews by the assistant interviewers. Due to time restrictions, I could only make use of 33 interviews, which were composed of 17 male and 15 female respondents. In this study, I predominantly focused on the interviews either I conducted or attended. In addition, the participants' personal information, their names, addresses are kept anonymous. The names I used throughout the research are the pseudonyms I gave to the respondents.

First I assumed that, conducting interviews could also be a disadvantage, since being an outsider for both groups could be inconvenient for them to be more open. However, I realized that in-depth interviews has a great advantage because after speaking to someone for few hours in their houses, respondents become open to tell many things. On the other hand, we experienced the reverse cases, too. Some respondents were very distanced. These were generally consisting of middle-aged male respondents. Female respondents in either age-group could easily sympathize with us. Also, for aged male respondents we were like the grand-daughters who needed to be "protected". However, with the middle-aged male respondents it was very difficult to establish a bond to have frank answers, since socially it seems that we have nothing in common to them.

One middle-class middle-aged male respondent in Ankara who has a daughter in the secondary school was almost very sorry for us that we were going to "stranger's" houses to conduct interviews. He even warned us to be very careful about entering to the houses of the strangers. Actually, this was a very common phenomenon among the respondents in Ankara, but not that much in the other cities we conducted research.

There have been other unexpected situations, too. Having great amount of difficulties due to her ethnic background, a 57 year-old lower-SES group respondent hardly concentrated on the questions while the interview was conducted. Her case was extreme in the sense that she was only focused on the tragedies of her life during the interview. It was a very difficult bond to establish with her, since she was so certain that every bad thing happened to her was because of her ethnic origin. Yet, at the same time she was very keen on not getting involved in any kind of identity politics. In addition, she located the interviewers as the authorities who can help her to move to the USA, so that she occasionally mentioned how she desires to go to America to live with her relatives, during the interview and after the recorder was turned off.

In addition, there were some cases where many of the questions asked during the in-depth interviews were very irrelevant with the context of the interviewee. In one of the interviews conducted in the village with 60 year-old Hatice, it was very difficult to proceed. Her eyes could barely see, so she could not make any judgments about the pictures I showed during the interview or answer most of the questions regarding the cultural capital section, since she cannot watch TV or read any books. Consequently, I realized that the questions we have formulated are pretty much targeting a population, which is assumed to have a background in popular or high cultural subjects**.** Most importantly, I presumed that none of the respondents could have physical disabilities, and hence, did not design my interview in accordance. Yet, Hatice, both with her physical barriers and the social context she lives in made me realize my ignorance while designing the sample. She was illiterate and also, in that

particular village in Ankara, with low agricultural production and based its subsistence on husbandry, the blurry borders of home and work for women in the rural area intensifies both housewife responsibilities and responsibilities in the production. Therefore, many of the questions were irrelevant to her lived experience.

At least, we assumed that the respondents would come across the high and popular cultural objects. We thought that a discrepancy could occur, if we did not change the questions for the rural context. Yet, this kind of design with two separate sets of question would affect the validity of the research so we used the same questions both in the rural and the urban context. The lived experience of the respondents in the rural area did not correspond much with our questions formulated for urban dwellers. This mismatch was also the case with respondents from urban areas, however, it was relatively less.

III.2.4. Measurement

Another important aspect is the measurement of cultural boundaries. The in-depth interviews mainly cover the cultural consumption patterns of the respondents in various areas. The choices of the respondent on cultural consumption items provide the basis to measure cultural boundaries. In this regard, cultural activities, choice of films, TV programs, newspapers, books, sports, style of dress, and food are included. Also, education constitutes an integral part of the measurement. Along with the in-depth interviews, choice of the neighborhood and interior decoration of the house is observed (See appendix for the observation form and the in-depth interview questions). However, the cultural consumption is not the only variable tool to measure boundaries. As Lamont (1992) focuses in her research in the USA and in France, symbolic boundaries as operationalized in the previous sections, also added to the measures.

We started with asking demographical questions and then continued with other sections. There are the cultural and leisure activities section, children and their cultural activities, exploring ideals of style/appearance and desire for social position, visual exploration of taste and moral values. Under the moral values category there is a series of sub-topics: general introductory questions regarding moral values, religion, views on inequality, conservatism and political view questions. In the visual exploration of taste part we have shown two paintings from different artists; Wassily Kandinsky's *"Yellow, Red, Blue" (1925)* and Camille Corot's *"Ville d'Avray" (1867)* (See Appendix). The former, with abstract figures, represented the choice of high cultural product referring to the Kantian understanding of aesthetic, and representative of the capability to understand and appreciate abstract forms of art. The latter, on the other hand, with its realistic figures portraying a village life, refers to a cultural product to be chosen by the appreciators of popular culture. However, the choice here is not the only criteria, the explanations and the attributes of the respondents to the paintings were of importance as is further elaborated in the following chapters.

III.2.5. Studying Class

Categorizing social class backgrounds of the respondents was the most difficult part. The private research company categorized respondents through their socio-economic status (SES). The research company used a scale more appropriate for market research which consists of A, B, C1, C2 and DE categories. Since, these categories were not appropriate for a sociological research, I tried to re-formulate them in accordance with Wright's arguments. Wright (2005) talks about six criteria regarding class-analysis: distributional location, subjectively salient groups, life chances, antagonistic conflicts, historical variation and emancipation (Wright, 2005: 180). However, it was challenging to apply all class categories exactly to the case of Turkey. Since this research is designed to look at how people from

different classes construct their cultural boundaries, the data collected does not involve all the information needed about respondents' social class background to make an in-depth class analysis.

As Wright (2005) mentioned several factors used to determine one's position in the social class system, which means an in-depth class analysis, for the sake of the operationalization of the social class I neglected the theoretical arguments Wright presented. I framed classes as lower, middle and upper classes. I categorized the respondents' classes in relation with their socio-economic status (SES); income, occupation and education. The "A"s in the sample refer to the upper-classes with high income who acquired high levels of education and have prestigious occupations. "B"s refer to the respondents with relatively low levels of income and relatively low levels of education and less prestigious jobs compared with A's; I call this cluster the middle-class. Among the C1 respondents there are variations. Some of them with their high levels of education or income are considered as the middle-class, on the other hand some of them are considered as the part of the lower-class with C2 and DE groups.

However, I prefer to call the lower-class group the subordinate class. As I have emphasized in the Introduction chapter, the term subordinate class covers working-class (or lower-class in another terminology) with its relation to the hegemony of the ruling class. This hegemonic relationship is important to underline. That is why I prefer to use the term upper and subordinate classes. Although the term the middle-classes is used in the analysis to emphasize the duality and the antagonism, due to the theoretical concern mentioned above subordinate classes are emphasized. In this relationality, I prefer to call the upper classes as the dominant class. Although theoretically conflict between the two classes is important, due to practical reasons throughout the text I used all of the terms mentioned interchangeably. To be able to distinguish middle-classes from other classes, I followed the lower and upper-class

categorization, since the literature which focused on boundaries made use of the same terminology and categorization.

III.3. Limitations and Delimitations

Data gathered in studies conducted by qualitative techniques are considered to be more valid and less reliable. To overcome this limitation and increase reliability, quantitative techniques such as surveys could be useful. However, due to time restrictions quantitative research could not be conducted. To increase reliability in this research, all the in-depth interviews are transcribed and observation sheets are filled for each interview.

Other than the mentioned limitation, the study has also delimitation. The literature has tended to focus on the perspective of the elite and how they construct their cultural boundaries. Yet, this thesis aims to look at the perspectives of subordinate/lower classes and upper, middle-classes together. This attempt of the study would eliminate the possibility of making a one dimensional analysis. However, the study delimits its discussions, for instance, ethnic differentiation is not a part of the main focus of the thesis. Yet, ethnicity is in the agenda of the research in the sense that the in-depth interviews pointed out the importance of different ethnic identities in the construction of cultural boundaries.

There are several comparative studies on how cultural boundaries were constructed differently in different countries which reflects the significance of the ethnic differentiation. Lamont studied the U.S and France (1992), Katz-Gerro studied Italy, Israel, West Germany, Sweden and the U.S (2002)…etc. Nevertheless, this research is not interested in making a comparative analysis of countries. Instead, it focuses on Turkey as a single case. If the ethnic differentiation and sectarian identities within the context of the Turkish state is taken into consideration, due to the complex ethnic structure of Republic of Turkey, ethnic identity as a

variable will require additional and different theoretical tools which are not included in this thesis.

In addition, this study does not look at the household and dynamics of couples in determining the cultural boundaries. Gender is one of the variables, however, individuals are the unit of analysis, not the households. Although household is not the unit of analysis, the interaction of the individuals with other members of the household is of importance, such as the interaction of the adult members of the household with the child/children (if there are any) in the household. This particular relationship is of ascendance to reveal the dynamics of parent's future projections and expectations from their child/ren in a class-based manner. Moreover, the realm of work has also been excluded. Since, the research itself has a very wide scope, other than the vocational or occupational backgrounds of the respondents, there were not any questions asked regarding their work experience or working space.

CHAPTER IV

BEFORE THE DIFFERENCES: COMMONALITIES

Although distinction has been regarded as the major tool to construct cultural
boundaries, this study found out many common points regarding distinction and boundaries.
In this chapter, I will discuss the commonalities both within and among each socio-economic
group. The in-depth interviews showed that there is a hidden-consensus in two main issues
among the respondents from different class backgrounds. In this sense, the first and second
parts focus on the ordinariness and importance attributed by the respondents to the education
of their child/children, in allowing the child/children either to make upward social mobility or
to protect their position in the class strata. In the third part, the meaning of cultural
consumption and how the same cultural items are consumed by the audience through
attaching different meanings will be elaborated. In this respect, football and cultural
exploration of taste will be discussed.

IV.1. Respondent's Perception of Their Economic and Social Position

There is no straightforward class identification in the minds of people, both in
subordinate and dominant classes. In the UK, Savage (2000) shows that people make
ambiguous statements regarding their class positions. Regardless of their actual socio-
economic positions, many individuals tend to define themselves as part of the middle-class. In
another study, Bottero (2004) argues that qualitative accounts regarding individuals'
perceptions of their own class backgrounds are ambivalent: they are generally hesitant to

adopt class labels for themselves. As she states, people tend to attribute political meanings to class, however they did not place themselves within classes, and within class identities. Respondents in such studies often tend to define them as "ordinary" which neglects and also refuses the class discourse altogether. Ordinariness becomes a key definition for the respondents. A similar pattern emerges in the Turkish context. This study did not use the equivalent of the term "class" (*sınıf*) in the Turkish language. Instead, we used the term "*hal*" or "*durum*," which could be translated to English as situation/position of the respondent. Class is not a widely used term, and when it is used, it has a number of political connotations originating from the conflict between left and right political groups in the 1970s and the 1980s. Respondents generally did not employ a class perspective in describing their socio-economic position.

The respondents that we have conducted interviews with also had a tendency to define themselves in the middle-class category even if they are a member of the upper or subordinate classes in terms of more objective standards, such as income, occupation, and education. However, rather than a similarity, the hesitance of respondents to define themselves as working-class should also be evaluated from a class perspective. As argued by Bourdieu (Skeggs, 1997; Reay 1998 cited in Savage, 2000), the absence of direct class awareness might be the result of the hegemonic class relations. These hegemonic class relations result in the dominant classes' ability to stigmatize and also undermine the working-class identities. As Savage et al. (2000) again aptly puts, class cultures do not work with principles to unite people into a proud collectivity. Class cultures have the power to stigmatize individuals as "lacking" of particular tastes. In Bourdieu's conceptualization of cultural capital, cultural hierarchy inherently distinguishes high culture from the low or the popular.

The most common answer given by the respondents is, unsurprisingly, "of moderate means" or "middle-class" ("*orta halli*" in Turkish), regardless of their actual socio-economic

backgrounds. When I asked what they mean by "middle", a male respondent who works as a truck driver in a village in Ankara said:

> …neither poverty nor affluence…let's say in the middle of the two. If we say misery, thanks God it isn't the case, if we say we are wealthy, we don't have wealth. We are not starving to death and we can survive without help from others. We could say middle income…[3]

Despite the striking difference in their socio-economic and educational background, a number of respondents explained their class position in a similar way. For example, a young female professional in Istanbul described her class as follows:

> We are in the middle-class…when I think of middle-class family, I think of a self-subsistent family that can go on vacation once or twice a year, if they have a kid, providing an education for their kid in certain standards…A little bit better than this refers to a little bit more comfortable life, with more sociability, eating out three, four times a week and going to vacation more often both in and abroad…upper than this, I mean more and more comfortable lives are probably the lives of the people who don't need to work…[4]

She added that if people who have to work to sustain their life are not wealthy. Since, she and her husband have to work for their living expenses, they do not have any other resources, such as inheritance, to spend.

Even respondents who appeared to have comfortably high incomes and relatively well-off consumption patterns were careful to place themselves in the middle of class hierarchies. For example, a 42 year-old jeweler in Istanbul described their household as "middle-class", although quickly adding "slightly above the normal life standards". This was possibly because we were talking about their consumption habits, which include eating out few times a week and going on vacations every summer, at least before his wife gave birth to their first child a year ago.

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[3] "Ne yokluk ne varlık… İkisinin ortası diyelim. Yokluk desek Allah'a şükür var, zengin desek o kadar da zengin değiliz. Yani aç kalmayacak kimseye muhtaç olmayacak şekildeyiz. Orta gelirli diyebiliriz" (Fuat's quote).

[4] "Yani, şimdi orta halli bir aile düşünüldüğü zaman benim aklımda canlanan, hani kendi geçimini sağlayabilen belki senede 1-2 kere tatile gidebilen, çocuğu varsa belli şartlarda okutabilen. Bunun biraz üstü olunca bence hani daha yaşamında rahat olan, sosyal hayatı daha fazla, gece dışarıda, haftanın 3-4 günü dışarıda yemek yiyebilen, daha sık tatile gidebilen, yurt dışı tatilleri yapabilen. Hani, zaten onun üstü de daha hani daha daha rahat olan belki hiç çalışmadan yaşayabilen vesaire diyebilirim.

It appears that most of the respondents considered the "middle-class" category as anything but absolutely poor. For example, a 42 year-old homemaker placed her family into the middle-class because "we are not in need of help from outside; we could meet our needs; neither luxurious nor miserable"[5].

Therefore, it could be argued that people might be ambivalent about class, but as Savage et al. (2000) argue, for consistent reasons. In the study conducted in Britain (Savage et al., 2000), it was about the wish to pursue "ordinary" lives in which people are treated fairly and equally. Moreover, it has been found out that using the term class as the basis of self-identification becomes a threatening factor for the ordinariness to be realized. As I mentioned before class analysis should emphasize relationality. In this sense, this relationality is applied also for people to define themselves. To be able to define him or herself one needs to have a reference point: the other, who has clear differences. In this sense, if one defines him or herself in terms of ordinariness (as middle-class), other classes become the "not ordinary" classes (Savage, 2000).

Why do members of the dominant class strive to appear ordinary?

To be "ordinary" is sought not only by the members of the subordinate classes but also by the members of dominant classes in the Turkish context. This observation seems to repudiate Bourdieu's point that members of upper classes seek distinction. Here Peterson and Kern (1996) argue that distinction desired by upper-classes has changed its phase so that the authors introduced "omnivorousness" as the tendency to consume different types of cultural items attached with different social class identities. Omnivorousness refers to people's avoiding attitudes of any fixed social category which contrasts with the desire of the members

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[5]   "Yani çok fevkalade değil, çok düşük de değil biz ortayız…Kendi yağıyla kavrulan tabirinde iyiyiz yani…Dışarıya muhtaç olmadan kendi ihtiyaçlarımızı çok lüks olmamak ya da çok düşük olmamak şartıyla karşılıyoruz…" (Eser's quote)

of the upper class to be distinct. However, also as Savage et al. (2000) argue, moving between different cultural fields allow a new mode of cultural distinction in which the "special", "different" or "distinct" exists with the previously mentioned "ordinary" together. This intersection of being both "ordinary" and "special" at the same time could refer to an area of intersection of class and culture, either. Socio-economically respondents tend to define themselves in the "ordinary" category, however, in the cultural arena they still seek for distinction.

Here individualization theory developed by Giddens and Beck (in Savage et al., 2000) on how class relations operate through individualizing processes is crucial to note. Individualization theory asserts that people tend to differentiate their personal lives with the life outside – in the political, economic, social spheres. Moreover, comparison with "meaningful others" lays the groundwork for identity construction. In this regard, there is another intersection between Bourdieu's and individualization theory's assumptions (Savage et al., 2000). Thus, rather than being two different sets of constructions, the "need" to perform the individual identity, modes of individualization, is in relation with the class identities. This could also be observed in the in-depth interview conducted within the scope of this study and elaborated in the following parts.

IV.2. Educational attainment: a must or a tool for survival?

As argued by Bourdieu (1984) two types of capital, cultural and economic, can be converted to each other. In this regard, to convert cultural into economic capital, education becomes vital. Children's performing well in the educational system, by which they could move on to well-paid jobs becomes the main goal of the parents. In addition, it is economic capital that provides for the schooling expenses, both of individuals and their children, so they can attain cultural capital.

In the same manner with perception of class, respondents tend to have very similar statements regarding their expectations and wills for their children's schooling and education. Positive attributions to the value of education among the respondents were prominent. Education is perceived as the best way to acquire social mobility. In this regard, among all the respondents that we have spoken to, both in the subordinate classes and in the upper-classes, their children's education is valuable as an extreme devotion.

Gamze, a 34 year-old high-school graduate homemaker in Ankara with two children, is especially keen on her 6 year-old child's education. As she states:

> …I think I can't stand the failure of my son and I certainly think that he should and ought to move on, I would do anything just for his education. I didn't have any opportunities for schooling…he should be educated; there is no other option… [6]

For Kutal, a taxi-driver, education is also a tool for upward social mobility. Kutal has two daughters and although he does not find education as a requisite for girls, he wants his daughters "to save themselves…to be able to survive without being dependant" and also he states:

> Our aim is to make the necessary conditions for schooling. When they continue their education, they will have a profession and so economically they will survive one way or another. So, I would not want them to be dependent on someone else[7]

Going to school is often understood as a tool to have a vocation and to have a "nice" job. As Wright and Perone (1977: 52) find out, higher levels of education is vital in socializing people to the work habits which are appropriate for occupying positions in the authority hierarchy. Edibe, a 28 year-old respondent doing domestic help who has not attained any formal education, thinks that education is vital and that her children and educated people have different styles of life. She gives her uncle and what he has achieved so far as an

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[6] "…oğlumun başarısızlığına asla tahammül edemem diye düşünüyorum ve mutlaka gitsin istiyorum, gitmeli diye düşünüyorum, her şeyi yaparım yani, o yeter ki okusun. Hani ben okuyamadım,…okumalı yani başka çaresi yok" (Gül's quote).

[7] "Biz amacımız onları okutmak, okuduktan sonra zaten bir meslek sahibi olacaklar kendilerini, ekonomik olarak iyi-kötü kurtarırlar her türlü. Yani istemem birilerine bağımlı kalsınlar" (Kutal's quote).

example of an educated person: "We have an uncle; a teacher. He has a descent salary and a good income…"[8]

The respondents seem to have total trust in education in the sense that obtaining better education will bring upward mobility to the lives of their children, or it will help them at least to sustain their current position. The respondents from the upper-class tend to hold the latter idea and take education for granted. For the elite respondents, attaining high education is regarded as given. Zerrin (29 year-old, business person) could not think of a possibility of an uneducated son or daughter:

> [referring to her possible kid] it's a must that s/he has to at least get university education or master's degree…the school s/he goes to is important as it gives another, different outlook, schools such as Austrian High School [the school she is graduated from]…; you grow up with another culture…I don't remember what I studied at the university, I graduated from the department of economics, but I remember neither macro nor micro economics, but it [education, school] gives a certain outlook. A child must become ready for business life or life in general; he or she has to take these steps and he or she has to do it well…It would be very painful if he or she refuses to go to school. It'd be a huge disappointment. I'd react heavily and probably force him/her to study or there'd be many fights… [9]

In the rural context, education does not have to be a must, but is regarded as a necessary tool. Hasan (39 year-old farmer in the village in Ankara) underlines the importance of education and especially the education of his daughters for him is as such:

> I want them to study, maybe it will be useful for us, too…we are uneducated, I'm 40 years old; I'm ignorant…we didn't go to school; I haven't been in Ankara until the military service…now ask something to this little kid, s/he knows more than I do…I tell my daughter to go to school, not to stay blinded like us…[10].

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[8]   "Bir tane amcamız var öğretmen, iyi yani düzgün bir maaş alıyor geliri var öyle yani." (Edibe's quote).

[9]   "Tabii ki de, kesinlikle ve en az üniversite ya da yüksek lisans seviyesinde bir eğitim alması şart Bence hangi okulu bitirdiğinin önemi tabii ki de var ama çünkü gidilen okul, bilmiyorum siz hangi liselisiniz ama, Avusturya Lisesi ya da bir, bu tarz okullar insana değişik bir bakış açısı katıyor, değişik bir kültürle de büyüyorsun aynı zamanda…Ben hatırlamıyorum yani ekonomi, ekonomi mezunuyum ama ne makroda ne mikroda şu anda hani hiçbir şey hatırlamıyorum belki ama o bir bakış açısı katıyor. Bu bence çok önemli bir şey. İş hayatına ya da hayata hazır hale gelmesi lazım çocuğun. O yüzden bu basamakları çıkması lazım, iyi bir şekilde çıkması lazım…. Ama tabi çocuğa bağlı, sen her şeyi verirsin, adam okumak istemez ne yapacaksın ki o zaman…Hiç düşünmek bile istemem ama çok acı bir şey olur herhalde. Hayal kırıklığı olur. Tepkim büyük olur yani, bırakacağımı zannetmiyorum arkasını. Çok büyük kavgalar, çok büyük baskılar, zorlamalar olur diye düşünüyorum…" (Zerrin's quote).

[10]   "Valla yani okusunlar sonunda belki bir şey olur bize de bir faydası olur…aha şurada biz cahiliz. Valla bak ben 40 yaşındayım kendi kendime ben cahilim ya… biz okumadık ben askere gidene kadar. Ankara yüzü

To sum up, the consensus is revealed in two areas, namely the class identification and desire for educational attainment. These two areas are important in that at first they seem to negate Bourdieu's arguments regarding the desire for distinction. However, the desire of "ordinariness" while describing socio-economic condition does not necessarily reflect in the same manner in the consumption of cultural items as it will be discussed in the next parts. Educational attainment, on the other hand, is the means either to protect the social mobility or to achieve upward social mobility for the respondents. All in all, the intersecting point of the two main commonalities among the choices of the respondents, regardless of their social class background, lies in the relationship of class and culture. It seems that the desire to be "ordinary" in terms of financial position and to attain cultural capital by education are commonalities among the respondents. Yet, the desire for ordinariness in economic standards finds its meaning when combined with the will for educational attainment, either to avoid downward mobility or to achieve upward mobility. Although, by itself, the tendency to define socio-economic conditions seems to retreat from the desire for distinction, the choices for the sphere of education change this picture. Since the education and schooling are regarded as status symbols by the respondents, the desire for "normality" or "ordinariness" is not applicable in the sphere of education. Therefore, it could be stated that the sphere of class and culture merge and as a result the desire for normality and being special exist together.

IV.3. The meaning of the cultural consumption: How do consumers attach meanings to similar cultural products?

For Bourdieu, the consumption of cultural goods is the foremost tool to maintain distinction. His research on French society supports this argument. However, the same

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görmedim ... şimdi bir küçücük çocuğa sorki senden benden iyi şey biliyor, gitsinler diyorum valla kızım nereye şey ediyorsanız gidin açılsın böyle ya kör kalmasın insan ya." (Hasan's quote).

observation may not be valid in other societies. Although the relationship between consuming items of popular culture is of importance to identify cultural capital, and thus to determine the position of people in the social stratification, the changing structure of the mass and popular culture should be taken into account. The mass or popular forms could be more unifying rather than stratifying. The same cultural item could be consumed by people with different class identities. However, the meanings attached to the particular items should be looked at to see the boundaries drawn by the consumers. In this section, I will elaborate on the different meanings attached by respondents to the same cultural item. In the first part, I will talk about the most favored branch of sports--football-- and respondents' conceptualization of football. In the second part, I will focus on the cultural exploration of taste. This part consists of the statements of the interviewees when they are shown two paintings and asked which of them they liked the most.

IV.3.1. The Most Favored Sport: Football

Football was the most common answer from the respondents when the favorite branch of sports that is watched either live or on TV was asked. The in-depth interviews showed that watching or playing football is something of a common denominator for the audience we have interviewed in the study. However, the attributes of following football matches or being a fan of football is differentiated. When we asked the reason why respondents were keen on football, the answers varied in content. As one of the interviewees, Mahir, a 24 year-old unemployed male respondent (considered as a member of the subordinate class) says: "…it is because football is more widespread in Turkey, and that we have grown up with football. Our dads or older brothers are football maniacs for sure…"[11].

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[11] " Türkiye'de futbolun daha yaygın olmasıdır. Yani çocukluğumuzdan beri futbolun içinde büyüdüğümüz için. Her zaman için mutlaka babamız abimiz futbol manyağıdır" (Mahir's quote).

Ziya, a 38 year-old high-school graduate government employee living in Ankara says football is among the physical activities that he was involved in and that he was fanatical about Fenerbahçe (one of the leading football teams in Turkey) before he got married and his son was born. Now, however, he could only watch the derby matches of Fenerbahçe on TV, since he cannot find any free time to go to stadiums to see the matches live.

A 62 year-old retired architect, Yasin, considered as a middle-class respondent, was involved in various branches of sports when he was young. He did sports such as boxing and gymnastics that are not as popular as football. Yet, watching and playing football has been his favorite among all the other sport activities he was involved in:

> I am a fan of sports. I did boxing, artistic gymnastics; I was interested in sports. I was a scout, and had high rank duties in the Turkish Scouts Union. I had activities on scouting both in Turkey and abroad…and now football, I am a fan of football, and of course I love basketball, too, but football more[12]

Mahmut (28 year-old government employee) is very keen on football, too. He thinks his interest stems from his childhood. He says that he has always played football and that is why he continued to play. He got involved in football when he was 16 or 17 years old, and played in different football clubs. Although he does not play anymore, he thinks watching football on TV helps him cope with stress. He regrets that when he was young he did not become a professional footballer. Being a footballer is not a widely accepted high-status symbol in the Turkish context, rather it is associated with having a good income. The idiom "I'll marry my daughter either to a footballer or to a pop singer"[13] is a result of this kind of an understanding. So, Mahmut does not look for attaining high status through playing football, but he thinks he could have made "good money" if he continued playing. Football for him, as a profession, is a tool to make good income.

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[12]   "sporun da hastasıyım, gençliğimde boks yaptım, aletli jimnastik yaptım, yani sporla çok ilgiliydim, izciydim Türkiye izciler birliğinde ön ileri kademede görevim vardı. Yani izcilikle ilgili Türkiye'de ve yurt dışında bazı etkinliklerim oldu… Şimdi de futbol, futbol hastasıyız, tabi basketi de seviyorum. Ama futbol daha fazla…" (Yasin's quote).

[13]   "kızımı ya topçuya ya popçuya veririm"

Moreover, football has a gendered meaning. That is to say, watching and following football as a fan is a common pattern that could be observed among the male respondents from different socio-economic backgrounds whom we have conducted interview with. Mahmut does not have any children, but when we asked if he had a child, what kind of extra-curricular activities he would want his child to involve, he decisively replied as he wants his "son" to play football. Since Mahmut himself likes to play football and he blows of steam while playing football, he also wants his son to play football and he even wants him to become a professional football player. After a while, when he realized that he was too much focused on a boy, he continued as, if he had a daughter, he wanted her to play volleyball. He thinks football could only be played by men and volleyball by women, so that he reproduces the gendered identities with his bias within the sphere of football.

Aliye (30 year-old, university graduate) has also very clear boundaries in the sense of watching sports. Aliye likes doing sports in the summer, especially swimming in the sea, in the time she spent in their summer house. Also, walking is important for her, but she does not mention sports as a physical activity to provide a good-looking body. Aliye says she is doing sports "to get rid of the excess energy inside" her. In the sense of watching sports, as in the case of the female respondent, she does not prefer to watch football. However, she likes watching basketball and also volleyball if she comes across. She thinks the reason why she dislikes football is that "women in general are not interested in football".

Although it is totally a different context, as Erickson (1996) proposed in his research, since women were not interested in football, it was an excluding factor for females in the workplace. That is to say, football maintained a boundary between men and women. However, football could also be the interest of the women audience. Although watching football itself does not necessarily mean something other than the gendered identities in the workplace context, according to Erickson (1996), this field showed that most male and also

some female respondents chose to follow football but in different ways. Throughout the research many of the male respondents and some of the female respondent reproduced the gender bias, however, there were also cases that female respondents being a football fan and attaching different meanings to football.

Zerrin (29 year-old, businesswomen) has also outstanding interest in football; she says she never misses watching the matches on TV, they own Digiturk[14] to be able to watch all the games and also she has season tickets that she goes to watch the matches live in the stadiums. Besides, she says she has disputes with her husband since they are fans of two different football teams. Although she does not play football, she states if she ever has a daughter, she could play football if she wants to, when her husband says "volleyball is for girls and football is not", she opposes her husband, however, her emphasis on growing like a boy indicates that football is for boys:

> …it's about her choice, you never know…maybe it will be a girl who wants to play basketball; there are also ladies football teams…and female football players…she'd grew up like a boy [she laughs]…[15]

Along with football she also has very distinct interests in sports that we did not come across frequently when conducting in-depth interviews. This aspect of her interest in other branches of sports makes her differ from the other respondents mentioned above. For instance, skiing is among her childhood activities which she continues doing. Moreover, playing tennis and diving in summer are among the physical activities she likes to do and which she finds a lot of opportunity to do in her social milieu.

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[14] Digiturk is a Turkish Satellite television provider. It has many different specialized TV channels in various areas. Among these channels there are sports, movies, economics or other hobby channels. The annual cost of owning this private satellite television provider ranks between 264 to 1362 Turkish Liras (http://www.digiturk.com.tr/package/paketKarsilastir.aspx). Since it costs much and offers different genres of TV channels addresses predominantly high income group audience.

[15] "Ama şey de var yani ona sen karar veremezsin, o onun isteğine bağlı bir şey. Belki kız olur ama basket oynamak ister…bayan futbolcular da var. Erkek gibi büyür [gülüyor]." (Zerrin's quote).

For others, football represents a peculiar strain of Turkish nationalism. According to Bora (2003), this liberal neo-nationalism is the nationalism of the twenty-first century and is fonder of cultural-historical essentialism in an exotic way that excludes racist elements. By this, liberal neo-nationalism aims to broaden its base to the urban middle-class. A female respondent, Cahide (48 year-old, shop owner) says she has interest in football, especially in Galatasaray football team[16]:

> Galatasaray made us love football, in that period [referring to 2000, UEFA cup] the championship of Galatarasay…it won the cup four times one after another, and it was Galatarasay which represented us abroad…[during the time of these matches]those evenings our house used to be very fun, a lot of friends came and we watched the games all together, and that tradition we still continue…[17]

Football to Cahide is a tool to represent her nation abroad when the team is successful. Although Galataray's success she refers to goes back to beginning of 2000s, she still remembers how Galatasaray provided a good image in Europe, for Turkey. Cahide's interest in football has parallelism with Bora's (2003) conceptualization of liberal neo-nationalism which encompasses the national identity "fervor and ability to attain the level of developed or wealthy countries of the world". Cahide's conceptualization of football is like the projection of this liberal neo-nationalism in which Europe refers to developed and the wealthy countries. Galataray's ability as a football team lies in its performance to compete with European countries. To Cahide, football represents an area in which Turkey becomes a member of "the developed and wealthy countries" and even defeats those countries, and thus, proves its strength as a nation.

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[16] Galatasaray football team is among the top four football teams in Turkish national league. Team has won UEFA Cup and UEFA Super Cup in 2000, which was the first time in the history of Turkish football teams. That is why Galatasaray became like the national football team which is supported by almost everyone in the country during the UEFA matches.

[17] "özellikle Galatasaray bize çok sevdirdi futbolu diyebiliyorum çünkü o dönem işte bu Galatasaray'ın şampiyonluğu...yurt dışında bizi temsil ettiği için…akşamlar bizim evimiz çok neşeli olur. Gerçekten Galatasaraylı arkadaş grubumuz var. Onlar gelirler mutlaka birimizin evinde toplanılır. Oturulur. Maç. Hanımlar beyler. Zevkle seyredilirdi. Şimdi de o sürüyor yani" (Cahide's quote)

For some other respondents, football seems to lack the nationalistic ideas. Another member of a subordinate class, 32 year-old taxi driver Kutal, perceives football as a profession and he likes to watch "quality" football. He distinguishes himself with having a critical stance towards the national football league since he thinks Turkish football teams and players are unqualified compared with the European leagues. Kutal says he was involved in football so much that he was even planning to be a football player, however, he complained about the football community in Turkey and stated:

> …when you look at football, people without talent taking advantage of this job/business…I generally observe that football in Turkey has declined a lot compared to other countries; in the sense of quality…We follow Spanish League, German and English Leagues. Once you start following football there, football here seems very bad[18]

In this sense, other than Zerrin (29 year-old, businesswomen) and Yasin (62 year-old, retired architect), as previously mentioned, many of the respondents are not fond of any sports other than playing or watching football, in few cases basketball or volleyball as well. Due to Zerrin and Yasin's occupational and educational background, their outlook both towards sports as a physical activity and football as a branch of sports differ in terms of the meanings they attach.

The social class background of the respondents may have higher influence on the massive interest in football, as much as the gendered identities. Gender was obviously a variable in that the female respondents were not so eager about football with the exception of one respondent other than Zerrin (29 year-old, businesswomen), but her conceptualization of football was different than Cahide's and other male respondents. Her conceptualization is only close with Yasin (62 year-old, retired architect). Zerrin is a huge fan of watching football and doing other branches of sports which necessitates special equipments and also specific

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[18]   "Bakıyorsunuz yeteneği olmayanlar bu işten ekmek yiyor filan. Bir de ben genel olarak Türkiye'de... genel olarak diğer ülkelere göre çok düştüğünü görüyorum yani futbolun... kalite olarak…İspanya ligini falan takip ediyoruz tabii. Alman ligi olsun, İngiltere ligi olsun. Zaten orayı takip ettin mi buradaki futbol baya baya bir şey geliyor sana....Çok kötü geliyor yani" (Kutal's Quote).

geographical places to perform them. This, of course brings the need of economic capital. Without the economic capital she has and without her high socio-economic status she would not be able to afford this interest. As Zerrin, Yasin has declared his massive interest to other branches of sports when he was young. Yasin is also interested in sports that are not widely done or popularized in Turkish society.

Thus, Yasin and Zerrin's interest in high status sports, and also football as the most popular branch of sports in Turkey, could be linked with their social class background. From a gender point of view, social class again looks like the key. Other than Zerrin, for the rest of the female subordinate class respondents, jogging was almost the only alternative to watching popular games on TV.

As Giulianotti (2008) states in the historical context, from twelfth century onwards, women were as prominent as men in football in terms of participation. Other than being only the audience, women also actively participated in football in as men did, with the same level of aggressiveness. However, in the British context, after the massive migration in the 1930s, female football fans were generally from a middle-class background (Fishwick 1989 cited in Giulianotti, 2008). Until the First World War, for middle-class women playing football was more frequent, compared with working-class (Tranter, 1998 cited in Giulianotti, 2008). Giulianotti (2008) also argues that the rising working-class perceived women as dislocated in football. All in all, there is a centrality of male domination within the sphere of football. However, class and cultural divisions among women effects women's experience of football. As Giulianotti (2008) states, young, middle-class women earn relatively more freedom within the realms of lifestyle and leisure politics, whereas for the working-class women, with less economic and cultural capital, it is the opposite.

In this study, in general, female members of the subordinate classes had no interest in watching or doing sports at all. For them, attractive branches of sports came out as football,

basketball and volleyball, but only when the national teams of these branches or other local

teams have international participants, so that from a gender perspective, Turkish context has

parallelism with what Giulianotti (2008) found in his study.

All in all, interest in football and football's representations in people's minds gives

clues about both different gendered identities and socio-economic background. The meaning

attached to the same cultural item differs a lot from a childhood dream to a national

representation.

IV.3.2. Cultural exploration of taste

In the interviews, respondents were shown two pictures in order to see the relationship

between artistic choice and social class background. The first one was Corot's *"Ville d'Avray"*

(1867) which is a scenery of a rural area, and the second picture was from Kandinsky's

"Yellow, Red, Blue" (1925) having more abstract figures on it, considered to be an item of

high/legitimate culture. In this regard, in line with Bourdieu's arguments of elite's and

working-class' cultural consumption, the respondents provided the expected answers. Those

from subordinate classes in the cities tend to like the first picture because it resembles their

rural origin and their life back at the village. If they do not have any lived experience in rural

areas, still they choose the first one, since they have a longing for a quiet life away from the

difficulties that they are faced in their daily lives in big cities. Except for the one respondent,

respondents in the village tend to like *"Ville d'Avray"*, since they find resemblance with their

village.

Aliye's (30 year-old, university graduate, homemaker) interpretation of the village

portray concerns her curiosity towards villagers life "without any sociability". She thinks

villagers have nothing to do in the evenings, so she is curious about how they (the villagers)

live. Yet, she thinks *"Ville d'Avray"* is boring. On the other hand, when Aliye sees the other

picture "*Yellow, Red, Blue*" she immediately comments on the "movement" of art looking at the figures in the picture and even she asked that if it was a drawing of Picasso. Nevertheless, she finds herself ignorant about these kinds of works of art. In the case of choosing one of the pictures, she selects the second one "*Yellow, Red, Blue*", since she finds it more dynamic and energetic.

The same picture, "*Yellow, Red, Blue*" has been conceptualized as such by Ziya (38 year-old, government employee):

> This is [showing *Yellow, Red, Blue*] what the intellectuals now [he used a term 'entel abiler' here to show he does not appreciate and also making fun with them] would like. To me this is more beautiful [showing *Ville d'Avray*]…I would choose that one [showing *Ville d'Avray*], however, if you ask my daughter she would choose the other one [showing *Yellow, Red, Blue*]…and she would call me 'kıro' [connotes a pejorative meaning] for my choice [showing *Ville d'Avray*][19]

By saying "entel abiler", Ziya draws a concrete boundary with the cultural elite, and shows that he does not appreciate their taste of art. By using this term, he makes fun of their perception and distinguishes himself from them. At the same time, he thinks his teenager daughter, studying in a private French high-school in Ankara, could have the same taste with "entel abiler" and she might humiliate Ziya for not having a similar taste. Although Ziya knows her teenager daughter would not appreciate his real choice of the painting, he has his own reasons to like *Ville d'Avray* more than *Yellow, Red, Blue:*

> To me, the man [referring to the painter] has put his labor on this [meaning *Ville d'Avray*]; he is a real artist…but the other one [referring to *Yellow, Red, Blue*] could be drawn by anyone; even I can draw it by some ruler or something…I think this one is not art; whereas the other one is art and labor. [meaning *Ville d'Avray*]![20]

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[19]   "Bu şey işte, bu şimdiki entel ağabeylerin sevdiği resimler işte, modern sanat diyorlar buna değil mi?...Bana göre bu daha güzel yani…Şunu tercih ederdim yani ama sorsanız şimdi kızıma sorsanız bunu tercih eder…Ya bana der ki işte kıro musun sen şöyle misin öyle olur yani…benim için şu buna ("*Ville d'Avray*") emek vermiş adam yani gerçekten sanatçı bir adam, bana göre kabiliyetli bir adam, ama şunu ("*Yellow, Red, Blue*") " (Ziya's quote).

[20]   "benim için şu buna emek vermiş adam yani gerçekten sanatçı bir adam, bana göre kabiliyetli bir adam, ama şunu bana göre herkes çizebilir, bunu yani ben bile çizerim, bak yemin ederim çöp adam çizemezken bunu cetvelle bilmem neyle pergelle çizersin yani uğraştığın zaman. Bu bence sanat değil yani, sanat bu emek bu yani " (Ziya's quote).

Therefore, for Ziya, finding artistic beauty in the abstract forms and shapes is meaningless. His interpretation of art is in direct relation with craftsmanship. For Fatma (30 year-old, homemaker), in village in Ankara, "*Yellow, Red, Blue*" is the kind of picture that he would like to hang on his wall. She was the only exception in the village to like Kandinsky's *Yellow, Red, Blue*. She says:

> I think this village [referring to *Ville d'Avray*] is a poor village like ours…It looks nice but seems like a poor village. Since I live in a village like this, it reminded me of it…[referring to *Yellow, Red, Blue*] this picture is nice and pleasant, it's lively. I liked this [referring to *Yellow, Red, Blue*] because it looks shiny[21]

All of the respondents in the rural area find a resemblance of *Ville d'Avray* with the village they live in, and except for Fatma, this resemblance is the reason they choose *Ville d'Avray*. Fatma's dislike towards *Ville d'Avray* may be related with her difficult living conditions in the village. During the interview she mentioned how she got bored of social life in the village several times. She says she cannot make any friends because there is too much gossip and she is also not content with the material conditions of her household. Also, although she does not explicitly say, according to Fatma, her Kurdish origin makes the rest of the village biased towards her. Thus, her choice of *Yellow, Red, Blue* should be read as a desire to escape from the oppressive conditions of the village, rather than being related to appreciating abstract forms of art.

For the elite respondents Zerrin and Serpil, their selection is without any doubt Kandinsky's painting "*Yellow, Red, Blue*" (1925) with the abstract figures which point to a parallel with Bourdieu's arguments on the aesthetic concerns of the upper-class individuals. In line with Bourdieu's theory, this research has also reached similar results: upper-class individuals with more cultural capital seek for abstract forms of art and their selections are

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[21] "Yani bu köy ben gibi fakir bir köy herhal…Evet öyle düşünüyorum.Görünüşü güzel ama neden biraz fakir köye benziyor…öyle bir köyde yaşadığım için, öyle bir durumda çıktığım için onu anımsattı bana…resim güzel mesela, hoş yani, her yer cıvıl cıvıl… Sebebi diyom ya parlak göründüğü için hoşuma gitti…" (Fatma's quote).

oriented towards this kind of an aesthetic perception which involves abstract and "modern" figures.

IV.4. Cultural and Ethnic Differences in the Boundary Formation: "Like oil and water"

As it has been argued in the methodology chapter, respondents were hesitant to answer the questions regarding cultural and ethnic differences in Turkey. Since, the Kurdish issue is a highly debated topic in the Turkish context and since people tend not to talk about politics much in the Turkish context, especially after the 1980 military intervention, the perceptions on ethnic and cultural differences have been the most difficult to elicit clear answers on throughout the research. Nevertheless, respondents revealed their stance either explicitly or implicitly. Since this was another commonality we have witnessed during the interviews, this part looks at the conceptualization of cultural and ethnic differences.

Pembegül, a 59 year-old elementary school graduate, did not understand what ethnic and cultural differences referred to in the question posed to her. Although we have probed the question regarding the ethnic and cultural differences in Turkey several times, she purportedly conceptualized the question as cultural activities[22] held by the municipality and did not give any clue regarding her thoughts on the ethnic differences. It seemed that Pembegül intentionally rejected capturing what the question referred to. However, after turning off the recorder, she gave some clues about her interpretation of ethnic and cultural differences in Turkey.

As she states after her grandson went to Hasankeyf for his job, his experiences of the East changed Pembegül's conceptualization. Her grandson told her about the hospitality in the region and how generous the people were. Thus, after hearing her grandson's interpretation

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[22]   Pembegül seemed to confuse 'ethnic and cultural' phrase and 'cultural activity' which sounds a little similar in Turkish: 'Etnik ve kültürel' the former and 'kültürel etkinlik' the latter.

Pembegül started to re-think her prejudices about the people in the East. Nevertheless, she thinks that in essence of all Kurdish population there is a will to "divide the homeland and establish a new state"[23]. According to Pembegül, "these things did not used to happen earlier. I want to live as we have lived harmoniously earlier".

Aliye was one of the respondents with overt replies. She told that although she had many Turkish Greek or Albanian friends and also some other friends with western origins, she had never had a friend with eastern origins, until two years-ago. Then, she met her boyfriend who is from Diyarbakır and came to İstanbul for his university education. This was the time when her outlook towards Kurds and Kurdish issue has changed:

> I call them [meaning Kurdish people in Turkey] the naughty children of Turkey and they need a patient parent. However, unfortunately we are not patient parents. I know that they have suffered from injustice. Now, I know about the Diyarbakır Penitentiary and what happened there…how young people disappeared in Diyarbakır everyday…Previously, I saw Kurds as terrorists…and was scared from them…the only thing is, Kurds are difficult to educate; my boyfriend has been in İstanbul for more than ten years; but he still has an accent. I make fun of him; he is culturally equipped, he is doing his masters, but they hardly get urbanized[24]

She connects this with the natural conditions of eastern regions, so that they are "rude" to Aliye. She thinks that even the educated ones in the East are impolite. She says: "even their way of eating is impolite…"[25]. She also thinks that even in a cosmopolitan city like İstanbul and in its center, Taksim and Tarlabaşı, Kurds and Turks are living separately without making any contact with each other; like water and oil:

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[23] "vatanı bölmek ve yeni bir devlet kurmak…Önceden yoktu bunlar. Çatışmalar yoktu. Ben istiyorum ki yine önceki gibi yaşayalım" (observation notes of interview with Pembegül).

[24] "Türkiye'nin yaramaz çocukları. Hep ona da diyorum, erkek arkadaşıma da diyorum yani; siz Türkiye'nin yaramaz çocuklarısınız ama çok sabırlı bir anne baba lazım size. Biz de maalesef sabırlı değiliz. Türkler hiç sabırlı değil bu konuda. Çok haksızlıklara uğradıklarını biliyorum artık. Artık biliyorum ama" (Aliye's quote).

[25] "…ailesi çok mesela okumuş, babası da kültürlü insanlar. Ama hepsinde böyle yine de bir şeylik var, bir kabalık var yani. Hepsi öğretmen, o, bu, bilmem ne böyle. Hala yani böyle işte yemek yiyişleri bile hala kaba mesela... Eee... Bir kompleksleri var onların ya. Yani böyle biraz ezilmişliklerinden kaynaklanan böyle aşağılık kompleksleri var. Bütün, en okumuş Kürt de dahi bu var. Yani böyle Türklerin karşısında daha bir ezik duruyorlar. O yüzden kendilerini bu kadar ateşli savunuyorlar. Çünkü galiba hep ezmişiz, hep ikinci sınıf vatandaş muamelesi yapmışız. Yani, bilmiyorum. Ondan kaynaklı olduğunu düşünüyorum" (Aliye's quote).

They (Kurdish people) all have inferiority complex…even The most educated Kurd is like that …They just feel inferior to Turks. That is why they defend themselves so passionately…probably we oppressed them much and treated them as if they were second class citizens. This is the reason why Kurds are scared of Turks

Fatma (30, homemaker in the Village in Ankara) has a different outlook when her ethnic origin is the issue. Fatma has Kurdish origins, and defining herself as Kurd, however, she is totally in favor of the attitude of the Turkish state and opposing the "terror" in the country. Also, from the interview conducted with Fatma, it could be deduced that there is a predominant prejudice against Kurdish people and maybe because of that Fatma seems to negate her Kurdish identity and also adapt her discourse to the official ideology. She thinks there is no need for dispute between the Kurdish and the Turkish population, and she is very upset about the martyrs, referring to the Turkish soldiers. She also utters the widely used sentence that "everyone could live in harmony under the same flag, when everyone is Muslim". Thus, it could be said that although the discourses of the respondents at the beginning seem to be very liberal and open to all kinds of politics, in the end, ethnicity is a factor with which the respondents built boundaries.

CHAPTER V

IDENTITY: HOW ARE THE BOUNDARIES CONSTRUCTED FROM "BELOW" AND "ABOVE"?

In this chapter, the main focus is on the construction of boundaries in various spheres. The first part consists of the perceptions of rich and poor, how these concepts are operationalized by the respondents and to what extent they draw lines with the rich and the poor. In the second part, I shift the focus to the cultural consumption in the sphere of television, cinema and reading. Here, I discuss whether masses only consume the mass cultural products left from the elite or if subordinate classes also have a say on what they want to consume. In this regard I continue with the sphere of music in the third part where I concentrate on the distinction among the *highbrow* and *lowbrow* conceptions in the musical genres. This discussion leads to the debates on omnivorous consumption patterns and whether they are applicable for the Turkish case of musical consumption or not. All in all, this chapter looks at the boundary formation in several areas and tries to find out how these cultural boundaries are constructed both by the dominant and subordinate classes.

V.1. The perception of rich and poor

"Turkish society has extremes on wealth and poverty? What do you think about that? What do you think about the rich and what do you think about the poor?" In the case of posing the question as such, respondents answer with regards to the extreme cases of richness

and poorness. Cihan (42 year-old, jeweler) locates himself in between these extremes and suggests that:

> I have the image of rich people in my mind, I mean the extreme riches, as spending money lavishly and earning money easily. The poor people, I guess think the same way for me…I'm sorry for the poor and I try to help them as much as I can[26]

Edibe, a 28 year-old homemaker, has a very different answer for that question. First of all, she does not perceive herself as poor since there are people in worse situations than she is. Yet, at the same time she thinks although she works hard she cannot attain any wealth. Regarding her thoughts on rich people, she tells the story of her employee when she was working as a domestic worker in a house. Her employee was talking about her mom in a very snobbish way. As Edibe describes "she shows off her material conditions" by telling that her mother plays konken[27], and talks about her brother's wealth all the time. Although her employee shows off about her mother and other family members a lot, as Edibe states they are just like her:

> That woman was praising her mom and her dad all the time…when I saw them once, they were just like me…when her material conditions improved a little, she started to exaggerate the situation more and more…she tries to show the situation different than what it really is…her mom came; she was just like my mother-in-law. I was going to ask her (employee) why she was doing it [referring to showing off and exaggerate her situation], her mom was not like the women she told; but I did not want to rub it in[28]

Moreover, Sabahattin (34 year-old construction worker), did not refrain from answering any questions during the interview. His political consciousness and awareness was high. The boundaries in his life were very visible. His stance in the Kurdish issue was one of the most important parts of his self-identification. Therefore, his perception of rich and poor

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[26] "Çok şuursuzca para harcıyorlar, çok kolay para kazanıyorlarmış gibi bir imaj var bende, uçta olan insanların yani. Çok fakir olan insanlarda herhalde onlarda benim hakkımda böyle düşünüyorlardır… Üzülüyorum, elimden geldiğince de yardımda bulunmaya çalışıyorum" (Cihan's quote)

[27] Coon King - a card game involving 2 to 6 players. This card game is generally played by middle-class women of the urban elite. Playing konken in each other's house is a pass time activity for these middle-class urban women (Scott, 2003).

[28] "kadın annesini babasını çok methediyordu… aa bir geldiler senin benim gibiler… kadın durumunu işte biraz iyileşti o yüzden çok abartıyor yani git gide… Olduğundan farklı göstermeye çalışıyor… Öyle diyordu annesi bir geldi aynı benim kaynanam gibi mesela geldi yani diyecektim yani neden böyle yapıyorsun bak annen hiç öyle bir kadına benzemiyor ama yüzüne vurmak istemedim" (Edibe's quote).

has a direct relationship with the Kurdish issue in Turkey. His perception of rich and poor is directly in relation with the subordination of Kurdish population living in eastern provinces. He thinks the big gap between the poor and the rich stems from policies of the state and the antidemocratic policies. In this regard, he mentions the differences between the incentive payments given by the state in western and eastern provinces in Turkey. He says that AKP (Justice and Development Party) is discriminating against the eastern region in Turkey.

He explicitly told us that he disliked rich people, not because of the material wealth but the characteristic they gained with the existence of the wealth. This characteristic is, as he defines by giving an example of his relationship with a shop owner:

> To be honest I don't like wealthy persons…there was a diner that we used to go and eat and we had close relationship with the owner. It was a small diner. It was not clean but we used to eat there. Then, somehow they made money and turned the diner into a first class restaurant, they hired 40 workers. They don't recognize and greet us anymore, that's why I don't like them…. poor people are not right just because they are poor, of course poor people should be protected somehow. Some of them are poor because of their own mistakes they could be lazy and became poor. However, poor people generally remain poor due to the corrupt economic system. And many of them are righteous[29]

Aliye, (30 year-old, unemployed university graduate) thinks that rich people are mean and has no use for anyone. They could not provide any service for the poor. On the other hand, she talks about how desperate the children of the poor families are. Yet, she thinks the poverty she observes does not reflect the real conditions of the people living in Küçük Armutlu[30]. She thinks people are not really poor in Küçük Armutlu, rather they do not like to spend their money:

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[29] "…varlıklı insanlara keşke herkes varlıklı olsa. Ama varlıklı insanları sevmiyorum açık söyliyim varlıklarından dolayı değildir ama varlıkları onlara farklı bi kişilik kazandırmıştır bu kişiliklerini sevmiyorum. Yani burda mesela şurda bi tane lokanta vardı.Çok küçük bi lokantaydı..Yani kirli filan bi lokantaydı ve biz gidiyorduk. Çok sıcak ilişkilerimiz var. Bunlar bi şekilde kazandılar apartmanın altını hepsini lokantaya çevirdiler birinci sınıf bir lokanta açtılar, 40 işçi çalıştırıyorlar. Artık bize selam vermiyorlar onun için sevmiyorum. …. yoksul oldukları için halklı değiller yani elbette ki ııı yoksul kesimin de bir şekilde yoksul insanların korunması lazım yani… yoksul insanlar kimi yoksul insanların suçu vardır yani tembelliğe oturmuştur yoksul kalmıştır ama genel olarak sistemden çarpık ekonomik sistemden dolayı yoksul kalmıştır, çoğu da dürüsttür" (Sabahattin's quote)

[30] Low socio-economic status district in İstanbul

I was a voluntary teacher in Küçük Armutlu…children were wearing sandals and just a pullover in the middle of the winter…I thought their families were poor. However, one day I had a chance to get to know Küçük Armutlu better through my brother's wife, she was living there, and I realized that the poverty was not the case… I just got to learn that some of them have taxis some of them have five-six floored houses. To buy a coat for his child becomes a burden, he doesn't buy shoes to avoid expenses. They just live as if they were poor…Yes, there are also poor, but not that much…Now, I think twice if that person is really poor or not, when I come across one…[31]

All in all, respondents draw boundaries with the rich and the poor. This showed that the socio-economic boundaries and cultural boundaries are in relation for every segment of the society. In some cases, poor people are being accused of their misleading look regarding their "real" economic position, and in some other cases, rich people are criticized for not being "real" rich, being 'just like' them –the poor– culturally. Thus, the different perceptions of the rich and poor are among the factors shaping the construction of cultural boundaries.

V.2. Boundaries in cultural consumption: Do the "mass" only consume popular cultural products?

I conceptualize society as a system of relatively autonomous, but at the same time structurally homologous contexts, in which fields of production, circulation and consumption of various forms of cultural and material sources exist (Brubaker, 1985 cited in Aydın, 2006), the socio-economic background of individuals, and their patterns of cultural consumption are in relation to each other. As Bourdieu proposes, level of education or cultural capital is important in predicting the taste of an individual. Although Bourdieu's suggestion has parallelisms in the Turkish context, it also has contradicting outcomes. That is to say, when ethnicity and politicized ethnic identities come into the picture, the consumption patterns

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[31]   "Bir baktım kimisinin taksi plakaları çıktı, kimisinin Okmeydanın'da beş altı katlı evi çıktı. Adamlar sadece fakir gibi yaşıyorlar. Çocuğuna hırka almak adama ağır geliyor ay mont almak şey, adama yük geliyor. Ayakkabı almıyor, onu bir masraf gibi görüyormuş meğerse. Tamam, hiç fakir yok mu, vardır. Bir iki tane, üç tane. Ama orada yüzden iki yüzden fazla çocuk vardı. Çok şaşırmıştım. Fakir olana artık ben önce bir düşünüyorum. Gerçekten fakir mi, değil mi…"

change within the "masses". In these cases, members of the subordinate classes do not only consume popular cultural products, and also they have a critical stance towards the popular culture.

Here, it is also important to note the relationship of subordinate and dominant culture in the boundary formation. In her study, Fox (cited in Savage, 2000) looked at the internal dynamics of the working-class culture. She focused on the twentieth-century British working-class novels. Her main discussion is about the two facets of the conceptualization of dominant cultural forms by the writers of working-class novels. According to Fox, on one hand writers of working-class novels make a political critique of the class relations to overthrow the supremacy of bourgeois culture. At the same time, these writers put a distance with working-class culture to be able to provide a critique to it. Thus, writers of working-class novels exclude themselves both from the dominant culture and construction of working-class culture. Consequently in the novels, the dominant culture is being reinforced in stigmatizing working-class culture. Here, Savage et al. (2000) aptly find a link: the dominated cultures are fragmented by the dominant culture, and trying to challenge the dominant cultural forms results in dividing the popular classes in themselves.

This discussion is vital to understanding the class identifications of individuals through capturing the meaning of the value attributed to education by working-classes, and understanding how some of the members of the subordinate classes draw their boundaries. Paradoxically they resist the dominant cultural forms while destroying the working-class culture. That is to say, in this complex relationship of class identification, members of the subordinate classes may reject their own class culture and that of the dominant culture as well.

V.2.1. Boundaries in the sphere of TV, Cinema and Literature

An interview with Sabahattin (34 year-old, construction worker) has revealed a lot about the formation of boundaries. Sabahattin was originally from Diyarbakır but living in İzmir during the time the interview was conducted. He is a middle school (junior high school) graduate, however, his interest in cultural and intellectual activities is explicitly more than many of the respondents with higher socio-economic status. He and his friends were publishing a literature magazine in Kurdish and he was interested in writing poems. He did not hesitate to define his economic situation as "low-income". Sabahattin defines having low income as not being able to provide the simple subsistence materials, like food. He thinks being social necessitates nurturing the soul as well.

Sabahattin draws a clear boundary for the popular cultural items. The possible reason for this strict boundary could be his politicized Kurdish identity and his being critical towards the commonsensical comprehension of social issues by the mass media. He says he likes reading literature of all sorts, however he has a criterion:

> I would be suspicious toward the popular and the bestsellers books in Turkey, I would also suspect these sorts of movies...because, the cultural level of the society in Turkey and the lack of individual development limits their horizon to select better artistic products. That's why I would suspect. [32]

Aliye, a 30 year-old university graduate, despite being unemployed at the time, due to her household's wage had a middle-class life standard in which she can spend economic capital for her own tastes. As she states, she has a continuing habit of reading books and she hates best seller books such as Secret. However, best seller books such as the Twilight series, and Elif Şafak novels are in the area of interest of Aliye's.

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[32] Türkiye'de popüler olan, 1 milyon satan kitaplardan kuşku duyarım. Filmlerden de kuşku duyarım yani film de olsa, kitap da kuşku duyarım.
Çünkü Türkiye toplumunun genel olarak kültürel düzeyi, ve bireysel olarak da gelişmeme düzeyi, ufku çok daha güzel şeyleri, çok iyi sanatsal ürünleri tercih etmesine engel oluyor, benim kuşkum bundandır yani
Daha iyi sanatsal ürünler nasıl tercih edilebilir.

Hilal is a 24 year-old artist living in İstanbul. While she explains her reason to live in Kadiköy, she defines what she needs in to "live" is centered on her leisure time activities and cultural consumption:

> I can grab a beer when I get bored, or have some tea and watch the sea. I could shop if wanted to or I could go to the grocery store or to a bookstore. I mean I can find anything I need to live, here [in Kadiköy][33]

Hilal explicitly states that she likes less widely-known movie directors and she favors alternatives in movies to watch. She gives examples of Tom Twyker, Tony Gatlif and Zeki Demirkubuz as her favorite directors. Moreover, Hilal says she loves reading books in her spare time. Since she is also involved in theater professionally, reading theater plays is among her favorites. She also likes reading books for children (Children's storybooks/ juvenile), stories and so on; Oğuz Atay, Michael Ende, Eugéne Ionesco, Civen Canova are the writers she could recall. She dislikes reading theoretical books and being exposed to the terminology since she had read too much when she was studying International Relations in the university. Besides, she also dislikes science fiction books, because she thinks there are no emotions involved in science fiction.

Serpil (47 year-old, retired, high-ranking bank employee who does training for banks after retirement) is a fan of cinema. However, on the contrary to what could be expected from her social class, she says she is a fan of Hollywood movies and she thinks the Turkish movie industry is "unskilled". She has no preference of regarding the movies genres except for the horror movies. She thinks the director and actors are important in a movie. She mentions Quentin Tarantino's Inglorious Bastards as an example of the movies she watched and liked lately. Serpil also says that she disliked all the Turkish TV series. Although she tried to watch

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[33]   "Yani sıkıldığımda gidip bira içebilirim, sıkıldığımda gidip çay içmeye gidebilirim ve denizi görüp rahatlayabilirim. Onun üstüne alışveriş yapmak istesem, alışveriş yaparım, manava gitmek istesem gidebilirim, kitapçıya gitmek istediğimde gidebilirim, hani hayatımda ihtiyaç duyduğum her şeyi bulabiliyorum bir arada." (Hilal's quote)

Aşk-ı Memnu[34] once, she got bored of the scenario easily. She says she is very confused about why people are so interested in these boring TV series so when her mother comes to her house, Serpil does not let her turn on the TV for the Turkish TV series. She says she only follows few foreign detective TV series in Digiturk.

As Esen (2007) suggests, television, like all consumable products, provokes a class-based creation of difference. Serpil explicitly draws boundaries in the sphere of television by refusing to watch one of the highest rated TV series and at the same time disapproving of people being fan of this TV series, especially in her circle.

Again refuting the widely accepted version of the elite drawing boundaries and subordinate classes remain inert and accept what has been presented to them, Narin clearly draws boundaries with the popular consumption of TV series. Narin is a 35 year-old, high school graduate. She is a homemaker right now, but she has worked in textile and food sectors before she gave birth to her child. She is originally from Tunceli but migrated from Tunceli to İzmir when she was 20 to issue a passport and go to Germany to work. However, as she defines, due to her ethnic origin, she has faced discrimination and could not leave the country then settled in İzmir.

Narin's boundaries in various spheres were visible. In the context of cultural consumption, Narin is very clear about the TV series and about the TV in general:

> I don't watch TV series much, I don't like…if it attracts my attention, I would watch…but I hate that series Selena[35], it is ridiculous…It just confuses the minds of the children, that's why I don't like it. Some children try to do magic by themselves… [because of the televisions] children are influenced; they are not let alone…I don't let my kid watch TV…children now don't know how to set games by themselves; they

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[34]   Aşk-ı Memnu, "The Forbidden Love" is one of the most popular TV series in Turkey during the time it first screened from 2008 to 2010. It is adopted from the novel written by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil in late nineteenth century. The TV series is the adopted version of the novel to the 2000s. In the TV series, one of the characters Bihter, in her twenties, marries wealthy Adnan who is in his fifties. Then, Bihter cheats on Adnan with Adnan's nephew Behlül who is living with them and who is engaged with Adnan's daughter.

[35]   It is a Turkish TV series for children broadcasted for 104 episodes. It is about the three sisters (aged 10 to 15) who lost their parents and have to live with their uncle since they have no other relatives. However, their uncle's wife and daughter are not fond of these sisters and they try to throw them out. Selena is the character who saves these sisters from the evil. Selena is from another planet called 'Utopia' and she represents the goodness, fights against the evil with magic. Also, these three sisters have capabilities to do magic.

don't have any productivity or creativity anymore…my childhood was different…we didn't have babies, we made babies ourselves, we made houses to play with, by ourselves. Now, kids are not like this; everything is ready-made, and children are more selfish…children don't know the value of sharing…the over attention for TV is the main reason behind and too many toys; a child should learn to be content. Even if I had luxurious conditions, I wouldn't do stuff like that (mentioning buying to many toys for her kid and let her watch TV)…[36]

Narin also gives importance to reading. As she tells, before she gave birth to her child, she tried to read a book every 2-3 months. She especially likes reading historical novels, but she thinks one can find something to learn in each genre of books "even if the quality of the book is low"[37]. By "low-quality" she refers to people who were writing books just for the sake of writing and the books written by people without any background in writing. She says she is not interested in these discussions much so she did not elaborate on this topic more. Regarding the books she has read, she memorized the Russian classics, however, she mismatched the writers and the novels. While mentioning the book Ana among the books she read, she confused the writer Gorky with Tolstoy.

"We have to be content with whatever they show"

Fatma (30 year-old homemaker in the village in Ankara) says she makes almost no choice regarding the TV series she watches: "I watch…I have to watch, what else can you do

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[36]   "dizi film izlemem ben ya. Dizi pek sevmem… ne denk gelirse yani. İlgimi o an hangisi çekerse yani… ama işte böyle. he şu şey vardı Selena mı ne bir dizi vardı… nefret ediyorum. O çok bana böyle saçma. bir de çocuklara yönelik programlar var. Bence hiç hoş şeyler değildir ya... çocukların öyle kafaları bulanıyor ya. Hoş gelmiyor bana. Çocuklar zaman zaman kendi kendilerine sihir yapıyorlar bazı çocuklar. Çocuklar doğal haline bırakılmıyor bence… hayır, ben izletiyorum, şey yapmıyorum da çocuk yani kendisi oyun kurmasını bilmeli yani. Onun için yani… çocuklar kendileri üretmiyorlar. Bana göre yani. Şu an çocuklar kendileri üretmiyor… biz mesela kendi çocukluğumu hatırlıyorum bize hiçbir şey olmadı… Bebeklerimiz yoktu, bebek yapıyorduk kendimize. Kendimize ev yapıyorduk. Şimdiki çocuklar öyle değil, her şeyi hazır ve bencilleşmiş yani. Bence şu anki gençliğin de bencil olma nedenleri bunlar. Çocukların da paylaşmayı bilmeyişinin büyük etkeni budur yani. Televizyonu işte çok aşırı ilgi, çok aşırı oyuncak yani yetinmesini bilmeli yani. Ben çok çok durumum lüks olsa da yani ben o tür şeyler yapmam yani.

[37]   "her kitapta insanın alabileceği bir şey vardır bana göre. Yani kalitesi düşük de dese insanlar mutlaka alabileceğin bir şey vardır. Her okuduğun kitapta her şeyi alırsın diye bir şey yok ama mutlak kendi bir şeylerine göre bir şey alabilirsin yani… kimi insanda ben hepsini takip etmedim. İşte diyor ben biraz önce mankenleri örnek verdim her önüne gelen yazar olmuş gibisinden. Bu eleştirilerde geliyor. İşte çok berbat bir kitap yazmış. İşte şudur budur diyor ya. Ayşe Kulin mi ne öyle bir yazar var. Onun çok söyleniyordu bu şeyleri. Olabilir yani yine de

in the village? We have to be content with whatever they show"[38]. Yet, she particularly likes a TV series Deniz Yıldızı. This TV series is broadcasted in Fox TV Turkey and is about a young girl (Deniz) who made her mother's dreams come true by getting into medical school which made them move from a small town to capital Ankara. This series is based on this Deniz's life at the university as a provincial and her struggle in the big city. Fatma says she "looks" at Deniz Yıldızı. Obviously, she is not a great fan of any TV series. She says she does not have any preference. However, here only "looking" to a TV series is crucial. It may refer to her interest toward the series, but more importantly, as she only mentions this series, it could mean that she is curious about the experiences of a person from rural area in the big city. She maybe identifies Deniz with herself, but maybe she only "looks" at the series, since for Fatma leaving her village and start living in a big city seems almost impossible. As she says, she does not read any books, but she wants to learn how to read the Qur'an. Also, she says they have nothing to do with any newspapers. All in all, her main cultural consumption resource is TV and her choice in TV is in line with, as Bourdieu argues, her socio-economic conditions.

Bayram (51 year-old, elementary school graduate) has very difficult working conditions. He works in the textile sector and he works twelve hours per day as blue-collar worker since they have migrated from Malatya seventeen years ago. He says he has not much time for watching TV. He watches what his wife watches, and as he says she generally watches Samanyolu TV. Samanyolu TV in all similar cases has a reputation for broadcasting religious TV shows, series and news with emphasis on the religious discourse. He prefers listening to Turkish Folk music and, in particular, he likes listening to the old/past singers since, to him, only the old singers have touchy and impressive voices. Regarding the reading preferences, Bayram does not read any newspapers or books. He has not been to a concert or

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[38] "İzlerim. Mecbur izleyeceğim. İzlemesem ne yapacağım yani köy yerinde mecbur. Hangisi çıkarsa ona razıyız yani." (Fatma's quote)

an exhibition before, nor does he play or follow any sports, other than volleyball which he used to play when he was young. Thus, once again TV becomes the main source of cultural consumption.

Mahir (24 year-old, secondary school graduate) is unemployed. He likes to go to cafes or watch football matches in his leisure time. Despite being unemployed and having a lot of spare time, as he states, he only watches TV not more than two hours a day and he only watches news and sports programs. He prefers particularly three TV channels because he trusts the sources of their broadcasted material. On the contrary to many of the respondents, he does not watch any TV series or soap operas. As he states, in his childhood his parents used to take him to theatre and cinema twice a week, but now he complains about the lack of audience in the theater plays, declining number of plays staged and thus the lack of theatres. This makes him compare the theatre plays, cinema and TV series and he finds the reason for the popularity of TV series as such:

> TV series are of low-quality compared with theatre and cinema. Since people don't have reading habits anymore, while watching TV series, people feel as if they are reading books…[39]

Although he is very critical towards the content of the TV series, and the lack of reading habits in the society, Mahir is not very fond of reading himself. As he states he rarely reads books, but when he reads he chooses to read history books. He gives examples of *Metal Fırtına*[40], and *Şu Çılgın Türkler*[41] which had been best seller books. The former, mainly famous with its Anti-Americanism, is a conspiracy theory about a possible war between the United States and Turkey which ends with the US forces retreating and Turkey being saved[42].

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[39] "Şimdi bir tiyatroyla, bir sinemanın yanında diziler çok düşük kalitede ama insanların bana kalırsa yani kitap okuma alışkanlığının olmamasından dolayı genelde dizilerin başında bağlı kalıyorlar, kitap okuyorlarmış gibi hissediyorlar kendilerini…" (Mahir's quote).
[40] "Metal Storm", written by Orkun Uçar and Burak Turna, published in 2004.
[41] "These Crazy Turks", written by Turgut Özakman, published in 2005.
[42] "Metal Fırtına" is written by two authors. After the first Metal Fırtına became a best-seller in Turkey, the two authors got separated and continued their own series of Metal Fırtına. One of the authors wrote three and the other four additional Metal Fırtına. The other books in the series are about the lost body of Atatürk, secret Turkish military task force, the 'ancient enemy' of the Turks – China and so on.

This first book and the rest of the books in the series with their strong emphasis of Turkish nationalistic ideas was highly supported by the military service and the mass media, also found its audience, consequently became the best-sellers in the country.

The latter, Şu Çılgın Türkler, is a novel about the bravery of the Turks who fought against the imperialist powers, during the First World War and the War of Independence in 1921-22 and it became one of the best-sellers in the country when it was first published in 2005. This book could be conceptualized as reproducing official Kemalist nationalism. Kemalist nationalism's (or Atatürk nationalism), according to Bora (2003), is the root nationalism in Turkey and main characteristic of it is its focus on mission to build and perpetuate the nation-state[43]. Mahir's choice of daily newspaper, also in line with his best-seller book selections with strong emphasis to nationalistic ideas, could be considered as a part of the mass media. He reads Sabah and Milliyet newspapers which have high circulation rates in the country. He chooses to read popular books and newspapers so that his selection of genre in reading materials refers to his closeness to consume products of popular culture.

Therefore, although Mahir's statements regarding the TV broadcasting seems to negate Bourdieu's arguments of class *habitus* becoming the determinant factor in cultural consumption of the individuals, Mahir's choices in the other cultural items lack the reasoning he presented earlier. Overall, he chooses to read items of popular culture.

Edibe (28 year-old, doing domestic help, illiterate) says she has not much time for watching TV, but still she is knowledgeable about the programs. Contrary to Mahir, who is fond of TV series, and competition programs such as "Yemekteyiz", "Var mısın, Yok

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[43]   'Şu Çılgın Türkler' even had been given as a present along with a Turkish national flag by Çankaya Municipality[43] register to the newly married couples during the wedding ceremonies. As the register states the book and the flag was given to the broom for him 'to protect and transfer to the new generations the principals of Atatürk and the ideals of the nation-state'.

musun?", she likes watching Aşk-ı Memnu[44], one of the TV series which has the highest ratings all over the country. Although she thinks the main characters behave immorally, which she does not appreciate, she still watches. However, she has no explicit reason for choosing these programs and TV channels. She says she just likes: "what I like about them…I can't make any comments… I just like them"[45].

However, she explicitly dislikes watching disputes among husbands and wives, and if she comes across any foreign movie on TV she watches it, too. Her preference in terms of movie genre is horror. In the sphere of music, she likes listening to Turkish Folk music but particularly Black Sea music since, her hometown is in the Black Sea region. She says she does not like listening to Pop music: "I don't like pop…I don't like the video clips…I don't know, though I don't understand those clips much…as I told you, I don't watch much"[46].

However, she likes a program of a model and Fantezi music[47] singer broadcasted in the morning which targets the female homemaker population. Although at first, she said she was not interested in TV much, later on she emphasized the importance of TV both in her life and in a general sense, as a source of information. Regarding the changes she noticed in the rapid changes in Turkey, Edibe told: "formerly, in our villages, there were no TV's or telephones…but now everything is available, TV's, computers, telephones…"[48]

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[44]   In the TV series, the characters are Bihter, in her twenties, marries wealthy Adnan who is in his fifties and then cheats on Adnan with Adnan's nephew Behlül who is living with them and who is engaged with Adnan's daughter.

[45]   "Yani işte nesi hoşuma gidiyor...ben ne bileyim yorum yapamıyorum yani onları seviyorum öyle..."

[46]   "Ya pek pop sevmem yani…Klipleri hoşuma gitmiyor…Ne bileyim pek anlamıyorum gerçi de kliplerinden, diyorum ya pek izlemiyorum televizyon pek ilişki kurmuyorum o yüzden pek şey yapmıyorum…"

[47]   Fantasy Music is genre peculiar to Turkey; it is different from Turkish Classical Music or Turkish Art Music (what are these?) and it is categorized (by whom?) under popular music.

[48]   "Televizyon yoktu mesela işte telefonlar yoktu mesela çalgı denen bir şey yokmuş mesela bizim köylerimizde, şimdi televizyon da var bilgisayar da var telefonlar da var her şey var yani (Edibe's quote)

When she is asked whether the dissemination of TV is advantageous or disadvantageous, she said that Turkey changes eventually and the TV programs have a lot of information[49].

V.2.2. "Opera comes down to the city"[50] vs. Arabesk

To be able to analyze the relations between culture and the expressions of social well-being or social discord, music is a highly debated area (Blau, 1988). Blau's work suggests that traditional elite music is to a great extent an autonomous area in which the level of alienation the individual is exposed to has very little effects when compared with popular music. On the other hand, popular music is associated with social dislocation, and directly linked with economic inequalities and high level of alienation (ibid).

In line with Althusser's (cited in Blau, 1988) arguments, culture is a reflection of a deep-seated discontent in the society and it is culture which expresses the class divisions (Harap & Read cited in Blau, 1988). In this regard, choice of listening to a particular genre of music could be conceptualized as a consequence of the economic position. It could also be said that when there is status consistency, music with elite appeal (such as chamber music, avant-garde instrumental music, classical orchestral music…etc) is prevalent whereas, when there is a discrepancy of an individual's education and occupation there is a greater supply in popular music.

Listening to classical music and opera has been widely defined as a part of elite and thus *highbrow* cultural activities, and the ones who do not participate in activities other than the highbrow, are defined as highbrow snobs by Peterson and Kern (1996). In this regard, in the Turkish context, with the cultural policies shaped around the appreciation of polyphonic

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[49] Türkiye'de şey mesela git gide değiştiriyor televizyon mesela bilgileri çok oluyor yapıyorlar ediyorlar öyle yani" (Edibe's quote)

[50] Opera Şehre İniyor – The motto of the I. International Opera Festival as a part of the Cultural Capital İstanbul 2010.

Western origin music in the beginning of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, young musicians are trained in accordance (Tekelioğlu, 1996). However, the end result was not as it was expected. The massive control over the media and the production of music had pretty much no effect on the preferences of people so that in the squatter towns of the cities arabesk started to emerge (ibid).

Coming to the 1960s, with the massive migration from rural to urban, arabesk emerged as a genre out of popular music, but also as a way of life (Tekelioğlu, 1996). Arabesk and classical music with polyphonic melodies that appeals to cultural elite became the two poles. Arabesk became a popular music which carries Eastern connotations with its direct relation with Egyptian film music (Stokes, 1992) and polyphonic Western and Turkish music which is propagated by state channel, TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Broadcasting Corporation).

Mardin (1973) argues the Ottoman economic and political life was dived into two sections: center –referring to Istanbul– and periphery –referring to the Ottoman territory other than Istanbul. Although there was a central authority in the Ottoman Empire, the peripheral authorities had autonomy as well and there had been a clash among them in which periphery had always been hostile to the reforms imposed by the center. In parallel with Mardin's center-periphery discussions, arabesk could be conceptualized as an opposition to central bureaucratic state tradition's enforcement on music. Arabesk in this framework becomes a part of the reactionary periphery (Stokes, 1992). In addition to arabesk music, *fantezi* music should also be emphasized. Arabesk, with the subject matter of powerlessness, appeals to a mass audience who are at the bottom of this structure. Not being a part of either the Sunni Islam current in the musical production nor Turkism, arabesk tries to provide a non-discursive voice for the state of powerlessness. As Stokes (1992: 225) presents by adopting Weber's explanation, arabesk provides "an explanation for why things are not as they should be". In

this logic, arabesk functions as closing the gap between the dominant ideology and the social reality being experienced by the masses. At the same time, it exists as an opposition to totalizing claims of official discourses of Turkism and Islam (ibid).

The motto of the I. International Opera Festival , "Opera comes down to the city", illustrates how the Turkish state still conceptualizes opera and act of listening to opera in high ranks of social hierarchy, as an elite cultural activity. Yet, now, through this festival opera is being served to mass audience, too. It seems that the perception of listening to opera as a highbrow cultural activity, to be imposed over the masses continues in a musical activity organized by the municipality. In this regard, in relational terms *highbrow* is still defined in terms of Western originated musical pieces and genres. *Lowbrow* genres, on the other hand, in the Turkish context could be defined as arabesk and/or fantezi music[51], since arabesk is defined as being consumed by migrants with rural origins in the urban centers. Arabesk being a mass-produced, low quality genre of music represented erosion and degeneration of popular culture against modernity (Ergin, 2005).

Coming to the 1990s, arabesk has transformed and became an item to be consumed by the elite as well. This time arabesk did not invade area of legitimate culture, in fact, to Ergin (2005) arabesk was "invited", but not as a form of art. Arabesk was only allowed to be consumed in the domain of "sarcastic enjoyment" in which the audience is well-aware of the "traps" of arabesk and listens to it without becoming a part of the degenerate culture (ibid). To Ergin, arabesk achieved entrance to the mainstream cultural domains only through this sarcastic enjoyment by which arabesk musical products becomes mocking, and therefore being consumed by the audience, to laugh not to admire. Although this kind of a sarcastic enjoyment has been produced and reproduced by various artists and their songs there are also other examples in the Turkish pop singers who are keen on exchanging songs with arabesk

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[51]   As Stokes (1992) argues, the line which separates heavy arabesk and fantezi is unclear so that Stokes suggests these different genre definitions are made to diverge from arabesk; not to be included in arabesk as a genre.

singers. However, the selection of the arabesk singers here is of importance. In the genre of arabesk singers like Müslüm Gürses[52] or Orhan Gencebay[53] started to be recognized by the cultural elite. Certain arabesk singers are included to the elite's consumption patterns as well. These two arabesk singers are important in the sense that in the 2000s they had given a lot role in cultural atmosphere, such as in documentary movies or by covering Turkish pop-rock songs which by composers and singers such as Teoman and Bülent Ortaçgil, who are prominent figures in the history of Turkish rock music. This implies an important transformation in the conceptualization of arabesk that it is invited rather than invading. However, in the 2000s, in some cases this invitation does not imply a sarcastic enjoyment, rather this invitation perceives arabesk with a prominent role as a genre in the music industry.

One of the respondents, Hilal (a 24 year-old, artist) prefers instrumental and alternative genre of music to listen to. However, she says she could also listen to arabesk if her mood is appropriate to listen in that particular time period. Nevertheless, she has her limits. She cannot stand listening to İbrahim Tatlıses, another arabesk singer. She thinks in particular, İbrahim Tatlıses and his attitudes are dishonest, however, in general this does not alienate her from arabesk as a genre. She says the quality of music is of importance to her, so that she could listen to arabesk singers if she thinks they are making quality music. She has no problems with arabesk as a genre of music.

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[52]   Müslüm Gürses is one of the most prominent arabesk singers. He released his first single in 1968 and he is still very active in the music industry. In 2002, he sang the song 'Paramparça', which is originally written and sang by Teoman, a Turkish rock-pop singer. Müslüm Gürses also sang a classical Turkish pop-rock song 'Sensiz olmaz' by Bülent Ortaçgil who was known for his opposition to arabesk. One other important difference in 2000s for Müslüm Gürses is that he started starring series of advertisements such as Coca-Cola's (Yalçınkaya, 2008).

[53]   Orhan Gencebay is known inventor of the arabesk music. He released his first single in 1968 and stil very active in the music industry in Turkey, by releasing new albums and composing songs. Orhan Gencebay starred in various movies and even of these movies bore the same names with his songs (Yalçınkaya, 2008). In 2005, he also starred in the documentary movie "Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of İstanbul" shoot by Fatih Akın which is about the various genres of music played in İstanbul. There was a special section devoted to Orhan Gencebay in which Gencebay plays his bağlama and sings his one the most popular arabesk songs 'Hatasız kul olmaz' (there is no human being exists without any mistake").

Boundaries constructed via dislike towards arabesk

The sphere of music is one of the most prominent areas where people draw strict lines by listening to or not listening to certain genres. Some of the respondents draw their cultural boundaries by excluding arabesk.

Narin (35 year-old, high school graduate, homemaker) loves listening to *Özgün* music[54], and Kurdish music, but she clearly states that she disliked Arabesk music, since she finds arabesk simple and even, she does not conceive arabesk as a music genre. Moreover, she dislikes the newly emerged singers without musical training and who were previously working as models or working in other entertainment sectors. Narin thinks that the newly emerged singers have no quality at all, however, the old singers whom she thinks have had education are making quality music. On the other hand, she likes folk music. She thinks her interest in folk music stems from her childhood, since she has been raised listening to folk music.

For Rasim (48 year-old, high school graduate, café owner) sphere of music is an important ground for boundary formation. He claims that he likes listening foreign music, and Elvis Presley and Michael Jackson are the firsts to come to his mind. Although growing up in the Black Sea region, Rasim is not fond of the local music and instruments of his hometown. He draws boundaries with rural areas by showing that he dislikes this kind of music, which he defines as being peculiar to the villages, since he was grown in the city center. According to Rasim, regional music of the Black Sea is not that favorable in the city centers of the region. His definition of the music he cannot bear listening to is as such:

> I don't listen to arabesk, we don't have anything to do with arabesk, I don't listen to Turkish folk music, either… I don't like listening to *kemençe* (small violin played like a cello peculiar to the Black Sea Region). We didn't grow up with that culture. The ones, who grew up in the city centre, generally have nothing to do with kemençe, only

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[54]   'Protest music' is defined as having a leftist political stance in content. Protest music pieces combines instruments such as violin and piano with bağlama (stringed musical instrument common to Eastern Mediterranean (www.seslisozluk.com) with an epical tone.

people in the villages are interested in kemençe. Because of the emptiness, nothing to do except picking hazelnuts, they play kemençe... [55]

When we asked why he did not like arabesk:

Probably because it's dramatic; we don't like being dramatic, we don't like it, when we gather with our kids, we always laugh, enjoy ourselves; we don't hang out in a dramatic manner…[56]

Berk (23 year-old, university student) thinks that when you are in the appropriate

environment or occasion, all genres of music could be listened. Only hard-metal is a genre of

music he cannot bear under any circumstance:

It will be a standard answer but, I don't like arabesk. But there are such moments you could like arabesk, such as while drinking *rakı*...when you are in an appropriate environment there are no kinds of music you can't bear…[57]

Arabesk could only be 'born into' according to Berk. He has a similar reason with

Rasim about his dislike in arabesk:

I don't like arabesk because it tries to be happy through pain. I suffer, and because I suffer I'm a person of quality…I don't like being proud of how much a person suffers from…I don't like this mentality…[58]

Sevil (47 year-old, retired bank employee and trainer to other banks after retirement)

does not even mention arabesk. She says she is not a great fan of listening to music:

Ethnic, classical or modernized classical music are among the genres I like… Vanessa Mae, Bond… Pavarotti, Sarah Brightman…I like classical pop…I don't like heavy jazz, Turkish folk music, or art music, rock music; some of the stuff young people listen to is fine but some of them are too noisy for me…but especially folk music is boring, so is jazz, I get sleepy[59]

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[55]   "Arabesk dinlemiyorum. İşimiz yok arabeskle, türkü de dinlemiyorum. Türk sanat müziği tamam da türkü dinleyemiyorum. O artık kemençe, bizim yöresel halk müziklerimiz bir tanesini zor dinleriz. Ben kemençe dinlemeyi sevmem. O kültürle mi büyümedik, biz şehirde büyüdük Trabzon'da şehirde büyüdük. Şehir içinde büyüyenler pek kemençe ile işi olmaz. Köylerdeki insanlarımızın olur. O boşluktan, ağaçların dibinde fındık toplarken çalar. Heyecandan…" (Rasim's quote).

[56]   "…arabesk herhalde drama kaçtığından. Biz dramdan takılmamaya çalışıyoruz. Dram sevmiyoruz. Biz mesela çocuklarla bir araya geldiğimizde yani hep güleriz. Acıklı falan imiz olmaz" (Rasim's quote).

[57]   "Klasik olacak ama arabesk dinlemeyi sevmiyorum, genel olarak sevmiyorum diyeyim yani bazı anlar oluyor ki rakı masasında oluyorsun ya da işte tam onun ortamına girmiş oluyorsun öyle hoşuna gidebiliyor yani ortamına girdiğin zaman dinleyemeyeceğim müzik yok herhalde"

[58]   "Acısıyla mutlu olmaya çalışan bir yapısı olduğu için, yani ben acı çekiyorum işte acı çektiğim için ben kaliteli insanım, işte bununla övünen, vay arkadaşım ne kadar acı çekiyorum ben gibi bir kafası olduğu için çok garip geliyor bana" (Berk's quote).

[59]   "Müzik dinlemeyi severim deli gibi değil ama severim…etnik, klasik ya da modernleştirilmiş klasik çok seviyorum. Vanessa Mae, Bond… Pavarotti, Sarah Brightman, klasik pop yapıyolar onları seviyorum

That is to say, Sevil's interpretation of musical consumption is not in parallel with omnivore consumption patterns nor with the discussions on appreciating abstract artistic forms. Sevil likes popularized version of classical music, on the other hand jazz music makes her sleepy. Yet, she draws boundaries with other popular genres such as Turkish folk music. Although Sevil looks like not consuming highbrow musical genres, she is still selective in her choices and she is well-aware of what genre she does not like and shapes her boundaries in accordance with her dislikes.

Boundaries constructed by enjoying arabesk

On the other hand, arabesk singers could be associated with moral boundaries and chosen to be listened because of the "moral" or "mannered" characteristics of arabesk singers and their life-styles. Listening to music for Fatma (30 year-old homemaker in the village in Ankara) is not an important activity to do. She says she listens to music only when she comes across it on TV. Other than religious music, she prefers listening to famous Arabesk singers Müslüm Gürses, Ceylan and Turkish Folk music. She thinks she prefers listening to these singers because they are "mannered" and to Turkish Folk music since she finds the genre itself as intimate. "Being mannered" is important here, since it indicates a clear moral boundary. Calling arabesk singers as mannered and excluding pop singers from it refers to perceive pop singers' work as having an obscene content, which is nowhere close to Fatma's understanding of "mannered". In addition, being influenced by Turkish Folk music indicates a cultural boundary. Turkish Folk music is regarded as boring by urban elite respondents, but, for Fatma folk music is poignant and at the same time reflecting her mood.

Ağır jazz sevmiyorum, halk sanat müziği sevmiyorum, rock müziği sevmiyorum, gençlerin dinlediği güzelleri oluyo; ama kimisi çok gürültülü patırtılı geliyor…ama özellikle halk müziği çok sıkıcı geliyor, jazz da öyle, uykum geliyor yani…" (Serpil's quote).

The sphere of music for Mahir (24 year-old, secondary school graduate, unemployed) is not an area that he is very keen on. As he says he is not interested in music, he has never been to a concert. As Mahir suggests he could listen to any kind of music, it is all the same for him, but when we asked several times, he finally mentioned an arabesk/fantezi singer, Ebru Gündeş among the singers he likes to listen.

"Could listen to any kind of music"

Esin (23 year-old, university student) defines her musical preference as such:

I generally listen to pop music, whatever is pleasant to me in that particular time, I listen to it. I listen to *türkü* (Turkish Folk Music) and arabesk, too. Sometimes, I even listen to İbrahim Tatlıses. I am not very picky about music…I don't know what specific genre that is, but I can't bear listening to unknown arabesk singers…I'm not a fan of any singer either, whose song I love to, I listen to it…Lately I've been listening to Sertab Erener, I heard her song on a TV series, probably from Aşk-ı Memnu…[60]

Kutal (38 year-old, elementary school graduate, taxi-driver) says that he could listen to any kind of music: "whatever appeals to my ear the best, either arabesk or pop…"[61].

Fuat (28 year-old, male truck driver and farmer, respondent in the Village) says he generally listens to *uzun hava* or *oyun havası* and also arabesk when he is on the road. When we asked if there were any kind of music he could not bear, he just said: "Maybe…everyone has a different taste…"[62].

All in all, the statements of the respondents from different social backgrounds show that the boundary formation is a mutual process in which both dominant and subordinate classes involve. However, it is important to note Bourdieu's claim of culture as "an axis on

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[60]   "…Genelde pop dinlerim. O an ne hoşuma giderse, türkü de dinliyorum, arabesk de dinliyorum. Yeri geliyor İbrahim Tatlıses bile dinliyorum. Müzik konusunda çok seçici değilim.
          Onların tarzı ne oluyor bilmiyorum ama arabesk tarzı bilinmeyen şarkıcılar vardır ya, onlara tahammül edemem.
          Öyle bir seçiciliğim yok aslında. Hayran olduğum bir sanatçı da yok. Hangisinin şarkısı hoşuma giderse onu dinlerim. Ama son zamanlarda Sertab Erener dinliyorum… Bir dizide "Aşk-ı Memnu"ydu sanırım. "Açık adres" diye bir şarkısını duydum, onu dinliyorum"(Esin's quote).

[61]   "O anda kulağıma ne hoş gelirse. Arabesk de olabilir pop da olabilir" (Kutal's quote).
[62]   "Olabilir, herkesin zevki ayrıdır yani…" (Fuat's quote).

which class formation occurs" (Savage, 2000: 106). Thus, Bourdieu's arguments are to a certain extent still current, yet, there are deviations due to ethnic or political differentiation. Turning back to individualization argued by Savage et al. (2000), since there seems to be no collective class solidarities left anymore, it may be understood that we are individualized.

V.2.3. To what extent omnivore thesis works in the sphere of music?

The omnivore thesis proposes that cultural omnivores could learn and practice multiple genres in sphere of cultural consumption. Omnivores are considered to be inclusive and tolerant to different genres and this wide-range of cultural consumption, rather than having specific and thus limited tastes and practices, becomes a characteristic for the elite to distinguish themselves from the lower classes (Veenstra, 2010). Veenstra's (2010) research in Canada indicates that lower classes, as a result of less or no possession of economic resource, insufficient free time, and tight schedules could not develop the required skills to engage in wide range of cultural activities. Thus, being an omnivore, necessitating moving freely among cultural spacing, could only be achieved by upper-classes who have the command of high culture.

The omnivore thesis, in terms of listening to both highbrow music and lowbrow music, could be adapted to the Turkish context by referring to listening to Western classical music and listening to arabesk or fantezi music at the same time. In this regard, the omnivore thesis operates different in the Turkish context. None of the respondents we have interviewed fit into this interpretation of the omnivore thesis. However, conceptualizing the omnivore thesis in another way, such as listening to music of very different genres without taking into consideration whether it is elite or not, omnivores could also be found in the Turkish context.

I argue that omnivore thesis generated by Peterson and Kern (1996) is a theoretical tool which conceptualizes the elite as consuming a wide range of musical genres including

highbrow and lowbrow tastes at the same time, and by this, distinguishes itself from the lower-classes. Although the omnivore thesis puts the elite's highbrow and lowbrow consumption into focus, the more crucial issue here is the consumption of various genres of cultural products. Since cultural tastes and practices are not intrinsically sophisticated –referring to highbrow– or, common –referring to lowbrow– they are defined in terms of their relational social spaces. According to Bourdieu (cited in Veenstra, 2010), the lowbrow musical genres appeal to highbrow taste needs and transform, or are gentrified, to the extent that the elite includes that particular genre to their conceptualization.

It could be argued that omnivorousness in the sphere of music is not about consuming a particular musical genre (highbrow) as a must and then consuming music appealing to lowbrow taste, but rather consuming different genres could be conceptualized as being omnivore, either. Among the respondents we have conducted interviews with, there was no omnivore selection of music as it is defined by Peterson and Kern (1996). However, there were respondents who were consuming different genres at the same time, none of which are considered to be highbrow, but having significant differences regarding the content, melodies, and rhythms and also their audience. Therefore, in the Turkish context, the omnivore thesis could be transformed and may not include highbrow taste, but includes variation in the consumed items within the members of the subordinate classes.

None of the genres that Civan (55 year-old, owning a stationary) likes could be defined in terms of highbrow consumption patterns, however, the differences in the scope of genres he likes, could make him an omnivore. Civan has different preferences when compared with the rest of the respondents. His knowledge of Arabic and Persian and his ethnic origin affects his choice of genre. He also likes listening to arabesk, although, arabesk shows no resemblance with his other choice of genre: "I love listening to *özgün* music, such as Ahmet

Kaya[63]. I like listening to art music [referring to Turkish classical music], I like Emel Sayın[64]…I also like listening to arabesk sometimes"[65].

The omnivorous taste of Civan could be understood in terms of the singers he mentioned and what these singers represent in the Turkish context. Civan says that he likes Hakkı Bulut among the arabesk singers. Hakkı Bulut is a distinguished figure among other arabesk singers, since he is one of first arabesk singers cooperated with the TRT; he composed arabesk songs in the 1980s when the TRT asked him to compose one; as a part of the official endorsement of the new arabesk (Stokes, 1992). Today, Bulut is also known for having laid the foundations of the arabesk music in late 1960s. Being a part of state-led arabesk, Hakkı Bulut constitutes a part of the dominant ideology in terms of artistic experience.

On the other hand, Ahmet Kaya is a prominent Kurdish musician making *Özgün* müzik. Ahmat Kaya is known for his critical stance toward the state's implementations and policies regarding the Kurdish issue. Civan also likes to listen religious music. Due to his vocational background (studied in religious vocational high school and continued university in the same branch, though he was not able to finish) Civan has a close relationship with religion and religious institutions. He also has a command of Arabic and Persian through his education in these vocational high schools which paved the way for his interest in Middle-Eastern music and musical instruments. Since Civan thinks understanding the lyrics are important for listening to a song, he prefers to listen to music in Arabic, Persian and Turkish but not in any other language.

Moreover, when we ask him the last concert he attended, Civan could not remember the name of the band, but he said it was an African music group in the İzmir fair.

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[63]   Ahmet Kaya is a Kurdish Özgün music singer who was born in 1957 in died in 2000 when he was in exile in Paris.

[64]   Popular singer of Turkish Classical music.

[65]   "Ben özgün müzik. Mesela Ahmet Kaya dinlerim. Efendim sanat müziği severim, dinlerim. Mesela emel sayın'ı dinlerim. Emel sayın'ı seviyorum. Arabesk de dinlerim ara sıra. Arasıra dinlerim" (Civan's quote).

"It was African music, it something very nice. I didn't understand it, but still, I watched and liked it"[66]. Civan presents a perfect example of omnivorous consumption patterns, by listening to religious music, arabesk and world music at the same time.

The meanings attached to the cultural items by their audience require attention regarding the construction of cultural boundaries. The omnivore thesis is the result of study held in the USA (Peterson & Kern, 1996) which might not show absolute parallelism with the Turkish context. Therefore, in the Turkish context, the omnivore taste may be defined in terms of consuming different genres, none of which may be conceptualized as highbrow, but necessitating variation both in the consumed cultural items and the differences among items' cultural codes.

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[66] "Afrika o zencilerin müziği, o çok güzel birşey. anlamadım ama gene de izledim hoşuma gitti" (Civan's quote).

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF MORALITY

Consumption produces cultural boundaries through the ethical meanings attached to it. In the previous chapter I discussed the relationship between the class boundaries and the consumption of different cultural items. In this section, I reframe the discussions in terms of different morality meanings they reproduce. The different ethical concerns, especially concerning issues of correctness in religious practice and ethnic identity, produce cultural boundaries even when people are consuming the same things.

While looking at the moral boundaries, the role of religion is another dimension to be explored since religion and religiosity is one of the most important stigmas people use to define both themselves and others. Religion is commonly centered on one's self-identity formation and the norms, traditions, customs, moral values of a belief system functions to establish and maintain that self-identity. Since different societies have different belief systems, norms, commitments and expressive needs, consumption becomes a widely used tool to express these differences (Coşgel & Minkler, 2004). Each religion generates its own set of norms, customs and traditions for its followers. Knowledge about these various religions and other people's religious identities sheds light on the eating habits, whom they would marry or not, and so on. Encountering with various people necessitates knowledge on different religions and their practices, not to make seriously wrong or offensive choices, i.e. to serve pork chops for a Muslim, Hindu or Jewish guest (ibid). Therefore, knowledge of religion and religious practices becomes one of the most important in interaction with other people.

VI.1. Moral Boundaries: "Real" vs. "Pseudo" Religiosity

Along with its contribution to the expression of identity, these norms also contribute to commitment, group cohesion and member recruitment (ibid). Keeping the role of religion and religious customs in mind, the issue of moral boundary changes it phase from hard work and personal integrity as Lamont (1992) argues to the changing perceptions of religion and religiosity, in the Turkish context. Other than a few interviews conducted in the research, religion and belief systems were very prominent regarding the conceptualization of many issues, from preference of TV series, from food to attitudes towards homosexuals and many other areas. However, one of the main discussions that came out from the interviews was the distinction between the "real" and the "pseudo" religiosity.

Many of the respondents defined themselves as religious, but their attitude towards the items of cultural consumption is separated into two. The first group of religious people is attached to the moral boundaries and to the religious discourse as they refused to celebrate New Year's Eve, or consume "immoral" cultural products (TV series, movies, listening to singers…etc). This group does not digress from Islam's norms, traditions and values. The second group is keener on the differentiation between the "real" and the "pseudo" religious people. They generally consider themselves as "real" religious, but not as conservatives who are totally against the Western image, or Western cultural products; celebrating New Year's Eve and eating shellfish are the two main distinguishing items in this sphere. The main judgment toward the pseudo-religious people is those people's immoral behavior, although they "look like" they were keen on religion and religious customs.

Aliye (30 year-old, homemaker) defines herself as religious and her definition of religious is as such:

> I think the first rule of religion is individuality…religion is something only related with the believer him/herself…I can't judge anyone because of his or her belief…I

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think a religious person should only look back at him/herself. He or she should keep his or her soul clean. The rest is not of importance[67]

In this regard she indicates that after her visit to Umrah (the pilgrimage to Mecca, that could be undertaken anytime of the year by Muslims; it is different than Hajj), she did not change any prior habits: "…I was just together with my friends yesterday night until 4 o'clock and I also drank alcohol…but at the same time I fast during the time of Ramadan".

However, in general she thinks religious people are dishonest and she differentiates the "real" and the "dishonest" religious persons. She thinks it is easy to tell the difference:

> …just a little bit enlightened person could easily tell…In general these fraud religious persons are ignorant or uneducated people. If a cultured person with background has also faith, that belief turns into 'real' faith. As I've told, it is totally individual; they [the 'real' religious people] don't mess with any other persons…[68]

Defining her family conservative as well, Aliye is very keen on her look. She likes wearing make-up which is not welcomed under n the religious obligations. She says she likes being soigné. Yet, this does not degrade her from being 'real' religious. She says: "When I enter a place I need to attract attention, people should turn around and look at me. I like wearing perfume and feminine things like that"[69] .

Eser (42 year-old middle school graduate homemaker) defining herself as religious, and giving primary importance to religious obligations in her life, is also very keen on "our" national values, historical heritage, solidarity and loyalty "with each other". Eser is making a differentiation among the believers, though not directly as "real" or "pseudo". She mentions

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[67]   "Dinin ilk şartı bana göre bireysellik. Yani benim inancım, şeyim sadece beni ilgilendirir. Hiç kimseyi bağlamaz. Yani benle hiç kimse, kendi inancımdan ötürü ne bir şey söyleyebilirim ne de yargılayabilirim. Hani, sen şöyle yaptın, bak doğrusu buydu; hayır böyle bir şey yok. Sen kendine bak. Ben dinin, insanın kendine bakması gerektiğini hani, düşündüren bir olgu olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bence dindar bir insan sadece kendine bakmalı. Kendi içini, ruhunu temiz tutmalı. Gerisi önemli değil, yani hiç önemli değil" (Aliye's quote).
[68]   "… biraz böyle hani biraz aydın insan ayırabiliyor. Hemen fark ediliyor o. Genelde de bu sahte dindar, sahte dindarların hepsi cahil insanlardan çıkıyor. Kültürlü ya da bir birikimi olan bir insanın inancı da varsa şey olmuyor, ee gerçek bir inanç haline dönüşüyor o. Yani tamamen dediğim gibi bireysel oluyor. Kimseye bulaşmıyorlar." (Aliye's quote).

[69]   "Bir kadın gibi görünmeyi seviyorum. Böyle çok spor ayakkabı, şey hani öyle sevmiyorum. Öyle giyindiğim zamanlarda oluyor ama çok nadir. Yani makyaj yapmayı seviyorum, ondan sonra bakımlı olmayı seviyorum yani. Ben bir yere gittiğimde mutlaka yani, böyle dönüp bakılmalı yani" 8Aliye's quote).

women who wear head-scarf but not fulfilling the basic religious obligations such as *namaz* (ritual worship repeated five times a day). She says she does not approve of this kind of behavior and she adds that she also does not approve the "newly emerged" dressing style that covered women adapted. She says:

> Rather than wearing loose coats which cover the body, young girls are wearing too much make-up; wearing headscarves which do not fit to the Islamic worldview…things that would contradict with Islam are being done under the name of Islam…[70]

Eser thinks that Turkey seems like a more conservative country lately, yet the inner reality is different. She says there are covered women who do not fulfill the religious obligations, but still look like religious with their veils. She concludes that, although religion seems to have priority in Turkey lately, Islam makes many concessions. She notes that, qualitatively, Turkey does not become more conservative.

VI.2. Moral Boundaries and Political views

In the Turkish context, religion is highly politicized as in the case of veiling and in the discourses of the political parties regarding secularism and laicism. The two prominent political parties, AKP (Justice and Development Party) and Republican Party (RP), represent two different poles. AKP, the ruling party, which came to power in 2002, is known to be a right-wing party. The Prime Minister Erdoğan, before establishing AKP, was working with right-wing political parties and even sentenced to prison for ten months in 1997, for reciting a poem in the public. He was accused of agitating the public by explicitly steering them to religious and racial hostility. After coming to power in 2002, he and his party AKP continued in the same manner by emphasizing Islam and its rules in their discourses. RP, on the other

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[70] "Ya islamın vermiş olduğu kıyafet var şimdi genç kızlarımız, benimkiler de dahil, ben ancak diyorum hani bu kadarına razıyım ki daha şey olmasın diye. Öyle şeyler var yani çok... İslam bol pardesü diyor şimdi öyle kıyafetler var ki bir islami hanıma yakışmayacak makyaj, hiçbir örtüyle bağdaşmayan şey…Yanı anlamıyorum islamla bağdaşmayan şeyler islam adı altında yapılıyor" (Eser's quote).

hand, was founded by Mustafa Kemal in 1923 and still it is known with its loyalty towards Atatürk's principles, most importantly to laicism –the separation of religious and political institutions. Besides, RP has been defined in the "center" of the left-wing politics, not as radical left-wing party.

In addition, these two political parties have many disputes regarding many different issues one of which is veiling. While RP is totally against the freedom of veiling of women who work as state officials or women studying at the schools and universities, AKP holds just the opposite view. AKP is in favor of flexibility of veiling in each part of the public sphere. In this sense, their audience differs a lot. As it was discussed in the Turkish Case part of second chapter, core middle-classes still feel attached to RP. On the other hand, the new middle-class now favors the implementations of AKP. Since, social class and political orientations are involving cultural elements, the relation between the moral boundaries of the respondents and their political orientation is worth looking at. Therefore, the respondents' answer regarding the controversy of Turkey's becoming more religious or not could give clues about the relationship between their moral boundaries and their political orientation.

Studying in a university that some suspect is funded by an Islamic foundation, Aliye (30 year-old, homemaker) has also striking thoughts on Turkey becoming more "religious". As she states this scares her, but at the same time as she had studied in a university famous with its affiliation with "green capital" she got to know many of the conservative families' children. For this reason, she knows a lot about the conservative section, and thinks that they are very enlightened:

> When I think of them, I remember how enlightened people they are and I am relieved (about Turkey's becoming more religious). They just want Islam to be lived freely; of course we are not becoming Iran…Many of my friends' fathers were in prominent roles in the establishment of AKP, so I know how tolerant they are, by nature their belief system is tolerant; there is no need to be frightened of"[71]

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[71]   "Yani, bu konuda aslında kafam sürekli karışıyor benim. Yani, bir çok korkutuyor beni bu muhafazakârlaşan kesim. Çok korkutuyor beni. Ama sonra ben işte, Fatih Üniversite'sinde okudum hakikaten

She states that she has very different groups of friends from atheists, all "knowledgeable and intellectual people", to conservatists. More importantly, she states that she can adapt to all various kinds of social groups. However, she thinks that there is a set of intersection among these different groups: intelligence. She thinks intelligence and intellectual culture is very important for her friendships rather than the political and religious backgrounds.

Aliye dislikes ignorant people. She thinks ignorant people are at the same time very stubborn that they never accept the fact that they were wrong. She thinks the kind of ignorant people she mentions are not found much in the university circles. Yet, university education is not enough to avoid ignorance according to Aliye, she thinks a person should educate him or herself. People without any curiosity towards the social and without social lives are considered to be ignorant: people wearing blinders.

Concerning political orientation, for Eser (42 year-old middle school graduate homemaker), wearing a scarf is a part of her religious beliefs. Eser gives primary importance to the solution of the "headscarf problem". She supports AKP and she explains the reason as:

> I give importance to honesty and integrity…headscarf issue is the main issue for me, if the Republican Party[72] could have done that, I would support RP. Whoever provides stabilization, and does not make any discrimination among covered, uncovered, religious and faithless is the political party I would support[73]

yeşil sermayenin içindeydim, şeyde orada. Yüzde doksan dokuz muhafazakar ailelerin ve büyük ailelerin çocuklarıydı. Sonra onların hepsi kapalıydı kızları. Sonra onların ne kadar aydın insan, aslında aydın insanlar olduğunu hatırlayıp rahatlıyorum. Bir yandan beni korkutuyor. Sonra, onların içinden geldiğim için de; böyle hayır ya onlar çok insanlar yani, niye korkalım ki. Yani sadece İslamiyet'in daha rahat yaşanmasını istiyorlar ama işte bunun tabii ki, biz İran olmayacağız filan diye düşünüyorum" (Aliye's quote).

[72]   Abbreviation: RP
[73]   "Ya ben şimdi dürüstlüğe, doğruluğa önem veriyorum. Dedim başta da bunlarda da benim için bu baş örtü meselesi, CHP de yapabilse ben CHP'ye geçerim o zaman orta dengeyi sağlayan kimse odur benim için bu kapalı, bu açık, bu dindar, bu dinsiz diye ayırım yapmayacak" (Eser's quote).

Yet, the headscarf is not the main concern for her, she says. She supported RP previously, but she thinks no other party offered any solutions before. Therefore, she thinks AKP could "tidy up"[74] the country. However, she indicates that she is flexible in terms of political parties. She says whichever party is "proper", she would shift her choice in accordance. Here, it is important to note other than RP, she mentioned right-wing parties. All in all, the interviews showed that respondents' political orientation is strongly in relation with their moral boundaries. Respondents who gave importance to the moral boundaries and define themselves as religious support right-wing parties, on the other hand, respondents who define themselves as atheist, "real" religious but not fulfilling all the duties of the religion tend to vote for left-wing parties.

VI.3. Eating out and Special Occasions

Other than the political orientation, moral boundaries have also significance in the sphere of cultural consumption and leisure time activities. In addition to cultural consumption of music, books, TV and cinema, eating out is another field of boundary making. After the 1980s changing consumption patterns brought changing lifestyles. On one hand, the secular high-income classes adopted "globalized" consumption patterns. On the other hand, the upwardly mobile Islamists also adopted certain consumption patterns with their newly gained economic status to differentiate themselves (Knudsen, 2006). In this regard, the dichotomy between traditional and modern has also found its reflections in the sphere of cultural consumption. The difference between the respondents Cihan, Zerrin on one hand and Aliye on the other is a perfect illustration of this difference. The consumption of seafood in the Islamic context refers to many symbols and thus to the construction of boundaries.

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[74] "…düzeltsin, hiçbirinde çözüm bulamadık, bundadır çözüm diyerekten" (Eser's quote).

Seafood, in the Turkish context, is often linked with luxury and also associated with consumption of alcohol, which points out the elite and secularist image of the consumer separated from crowd of common people. In addition the fish restaurants are often occupied by women invariably "secular and uncovered" (Knudsen, 2006). Eating in a Kebab restaurant, on the other hand, is conceived by the respondents differently. Cihan (42 year-old, jeweler) disliked Kebab Restaurants since he thinks those places are not hygienic, he prefers eating at Fish restaurants. There is a public opinion within the society that eating *Kebab* or *lahmacun*[75] is perceived as inferior tastes, while eating fish is associated with being modern individuals (Ayter & Keskin, 2003). In addition, eating *Kebab* or *lahmacun* is conceptualized as "uncivilized" or Eastern habit which is usually associated with the "Kurdish Southeast, or the 'half-urbanized' culture of the migrants" (Ayter & Keskin, 2003). Besides, eating kebab and *lahmacun* also lies outside the characteristics of the modern individual in the Turkish context. In this conceptualization, having Eastern culture is perceived as the low-culture while Western taste refers to acquired cultural capital providing distinction for the upper-classes in the Turkish context. As Bali (2002) suggests, especially after the 1980s elitism, enthusiasm for American cultural items and consumption patterns, and belittling public has become visible. To Bali, this elitist ideology is permanently pointed out by the media, politicians and the business world. Therefore, Cihan's preference should be understood by keeping in mind this public opinion.

Also, Zerrin (30 year-old business woman) mentions eating fish and she does not prefer to eat *lahmacun* for dinner, since she does not want to sit and eat in a *lahmacun* restaurant, though she says she could order *lahmacun* for lunch. The main criteria for eating

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[75] "lahmacun" is an Anatolian and Middle Eastern dish usually made up of a round, thin piece of dough topped with minced meat – seslisozluk.com

out are the reputation of the restaurant: "We don't go to the restaurants in forgotten nooks and crannies. I mean I wouldn't go"[76].

On the other hand, Aliye (30 year-old, homemaker) rarely eats seafood. As she states she has tried different sorts of seafood, since she has grown up with Turkish Greeks in her neighborhood, Beyoğlu[77] (where she still continues to live), but she does not prefer to eat any seafood other than the particular species of fish and calamari any more, meaning that she does not eat shellfish.

Thus, it could be said that the respondents who do not define themselves are more likely to be considered as close to the "western culture" and consume cultural products resonating with being "western". Moreover, the respondents relatively more familiar with religious customs and live according to those customs give importance to their eating habits. For instance, they do not prefer eating seashells (if it is not in a newly established nonalcoholic eating establishment) or raw fish, seafood which are peculiar to Far East cuisine. Therefore, moral and cultural boundaries show their significance in the sphere of eating habits and dining out. Moral and cultural boundaries lead to different selections of dining out. The responses showed that for the elite, cultural boundaries are more significant than the moral boundaries and that they prefer to eat in a fish restaurant but not in a Kebab restaurant due to its "eastern" implications. However, for the respondents of subordinate classes with strict moral boundaries, the selection of food and drink is important. They distinguish themselves with their moral boundaries, on the other hand, the elite is keener on the cultural boundaries.

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[76] "Ama çok böyle hani kenarda köşede bulunan tanınmamış, bilinmemiş restoranlara gitmiyoruz. Gitmem yani."

[77] Beyoğlu is one of the most cosmopolitan districts in Istanbul.

VI. 4. Moral Boundaries and Special Occasions

Moral boundaries are also crucial in the sense of celebrating special occasions. The respondents' level of connection with the religious customs effect their choice of celebration of special occasions and how they spent those days. Some of the respondents who defined themselves as religious are not fond of celebrating New Year's Eve. That is to say, respondents are drawing a clear boundary by not celebrating the New Year's Eve, which has Western and thus Christian connotations, however, the Valentine's days may be conceptualized as a part of Western customs but rather as cosmopolitan consumer culture flourished by the continuing activities of the global marketing (Cannon & Yaprak, 2002).

Aliye's (30 year-old, homemaker) attitude towards eating shellfish points out a parallelism with her outlook towards the celebration of special occasions. She and her family do not prefer to celebrate the New Year's Eve, however, for the last few years, her father celebrates Valentine's Day with her mother and buys her presents. The following statement of Aliye makes clear how keen her family is about the Islamic religious customs and so is she. As Aliye states, as a family they are very keen on religious holidays that they spent time as a family time in those occasions:

> We are a crowded family. I could only have spare time around one o'clock at night. We have so many guests [during the time of *bayrams*, she means], this place fills up with people [she means their relatives][78]

Some other respondents from upper-class backgrounds who say that they do not obey all the religious customs have a different stance. The "Western" traditions are welcomed and *bayrams* are regarded as the holidays to have a chance to leave the town for vacation. These respondents do not feel obliged to spend *bayrams* with their families and the elderly.

Zerrin, (30 year-old business woman), who defines herself as "not religious" and does not fulfill the religious requirements, and Cihan, (42 year-old, jeweler), who defined himself

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[78]   "Yani hakikaten çok kalabalık bir sülaleyiz. Hani ben gece birde filan nefes almaya vakit bulabiliyorum. O kadar çok gelenimiz gidenimiz oluyor ki. Burası doluyor taşıyor."

as "real" religious in the real vs. pseudo religious dichotomy, have familiar choices for special occasions[79]. They celebrate New Year's Eve and for them religious holidays are the times to spend time with their relatives, if they do not leave the town for vacation. In addition, these two respondents think that Turkey is becoming more religious and they both find it dangerous for the country. The possibility of the respondents going to the vacations in religious holidays, rather than being rigid about spending time with the relatives and families, and finding an increasing emphasis on religion in a negative manner indicates that these respondents are not strictly religious.

VI.4.1. Ethnicity and Special Occasions

Although ethnicity was not the focus of the theoretical framework of the research, the in-depth interviews showed that ethnicity is also important in terms of the perception and celebration of special occasions. It could be said that the political milieu of people from different ethnic origins has impacts on this phenomena. We conducted interviews with respondents with different ethnic identities, from different class backgrounds who told us that Women's Day was among the special dates they were celebrating. Abdullah, 63 year-old retired security guard living in Van, identifies himself as having Turkmen origins, but when his ancestors migrated to Van from Iran and Iraq they adapted to the social environment and started to speak Kurdish:

> …both (Turkish and Kurdish) are our languages. Our main mother-tongue is Turkish, our second language is Kurdish. However, if we deny Kurdish, people would call us unscrupulous…our language is Kurdish, but we are neither separatist nor hurtful…[80]

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[79]   Although religion is not central to their daily lives, these two respondents maket he distinction of real and pseudo religious people.
[80]   "…ikisi de bizim dilimizdir. Esas ana dilimiz Türkçedir…şimdi ikinci dilimiz hani…Kürtçe dilimizdir. Velhasıl biz türkük. Ana dillerimiz türktür. Fakat biz Kürtçeyi de inkar etsek haramzade derler…Dilimiz kürttür. Fakat bölücü değiliz , vurucu değiliz , kırıcı değiliz…" (Abdullah's quote).

With this kind of a self-perception and being very keen on religion, Abdullah mentioned celebrating Women's Day by going to the events held in the city and Valentine's Day by buying presents, however, again not celebrating the New Year's Eve. That is to say, although giving importance to customs and not being involved in politicized ethnic identities, going to the celebrations of Women's day which were held in a political manner since it refers to thinking beyond what has been presented by the culture industry, which constitutes a specific deflection from what has been defined as mass culture by Adorno. Yet, celebrating special days which could be conceptualized in the globalized consumption patterns, celebrating Valentine's Day and Mother's Day seems to be a part of items of mass consumption.

In another context in İzmir, the three respondents with Kurdish ethnic background we have conducted interview with, who has migrated to İzmir from Eastern provinces (Diyarbakır, Tunceli and Erzurum) have also claimed that they are also participating in the Women's Day demonstrations held in the city. That is to say, politicized ethnic identities may also be the reason in the differences of the choices of the respondents, when the conceptualization of moral boundaries by respondents stays the same.

Civan (55 year-old) was one of the respondents celebrating Women's Day. As he suggests he celebrates Women's Day with his wife, but he and his family do not celebrate New Year's Eve which is an indicator of his attachment to religious customs. However, there are more indicators of Civan's religiosity mentioned during the interview. He started studying theology at the university, but due to financial difficulties he was going through at the time, he had to quit university. However, both because of his education in religious vocational high school and two years at the university, he is knowledgeable about the religion and also very keen on obeying the religious customs and rules, meaning that he has strong moral boundaries. Owning a stationary and more than one real estate, his socio-economic condition

is relatively better when compared with the other Kurdish migrants in İzmir. Although he

does not read newspapers on a daily basis, he buys the daily newspaper *Taraf* whenever he

comes across it. He reads Taraf newspaper, known for its proximity to identity politics and

liberal view. Before Taraf was established in 2007, he was reading other newspapers such as

Cumhuriyet, a daily newspaper rooting back to 1924 and known as a republican newspaper

and leftist in the 1970s and the 1980s. He thinks, now Cumhuriyet is also a "product of the

system", so that he stopped reading it. On the other hand, he thinks there is a prejudice

towards the Taraf newspaper and he explains the reason why he shifted his focus to Taraf as

such:

> "I buy Taraf and I realized that people despise, and strike out…as if everyone is
> obliged to read Milliyet, Hürriyet, Posta…whenever someone buys Taraf, everyone is talking
> behind him or her as if he or she is Kurdish or leftist. I'm not leftist. I'm religious
> functionary? I'm looking for the truth. You'd ask if those newspapers [he means Milliyet,
> Hürriyet and Posta here] are publishing fake news, in my hometown people are being killed,
> my village is being burnt, they (referring to newspapers other than Taraf) wrote how many
> kilos Hülya Avşar gains, who has sworn at Gülben Ergen[81]…very few people are being
> shown in the newspapers, but this is only a 5% of the population…but when I look at Taraf,
> they write what has happened in my village (back in Erzurum) not the other stuff. When I
> contact my father and brother they also corroborate what has been written in Taraf. Yet none
> of Milliyet, Hürriyet or Cumhuriyet publishes that news. I tell my kids that if they buy a
> newspaper, they should buy Taraf...It tells the truth…so I follow it…"[82]

All in all, ethnicity, when combined with moral boundaries, shows different results

with moral boundaries. On one hand, respondents with strict moral boundaries do not

celebrate New Year's Eve, but they are very keen on the religious holidays. The respondents

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[81]   Hülya Avşar and Gülben Ergen are famous pop and fantezi singers in Turkey who are the main interest of the gossip columns in the newspapers and in the mass media.

[82]   "şimdi ben gazete almıyorum, görürsem bir Taraf gazetesi alıyorum okuyorum, bakıyorum insanları takibe alıyorlar, bakıyorum insanları hor görüyorlar, herkes mecburdur Milliyet, Hürriyet, Posta bunları alacak. Mesela a Taraf gazetesi aldın mı, aa bu Kürttür veyahut bu solcudur. Ben solcu değilim, ben din adamıyım, doğruyu arıyorum, bakıyorum ha diyeceksin o gazeteler yalan mı yazıyor… Hep reklam, güllük gülistanlık, zenginlerin reklamı, sosyete hayatı, 3-5 sanatçı gösteriyorlar. Türkiye ise bunlar Türkiye'de %5 lik tir, %5 lik bir orandır, şu anda mevcut gazetelerin bahsettiği sanatçılar, zenginler efendim bakanlar, şehirler %5 lik niteliktedir, sizde biliyorsunuz

Benim orda kan gövdeyi götürüyor, anam babam …. köyüm yakılıyor, burada bana Hülya Avşar kaç kilo vermiş, Sibel Can kilo aldı, Sibel Can Gülben Ergen'e küfür etti. Bunları yazıyor ben bunları ne anlarım. Bakıyorum benim köyümdeki olayı Taraf yazıyor doğrudur, ben babamla irtibata geçiyorum kardeşimle...Bakıyorum ha evet benim köyümde olay olmuş , hiç Sabah'ta yok, Hürriyette yok, Milliyet'te yok, Cumhuriyet'te yok,... ben çocuklarıma diyorum, gazete alıyorsanız şu anda taraf alın

Gerçeği anlatıyor, takip ediyorum yani…" (Civan's quote)

who do not have strict boundaries concerning religion do not attribute moral values to the celebration of religious holidays and at the same time mention New Year's Eve among the special occasions they celebrate. This group of respondents, whether with strict or loose moral boundaries concerning religion, does not mention any special occasion that they celebrate which has political connotations. On the other hand, respondents with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds being more politicized in terms of identity politics, have totally a different perception of special occasions. These respondents mentioned Women's Day among the special occasions and at the same time due to their religious concerns they do not celebrate New Year's Eve.

Therefore, it can be said that although moral boundaries are being constructed in the same manner both by the respondents with politicized ethnic identities and by others who are not involved in politics, the end result regarding the celebration of special occasions varies. It looks like the politicized ethnic identities go beyond the moral boundaries in the sense of conceptualization of religion. Since Islam emphasizes modesty among the virtues that a Muslim should have, going to the protest and marches on the Women's Day seems to be contradicting with the moral boundaries of the individuals. Yet, these respondents' ethnic and cultural identifications came as another boundary which could be said to have equivalent strength with the effect of religion on the moral boundaries.

CONCLUSION

This study looks at the construction of cultural boundaries in Turkey. This research aims to explore how segments of the society define their moral, socio-economic and cultural boundaries. Since this study comprehends culture and cultural distinction in relation with *habitus*, social structure requires attention to see the relation between class and culture. Therefore, structure, culture and ideology are the following parts which discuss the "dominant" and the "subordinate". Culture industry, as one of the most highly debated topics in the sphere of sociology of culture is also presented to have a wider scope of the mass and popular culture and its implications. The dichotomy between the high and the popular culture is another aspect to be dwelled on in the construction of cultural boundaries. To explore the process of construction of boundaries in Turkey, qualitative research technique is adopted throughout the research. In-depth interviews conducted consist the main source of data.

In this sense, this chapter is divided into three subtopics. First two parts are about the respondent's perception of their economic and social position and educational attainment. The results of the data shows that similar answers of the respondents from different social class background finds its meaning when combined with the sphere of culture. Respondents tend to define their economic social position in terms of ordinariness, and their desire for educational attainment was very high regardless of their social class background. Thus, their definition for ordinariness of socio-economic position contradicts with their desire for upwards social mobility which is prominently achieved through education. Therefore, being "ordinary" and "special" exists together which is revealed by the commonalities in the interviewees' responses.

Other than that, the different attributes to cultural consumption revealed a lot about the cultural and moral boundaries. For instance, football consumed by every segment of the

society becomes distinguishing with the meanings attached to it. For the elite respondents, being a fan of football necessitates buying combine tickets and owning a special satellite provider which is not affordable by the majority of the population. For some of the respondents, supporting a football team is attached with reproduction of Turkish nationalism, on the other hand, for some of them watching "quality" football, which is not found in Turkish national league, is of importance. Therefore, another common statement in the responses of the individuals leads to another aspect of the boundary formation. Besides, this study showed that the Turkish case of boundary formation is has parallelisms with what Bourdieu observed in his study held in France. It is found out that Bourdieu's discussion of elite segment of the society appreciating abstract cultural forms is also applicable for this research. He argues about upper-classes appreciate abstract cultural forms, while on the other hand, abstract cultural forms are not welcomed by the lower-classes. However, an interesting point was that few members of subordinate classes in this study also like the abstract cultural forms or sometimes degraded these abstract forms and also degrade the elite for favoring these abstract forms. This is an important indicator of the agency of the subordinate classes and how they distinguish themselves from the dominant classes. This could be another contribution to Bourdieu's analysis: subordinate classes could also draw borders and with the elite and elite's interpretation of art without appreciating abstract cultural forms.

Another point that was neglected in Bourdieu's study is the functions of ethnic differences while maintaining distinction. From the in-depth interviews, it has been found out that people were hesitant to answers questions regarding ethnic and cultural differences in Turkey. Besides, although these differences seemed not to affect their cultural borders at first, the interviews showed that ethnic and cultural differences plays and important role. Ethnicity was not the focus of Bourdieu's analysis. This study did not focus only on ethnicity in and of itself. Yet, the research showed that ethnicity is an important issue to be looked at in the case

of Turkey where ethnic and cultural differences are inherent to the historical formation of the nation-building processes. Respondents generally adopted the nationalist state ideology in their discourses. Many of the respondents asserted that there was a misinterpretation and "Kurdish and Turkish people could live peacefully together, as they did earlier". These respondents only focused on the "living together peacefully" motto, generally neglected the historical background of the Kurdish issue. Since the policy of the Turkish and Ottoman states in the region, both before and after the Republic was founded, is underemphasized in the mass media, people easily adopt the "peacefulness like it was earlier" approach, although they do not know when exactly was this peacefulness experienced in the region.

As Bourdieu suggested, the level of education and the economic capital is important to determine taste. In this regard, it is expected that working-class consumes mass cultural products, whereas, elite consumes high culture. In this research, in some cases the popular cultural forms are criticized and not being consumed by the members of the subordinate classes. This was the case generally for the respondents with politicized ethnic background regardless of their socio-economic position. Ethnicity one again, plays an important role in the boundary formation. In some other cases, respondents explicitly stated that they have consent to watch anything on TV and some members although prefer not to consume popular cultural products in one sphere; they tend to consume cultural products in another sphere. Thus, there is a variance among the choices of the subordinate classes regarding the cultural items, and that they do not only consume what has been designed or left out from the taste of the dominant classes.

Studying the Turkish case was also important to challenge the omnivore thesis. The discussions on the sphere of music are mainly about consumption of different genres and the omnivorousness. The data in this study showed that the omnivorous musical taste in Turkey does not show parallelism with what Peterson and Kern (1996) asserted with their study in

America. On the contrary, in Turkey, omnivorousness was observed as consuming different genres of music which are not necessarily *highbrow*. Since the musical genres which are defined as highbrow have a significance variance among each other in terms of the melodies and the contents, omnivorous consumption in the Turkish case should be conceptualized in terms of these variations among the genres respondents choose to listen. Therefore, conceptualizing the omnivorous taste in terms of the differences among genres – but not only as the differences between highbrow and lowbrow genres – provides another framework to the analysis of distinction of cultural elite. With this framework, the differences among the genres and meanings attached to them became more visible and this, eventually clarifies the boundaries drawn by people from subordinate classes.

Elaborating on the importance of the moral boundaries also contributed to the conceptualization of cultural consumption. The relationship between dining out and boundaries were explored and it has been found out that along with religious customs, cultural boundaries are also important for dining out. While respondents defining themselves as religious do not prefer dining out for fish restaurants, upper-class respondents who do not have strict moral boundaries concerning religiosity prefer to dine out at fish restaurants and they explicitly dislike kebab and *lahmacun*. This refers to the importance of the cultural boundaries for the elite to distinguish themselves compared with distinguishing function of the moral boundaries. However, this finding should not be misleading. Moral boundaries seemed very much in relation with the choice of special occasion to celebrate. The data showed that the respondents with strong attachment to the religious customs prefer not to celebrate New Year's Eve.

On the other hand, same respondents have tendency to celebrate St. Valentine's Day. This contradiction could be defined in terms of the dissemination of the cosmopolitan consumer culture which extends the boundaries of religion, since St. Valentine's Day is

presented as the "Lovers' Day" to the Turkish audience but not as St. Valentine's Day, which roots back to a Christian tradition. Respondents who have strict moral boundaries in that they do not celebrate the New Year's Eve because it is not an Islamic tradition, could celebrate a day which is a part of the Christianity. The reason may lie with the marketing strategy of St. Valentine's Day which refers to the domination of global consumption patterns over the moral boundaries. None of the respondents mentioned in this section, celebrating special days such as Women's Day or Labor Day which has political connotations. Only the respondents with politicized ethnic identities mentioned these kinds of special occasions. Having strong moral boundaries and strong affiliation with Islam, these respondents involved in Kurdish identity politics, also do not prefer celebrating New Year's Eve. However, the distinguishing factor is their involvement in Women's Day demonstrations and their selection of newspapers. Thus, in the case of politicized ethnic identities, moral and cultural boundaries operate together in the selection of celebrating special occasions. Ethnic differences does not make any difference in what not to do in religious terms, but ethnic differences looks like leading to variation in other spheres of cultural consumption and leisure time activities such as special occasions.

With the findings presented, this study tried to depict the construction of cultural boundaries by different segments of the society in Turkey. Conceptualizing boundary formation as relational, the data showed that subordinate classes are constructing their boundaries as the dominant classes construct theirs. This study also showed that all the members of the subordinate classes are not tied to consume *lowbrow* genres. There could be variations among cultural choices among the members of the subordinate classes.

In addition, studying Turkey was of importance due to two reasons. First, Turkey is a non-Western country, with a population mostly attached to Islam which speaks to the different interpretation of moral boundaries and religiosity. Also, considering the fact that politicization of religion, the dichotomy between fundamentalism and laicism is still a hot

topic in the political arena, the issues of moral boundaries differs a lot compared with another contexts. Secondly, Turkey's position in the global capitalist system is of ascendance which would result in different class relations. Turkey does not have an advanced capitalist economy such as the USA, UK or France, where the previous studies were conducted. This research conducted in Turkey added some of the points which were underemphasized or even not observed in the other cases. For instance, in Turkey social mobility is not experienced as frequent as in advanced capitalist economies. In addition, the dichotomy and the gap between the social conditions of subordinate and dominant classes are not as invisible as it is in the advanced capitalist economies. This flagrant difference results in variation in conceptualization of boundaries compared with other societies studied earlier. However, Turkey does not present a unique case in all dimensions. There were many points that showed parallelism with the theories generated in advanced capitalist societies such as the appreciation of abstract cultural forms by the elite respondents. Therefore, studying the Turkish case also contribute to these frameworks and in some cases challenge them.

All in all, the relationship among moral, socio-economic and cultural boundaries was made visible with the data presented in this research. Although this study speaks to an understudied part of the literature on boundaries, this research could have been widened from many other aspects. For this reason in the next section, I will make some suggestions for further studies in the same issue.

Suggestions for Further Studies

This study looked at how individuals constructed their cultural boundaries and the interviews were held in the houses of the respondents. The workplace and anything regarding

their ideas of the job were not asked. The sphere of work has been excluded within the scope of this research. However as Erickson (1996) proposes taking class and occupational variety as the starting point is another important aspect to have a better understanding of the relations of class and culture. In this sense, Erickson (1996) underlines the importance of social networks and work relations in the work place in the cultural trajectories. He claims that other forms of inequality are of more importance than the inequality generated by the parental class. For instance, he looks at the interest of employees and employers in a private company in Canada. Erickson asks things in common with people at work and he finds out answer categories such as dining, reading, outdoor activities, political views...etc. He also finds out that, although sports result in being the most widely given answer and it looks like the common denominator of native-born men workers in Canada private sector companies in their cultural repertoires, sports is also an excluding factor for female and foreign-born minorities (Erickson, 1996:.248). Thus, as Erickson (1996) emphasizes, putting family and parental background into class analysis would be inadequate since, education and social networks are equally important as the early life experience within the family. Thus, my first suggestion for further studies in the construction of the boundaries is also to look at personal networks and work relationship.

Secondly, this research focused on the individuals, but not the households. However, during the interviews a lot is revealed about their relations with the members of their households. Thus, the interrelationship among the members of the same household could also be revealing regarding the construction of boundaries. First of all, the similarities in the construction of boundaries among the members of the same household could provide another outlook or an explanation for instance, for the strict the moral boundaries one has constructed and at the same time making contradicting statements for one's desire to look attractive. Secondly, if there are deviating patterns of an individual's construction of boundaries

compared with the other members of the household, it is also important to depict. One of the first interviews we have conducted, by chance we met his married son of the interviewee (İsmet, 60 year-old, not working). İsmet's son was also with us while we were conducting the interview and sometimes he also gave comments about our questions which were clearly contradicting with his father's answers and outlook. Yet, to meet and hear about his son's views about various issues was important to have an insight of İsmet's strict opposition to homosexuality. Thus, boundaries could also be constructed in the household, since relationality, other than the outside world could be depicted in the household, either.

The third point I want to suggest for further studies is to look at the attitudes towards homosexuality. Normally, the research we conducted as a group covers this topic; however, due time restriction I could not add this data to the study. Although, attitudes toward homosexuality was among the subtopics of the interview schedule, a wider study comprehending other gender relationships could add more to the literature on the formation of boundaries. Focusing more on the gender difference and delving more into the subject of homophobia would contribute a lot to the relationship of moral and cultural boundaries.

Last but not the least importance, ethnicity as a variable in the construction of cultural boundaries should be looked more detailed. This study was not designed only to look at the ethnic and cultural differences in the construction of cultural boundaries. Only few questions were posed during the interviews about the ethnic and cultural diversity. Thus, the data does not contain in-depth results regarding the ethnic and cultural differences. Yet, it turned out that different ethnic backgrounds are important to draw boundaries for individuals. Therefore, for further studies ethnicity should be studied as the focus of the formation of cultural boundaries in Turkey.

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APPENDIX

Picture I: *Corot's* **"Ville d'Avray" (1867)**

Picture II: *Kandinsky's* **"Yellow, Red, Blue" (1925)**

The In-depth Interview Questionnaire

In-depth Interview Questions

1- Demography and Housing:

Demography:
1) How old are you?
2) Are you married?
3) How many people live in this house?
4) How do you define your economic and social position?
   → Where would you like to be?
5) What is the education of your partner, parents and grandparents?
6) [You are a … graduate]. Which schools did you attend to?

Housing:
1) How long have you been living here?
2) How did you come to live in this house?
3) Do you own this house? Do you own any other house(s)?
4) Where had you been living before?
5) Why did you choose this neighborhood?
6) If you have a chance to change your house what kind of house and where do you prefer to live?

2-Cultural and Leisure Activities:

1) What activities do you do when you have leisure time?
2) Why do you prefer doing this activity/those activities?

TV:
1) How much do you watch TV? When?
2) What kinds of TV programs do you like and dislike? Why?
3) Which TV series do you watch? Why?
4) Which channels do you watch most? Why?

Film & Cinema:
1) Do you go to cinema? How often?
2) (If the answer is "no" to previous question, this question refers to films on TV). What kinds of movies do you like and dislike? Why?
3) Can you name some of the movies and directors that you like?

Music:
1) What kinds of music do you like and dislike listening, why?
2) Which musicians do you like to listen, why?
3) When was the last time that you attended to a concert? What kind of a concert was that?

Literature:
1) Do you read books? How often?

2) Which sorts of books do you like and dislike reading, why? Could you name the book that you read last?
3) Could you name some of the authors that first come to your mind?
4) Do you read daily newspapers, if yes which newspaper, why and which parts?

Sports:
1) Do you watch sports live or on TV? What branches of sport do you like and dislike watching, why?
2) Are there any physical activities or sports do you do on a regular or irregular basis? (Where do you do these activities? → will be asked if they do not mention) Why do you prefer this activity/those activities?

Dining out:
1) Do you dine out? If yes, how often do you dine out? What kinds of places do you like and dislike dining out? What kinds of food do you like to eat, and never eat?

Special Occasions and Holidays:
1) Do you celebrate any dates/special occasions/anniversaries? If you do, could you name those occasions, and explain what you do in those particular time periods?
   → probe questions on: birthdays, new-year eves, wedding anniversaries, valentine day, mothers and fathers day.
2) How do you spend your religious holiday? What do you do during this time?
3) How do you spend your holidays and weekends in general?

Other Cultural activities (mainly refers to high cultural activities):
1) Whether or not do you have an exposure into art in your childhood? / Describe any expose of art that you had in your childhood?
2) Do you attend any organized or institutionalized activities such as biennials, exhibits, museums, theatre, and opera? If yes, why? What do you like about this particular activity?
3) How knowledgeable do you consider yourself?
4) How do you get information about these artistic activities?
5) Are there any artistic activities or hobbies that you actively participate in, such as drama classes, playing the musical instrument? Can you talk about this particular activity?

3- Children and their Cultural Activities:

1) Do you have any children?
2) What would your child/children's attendance to school/university mean to you?
3) What kind of extra-curricular activities do your child/children involve in? Why s/he chooses specifically those activities? Who accompanies him/her with those activities?

4- Exploring ideals of style/ appearance and desire for social position

1) How important is style/appearance for you, why?
   →What are your criteria while choosing your household goods and furniture?
   →What are your criteria while choosing your clothing?
2) What does tastelessness mean to you? Could you give example(s) about tastelessness?
3) If money were not a problem, what kind of style would you have?

5- *Visual exploration of taste:*

Respondents were shown two pictures. The first one was Kandinsky's "Yellow, Red, Blue" (1925) and the second was Corot's "Ville d'Avray" (1867). Respondents were asked what they think about each picture, which one they like the most and why.

6- *Moral Values:*

(Values) General introductory questions:
1) What matters to you in life? →What do you value most? Could you describe these values? (dürüstlük, ahlaklılık, eşitlik…etc.).
2) Describe a person that you admire, and why?
3) What kind of people you like and do not like?
   →How would you like your children to be/to grow up? (this question can be asked to the respondents who stay silent). Depending on the answer: Why? What kind of behavior that should be ashamed of? / What constitute a shameful act?
4) <u>Trust related question:</u> What kind of people do you think the most and the least trustworthy? Asking for stories and anecdotes?

Religion:
1) How would you define religiosity/religion? How do you perceive religion?
2) What kind of religious activities do you participate in?
3) What do you think about people deeply religious and faithfully fulfill all religious obligations? And the ones who are not religious? The ones from other religions?
4) How do you think about your children marrying a person from a different religious community? Why?
5) Some people think that Turkey is becoming more religious while the others argue think the opposite. What do you think about that?

Views on inequality:

1) What kinds of inequalities bother you?
   →If they do not mention ethnicity, class and gender, then we will ask the following questions:
2) Some people are asserting their distinct ethnic and cultural identity recently in Turkey, what do you think about that?
3) Turkish society has extremes on wealth and poverty? What do you think about that? What do you think about the rich and what do you think about the poor?
4) What do you think about the relationship of men and women in Turkey? (If they do not mention gender inequality, we will report the statistics in this issue.)
5) Then, in specific: Do you think gender inequality is a problem in Turkey?

Conservatism:
1) Turkey is rapidly changing, globalizing society. What changes did you notice? What do you think should be preserved?

Political Views:
1) Do you follow politics? Do you discuss with your friends, watch political shows?
2) How would you describe yourself politically?

→ Do you identify with any political party or movement? Why not?
3) Besides voting, are you personally involved in politics, if so how? (political party participation, go to meetings, work with NGOs and civil society groups, local level: il meclisi, belediye meclisi, ihtiyar heyeti…etc.)

4) Some people favors and some others criticize gays and lesbians. What do you think on that?

Observation Form

OBSERVATIONS:

Semt ve Mahalle Hakkında:

Ev Hakkında:

Electronics (tüplü, flat screen, DVD çalar, mp3 çalar, Digitürk, uydu)

Lighting fixtures (avize, ampul, florasan)

Paintings and other art works (tablo, heykel)

Floor (parke, laminant, muşamba, ahşap, halı halıfleks, marley, beton)

Religious and secular items (Kuran, dini takvimler, Ali ve 12 İmam resimleri, kılıç, hat, karınca duası, kabe resmi ve halısı, seccade ve tespih)

Reading materials (Dergi, kitaplar ve gazete)

Bathroom (sabun çeşitleri, hijyen malzemeleri, duş veya küvet, alaturka veya alafranga)

Miscellenaous (dantel, gerçek veya yapma çiçek, mobilyalar ve markaları, ayakkabıların yeri [içeride veya dışarıda], evcil hayvanlar)

Görüşme hakkında sübjektif değerlendirme ve gözlemler:

List of the Respondents

ID No	Date of Interview	Name	Age	Gender	Education	SES	Employment	Household size	Monthly Income	City
1021201	2 Dec 2009 Wednesday	Eser	47	F	Middle	C2	Homemaker	4	850	Istanbul
1031202	3 Dec 2009 Thursday	İsmet	60	M	Elementary	D	Not working	6	1500	Istanbul
1041203	4 Dec 2009 Friday	Aliye	30	F	University	C1	Homemaker	4	6000	Istanbul
1061205	6 Dec 2009 Sunday	Hilal	24	F	University	B	Artist	4	3000	Istanbul
1071206	7 Dec 2009 Monday	Bayram	51	M	Elementary	DE	Textile	5	700	Istanbul
1081207	8 Dec 2009 Tuesday	Hacer	57	F	None	DE	Homemaker	3	300	Istanbul
1081208	8 Dec 2009 Tuesday	Pembegül	59	F	Elementary	C2	Homemaker	2	550	Istanbul
1091210	9 Dec 2009 Wednesday	Cihan	42	M	High school	B	Jeweller	3	3000	Istanbul
2151211	15 Dec 2009 Tuesday	Ziya	38	M	High school	C1	Govt. employee	2	2000	Ankara
2151212	15 Dec 2009 Tuesday	Mahir	24	M	Middle	DE	Not working	1	500	Ankara
2161213	16 Dec 2009 Wednesday	Gül	34	F	High school	C2	Homemaker	4	650	Ankara
2161214	16 Dec 2009 Wednesday	Esin	23	F	High school	DE	Student	3	1000	Ankara
2181216	18 Dec 2009 Friday	Mahmut	28	M	University	C1	Govt. employee	2	800	Ankara
2181217	18 Dec 2009 Friday	Yasin	62	M	University	A	Architect (retired)	2	-	Ankara
3191219	19 Dec 2009 Saturday	Hatice	60	F	Illiterate		Homemaker	6	-	Rural
3191220	19 Dec 2009 Saturday	Hasan	39	M	Elementary		Farmer	6	-	Rural

ID	Date	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Class	Occupation	Household	Income	Location
3191221	19 Dec 2009 Saturday	Fatma	30	F	Elementary		Homemaker	8	-	Rural
3191223	19 Dec 2009 Saturday	Fuat	28	M	Elementary		Farmer, truck driver	5	-	Rural
1080126	8 Jan 2010 Friday	Kutal	38	M	Elementary	C2	Taxi driver	6	1500	Istanbul
1090127	9 Jan 2010 Saturday	Berk	23	M	High school	B	Student	3	4000	Istanbul
1150128	15 Jan 2010 Friday	Salim	18	M	High school	DE	Student	4	600	Istanbul
1150129	15 Jan 2010 Friday	Edibe	28	F	None	DE	Domestic help	5	700	Istanbul
1160130	16 Jan 2010 Saturday	Rasim	48	M	High school	C1	Café owner	5	1000	Istanbul
4210132	21 Jan 2010 Thursday	Narin	35	F	High school	DE	Homemaker	3	800	Izmir
4220133	22 Jan 2010 Friday	Cahide	48	F	High school	C1	Shop owner	4	1500	Izmir
4230137	23 Jan 2010 Saturday	Sabahattin	34	M	Middle	DE	Construction worker	2	800	Izmir
4230139	23 Jan 2010 Saturday	Civan	55	M	High school	C1	Shop owner	4	2000	Izmir
5180241	18 Feb 2010 Thursday	İhsan	34	M	Elementary	DE	Unemployed	6	450	Van
5180242	18 Feb 2010 Thursday	Abdullah	63	M	Middle	C2	Retired	6	1000	Van
5180243	18 Feb 2010 Thursday	Saliha	36	F	Elementary	DE	Unemployed	3	150	Van
1200347	20 Mar 2010 Saturday	Zerrin	30	F	University	A	Businessperson	2	-	Istanbul
1270348	27 Mar 2010 Saturday	Serpil	47	F	University	A	Retired (bank employee)	2	-	Istanbul