Social Distinction and Symbolic Boundaries in a Globalized Context: Leisure Spaces in Istanbul

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

DİLBER CEREN LORTOĞLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

DECEMBER 2003

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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I certificate that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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ABSTRACT

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December 2003, 132 pages

This study focuses on the conditions and processes that strengthen social distinctions and symbolic boundaries in society. In order to fully grasp the conditions of these processes, it is not sufficient to simply study them as they are carried out on a daily basis. Therefore in this study firstly a general overview of the matter evaluated in the context of globalization. Although a variety of means are at work in constructing social distinctions and symbolic boundaries, in this study three of them have been taken up: leisure, consumption and space. In order to reveal the relationship between them and social distinctions, it examines two different leisure spaces: Laila and Kaktus.

Keywords: globalization, leisure, consumption, space, place, social identity, symbolic boundary, social distinction, fashion, lifestyle.

ÖZ

Küresel Bağlamda Sosyal Mesafe ve Sembolik Sınırlar:
İstanbul'da Boş Zaman Mekanları

Lortoğlu, Dilber Ceren
Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Anabilim Dalı
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç.Dr. Meyda Yeğenoglu Mutman
Aralık 2003, 132 sayfa

Bu çalışma toplumda sosyal mesafe ve sembolik sınırları güçlendiren koşullar ve süreçler üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu süreçlerin koşullarını tümüyle kavrayabilmek için sadece gündelik hayatımızdaki görünürlüklerine bakmak yeterli değildir. Bu nedenle öncelikle mesele genel bir bakışla küreselleşme bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir. Sosyal mesafelerin ve sembolik sınırların inşasını güçlendiren pek çok araç olmasına karşın bu çalışmada sadece üç tanesi ele alınmıştır: boş zaman, tüketim ve uzam. Bunlar arasındaki ilişki ve sosyal mesafenin açığa çıkarılması amacıyla Istanbul'da iki farklı mekan incelenmiştir: Laila ve Kaktüs.

Anahtar Kelimeler: küreselleşme, boş zaman, tüketim, uzam, mekan, sosyal kimlik, sembolik sınır, sosyal mesafe, moda, yaşam tarzı.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In almost every period of history, boundaries have surrounded us in different forms. They have emerged sometimes as boundaries of land, sometimes as national boundaries, and sometimes as ethical boundaries. The positioning and extent of the boundaries might alter in accordance with changing social conditions. Today, for example, boundaries display increasing continuity. Parallel to this process, they have also been the object of various studies. In the context of globalization, there is a general comprehension of the world as a singular whole, i.e., a world without borders. Nevertheless, the growth of symbolic boundaries and social distinctions between social stratums has encouraged many researchers and academicians to examine this field, questioning the very reality of the discourse of globalization as they try to imagine our global future. Could we be progressing towards a world of free floating capital, a world devoid of cultural and human borders?

In this study, I try to reveal the conditions and processes that strengthen social distinctions and symbolic boundaries in society. Today, in

in this period of weakened community connections, people have primarily become concerned with establishing boundaries and forming distinctions that set them apart from the ‘other’.

Chapter 1:

In this chapter, I stress the principal dynamics of globalization in order to better comprehend the globalization process. I also mention the main fields upon which globalization has had the greatest effect --that is, the economical, political and cultural fields-- and discuss how the effects of globalization have in fact changed them. After discussing these basic fields, which are of particular significance for the matter at hand, I examine the relationship between globalization and geography. In order to grasp the main considerations of concepts such as space, place, and city, all of which play particularly important roles in this study, we should investigate the relationship between them and globalization. I then review various different considerations of space that have been defended in the aforementioned fields during different periods. Finally, I take up the matter of the alteration of city formation and city life under the influence of globalization. I examine the grounds of the main transformation of the city from the field of production to the field of consumption and also the reasons for an increasing distinction between the self versus the ‘other’.

In conclusion, both because it is the place where I conducted my field research and because it is a pime example of a global city, I stress the

political, economical, and cultural transformations that Istanbul has undergone over the last 20 years.

Chapter 2:

First of all, I express the meaning of symbolic boundaries and also quote some of the studies that have been conducted on this topic as well as that of social distinction. I develop the main argument of the thesis in this chapter. Therefore, I consider the various ways in which symbolic boundaries, social distinction, and identity are theorized. While on the one hand these three concepts complement each other, on the other they are key to explaining the current situation of the modern individual deprived of community bonds. Although a variety of factors are at work in the establishment of social distinction and symbolic boundaries, I examine just three concepts that act as means in the construction of social distinction; those concepts are leisure, consumption, and place. I take up these concepts through various discussions of those terms that are most significant for considering social distinction and symbolic boundaries. Some of the most important of these terms are Simmel's fashion, Veblen's leisure class theory, and Bourdieu's social distinction.

Chapter 3:

In this chapter, I review the data of the fieldwork that I conducted in an attempt to back my theoretical conclusions up with concrete evidence. I describe the two places where I conducted my fieldwork based upon my own

observations. I also quote the informants with whom I interviewed. The main purpose of this chapter is to examine the validity of the concepts that I have discussed in the theoretical chapters.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

After reading Adorno's short article entitled "Free Time," I decided to investigate the function of leisure. Rather than pondering the definition of leisure, Adorno inquires into the benefits of leisure in the name of free time. When I began reviewing the existing literature on leisure, I noticed that different theoreticians have approached the topic quite differently from one another. All of them, however, seem to have defined the concept mostly based upon its relationship to work, a relationship which no longer appears to be as definitive as it once was in the shaping of what we refer to as leisure. Therefore, I began searching for literature about consumption that would better express the current meaning of leisure. It was then that I noticed the significant relationship between consumption and space. My research into the intersection point of these three concepts subsequently revealed space as an object of consumption and also as a field of leisure. With time, I later realized that all of these concepts work towards the same aim, only from different viewpoints. All three of them, however, function as means to distinguish oneself from the 'other'. While problematizing this matter in detail,

I found myself looking for the connections between social distiction and symbolic boundaries at the conjuncture of these three concepts.

After I structured the main framework of my thesis around this problem, I reviewed the available relevant literature before going on to conduct fieldwork in an attempt to prove the validity of those concepts that I discussed in the theoretical chapters.

With regard to the fieldwork, the first thing I did was begin looking for a place that would serve as an example of social distinction by means of the exclusivity principal. A nightclub, Laila is partially exclusive and also a popular entertainment place; therefore, I chose it because I believed that such a place could provide the signs and data that would indicate a use of symbolic boundaries in order to maintain social distinction. Later, however, I also noticed different type of place, which I thought might exhibit a different kind of social distinction. A French style café, Kaktüs is the meeting point of a circle of intellectuals in Istanbul and it possesses all of the signs of being rich in cultural capital. In order to compare and contrast these two different examples of places of consumption, which also represent entirely different social groups, I decided to conduct field reserach in both of them.

I had a total of 14 informants for the research. I used the deep interview technique by using a tape recorder with informants' permission. I also spend time at these places for observation. The time of the interviews ranged between 45 to 90 minutes. Although I selected my informants from among the acquaintances of friends, I had not met any of the informants prior to the interviews.

Finally, in order to better comprehend Istanbul's entertainment world, I also scanned the magazine *Istanbul Life*, which is one of the oldest magazines still in publication that contains news about İstanbul's entertainment life. I scanned 40 issues of this magazine published between the years 1996 and 2000. These magazines helped me to become acquainted with those places of entertainment which open up anew as rapidly as they close down.

CHAPTER 3

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EFFECTS

Over the last two decades, parallel to the process of change that has been occurring on a world scale, we have frequently encountered the concept of globalization in different fields and contexts. It is obvious that globalization has caused fundamental alterations in social, cultural, and economic fields, one result of which has been the increasingly close proximity of dissimilar stratums, especially in cities. In order to understand how these dissimilar lifestyles can exist side by side, we should examine the macro factors at work in the structure of such an environment. Therefore, in this chapter I will overview the process of change that is happening so that we can better comprehend the conditions under which the gaps between social stratums have been increasing over the last decades.

Above all, we have been confronted with a series of rapid changes, changes that are clearly not ordinary ones. Social change in all its many manifestations is a normal feature of our social formation and has been for many centuries, hence Marx's reference to societies built upon capitalism when he said, 'all that is solid melts into air'. So what is so different about today? The claim is that contemporary change is both quantitatively and

qualitatively distinctive from anything that has thus far preceded it. It is argued that “normal” change has come to a head to produce an extraordinary degree of change in our times and that this ‘speeding up’ of our world has created a global scope as never before, making contemporary globalization a qualitatively new phenomenon. (Taylor&Watts&Johnston, 1995:4) Although there is rapidly growing interest in the issue of globalization, much of it is expressed very diffusely. It has become a widely used term in a number of theoretical, empirical, and applied areas of intellectual inquiry, including the various ‘policy sciences’ such as business studies and strategic studies. (Robertson, 1992: 49)

Although globalization is a new phenomenon, the term has already begun to be used frequently under the guise of various definitions. For example, globalization is employed as a conceptual entry to the problem of ‘world order’. Nevertheless, as an entry, globalization has no cognitive purchase without considerable discussion of historical and comparative matters. It is moreover a phenomenon that clearly requires what is conventionally referred to as interdisciplinary treatment. (Robertson, 1992: 51) Such interdisciplinary treatment is also beneficial in the consideration of concepts like social segregation, leisure, consumption, and space, which comprise the key terms of this study.

As mentioned above, the effects of globalization as a process are taken up in various disciplines, although academic studies are predominantly concerned with its effects in the economic, politic, social, and cultural fields. While in this study I try to reveal those points at which globalization intersects

with space, place, and city as well as different inerpretations of the functions of these concepts, central to understanding the thesis presented here is a knowledge of the main discussions of globalization in the various fields. These discussions will guide us to understand the current meanings and conditions of space, place, leisure, everyday life, and social distinction.

3.1 Economic Effects of Globalization

Focusing on globalization in an economic context, firstly we should mention the capitalist system and its new forms.

International capitalism has generally been conceptualized in state-centrist terms, focused mainly on how national capitalists based in competing national economies and working through national companies operated across borders. The distinctive concept of *global capitalism*, on the other hand, takes its departure from the idea of a global economy dominated by globalizing corporations and those who own and control them, and those in influential positions who serve their interests (Sklair, 2002).

As direct imperialism and colonialism came to an end and as increasing numbers of TNCs (transnational corporations) began to emerge in the 1960's, attention began to shift decisively from national to global capitalism (Sklair, 2002). The small number of powerful transnational corporations that dominate global networks of production and consumption control the world economy via key economic sectors. They have a disproportionate influence over supplies of raw materials and manufacturing capacity, and determine and direct patterns of spending through advertising and promotional activities. Transnational corporations are supported by

banking and investment institutions that manage and manipulate global finance, and by a range of organizations that provides producer services in the form of management consultancy, as well as legal, personnel, and marketing advice on an international basis (Clarke, 1996:7).

At this point, it is obvious that globalization in its economic context focuses on the implications of the borderless economy (driven by international market integration, global flows of money and information, and transnational production and regulation) for national and subnational economic sovereignty, competitiveness, and growth. While optimistic theoreticians celebrate the apparent rise of new market opportunities, the pessimists warn of the real and discursive dangers of neo-liberalism and international dependency, as the historically minded reassure us that there is nothing much new about what is happening, and the measured observers of qualitative change reveal the new aspects of combined and uneven development (Amin, 2002).

All rantings and ravings about globalizaiton aside, it is obvious that one of its human consequences has been the simultaneous creation of increasing poverty and increasing wealth within and between societies (i.e., the class polarization crisis) (Sklair 2002). Globalizing corporations (in some cases rather more clearly than national governments) recognize the class crisis, but largely in marketing terms. Over recent decades, in most communities around the world there has been a rapid increase in the absolute numbers of people who are becoming global consumers. However, it is also true that in some communities the absolute numbers of the destitute

and near-destitute are also increasing, sometimes alongside the new rich consumers. The best available empirical evidence (see United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report, published annually since 1990) suggests that in many parts of the world the gaps between rich and poor have widened since the 1980's (Sklair 2002). Increasing gaps between social stratums are effective in the building of social segregation and social distinction. We are confronted with these sharpened boundaries on the stage that is everyday life. Leisure, consumption, and places of entertainment are just some of the fields in which social distinctions are constructed.

3.2 Effects of Globalization on the Field of Politics

The globalization of the international financial and trading system can be fruitfully analyzed in terms of the progressive weakening of the nation-state and the growing recognition that the major institutions of global capitalism, notably TNC's and globalizing financial and trading organizations, are setting the agenda for these weakened nation-states (Sklair, 2002).

In this context, we perceive how economics and politics intersect with globalization. With regard to the political dimension of globalization, the debate has centered on the erosion/reformulation of the nation-state as a unit of authority following the rise of non-state institutions of regulation and governance, and on the challenge to citizenship and democracy posed by the rise of transnational political organizations (e.g., global NGO's) as well as plural, non-national sources of political rights and identification (e.g., EU

citizenship). At this point, while some herald a new era of reduced nation-state influence, eroded national welfare commitment, and a crisis of parliamentary democracy, some assert the continuity of national social models, others signal the rise of new forms of unsettled jostling between the nation-state and other organizations organized at local, national, and international scales, and yet others still find new prospects for cosmopolitan government, democracy, and civic mobilization (Amin, 2002).

3.3 Cultural Effects of Globalization

As mentioned above, many fields have been effected by globalization. Yet in addition to the economical and political, there is yet one more basic field which globalization has greatly influenced, and that is the cultural. However, in order to trace the path of developments in this field, an interdisciplinary approach is essential.

Building on earlier anthropological interests in culture contact, colonialism, and world-systems, anthropologists have been directly engaged with globalization since the late 1980's. This interest in globalization has created new challenges, both conceptual and methodological, for anthropologists adapting their tools to the study of phenomena of increasing speed, enhanced scale, and multi-local significance (Appadurai, 2002). In social anthropology and media and cultural studies, the attention has fallen on the implications of global consumerism, media communication, and international mobility and cultural mixture for individual and social identities and lifestyles in different local settings. Early warnings of the erosion of local

difference under the weight of the same world products and consumption norms and the same global corporations (i.e., the so-called MacDonaldization of society), have given way to sensitivity to the persistence of local difference, but also the nuances of local change resulting from heightened global exposure and virtual and real linkage with different parts of the world (Amin, 2002).

From this follows the possibility that, from a cultural point of view, the forces of commodification will produce increasing levels of cultural homogenization and social standardization, particularly in the realm of media icons, social styles, and consumption values (Appaduraia, 2002). This cultural homogenization, about which all the stratums of society are informed, is also effectual with regard to the construction of social distinction, an aspect that we will discuss in the following chapter. Heterogenization is not a mechanical product of the sphere of consumption. Rather, it is itself produced by local makers of ideas, images, and commodities who give to the culture industries of different societies and nations their own distinctive stamp. Simmel has maintained with regard to fashion that differentiation is consciously constructed and that its existence aggravates consumption. Thus, anthropologists have been able to show that the simple distinction that places global producers and uniformity on the one side, and local consumers and difference on the other, is overdrawn (Appadurai, 2002).

On the one hand, floating capital without any nation border is a widespread discourse; on the other hand, the world economy is organized through and around cities (Clarke, 1996:9). Global cities have taken over the

position formerly held by nations, which used to be accepted as financial centers. Now we also witness increasing social segregation in these cities. Rapidly sharpening boundaries and social distinctions in cities force us to examine those cities most influenced by the globalization process. However, before taking up this matter, we should discuss and trace the paths of the related concepts employed in the discipline of geography.

3.4 Geographical Dimension of Globalization

Today the field of geography illustrates both greater unity and greater divisions than perhaps at any time in its history. While enormous differences of opinion remain, a broad consensus has emerged that takes seriously political economy and the social relations of knowledge and power as fundamental to the understanding of space. Social theory, too, has raised class, gender, ethnicity, and power as central foci of spatial analysis, including both their historically constituted material forms on the landscape and their ideological, taken-for-granted dimensions that inform daily life, discourse, and individual and social identities. Social reproduction has been put on a par with the dynamics of production as a key moment in the dissection of spatialities. In the process, geography has become highly sensitized to issues of difference as well as to the politics of knowledge and the diverse ways in which places and the people who inhabit them are represented to one another and to observers. The ways in which social and spatial relations are explained, justified, and described in politically-laden terms—in short, the manner in which discourse does not simply reflect the social world, but constitutes it—have also figured prominently. As a result of

its intercourse with social theory, geography—long a discipline that lagged behind other fields in theoretical vigor—was catapulted from a naïve, atheoretical discipline into a theoretically informed and informative one. (Warf, 2002) Nevertheless this geographical imagination is not confined to the discipline of geography. In fact, some of the most influential accounts of the spatiality of globalization have come from social theory outside the discipline (Amin, 2002).

Space, place, distance, proximity, maps, boundaries, territoriality, and spatiality —these are some of the keywords of geography, keywords that distinguish the interest of geographers –as opposed to academics in other fields—when it comes to the phenomenon of globalization. The distinction between geography and other disciplines with regard to globalization, however, is far from clear, not least because 'globalization' so centrally evokes geography: the rise of world-scale processes and phenomena, the intensification of linkage between distant places and cultures, and the associated unmaking and remaking of territorial boundaries and identities (Amin, 2002). Geographical theory has been concerned with the spatiality of the contemporary world and is interested in understanding whether places—cities, regions, and nations—are perforating as geographically contained spaces, how the insertion of places into geographically stretched relations matters, and how new geographical scales of organization and influence associated with globalization are challenging old scales of identification and action (Amin, 2002).

In this study we will examine some concepts which will light our way on the path to understanding globalization: space, place, and city are just a few of them. As mentioned above, because it is a multi-dimensional process, globalization is perhaps best understood by using an interdisciplinary approach, such as that provided by geography.

3.5 Changes in the consideration and meaning of space with regard to the globalization process

In order to discuss the concepts of geography within the framework of globalization, we should know how theoreticians evaluate these concepts, a detailed examination of which will provide us with the tools necessary to consider the function of space in the everyday life of the individual as well as to comprehend the effects of space upon social segregation. It is only with such tools that we may find our way out of the labyrinth that is place consumption.

The effects of the capitalist system on space and space organization inevitably become factors in any examination of globalization. The capitalist system and capital's power to transform society are not limited to product relations and the people included in this process. The capitalist economy's alteration power brings space activity and change along with it. In late capitalism, the capitalist system regards space as a means to maximize profits. In this context, David Harvey provides us with new theoretical frameworks in which to consider capitalism's assessment of space. As Harvey (1989) points out, in capitalism, space is organized to facilitate the

growth of production, the reproduction of labor power, and the maximization of profit. According to him, by reorganizing time-space, capitalism can overcome its periods of crisis and lay the foundations for new periods of accumulation. In order to improve certain explanations, Harvey examines Marx's thesis of the annihilation of space by time and attempts to demonstrate how this relates to the complex shift from 'Fordism' to the flexible accumulation of 'Post-Fordism' (Urry, 1995: 22). The latter involves a new spatial fix and most significantly provides new ways in which time and space are represented.

In the 1960's, Marxist geography stressed the analytical centrality of labor and the production process in the creation and transformation of economic landscapes, claiming that it was through labor that human beings enter into social relations, materialize ideas, and transform nature. Marxists emphasized the powerful role that class plays in the social and spatial division of labor, as a vehicle through which social resources are distributed, as a central institution in shaping labor and housing markets, as a defining characteristic of everyday life, and as a fundamental dimension of political struggle. Underpinning this view is the labor theory of value and its implication that class relations rest upon the extraction of surplus value from the working classes, a process pregnant with politics. The Marxist perspective moved beyond simplistic dichotomies (e.g., base–superstructure) to incorporate the multiplicity of class relations over space and time, gender, the state, and ideology and culture (Warf, 2002).

As I have mentioned above, the alteration power of capitalism brings space activity and change along with it. This process grounds the shifting viewpoints and approaches to the topic of space over different periods. In this respect, there emerge significant differences amongst the perspectives of the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. In the 1970's, debate about spatiality was focused on how 'the relation between space and society' should be conceptualized. The key question of the 1970's was whether the organization of space was a separate structure with its own laws of inner transformation and construction, or the expression of a set of relations embedded in some broader structure (Bornes and Gregory, 1997: 244). The dominant claim of the 1970's was that 'space is a social construct', which means that space is constituted through social relations and material social practices (Massey, 1994:254). In this context, Manuel Castells states that space is not a reflection of society, but rather, that it is its expression. In other words, space is not a photocopy of society; it is society. Spatial forms and processes are formed by the dynamics of the overall social structure. Therefore, social processes influence space by acting on the built environment inherited from previous socio-spatial structures. (Castells, 1996: 410-411) As one of the significant theoricians of space debate in the 1970's, Henri Lefebvre, stressing the significant role of the relation of space to society in *The Production of Space* (1991), argues that space is produced, not just given, and that it is socially produced and thus represents the site of struggle. At this point, Lefebvre suggests another term: social space. According to him, *social space* is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other

products; rather, it subsumes things produced and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity. Thus, social space is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations. (Lefebvre, 1991:73)

Another significant theoretician who focuses upon the matter of social space is Pierre Bourdieu. In Bourdieu's theory, the term social space does not correspond to a concrete space. Instead, he claims that the social world presents itself as a symbolic system, organized according to the logic of difference. Thus, social space tends to function as symbolic space, a space of life-styles and status groups. (Bourdieu, 1990:132) The position of a given agent in the social space can be defined by the position he/she occupies in different fields, in the distribution of powers. According to Bourdieu, these power fields are principally economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital, as well as symbolic capital. (Bourdieu, 1991:230) The social space, and the differences that 'spontaneously' emerge within it, tend to function symbolically as the space of lifestyles or of groups characterized by different lifestyles. (Bourdieu, 1991:237)

Social space presents itself in the various forms of agents. (Bourdieu, 1990:132) Hence Bourdieu's description of space as a field of forces or, to be more precise, a set of objective power relations imposed upon all those who enter into this field and relations or even upon the direct interactions between agents themselves. (Bourdieu, 1991:230) In short, for Bourdieu, social space is a multi-dimensional space, the most predominant dimension of which is the political. (Bourdieu, 1991:245) In this regard, Bourdieu's argument runs parallel to that of Lefebvre. To this, Lefebvre adds that social space contains

a great diversity of objects, which are not only things but also relations. (Lefebvre, 1991:77) Thus, we are confronted not by one social space, but by many -- indeed, by an unlimited multiplicity or uncountable set of social spaces, which we refer to as 'social space'. (Lefebvre, 1991:86) Lefebvre also points out that it is an initial error to picture space as a 'frame' or container into which nothing can be put unless it is smaller than the recipient, but rather to imagine that this container has no other purpose than to preserve what has been put in it (Lefebvre, 1991:94), for its mode of existence, its practical 'reality' differs radically from the reality of something written, such as a book. (Lefebvre, 1991:143)

In the 1980's, a new trend in the social sciences began emphasizing space by maintaining that the social is indeed spatially constructed, i.e., society is necessarily constructed spatially. (Massey, 1994:254) Literature on space written in the 1980's assessed the relation between the social and space in a dialectical way.

Actually, postmodern critics have played an important role in the development of present explanations. In this context, Doreen Massey states that:

> The very fact of social relations being stretched out over space (or not), and taking particular spatial forms, influences the nature of the social relations themselves, the divisions of labor and the functions within them. Social change and the spatial change are integral to each other. (Massey, 1994:23)

By the 1990's, parallel to the increasing influence of the globalization process, debates about space began to veer off into yet another direction.

The most systematic attempt to place these developments within a conceptual framework is Harvey's notion of 'time-space compression'. Harvey explains '*time-space compression*' as follows:

> The processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter…how we represent the world to ourselves… Space appears to shrink to a 'global village' of tele-communications and a 'spaceship earth' of economic and ecological interdependencies…and as time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is…so we have to learn how to cope with an overwhelming sense of compression of our spatial and temporal worlds. (Harvey, 1989: 240)

As is obvious from the statement above, time-space compression plays a crucial role in understanding the current perception of space. John Urry, who will also enlighten us about place consumption in the following chapter, has made several important observations regarding Harvey's time-space compression. Urry (1995: 23) states that Harvey's time-space compression involves the increasing speed in production; the increased speed of change and rapidity of fashion; the greater availability of products almost everywhere; the increased temporary nature of products, relationships, and contracts; the heightened significance of short-termism, and the decline of a 'waiting culture'. Related with this definition, Urry claims that postmodernism is the outcome of the disorientation and fragmentation generated by this compression of time and space; it results in a dystrophic nightmare, which, in the view of some theorists, further results in the very disappearance of time and space as materialized and tangible dimensions of social life. (Urry, 1995:23)

In response to this, Massey has come up with a new term that refers to the other side of the coin; *power geometry*, meaning the power geometry of time-space compression. She maintains that according to their differentiated mobility, different social groups and the individuals who make up those social groups have distinct relationships to movement and flows, and therefore conceive of time and spare differently, depending upon their proximity to globalization flows. (Massey, 1994:149). A similar emphasis is apparent in Bauman's approach to the globalization process, too: As Bauman points out, the uses of time and space are sharply differentiated as well as being differentiating. Bauman claims that what appears as globalization for some may mean localization for others; signaling a new freedom for some, upon many others it descends as an uninvited and cruel fate. Immobility for all is not a realistic option in a world of permanent change, because different people have different access to globalization. (Bauman, 1998:2) The conceptualization of time-space compression may not even be valid for the developing/underdeveloped countries, yet such a conceptualization continues to be considered as a given fact by many theoreticians. A 'break' from the global world (for example, an economic crisis), however, provides the conditions that make it possible to turn this conceptualization upside down. If you do not have the means to connect to the internet, or travel to other parts of the world, or to taste world cuisines, then it is impossible for you to witness time-space compression. Needless to say, in Turkey this unrealistic situation is a well-known. Increasing unemployment caused by the latest economic crises has led many people of various social spheres,

including even the highly educated, to imprison themselves in their houses in order to avoid incurring expenses by going out. So an unemployed, third world citizen, without access to Internet communication or the financial means to travel to another part of the world cannot witness or perceive the time-space compression in his/her daily routine.

In this context, Anthony Giddens suggests new evaluations of the relationship between time and space. Maintaining that modernity is inherently globalizing, Giddens defines modernization as a process of 'time-space distanciation' in which time and space 'empty out', become more abstract, and in which things and people become 'disembedded' from concrete space and time. (Lash&Urry, 1994:13) Giddens states that the conceptual framework of time-space distanciation directs our attention to the complex relations between local involvements and interaction across distance. Indeed, Giddens' time-space distanciation is the very process by which societies are stretched over shorter or longer spans of time and space. Such stretching reflects the fact that social activity increasingly depends upon interactions with those who are absent in time-space. (Urry, 1995:16) He points out that globalization refers essentially to that stretching process, in so far as the modes of connection between different social contexts or regions become networked across the earth's surface as a whole. (Giddens, 1991:64) Cyberspace addicts are perhaps a prime example of actors active within the context put forth by this definition. Millions of people from different regions of the world find Internet friends and share with them the same minute in front of their respective computers, despite the kilometers that separate them.

3.6 The Effects of Globalization upon Cities

In the previous chapter, we overviewed the dissimilar dimensions of globalization, briefly touching upon changes and shifts in the approach to the relevant concepts, a venture which will help us as we now try to better grasp the effects of space upon society as we examine in this chapter the effects of globalization on cities and city life.

Space plays an effective role in sharpening the social distinction between different social stratums as the gap that separates those stratums widens. It is in cities that space takes on a particularly concrete form. Hence, we can say that cities are the visible environments of the concrete change of space.

The form of late capitalism in the 21st century and global fluidity ground important transformations both in individuals' lives and in the structures of cities, which are the spatial reflection of these lives, as well. In addition to the space debates of previous periods, I also focus here upon how globalization effects cities and is reflected in them. In the last two decades, concepts closely related with the globalization process, like 'nearness' and 'distance', have assumed new meanings in academic literature. (Bauman, 1998) It is said that the world has shrunk, thereby becoming particularly conducive to the flow of capital. (Işık, 1995) There is also a growing consensus in the literature that since the early 1970's, significant changes have occurred with respect to the spatial divisions within cities.

Marcuse and Kempen (2000:2) claim that the processes of globalization, i.e., changing forms of production, declining state provisions in welfare, differences in power relationships, and developing technologies, all have their influences on urban patterns as well as on cities. However, cities have always been divided along lines of culture, function, and status. Marcuse and Kempen point out that, although this process varies substantially from city to city according to historical developments, national, political, and economic structures, with regard to the relative weight of the contending forces involved in development, the role of 'race' and ethnicity, and its place in the international economy, all cities do have some basic features in common. They point out that boundaries, in the form of social or physical walls, between divisions are increasing. Consequently, a pattern of separate clusters of residential space, creating protective citadels and enclaves on the one side and constraining ghettos on the other, in a hierarchical relationship to each other, has appeared. (Marcuse&Kempen, 2000:3) In accordance with this process, yuppies, professionals, and managers occupy the gentrified areas while the older, often poorer population surrounds them. These areas are generally located in the inner parts of the older cities. Thus is a new type of ghetto, the so-called excluded ghetto, inhabited by the new urban poor, a group whose exclusion is complete and long-term, established. (Marcuse&Kempen, 2000:4) While describing this development, Marcuse and Kempen reveal that each city is in actuality multiple cities, layered over and under each other, separated by both space and time, constituting the living and working environment of

different classes and different groups, interacting with each other in a set of dominations and dependencies that reflect increasing distance and inequality. (Marcuse&Kempen, 2000:265) Thus, each layer shows the entire space of the city, but no one layer shows the complete city.

In this regard, Teresa Caldeira's (1996) observations and opinions relating to the new urbanization process support Marcuse and Kempen's (2000) aforementioned views on increasing segregation. She points out that in the twentieth century, social segregation has found at least three different forms of expression in Sao Paulo's urban space. The first lasted from the late nineteenth century to the 1940's and produced a condensed city, in which different social groups were packed into a small urban area and segregated by different types of housing. The second urban form was the center-periphery, in which different social groups were separated by great distances: the middle and upper classes lived in central and well-equipped neighborhoods while the poor lived in the precarious hinterland described by Marcuse and Kempen above. This form dominated the city's development from the 1940's to the 1980's. She argues that a third form has taken shape in the 1980's and that the city and its metropolitan region have already changed considerably according to this new pattern. The recent transformations are generating a city in which different social groups are again closer in terms of the city space, but separated by walls and technologies of security, and tend not to circulate or interact in common areas. (Caldeira, 1996) It should, however, be stressed that changes in urban space may differ according to the regions in which cities are located. This

segregation varies substantially from American cities to European cities in particular. Therefore, we should avoid deriving generalizations from the theses mentioned above.

As a consequence of increasing segregation and stratification, various social groups and individuals who have different lifestyles and habitations come together in cities where they live in ignorance of each other's existence. As Jerzy Kociatkiewicz and Monika Kostera, who coined the term 'empty spaces', propose:

> Empty spaces are places to which no meaning is attributed. They do not have to be physically cut off by fences or barriers. They are not prohibited places, but empty spaces, inaccessible because of their invisibility. If…sense making is an act of patterning, comprehending, redressing surprise, and creating meaning, our experience of empty spaces does not include sense making. (Quoted from Bauman, 2000:103)

Bauman furthermore points out that each of the many inhabitants of the city carrys in her or his head a particular map of the city. Each map has its empty spaces, areas–and the inhabitants of those areas–about which the person is completely ignorant , though on different maps these empty spaces are located in different places. The maps that guide the movements of various categories of inhabitants do not overlap, but for any map to 'make sense', some areas of the city must be left out as 'senseless'. As a consequence, Bauman points out that cutting out such places allows the rest to shine and bristle with meaning. (Bauman, 2000:104)

In fact, 'the layered city' definition of Marcuse and Kempen as well as the 'empty space' term of Jerzy Kociatkiewicz and Monika Kostera highlight the same matter. Both of these concepts underline the significance of social

segregation. Sharon Zukin suggests that spaces are formed by capital investment and sensual attachment. She also suggests that the idea of legibility speaks to the greed and exclusion that underlie permanent plans to rid a downtown of dirty manufacturing, low-rent tenants, and all infrastructure connected to the poor, workers, and ethnic and racial minorities outside of tourist zones. Therefore, nearly all cities use spatial strategies to separate, segregate, and isolate the 'other', inscribing the legible practices of modernism in urban form. (Zukin, 1996:49) Zukin (1998:825) further claims that cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but as landscapes of consumption. Following Zukin, Castells points out that what emerges in this context is a sphere of urban politics that is focused in and around forms of collective consumption. Cities have thus become centers of new kinds of politics due to changes in the social relations of production that have generated the requirement for labor-power to be reproduced through forms of collective consumption. (Urry, 1995:12)

3.7 Istanbul as a Global City and Its New Formation after 1980's

In this study, Istanbul plays a significant role by serving as both a good example of globalization's effects upon the city and city life as well as the space in which I carried out my fieldwork. Because of Istanbul's particular importance to this study, it is essential that some background information about the city be provided. I begin this overview with the 1980's because it is this decade that ushered in what would prove to be a process of change on a truly world scale: globalization. The effects of globalization upon Turkey together with the historical, political, social, and economic changes that the

country has undergone provide the framework within which I consider the globalization of Istanbul.

When Istanbul first began feeling the effects of the globalization process, many enthusiastic people gathered to present Istanbul as a global city to the world market. While explaining the impacts of the globalization process, Çağlar Keyder and Ayşe Öncü (1993) claim that, in accordance with increased communication and transportation opportunities, global capital has taken on a more fluid form. Therefore, the role that states play in the national economy has been drastically reduced, whereas the grand metropolises have increased opportunities to benefit from world conjunctures by using their political advantages. They suggest that Istanbul, with its historical background and geopolitical location, is in the position to to get its share from global capital as a global city. They argue that Turkey shouldn't miss this significant opportunity to integrate with the world economy. (Keyder and Öncü, 1993) This integration process involves competition against other global cities in which powerful financial centers are located. In this competition, the city's cultural identity and created image play a crucial role as emphasizing peculiarities of different places is key to putting a city on the global map. (Harvey: 1993; Robins and Aksoy, 1993) In this regard, as the former capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, Istanbul's historical inheritance provides it with special advantages. (Bartu, 2000) Although it does share some properties with the other metropolises that have been influenced by the globalization process, it has its own peculiar social,

economic, and political properties, due especially to developments of the 1980's.

After the military coup d'etat of 1980, Turkey underwent various social, political, and economical changes. In 1983, the Motherland Party (ANAP-Anavatan Partisi), of which Turgut Özal was the general president, came into power. During the 1980's, the dictates of the liberal market economy were applied in Turkey on an increasing scale. In this period, the national economy changed dramatically. Among the reasons cited for this change were the increasing liberalization of the economy as well as development directed towards turning Turkey's economy into an export economy. On the one hand, ANAP was struggling against the damaged income distribution, while on the other hand trying to maintain the party's own inner balance and vote potential. Thus, ANAP worked in the heavily populated metropolis of Istanbul on a large scale, even seeing to it that Istanbul obtain a large amount of financial support directly from the state budget for the first time since the Republic period. The main aim of this endeavor, however, was not to integrate the city into the world economy, but rather to preserve ANAP's vote potential. (Keyder and Öncü, 1993) Instead of rural populism, which election governments supported until the 1950's, a populist strategy that aimed at gathering votes in the metropolis emerged. Presenting people with ways to 'get rich quick', these populist policies exalted individual initiatives and a liberal market economy that was moving away from state intervention.

In accordance with these economical and social changes, various kinds of goods began showing up in store display windows. Wealthy people

began to appear in public places without the fear of being kidnapped by terrorist organizations or confronting the protests of unions and left wing organizations. Defined as the ‘new elites’ or ‘new Turkish people’, the 80’s generation had the kind of spirit and attitude that can be summarized as: ‘We are governing Turkey’ and ’we can acquire the intellectual capacity to analyze any matter’. These new elites were enthusiastic about their roles in enlightening and governing Turkish society. (Bali, 2002)

Parallel to the social, economic, and cultural changes that Turkey underwent after 1980, Istanbul, too, was influenced by a variety of factors and experienced consequent changes. Along with the changes in the cultural climate in the second half of the 1980’s, Istanbul witnessed significant changes such as the increasing fragmentation of the city, consumption, and lifestyle patterns. The globalization process contributed to the change as it grew in scope and increased the variety of consumer objects available in Istanbul. Famous five-star hotels and world restaurants began to open branches in Istanbul. First McDonalds, then many other fast-food chains were established in Istanbul. International festivals began to be organized and for some time now famous artists have been including Istanbul in their world concert tour programs. Istanbul has begun to host many international congresses as well. Moreover, the city has been the sire of the construction of one of the most quality airports in Europe. (Keyder, 2000: 24)

On the one hand, the global dynamics of the 1980’s provided new opportunities and possibilities for Istanbul as a global city candidate; on the other hand, it drove the national economy into a crisis. Yet, in so far as

Istanbul has carried out its global functions, the gap between Istanbul and the rest of the country has become wider due to differences in accumulation potential. On the one side of the coin are the professionals, who share the same high income and glamorous lifestyle with all members of their class in global cities all over the world, on the other the unlucky masses that make up the bulk of the labor force that serves these professionals, always with the fear of losing their jobs. This dilemma is valid in Istanbul. (Keyder and Öncü, 1993)

Especially after ANAP came into power, district municipalities began including “gecekondu”s in their building plans and handing over deeds to the dwellers as part of their political strategy. Thus they have condoned the increasing “gecekondulaşma” that has occurred parallel to the increasing migration into the city, hence the increase in the number of second generation migrants in the cities after 1980. Increased migration into urban areas, as *Marcuse and Kempen* point out, leads to the establishment of boundaries to mark divisions by means of social or physical walls; Istanbul offers a fine example of just such a phenomenon. Different social groups who have different incomes and lifestyles increasingly cross paths in their daily lives. Consequently, the voices of disgruntled members of different social groups grow louder with each passing day. However, we are mostly exposed to the complaints of only one social group. As a representative of this group, Mine G. Kırıkkanat states that:

> Yes, my racist instincts increase in Istanbul. I feel like sitting at the wheel of a huge heavy bulldozer and exiling a certain kind of people out of the city. Lately, this idea of banishing an extraordinarily huge number of folks from the city has given

> way to a more modest type of insanity because in the interim period, the numbers of certain kinds of people increased exponentially, certainly more than one can possibly put up with. Therefore, I only fantasize about saving just one neighborhood. For example, Beyoğlu and its surroundings. I am just saying that they should give us this place so we can surround the neighborhood with new fortifications of Istanbul so as not to allow certain kinds of people among us. Friends who are scattered around and take refuge in small corners to avoid those people would join us inside the walls as well; how wonderful, how happy we would be amongst ourselves!. (Bali, 2002: 139)[*]

Beyoğlu is not enclosed by walls as Kırıkkanat states caricaturizingly; however, at the end of the 1980's and into the 1990's, the 'new elites' began searching for new residences for themselves far away from these 'gecekondu's and far away from the city center as well. What they looked for as they escape from the city are 'secure,' 'adequate,' and 'culturally clean' places. That is to say, they were in search of protective citadels far from the inner city or, should they decide to remain in the inner city, in which case they would generally be surrounded by a poorer population, residences shielded by fully developed technological instruments. (Güvenç, 2000b: 109-110) Such developments which have depleted the city of its cosmopolitanism, one of its most important and valuable properties. In Istanbul, new 'cities' continue to be established by large holding firms. Alkent İstanbul 2000 of Alarko, Akbulut Country of the Akbulut Group, and Kemer Country of the Kemer Building Group are just a few examples of such artificial cities. These

[*] "*Evet, ırkçılığım depreşiyor İstanbul'da. Şöyle dev bir kepçenin kumandasına oturup, belli bir tür ahaliyi kent dışına sürmek geliyor içimden. Yalnız son zamanlarda, bu dev boyutlardaki sürgün fikri, yerini daha mütevazi bir çılgınlığa bıraktı. Çünkü arada, o belli bir tür ahali pek arttı. Başa çıkabilecek gibi değil. Dolayısıyla artık, tek bir semti kurtarmayı hayal ediyorum. Örneğin Beyoğlu ve yöresini. Şuraları bize verseler diyorum, çevresini yeni İstanbul surlarıyla kuşatsak ve o belli bir tür ahaliyi kesinlikle sokmasak aramıza…Oraya buraya dağılan ve belli bir tür ahaliyle karşılaşmamak için küçücük köşelere sığınan dostlar da gelirdi; ne iyi, ne mutlu olurduk kendi aramızda!*" (Bali, 2002:139)

cities are established in order to satisfy the sense of belonging that the 'new elites' found they had lost inside the city of Istanbul itself. (Aksoy&Robins,1993) These cities correspond to that component of Gidden's lifestyle sector which refers to a time-space 'slice' of an individual's overall activities, within which a reasonably consistent and ordered set of practices is adopted and enacted. (Giddens, 1991:83) When choosing to live in these artificial cities, these new elites are in fact choosing the lifestyle that will best express who they are.

In an atmosphere of increasing social segregation, city planners and social scientists have begun to reveal the city's social map, thereby providing us with the settlement plan of income groups. In this respect, Murat Güvenç's study reveals the distribution of dwellers of Istanbul according to status-income and place of origin-income, as illustrated in the maps of such that he himself designed. These maps are based upon the data results of the 1990 population census. (Map1) Istanbul's status-income synthesis map allows us to better comprehend the details of the city's settlement with respect to social groups. With the help of this map, we can discern the density of wealthy owner-occupiers in enclaves in Beyoğlu and environs: Levent, Etiler, Ulus, Akatlar; in greater Istanbul and environs: Ataköy, Yeşilköy, Yeşilyurt; and in Kadıköy and environs: Moda, Fenerbahçe-Bostancı coastal band. While wealthy owner-occupiers from different status groups prefer these enclaves, again according to the map, the poorest stratum, which lacks any social security whatsoever, tend to occupy Eminönü, Balat, Fener, and Eyüp south of the Golden Horn and Cihangir, Kasımpaşa, Dolapdere, and Sütlüce north

of the Golden Horn as two parallel zones. In Istanbul, the borders between owner-occupier salaried people and those belonging to other status groups are sharply delineated. This makes Istanbul different from the other big cities of the country. South and East of E5 and also on the east and west sides of Maslak Avenue are basic geographical boundaries that serve to reinforce this socially differentiated distribution. Güvenç points out that certain aspects of the population distribution of Istanbul are also the result of the temporary symbols of increasing migration process. Migration also reproduces the distribution of the occupation areas according to wealth in Istanbul. (Güvenç, 2000a: 36-38)

The result of this study reminds us of Marcuse and Kempen's suggestion that each city is multiple cities, layered over and under each other, separated by both space and time, constituting the living and working environment of different classes and different groups, interacting with each other in a set of dominations and dependencies that reflect increasing distance and inequality (Marcuse&Kempen, 2000:265); we can, I believe, rightly claim that the same layered structure exists in Istanbul. Istanbul is not a single city; on the contrary, it is the sum of multiple cities. If one compares the building management plans, wealth, and social profiles of the dwellers, it can hardly be said that Sultanbeyli and Nişantaşı are at all similar parts of a single city[1].

The segregation and stratification just described makes it possible for inhabitants from different social groups to live in different zones of the city

[1] For detailed information, see Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001), "Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk", İletişim Yay. İstanbul.

ignorant of each others' lifestyles. As can be perceived from Murat Güvenç's map, the living and working areas of the different groups are so far away from one another that it is indeed possible that their paths never cross, their habitats never overlap. This is an example, to use Bauman's conceptualization, of how the map you carry in your head may not contain those regions in which the 'other' dwells. These are the *empty spaces* of your inner map, the occupants of which mean nothing to you, just as you mean nothing to them.

In the 1990's, as a result of the increasing growth of the business world, new restaurants and bars opened to serve the needs of high-level managers who belong to the upper income stratum. Restaurants in Istanbul began to become significant spaces for elites to have a good time. These new places, which opened in those parts of the city most favored by this class, are active as elite clubs hosting regular customers. They present themselves to their elite customers as warm and comfortable places, as 'homes away from home'. One example of such a place is Ece Bar which, instead of the business world, addresses members of the world of cinema, the press, music, and literature. According to Ece Aksoy, owner of the establishment, Ece is a shelter for famous persons, a place that offers ist customers 'protection and care'.

New entertainment places with a variety of different concepts also appeared in the Istanbul nightlife to host those indulging in the new lifestyle. As we will see in the third chapter, the number of entertainment complexes rose significantly in the 1990's in response to the demands of a new lifestyle.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL DISTINCTION AND SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES

Today, social distinctions and boundaries are phenomenons that we encounter frequently. On the one hand, different social groups and communities are becoming physically closer to one another, while on the other hand, due to the effects of symbolic boundaries and social distinctions, they cannot bear each other's existence. The main aim of this chapter is to discuss the reasons behind and the conditions that prepare these sharpened social distinctions. However, in order to properly evaluate and consider the facts, we should first of all review the literature and debates about social distinction and symbolic boundaries.

In the previous chapter, we discussed the effects of globalization upon increasing social segregation. Now we inquire as to what the symbolic boundaries of this social segregation are. 'Symbolic boundaries' are the lines that include and define some people, groups, and things while excluding others. These distinctions can be expressed through normative interdictions (taboos), cultural attitudes and practices, and more generally through patterns of likes and dislikes. They play an important role in the creation of inequality and the exercise of power. (Lamont, 2002)

The literature on symbolic boundaries has gained importance since the 1960's due to a convergence between research on symbolic systems and indirect forms of power. Writings by Pierre Bourdieu, Mary Douglas, Norbert Elias, Erving Goffman, and Michel Foucault on these and related topics have been influential internationally across several disciplines, but particularly in anthropology, history, literary studies, and sociology. (Lamont, 2002) However, before these contemporary studies, two of the founding fathers of sociology played central roles in shaping the literature on symbolic boundaries: Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. While Durkheim brings attention to classification systems and their relationship with the moral order, Weber is more concerned with their impact on the production and reproduction of inequality. (Lamont, 2002)

In fact, Durkheim defines society by its symbolic boundaries: it is the sharing of a common definition of the sacred and the profane, of similar rules of conduct and a common compliance to rituals and interdictions that defines the internal bonds within a community. Hence, he posits that the boundaries of the group coincide with those delimiting the sacred from the profane. (Lamont, 2002)

Unlike Durkheim, Max Weber is more concerned with the role played by symbolic boundaries (honor) in the creation of social inequality than in the creation of social solidarity. In *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1922; Economy and Society 1978), he describes human beings as engaged in a continuous struggle over scarce resources. In order to curb competition, they discriminate toward various groups on the basis of their cultural

characteristics, such as lifestyle, language, education, race, or religion. In the process, they form status groups whose superiority is defined in relation to other groups. They cultivate a sense of honor, privilege relationships with group members, and define specific qualifications for gaining entry to the group and for interacting with lower status outsiders. They invoke their higher status and shared rules of life to justify their monopolization of resources. Hence, cultural understandings about status boundaries have a strong impact on people's social position and access to resources. (Lamont, 2002)

In the contemporary literature on symbolic boundaries, both the neo-Weberian and neo-Durkheimian heritage remains strong. In this chapter, we will examine significant concepts of theoreticians evaluating social distinction. In the last decades, parallel to globalization, increasing gaps between poor and wealthy stratums of society have made the different levels of social distinction more apparent in everyday life. When compared with the past, today it is much easier to be informed about the different stratums of society by communication channels, which is also one of the reasons why we see an increase in social boundaries. The growing literature on identity is another arena in which the concept of symbolic boundaries has become more central. In particular, sociologists and psychologists have become interested in studying boundary work, a process central to the constitution of the ‘self’. The ‘self’ is the ultimate expression of individual alienation in a world where promotion and consumption have such an important emphasis

There are various definitions of identity in circulation, one of which belongs to Stuart Hall. Hall claims that we should think of identity as a

‘production’ that is never complete, always in process, and always constituted. Therefore, according to Hall, cultural identity should not be considered a fixed essence, lying unchanged outside history and culture, at all. (Hall: 226) Instead, Stuart Hall defines identity by using a metaphoric expression:

> I use the term identity…precisely to try to identify that meeting point where the processes that constitute and continuously reform the subject have to act and speak in the social and cultural worlds… I understand identities therefore as points of suture, points of attachment, points of temporary identification… One only discovers who one is because of the identities which one has to take on in order to act…always knowing that they are always representations which can never be adequate to the subjective processes which are temporarily invested in them… I think identities is sort of…like a bus, you just have to get from here to there, the whole of you can never be represented in the ticket you carry, but you just have to buy a ticket in order to get from here to there. (quoted from Watts,1997:494, Hall 1989)

As Hall stresses, identities are not sets of clothes that we have to wear throughout our lives. Related with this, Watts adds that identity is constructed across differences and in relation to other identities. (Watts, 1997:495) People viewing society from different positions create different identities of self and other, which are potential foundations for the identity politics that arise out of the struggle between different social groups. From now on, class struggle is not the only struggle occurring within capitalist society. Identity definitions of different social groups and individuals are increasingly gaining importance and becoming the subjects of academic study.

As we discussed in the previous chapter, recent decades have been a time of fast changes in both the cultural and economic agendas of the world. In this context, Richard Jenkins points out that general concern about identity

is perhaps in large part a reflection of the uncertainty produced by this rapid change and cultural contact because our social maps no longer fit our social landscapes. Parallel to this situation, we are no longer even sure about ourselves; the future is no longer as predictable as it seems to have been for previous generations. (Jenkins, 1996:9) This situation consequently leads us to search for new identities. In this context, Watts mentions that identities are complex sorts of ‘holding operations’, stories told by us about ourselves. They are imaginary, fictional, straddling so to speak the Real and Desire, from which they seem to derive their weight and effect. (Watts, 1997:495) However, the definition of identity still has a significant function because, as Jenkins (1996,5) argues, social identity is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are.

At this point, Jenkins' (1996) study of social identity also provides useful tools for the study of boundary work. He describes collective identity as constituted by dialectic interplay of processes of internal and external definition. On the one hand, individuals must be able to differentiate themselves from others by drawing on criteria of community and a sense of shared belonging within their subgroup. On the other hand, this internal identification process must be recognized by outsiders for an objectified collective identity to emerge. (Lamont, 2002)

During the last decades, parallel to the globalization process, the individual’s relationship with space and time has become increasingly complex. This complexity has in turn led to identity and self-identity problems. One social scientist who has attempted to interpret and evaluate the current

relationship between space, time, self, and society, Doreen Massey, points out that the geography of social relations forces us to recognize our interconnectedness while also underscoring the fact that both personal identity and the identity of the space–time in which and between which we live and move are constructed precisely through that interconnectedness. (Massey, 1994:122) This interconnectedness also effects community relations.

Parallel to Jenkins' opinion on identity, Giddens states that self-identity becomes problematic in modernity in a way that contrasts with the relationship between self and society in more traditional contexts. (Giddens, 1991:34)

Related with this point, Giddens claims that:

> ...modernity breaks down the protective framework of small community and of tradition, replacing these with much larger, impersonal organizations. The individual feels bereft and alone in a world in which she or he lacks the psychological supports and sense of security provided by more traditional settings. (Giddens, 1991:33)

Therefore, as Jenkins stated above, individuals have begun to search for new identities. Community relations, lifestyles, leisure, and places provide possible sources upon which such new identities may be based. Urry, however, maintains that the rapid speeding up of time and space in the postmodern period dissolves any sense of identity at all. (Urry, 1995: 21) In this context, as Berger and Luckmann suggest, these changes lead us to defend the idea of fluid social identities as opposed to the traditionally fixed

and unchanging identities of the modern period. (Berger&Luckmann, 1967:173)

According to Massey, the resulting crisis of meaning inevitably leads to arguments that ‘in the middle of all this flux, one desperately needs a bit of peace and quite and “place” is posed as a source of stability and an unproblematic identity’. (Massey, 1994) People in different cultural contexts use leisure and consumption to establish identity, give meaning to their lives, and connect with place. (Williams&Kaltenborn, 1999:215) To put it in a different way, the modern city dweller looks for a small, peaceful home to relax in, a home far away from his or her exhaustive daily routine.

Hence Tuan’s (1977) description of place as a center of meaning. In a globalized world, many individuals feel placeless, so that the ‘cottage’ becomes a center of meaning throughout their lives, even as their permanent residence changes. The cottage provides continuity of identity and sense of place through symbolic, territorial identification with an emotional home. (Williams&Kaltenborn, 1999:223) In this case, the cottage serves as an example of how place perception functions as an element of identity formation.

As is evident in Tuan’s above statement, place has a central role in this context and, in addition to being effective in the construction of identity, it also provides the feeling of being at home, which has led Urry to develop a particular concept that is central to the thesis of this study: ‘consuming places’. Urry (1995) indicates four different ways in which ‘places’ are ‘consumed’: First, places are increasingly being restructured as centers for

consumption in which goods and services are compared, evaluated, purchased, and used. Second, places are in a sense consumed visually (a matter touched upon in the previous chapter; see section referring to the work of Sharon Zukin). Third, places can literally be consumed: what people consider significant about a place over time is exhausted by use. Fourth, it is possible for localities to consume one's identity so that such places become almost literally all-consuming places. (Urry, 1995:2)

Zukin maintains that increasingly we sense a difference in how we organize what we see in the city. The visual consumption of space and time is both speeded up and abstracted from the logic of industrial production. According to Zukin, this has resulted in the city being predominantly reconstructed as a center for postmodern consumption -- the city has become a spectacle, a 'dreamscape of visual consumption'. These dreamscapes, claims Zukin, pose significant problems for people's identity. Indeed, these are simulated places there for the prupose of being consumed. These tend not to be places from which people come from, or live in, or which provide much of a sense of social identity. (Urry, 1995:21) Such spaces are specifically designed to wall off the differences between diverse social groups and to separate the inner life of people from their public activities. (Urry, 1995:21)

As mentioned above, parallel to the globalization process, there have been significant changes in the consideration of space. However, Watts suggests that globalization does not signal the erasure of local difference, but rather revalidates and reconstitutes place, locality, and difference. As a

counterweight to the dominant logic of flows, there is the irreducible local experience, which defends local interest and identity around places. (Watts, 1997:493) In this context, Williams and Kaltenborn point out that places constitute unbounded constellations of global and local processes. Modernity makes these wider constellations of relations possible, but does not necessarily reduce the uniqueness of place. Therefore, a place may have ‘a character of its own’. Though place identities often lack the singular, seamless, and coherent qualities frequently attributed to the idea of sense of place, multiple place identities can be, and often are, a source of both richness and conflict. (Williams&Kaltenborn, 1999:217) Beside this, places do not have to have boundaries in the sense of divisions, which frame simple enclosures. ‘Boundaries’ may of course be necessary, for the purpose of certain types of studies for instance, but they are not necessary for the conceptualization of place itself. Therefore, places do not have single identities; they are full of internal conflicts. (Massey, 1994:21)

The relationship that is valid for place and the social is also true for community relations, which also have a considerable influence not only upon the choices but also upon the lifestyles of its members. On the other hand, an attachment to place or community, the sense of ‘insidedness’ made possible by a lifelong accumulation of experiences in a particular place, is important in maintaining a sense of personal identity. Yet the modern identity is no longer firmly rooted in a singular local place, as Massey emphasizes.

Consequently, as Massey further points out, attempts are made to establish a relationship between a place and an identity, a place and a sense

of belonging. All of these have been attempts to fix the meaning of places, to enclose and defend them: they construct singular, fixed, and static identities for places, and they interpret places as bounded, enclosed spaces defined through counter position against the ‘other’ who is outside. However, places cannot ‘really’ be characterized by the resource to some essential, internalized moment. (Massey, 1994:168-169) While constructing social distinction between ‘other’ and self, space is not the only component. Leisure and consumption are other components that make up the particular lifestyle of an individual. In the following section, we will discuss leisure as a means by which the individual constructs symbolic boundaries.

4.1 Leisure as a Means to Construct Social Distinction

The same relationship that exists between space, identity, and boundary exists between leisure and boundary as well. Today, leisure functions in the construction of social distinction between self and ‘other’ and is also effective in marking membership within a particular community. There are various components at play in the constructing of social distinctions and sharpening symbolic boundaries, one of which is leisure. In this regard, leisure functions differently today than it has in the past. In this section, we will trace the path of the changing meanings of leisure in order to get a better grasp of what leisure means today.

Modern technological developments play an important role in individuals’ lives in that they provide incentives to increase consumption. Such developments also have the potential to decrease work time and

balance out the amount of time spent at work with the amount of time spent outside of work, thereby giving rise to a ‘work ethic’ that emphasizes the significance of time spent outside of work. Naturally, this process has weakened the central importance of work in individuals’ lives. Understanding the changing meaning of leisure over time also provides us with significant clues about our everyday life. In our daily work and leisure activities, we participate in creating the conditions and social relations that shape our lives. According to Raymond Williams, hegemony is a saturation of the whole process of living, which seems to most of us as a simple experience and common sense. (Williams, 1977- quoted from Butsch: 1990) William’s definition directs our attention to practices, rather than ideas, as the medium of hegemony. A focus on hegemony encourages us to look for the forces and limits of control in the fabric of practices that constitute people’s lived experience. (Butsch, 1990:8) Therefore, analyzing how leisure practices are structured is important for understanding how hegemony operates. In addition, leisure is a significant field in which class-related attitudes and social practices are shaped and transformed. (Green, Hebron, Woodward, 1990:11)

However, attempting to define ‘leisure’ brings a myriad of problems into the fore, since the term ‘leisure’ has different implications for different periods. Moreover, most of the researchers who have taken up the matter have used dissimilar approaches and different theoretical models in defining leisure. Thus, in order to comprehend the present the meaning of ’leisure’, one needs to investigate the different definitions and meanings that the term

has assumed over time. Most of the research done on leisure is concerned only with the content of leisure in society. Because empirical results from varied sources and disciplines are not sufficient to make tentative generalizations, explicating leisure becomes particularly difficult in modern times. (Roberts, 1970:5)

I will focus on the etymological root of the term. The Oxford English Dictionary defines ‘leisure’ as the ‘freedom or opportunity to do something specified or implied’. ‘Leisure’ is derived from the Latin word *licere*, which means, ‘to be free’. It is also related to the French word *loisir,* which means, ‘to be allowed’. (Jensen, 1977:5) Indeed, these definitions are closely related to the usage of the term ‘leisure’ in Ancient Greece, where work was a kind of torture and symbol of vulgarity.

In Ancient Greece, leisure was considered an opportunity to develop the human body, mind, and soul; the Puritans, on the other hand, believed that leisure presented a threat of indolence and sin. In modern society, for coal miners, for example, leisure implies a release and escape from routine work, whereas for elderly people it often presents the problem of how to fill the passing time. (Roberts, 1970:6)

According to Aristoteles, theoretical wisdom, happiness, and leisure, as three related ideas, state the main aim of human life. (Craven, 1958:5) He describes leisure as ‘the first principle of all action’. Leisure was also described as the main component of free life in ancient times, with Socrates claiming that ‘leisure is the best of all possessions’. (Jensen, 1977: 6-7)

For the Greeks, leisure was a field in which man was given the opportunity to improve himself socially and mentally by participating in activities proper to this aim, i.e. politics, debate, philosophy, art, ritual, and athletic contests. These activities were regarded as worthy of free man whereas ‘work’, that is, instrumental or productive activity, was thought to weaken the dignity of free man. Work was only appropriate for slaves and women. In this respect, leisure was concerned with the preservation of a lifestyle that expressed the highest values of culture. (Berger, 1963:25)

With the Industrial Revolution came a shift in emphasis away from ‘leisure’ and towards ‘recreation’. After the Industrial Revolution, reforms dealt with the concept of recreation rather than leisure. Recreation basically meant providing some opportunities for activity other than work, as the refreshed and renewed worker would be better prepared to take on an even heavier workload. Masses did not have the right to ‘leisure’ until it was won as a necessary break from excessively long working hours. (Jensen, 1977: 24)

The attempt to decrease working hours has always been an important field of struggle between workers and employers within the capitalist system. Although modern technological developments have transformed the structure of work and decreased working hours, working hours are still the subject of bargain in many societies. Since its early stages, the mentality of capitalism has been such that it considers everything according to its capital value. Therefore, the capitalist economy originally deemed leisure worthless. What became true under capitalism was the exact opposite of what had been the

case during the aforementioned ancient period, for capitalism exalted work and denigrated leisure. According to the capitalist mentality, time is valuable only if it is used to acquire money. Once work is perceived in such a way, leisure essentially becomes defined as the opposite of work. Therefore, in traditional studies of leisure, there is a strong emphasis on the term 'work'. 'Work' stands out as a vital concept that serves as the opposite, the negative of what 'leisure' constitutes. The term 'work' is equal to *travail* in French, the linguistic root of which means 'difficult, troublesome work, suffering work, a kind of torture'. (Günyol, 1996:13) Etymological origins of the term 'work' almost always possess the opposite meaning of leisure, as indicated by German philosopher Josef Pieper's following statement regarding leisure: 'A mental and spiritual attitude…not simply the result of external factors…such as spare time, a holiday, a weekend or a vacation…It is…an attitude of mind, a condition of the soul, and as such utterly contrary to the ideal of work…' (Kraus, 1994:9) Changes in the definition of leisure are thus mostly related to changes in the form of work.

4.2 Debates About Traditional Leisure Theories

Defining leisure strictly in reference to work has limited the significance of the concept as well as its meaning in society. However, it is still worth reviewing the various existing theories as we attempt to trace the different phases of transformation that the concept of leisure has undergone. A pertinent review of previous considerations of leisure will also shed light upon the current debates surrounding the concept.

Although the meanings of leisure in ancient times were entirely different from what they are today, we still encounter theoreticians who idealize this ancient conception of leisure. For example, Sebastian de Grazia considers leisure as a philosophical concept. (Goodale&Cooper, 1991:25) Although many theoreticians regard ‘free time’, ‘leisure’, and ‘leisure time’ as the same, Grazia argues that ‘free time’ is not synonymous with leisure. In fact, he also points out that work is the opposite of free time, but not of leisure. It follows from this premise that that anyone can have free time, but not everyone can have leisure. De Grazia underlines the fact that leisure is a state of being in which activity is performed for its own sake or for its own end. (Grazia, 1962:13-20) Following Aristotle, Grazia claims that leisure perfects man and holds the key to the future. (Jensen, 1977:33)

Joffre Dumazedier (1974), however, who emphasizes the differences between what leisure meant in ancient times as opposed to what it came to mean in the industrial period, claims that leisure has not existed at all times and in all civilizations. Dumazedier argues that leisure existed in civilizations that emerged after the Industrial Revolution. In other words, leisure did not exist in pre-industrial societies because no clear-cut division between work and rest existed in those times. Privileged individuals achieved a state of idleness at the expense of their working slaves, peasants, or servants. In this respect, Dumazedier criticizes de Grazia for confusing the meaning of leisure with the idleness time of philosophers. (Dumazedier, 1974:15; Berger, 1963:29)

Although Dumazedier (1974) is convinced about the difficulty of defining leisure, he attempts a categorization of the existing definitions of leisure. Firstly, he defines leisure as a non-work activity, not as a purposeless activity. As an extension of his definition, he regards leisure as a means of relaxation, diversion, refreshment, and recreation. Dumazedier also points out that leisure is a style of behavior, not a definite category, and that therefore any activity may become leisure. (Dumazedier, 1974:68; Russell, 1996:35) Following Dumazedier, Max Kaplan (1960) defines leisure as a way of behaving, as that state in which we are at freest to be ourselves. Thus, what we do provides a clue to what we are, who we are, and where we want to go. Furthermore, he points out that our leisure symbolizes our lifestyle, in other words, us. (Kaplan, 1960:4)

Assuming an approach very different from that of Kaplan, another leisure theoretician, Stanley Parker, agrees that there is a deep contrast between work and leisure, but also maintains that leisure cannot be understood apart from work. He tries to grasp the concept of 'leisure' as it revolves around 'work'. He regards the context for the experience of leisure as a consequence of the experience of work in industrial societies. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:17)

According to Parker, both work and leisure are necessary for a healthy life and healthy society. Notwithstanding difficulties in keeping the two terms apart, Parker determines three different occupation patterns that define the 'work-leisure relationship'. Moreover, due to the changing and varying definitions of work, leisure has also been evaluated as part of various

categories. In this context, Parker categorizes these terms as follows: In the *extension relation,* work and leisure are similar in content and only weakly differentiated. Work is the central life interest and is itself only saturated leisure time. Sharp distinction does not exist between what is considered as work versus what is thought of as leisure. Doctors, teachers, and successful businessmen, for instance, belong to this group. In the *opposition relation*, leisure functions as a contrast to work. The activities pursued are sharply differentiated from work. The boundaries that delineate work function as a means by which the freedom of leisure is realized. Routine assembly line workers belong to this group. In the *relation of neutrality,* the effect of work on leisure time is weak. Leisure is not an extension of, or opposition to, work, but rather something more independent. Minor professionals, clerical staff, etc. can be included in this group. (Parker, 1995:29-31)

In accordance with his definitions of work-leisure, Parker claims that the engine of change necessarily becomes effective first in the realm of work, then in the work-leisure relationship, and only finally in leisure itself. Therefore, he suggests that the work-leisure relationship should be at the center of our concerns in social theories. (Parker, 1997:189-190)

Certain scholars have criticized Parker's approach to work-leisure definitions. In order to highlight the different sides of this debate, some of these criticisms should be cited. H.F. Moorhouse, for example, underlines the significance of the individual's 'work' experience for 'leisure' behaviors and attitudes. Nevertheless, Parker's approach is flawed because he avoids structures of class cultures, occupational ideologies, the social sources of

ideologies, various vocabularies of motivation, etc. Parker's attempt is also confused and confusing since he operates with at least three definitions of work and two definitions of leisure. (Moorhouse, 1989:18-9)

Kenneth Roberts is in agreement with Parker in so far as he also defines leisure as an area of relative freedom that has been increasing throughout the post-war period as a result of demographic and economic change. According to Roberts, a man's time is not his own at work while outside work, he may not be able to use his time according to his own will because of obligations, either by custom or by law, to implement certain duties. Roberts therefore defines 'real' leisure as the 'free time' in which the individual's behavior is dictated by his/her own will and preferences. (Roberts, 1970:6) With this definition, Roberts differentiates leisure from work and from other social obligations. Therefore, free time could be interrupted by obligations such as family life, spending time to get work, etc. Nevertheless, he claims that leisure is an indefinable part, and not an isolated compartment, of life. As Clarke and Critcher mention, in his study of leisure, Roberts is not concerned with the issues of ideological conflict and cultural domination. Instead, Roberts treats leisure as an obvious category of social life, which is why he does not have any suspicion about the existence of any reality that might underlie this category. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:41)

In the 1970's, a new generation of social and labor historians analyzed leisure as a medium of class domination and resistance, describing how leisure developed and changed in the nineteenth century and pondering why it took particular forms. (Butch, 1990:6) As the members of this generation,

John Clarke and Chas Critcher, for instance, do not attempt to compose complex questions concerning definitions about what is or is not leisure. They do not believe that complicated analytical juggling can solve these questions. They claim, instead, that this ambiguity is exactly their subject, since it reveals leisure as the site of social conflict. Their aim is to understand how leisure comes to be the subject of these competing definitions. (Moorhouse, 1989:24)

Contrary to traditional leisure studies, Clarke and Critcher are concerned with looking beneath the surface of leisure and examining the economic, political, and ideological processes that have produced it. They take up the matter of leisure in its relation to the capitalist system. While Roberts is satisfied with examining the internal pattern of leisure, Marxist theory seeks to understand its interrelationship with other elements of society. Clarke and Critcher do not accept that leisure can be abstracted from these relationships for the purpose of study. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:42) They insist upon the intrinsic relationship between leisure and class:

> Members of all classes may drink, smoke, gambl,e and watch television, but where, when, how, and why they pursue such activities have particular cultural meanings shaped by the social groups to which they belong. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:42)

Clarke and Critcher also insist that leisure is a field of social processes, open to action, conflict, and change, as opposed to the natural, inevitable, or universal backdrop to work. They thus aim to reveal leisure as the site of social conflict.

Clarke and Critcher's logic is two-pronged. First, they insist that 'work', or at the very least employment, is capitalist work. Secondly, they insist upon

voicing the ‘radical’ stereotype of labour as routinised, degraded, alienated, arduous drudgery, etc. They see life as a daily circuit of misery and pleasure with leisure as compensation or escape. (Moorhouse, 1989:25)

Over the last several decades, the capitalist system has successfully managed to conserve its political stability, granting people quasi-sovereignty in their personal space outside of their worklife as compensation for the constraints that they are subjected to in their work. Recently, capitalism has begun trying to strengthen its control on the labor process by spreading the idea that ‘real life’ is in the leisure time and in the opportunities it provides. Theodor Adorno claims that from this point on, the ‘culture industry’ presents people with chances to escape from the routine and responsibilities of their daily lives, and that this process serves to reinforce the system, making it stronger than ever before. In order to better comprehend this process, we should here consider Adorno’s analysis of free time.

Adorno argues about leisure in a different way than the other researchers thus far mentioned in this study. Although he isn’t included in the literature of leisure studies, Adorno’s slim article on free time (1998) convinced me to do a study on leisure for my master thesis. Rather than pondering upon the definition of leisure, Adorno undertakes an investigation in response to his own suspicious about the benefits of leisure in the name of free time.

Adorno states that free time refers to a specific difference, that of unfree time, time occupied by labor, and time that is determined heteronomously. Adorno argues that free time depends on the totality of

societal conditions. In reality, neither in their work nor in their consciousness are people free. Society imposes certain social roles on people and these roles are not identical with what people are or what they could be. He states that with the invention of automation, already expanded free time should increase enormously. However, unfreedom is expanding within free time and most of the unfree people are as unconscious of this process as they are of their own unfreedom. The difference between work and free time has been imprinted as a norm into people‘s consciousness and unconscious. Adorno points out that people are forced to think only about work when at work. On the other hand, in their free time, they passionately avoid thinking about work so that they can work more effectively afterward. As Adorno points out, this is the reason for the silliness of many leisure time activities. (Adorno, 1998)

4.3 Criticisms of Traditional Leisure Theories

It is valid to claim that sociologists have perceived the sociology of leisure as a meaningless area or, to be more precise, that they have for a long time despised the sociology of leisure as a marginal discipline. (Olszewska and Roberts, 1989:1) During the era of the early capitalist economy when work was exalted, however, these perspectives were very normal. At that period, leisure was studied as a legitimate sub-area of sociology. Attempts were made to see whether the grand theories of sociology related to leisure or not. Unfortunately, this approach blinded academics from seeing leisure’s relationship with other social processes. Therefore, the traditional sociology of leisure became obsessed with

definitions of leisure as a way of establishing legitimate boundaries within sociology. This approach, however, prevents a thorough understanding of leisure because it can only offer an incomplete picture. The traditional sociology of leisure assumes that leisure exists out there, but to be studied as an isolated field only. As John Clarke and Chas Critcher summarize, the traditional sociology of leisure fails to pay attention to the processes of class cultures and community, cannot escape the limitations of being a sub-area of a discipline, and lacks any structural analysis of leisure's place in the whole society. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:15) In fact, at this point, Clarke and Critcher claim that the ideal would be a discusssion of the changing meaning of leisure within the conditions of late capitalism. Furthermore, the relationship between work and life fields outside of work, which we live in the social periods both present and past, should be investigated and the conclusions reached by such research studied in greater detail. Unfortunately, however, it appears that the perspective adopted by traditional leisure theories does not allow it to realize such studies within this discipline.

Most of the traditional leisure theoreticians define leisure as an attitude or a state of mind to be evaluated more subjectively. Such definitions maintain that 'leisure is not in the time or the action, but in the actor'. (Kelly, 1982:22) These definitions tend to regard leisure as a way of life and as a psychological condition. (Russell, 1996:35) In this analytical framework, leisure is defined from the standpoint of the agent. Therefore, traditional theoreticians ignore the consideration or definition of leisure according to the standpoint of society. (Rojek, 1995:38) Chris Rojek claims that the traditional

study of leisure has been dominated by an interest in problems of agency. The choices and actions of actors have been on the center of the stage for quite a while. When questions of social structure come into the debate, however, they are alluded to in general and vague terms only. (Rojek, 1989:94; Moorhouse, 1989:16; Bishop&Hoggett, 1989:150)

4.4 Are 'Self-fulfillment' and 'Choice' Illusions?

> "Leisure is commonly thought of as surplus time remaining after the formal duties and necessities of life have been attended to. It is free time, enabling a person to do as he chooses". (Neumeyer&Neumeyer, 1958:1)

Do we really have the free time to spend just for ourselves and our own needs? This is the question being asked in this section in which we consider whether people can choose their own leisure or not.

According to Roberts (1970), people choose how to spend their leisure time independent of their other social roles. People in all sections of society are able to develop leisure interests upon the basis of their personal preferences. Exceptionally low-income groups participate in the same types of leisure activity on a less liberal scale. (Roberts, 1970) Deem thinks that, despite his definition, Robert despises people who don't have many leisure alternatives to choose from and furthermore adds that very few people have a completely free choice of leisure interests and activities. Factors such as education, income, age, and gender play roles in determining which leisure options we have and what we choose to do. (Deem, 1988)

People do make choices, but these choices are made within the structures of constraints that order their lives. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985:46)

Clarke and Critcher insist that while ‘leisure’ has been presented as compensation, self-fulfillment and choice are in fact illusions. People are limited, controlled both materially and culturally when it comes to choice, and constrained by all types of social divisions. They are quite unwilling to accept the ‘happy families’ version of ‘leisure choice’ that lies at the heart of Roberts’ account.

As Clarke and Critcher argue, choice cannot be considered without the consideration of concepts like class, ideology, and hegemony. Until leisure studies begins stressing the importance of dealing with the realistic side of the coin, evaluating these approaches in a realistic way will be impossible.

On the other hand, in the modern world, individuals are confronted with a complex variety of choices, a wide array of alternatives to choose from. As Giddens, however, points out, at the same time modernity offers little help when it comes to deciding which options should be selected. (Giddens, 1991:80) Due to the multiplicity of new identities, this complex diversity of choices doesn’t help us; rather, these choices all find a means of channeling themselves and so they begin to be presented as a multitude of consumption patterns. The objects of consumption may vary from places (consuming places) to lifestyles. According to Giddens, a lifestyle can be defined as a more or less integrated set of practices that fulfill utilitarian needs, since they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity. Each of the small decisions a person makes everyday–what to wear, what to eat, how to conduct him-/herself at work, where to go to have fun in the evening–are the signs of his/her lifestyle, which can be seen as daily

routines. All such choices are decisions not only about how to act but who to be. In this respect, lifestyle concerns the very core of self-identity, its making and remarking. (Giddens, 1991:81) In other words, as Baudrillard points out, when we consume objects, we are consuming signs and this process is defining ourselves. We seek to align ourselves with some and differentiate ourselves from others on the basis of which object-signs we consume. (Baudrillard, 1989) However, within this limited 'complex diversity of choices', the attempt to align and/or differentiates ourselves with these object-signs is a useless struggle. As Giddens points out, under the conditions of high modernity, we all not only follow lifestyles, but also in an important sense are forced to do so, so that we have no choice but to choose. (Giddens, 1991:81; Williams&Kaltenborn, 1999:216) This statement supports the fact that we indeed do not encounter a myriad of complex choices. Alternative lifestyles, alternative sports, alternative medical treatments, etc. are not alternatives at all in real sense. On the contrary, they are packaged choices presented to us as consumption patterns.

Giddens defines the lifestyle sector as a sector that caters to a time-space 'slice' of an individual's overall activities, within which a reasonably consistent and ordered set of practices is adopted and enacted. Lifestyle sectors are aspects of the regionalisation of activities. A lifestyle sector can include, for instance, what one does on certain evenings of the week; a friendship, or a marriage, can also be a lifestyle sector in so far as it is made internally cohesive by distinctive forms of elected behavior across time-space. (Giddens, 1991:83) Lifestyle choices and life planning are not just 'in'

or constituent of the day-to-day life of social agents, but form institutional settings, which help to shape their actions. According to Giddens, this is one reason why, in circumstances of high modernity, their influence is more or less universal, no matter how objectively limiting the social situations of particular individuals or groups may be. (Giddens, 1991:85)

These days, economies are in greater need of consumption than they have been at any other time in history. Consequently, people feel the need for more leisure time to consume. Parallel to this process, an important section of the service industry has become leisure industry. In this context, Horkheimer states that the mechanism that directs people in work is the same as the mechanism that directs people in their leisure. It is because of this overlap that consumption has been able to make itself invisible in the last decades. (Argın,1998)

Most of the studies so far mentioned define leisure through its relationship to work while at the same time neglecting to include consumption as a significant key concept in its explanation. As Butsch claims, just as access to the means of production shapes the organization of production, access to the means of consumption shapes leisure. Therefore, understanding how leisure practices are structured is an important part of understanding how hegemony operates. (Butsch, 1990:8) In accordance with the increasing importance of consumption over the last 30 years, many scholars have begun to highlight the relationship between leisure and consumption.

Because leisure has become a field from which it can reap profits, capitalism has begun to regard it as being just as valuable as the field as work. In this chapter, in order to shed light upon the relationship between leisure and consumption, I will examine consumption culture via its related concepts. These concepts will serve as guideposts as we try to grasp the changing meaning and function of consumption in the modern period. In fact, consumption did not come to assume its present meaning and significance until the beginning of the industrial period. Such an understanding of the development of consumption is crucial to comprehending the transformation of leisure into consumption.

An extreme increase in consumption is a direct outcome of a society in which everyone makes lifestyle choices. At this point in its development, consumption cannot be evaluated according to the same criteria that were valid for early capitalism. Today, unlike in the past, consumption patterns are visible throughout both the widespread consumption of lifestyle packages as well as the marketing of these packages. Consumption brings us closer together with those people who share our consumption patterns, Thus, being a member of a community that has the same consumption patterns as us very likely distances us from those ‘others’ who cannot consume the same things as us.

4.5 Consumption as a means of constructing social distinction

On the one hand, striving to be different, on the other hand, striving to be similar – such are the mechanisms that feed the apparently ever

increasing need to consume. Globalization, as it becomes more and more encompassing, also serves to extend the scope of this culture of consumption. The culture–ideology of consumerism prioritizes the exceptional place of consumption and consumerism in contemporary capitalism, increasing consumption expectations and aspirations without necessarily ensuring the income to buy. The extent to which economic and environmental constraints on the private accumulation of capital challenge the global capitalist project in general and its culture–ideology of consumerism in particular is a central issue for theory and research on the capitalist global system. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that most scholars studying these issues of global culture do so not in terms of capitalism, but in terms of the potential impact of global culture on national and local cultures and identities. (Sklair, 2002)

Before discussing the terms that will guide us to reveal the symbolic boundaries in society, it is worth considering the historical changes that have happened with regard to the process of consumption. Don Slater (1997) states that two major shifts occurred at the turn of the century. Firstly, the focus of capital accumulation moved from producer to consumer goods. The way in which labor is reproduced is crucial to the reproduction of capital, and so for capitalism as it exists in its current state, the reproduction of labor-power must be provided by buying commodities rather than by domestic production. The second shift occurred in the work process itself. This was accomplished by means of the now-familiar tools of automation, intensive division of labor, efficient management of inventory, strict cost accounting,

and so on. (Slater, 1997:184) In other words, capitalism transformed not only the labor process, but the process of the reproduction of labor-power as well, thereby giving rise to a new characteristic mode of consumption of the wage-earning class. (Slater, 1997:185) In short, capitalism came to require new modes of regulation for its survival, and Fordism was one of these new modes.

One of the most important properties of Fordism is that it demands systemic planning of every move within production by intensifying the technical division of labor. American car manufacturer Henry Ford transformed Western capitalism when he manufactured the first cars mass-produced for the ordinary family. Ford paid high wages to his workers and aimed to sell cars to working class families. This marked a shift towards mass production and mass consumption in the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century. The term ‘Fordism’, coined by Gramsci to designate this shift, continues to be widely used in the social sciences. (Bocock, 1993:20)

Accompanying Fordism is Taylorism, which dictates that the worker’s every movement in carrying out a task be examined and analyzed so as to eliminate any wasted effort or time by enabling administrators to formulate a productivity norm. (Slater, 1997:186) This definition reminds me of Charlie Chaplin’s famous film *Modern Times*. The worker quickly squirts the screws onto the assembly line conveyor belt while his employer struggles to get an automatic meal machine to work so that he can use it for his workers and thus profit from their lunch time. Such strict modes of regulation leave the

workers no time to express their creativity and also sharpen the separation between home and work; thus does home come to assume the important role of being the only leisure space for recuperation. At this point, consumption appears as a leisure activity, presented to keep people mentally and physically fit for work. (Slater, 1997:187) In short, consumption has come to play a significant role in both the reproduction of capital and the recuperation of labor power.

When at the beginning of the 1970's Fordism reached its internal and external limits, 'flexibility' and 'flexible accumulation' were the proposed remedies that would help capitalism to overcome Fordism's impasses. The fundamental principle in this case was to assume a flexibility that could cost-efficiently produce smaller batches of more customized goods. This widespread variety can be observed from design to production according to the change of consumer tastes and styles. (Slater, 1997:187) In addition to the flexibility principle, post-Fordism's other major property is the flow of information. These properties are also associated with decentralization and the devolution of powers and responsibility within the firm. (Slater, 1997:190) The severely hierarchical chain of command of the Fordist system also undergoes change. Furthermore, in addition to the workers' labor-power in its traditional sense, firm owners also have to take care of their motivation, creativity, personality, and indeed of their enterprising character. (Slater, 1997:190) In this new world, consumption no longer appears to be determined by the producer. To the contrary, the producer is increasingly subject to the demands and tastes of the consumers. What thus emerges is a

shift from homogeneity to heterogeneity of products, from principles of size, uniformity, and predictability to those of scope, diversity, and flexibility. (Miles, 1998: 9)

Mass consumption, which emerged as a consequence of new modes of production, diffuses everyday life not only at the levels of economic processes, social activities, and household structures, but also at the level of meaningful psychological experience whereby it affects the construction of identities. (Miles, 1998:9) Consumer goods and services, as well as the ways in which we use such goods and services, have begun to play an important role in who we are and how we construct our social lives. (Miles, 1998:3) Consuming places also give provide clues about us and how our lifestyles are defined.

4.5.1 An Unfashionable Academician: Georg Simmel

Simmel makes many significant claims regarding symbolic distinction, which are the results of his unique impressionistic approach within the field of sociology. His theories are crucial if we are to comprehend the cultural climate of the modern period from a critical perspective. His concepts guide us to a more thorough understanding of one of the present properties of consumption in particular.

Before moving on to examine his concepts, we should touch upon Simmel's life story as it will likely shed light upon the meaning of his work. He was born in 1858 in Germany as the son of a chocolate factory proprietor. Although he did not have a successful academic career according to the

university authorities of his period, he is, as has been said by many theoreticians, a sociological impressionist.

As one of the 20th century theoreticians who interprets and attempts to comprehend modernity, Simmel claims that there is an increasing ‘lack of form’ in modern life. (Simmel, 1968:2) Henri Lefebvre also shares this idea of his, but he puts it in a different way: Instead of a lack of form, Lefebvre complains about a loss of style in everyday life. For him, until the nineteenth century, with the advent of competitive capitalism and expansion of world of trade, style was at the heart of poverty and oppression. Style gave even the slightest object, actions, activities, and gestures their significance. Now, modern man has become the man of transition, standing between the death of style and its rebirth, which is why Lefebvre suggests contrasting style and culture in order to reveal the latter’s fragmentary character, its lack of unity. Upon this basis we could justify ways to formulate a revolutionary plan to recreate a style that would resurrect the festival and gather together culture’s scattered fragments for a transfiguration of everyday life. (Lefebvre, 1971) Lefebvre is an optimist when it comes to regaining the style of everyday life by means of revolution. Simmel, however, declares, “…Perhaps this formlessness is itself the appropriate form of contemporary life”. (Simmel, 1968:25)

While examining Simmel’s concepts, we should bear in mind that he is defining the modern and metropolitan life of his era. According to him, the metropolis is the showplace of modernity. (Frisby, 1989:78) Moreover, metropolitan centers are the sites of consumption as well as production,

circulation, and exchange. Although Simmel lived at the beginning of the Fordist period, he envisaged the further developments and shifts that would occur in the work process. He declares that modern production is not the site of creativity, of individuality, or of pleasure. (Frisby, 1989:78)

This brings us to another primary matter of inquiry for Simmel: the forms of social interaction or socialization. Simmel defines society as the totality of social interactions making up a complex web of interrelationships. (Frisby, 1989:75) He offers a series of evidence illustrating the phenomenal life of the commodity in the consumption sphere, including the pursuit of fashion, places of entertainment or enjoyment and prostitution, the exhibition of the aesthetic, and commercial commodities. (Frisby, 1989: 81) One part of this series, fashion, is the primary topic of this section. Although fashion in the sense that Simmel uses it does not mean the same as it does today, it still has some usages and symbolic meanings in common with today's fashion. In the following As quotation, Simmel masterfully elaborates upon the connection between fashion and modernity. (Habermas, 1996:408)

> Fashion plays a more conspicuous role in modern times, because the differences in our standards of life have become so much more strongly accentuated, for the more numerous and the more sharply drawn these differences are, the greater the opportunities for emphasizing them at every turn. (Simmel, 1971:301)

4.5.1.1 Fashion: Whose fashion is this?

Above all, in order to properly evaluate fashion, we should understand the mission of imitation. Simmel states that imitation gives the individual the satisfaction of knowing that he/she is not alone in his/her actions. When the

individual is freed from the worry of choosing, he/she appears simply as a creature of the group, as a vessel of the social contents. (Simmel, 1971:295) In Simmel's *The Metropolis and the Mental Life*, there are two principles at work; while the first maintains that all men are equal and share a common substance of humanity, the second principle dictates that every man is a unique being and irreplaceable as such. Simmel states that fashion is a societal formation always combining these two opposite principles. (Gronow, 1993:90) In other words, fashion satisfies the need of differentiation, the tendency towards dissimilarity, the desire for change and contrast. (Simmel, 1971:296)

Although it is difficult to draw sharp boundaries when defining classes, fashion is certainly valid in so far as its influence serves to mark different social groups and stratifications. Indeed, fashion cannot be interpreted without referring to class debates, owing to the fact that fashion is a product of class distinction. Simmel points out that the fashion of the upper stratum of society is never identical with that of the lower. Just as soon as the lower classes begin to imitate upper classes' style, the upper classes promptly reject this style and adopt a new one, which in turn again differentiates them from the masses; and thus the game goes on. (Simmel, 1971:299) As Simmel states, whenever fashion spreads, it soon comes to its end. The particular fashion in season, however, while on the one hand signifying union with those in the same class, on the other denotes the exclusion of all other groups. (Simmel, 1971:297) In fact, this claim is also valid for consumption; consumer goods are sometimes used to satisfy the 'social psychological'

need of individuation, or distancing oneself from others. In other words, people enjoy fashionable consumer goods because of the feeling of novelty associated with them and they consciously make use of them in order to promote their own social standing. Therefore, fashion has consequences for social stratification since individuals consciously make use of objects of fashion to climb up the social ladder. (Gronow, 1993:95)

Considereration of how fashion's properties reflect upon an individual's social relations reveal a variety of new properties of fashion. Simmel claims that the fashionable person is regarded with confused feelings of approval and envy; we envy him as an individual, but approve of him as a member of a set or group. (Simmel, 1971:304) Fashion raises even the unimportant individual by making him the representative of a class. (Simmel, 1971:305) Furthermore, fashion supplements a person's lack of importance, his inability to individualize his existence purely by his own unaided efforts, by enabling him to join a set characterized and singled out in the public consciousness by fashion alone. (Simmel, 1971:310)

For Simmel, fashion helps one to overcome the distance between him-/herself and his/her society and, as we mentioned above, it is a phenomenon of modernity par excellence, (Gronow, 1993:90) On the other hand, fashion's dedicated followers are those individuals 'who are inwardly lacking in independence and needing support', who use fashion as a means of expressing their absent individuality and content. (Frisby, 1989: 82) In addition, fashion also functions as an expression of the exact opposite meaning in that it serves to *demarcate*: Demarcation. Simmel strongly

emphasizes the demarcating role of fashion, the function of which is to emphasize one's individual uniqueness - a tendency becoming more marked because of the great leveling impact of money in modern society. (Gronow, 1993:96; Sassatelli, 2000:214)

4.5.1.2 The Relationship Between Fashion and Taste

It is impossible to consider Simmel's take on fashion without referring to Kant's perception of 'taste'. Although Kant never attributes to fashion the same amount of importance as Simmel does, he does discuss fashion in the context of taste. According to Kant, fashion has nothing to do with genuine judgments of taste (*Geschmacksurteil*), but rather is a case of unreflected and blind imitation. As such, it is the opposite of 'good taste'. It stems only from self-importance needs and social competition in which men try to get the better of each other and improve their social standing. (Gronow, 1993:89) Indeed, there is an important resemblance between fashion and taste. As Gronow claims, fashion offers a socially valid standard of taste, which is based solely upon the preferences of the individual and choices of the members of the 'community of tastes'. (Gronow, 1993:90) We can evaluate the process of consumption within this context in so far as we maintain that while consuming goods, people both express their own aesthetic preferences and share a collective taste with others. (Gronow, 1993:99) This collective taste is particularly important as a symbol of community connection and an element that also feeds the necessity felt by the individual for social distinction. In this way, it serves to sharpen symbolic boundaries.

4.5.1.3 Fashion and Style

Simmel does not explicitly discuss the relationship between style and fashion. Nevertheless, he obviously takes up the matters of style and fashion as he grapples with how to bridge the gap between something, which on the one hand is totally individual or private, and on the other universal and general. (Gronow, 1993:97)

What makes Simmel's discussion of style sociologically interesting is the fact that he draws a direct parallel between the style of objects of use and lifestyle. Indeed, Simmel's concept of style is directly related to objects of consumption. Simmel's suggestion that there exists in modern society a necessity of a 'stylized lifestyle' can equally be seen as a further development of the same idea concerning the role played by the various objects of consumption in the life of a modern person. The development of a stylized lifestyle can be seen as a concrete response to the modern person's problems caused by the increasing fragmentation of modern society. (Gronow, 1993:98) It may even be a way of searching for a form in a world, which has theretofore lacked form. Fashion and style correspond to the 'rhythm' dictated by modern material culture.

On the other hand, fashion and style can be described as techniques that embody particular combinations of difference and sameness , that assist in governing the modern world of goods. They respond to what Simmel described as the constitution of oneself through goods. At this point, modern fashion places emphasis upon strategy rather than function. It opens up the

possibility of considering how techniques of consumption may be linked to forms of subjectivity and self-constitution. (Sassatelli, 2000:213) In this context, Wernick states, parallel to his/her consumption level, the modern individual has begun to resemble the goods that s/he consumes. According to Wernick, the property based individual has taken the place of the promotion individual. In other words, there appears a new type of individual that both possesses property and at the same time designs and markets him-/herself as merchandise. (Argın, 1998)

Consequently, the Simmelian sociology of consumption helps us to think about the appeals and risks of commercial modernity, in part by showing us that the constitution of subjectivity in commercial modernity is an active and yet inconclusive process. Thus, the heteronomy of the modern subject is to be traced back to the fact that he or she is pushed to self-construction. (Sassatelli, 2000:215)

4.5.2 Scholar of the Leisure Class: Thorstein Veblen

In this section, I will concentrate upon Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and the main concepts that Veblen employs in this particular study of his. Before we begin to examine his concepts, a brief explanation of his theory is called for. Veblen's leisure class theory is very different from that provided by the Marxist class perspective. The significance of the *Theory of the Leisure Class* for sociology is analytical rather than being based upon any empirical study. As Davis points out, Veblen's definition focuses on the non-economic functions of income. More specifically, Veblen focuses upon

the hidden functions of wealth in a social system. Concretely, his study of the leisure class may be broadly summarized as an analysis of the role of wealth as a symbol of prestige and social status. (Davis, 1941:215) Consequently, although Veblen's analyses are based upon late Victorian period extravagance, his concepts are still valid in so far as they can be used to illuminate current events.

Needless to say, class is the embodiment of all the anti-evolutionary impulses that have survived from the past into the present. Veblen claims that one of these impulses is emulation, another domination, and a third animism. (Lekachman, 1979:VIII) Veblen claims that emulation is the motive that lies at the root of ownership[i] (Veblen, 1964:216). The possession of wealth represents honor, such as the tradition of primitive societies in which ownership of women was a sign of wealth and hence honor. (Veblen, 1964:219) Therefore, to be held in high esteem by one's community, it is necessary to achieve a certain standard of wealth. (Veblen, 1964:224) However, merely possessing wealth or power is not sufficient; the wealth or power possessed must be put in evidence as well. In fact, besides displaying one's wealth in order to impress one's importance upon others, one should also be sure to keep his/her sense of self-importance alive and alert. (Veblen, 1964:231)

In this context, as Veblen states, having servants and their services is a mark of wealth indicating that the owner possesses conspicuous leisure time. Conspicuous abstention from labor therefore becomes the mark of superior pecuniary achievement and, similar to ancient times when labor was

held in disgrace, being active in productive labor becomes a mark of poverty and subjection. (Veblen, 1964:232)

Needless to say, conspicuous abstention from labor leads to increased leisure time. For the leisure class, leisure means the non-productive consumption of time. Time is consumed non-productively due to a sense of the unworthiness of productive work and secondly as evidence of the pecuniary ability to afford a life of idleness. Furthermore, the gentleman of leisure should spend his entire life before the eyes of others, displaying himself as evidence, a spectacle of his own wealth. (Veblen, 1964:237) In this context, leisure generally should not leave a material product behind. Therefore, the criteria of leisure class status take the form of 'immaterial' goods, such as quasi-scholarly or quasi-artistic accomplishments and the knowledge of processes and incidents. (Veblen, 1964:239) Veblen defines 'conspicuous leisure' as the achievements that had approved themselves as serviceable evidence of an unproductive expenditure of time. (Veblen, 1964:239)

4.5.2.1 Manners and Decorum

Manners, which are part of conspicuous leisure, are symbolic and conventionalized reminders of former acts of dominance or of personal contact. In other words, they are an expression of the relation of status - a symbolic pantomime of mastery on the one hand and of subservience on the other. (Veblen, 1964:241)

Manners and life habits are particularly useful evidence of gentility because good breeding requires time, application, and expense. Therefore, good breeding cannot be realized by those whose time and energy are taken up with work. Analysis shows that the value of manners lies in their function as the sign of a life of leisure. Therefore, since leisure is the conventional means of pecuniary status, the acquisition of some proficiency in decorum is present on all who aspire to a small amount of pecuniary decorum. (Veblen, 1964:243) In this regard, decorum and manners in their fullest and maturest expression are found among Veblen's leisure class. This leisure class also gives decorum its definitive formulation, which serves as a canon of conduct for the lower classes. And here also the code is obviously a code of status and shows clearly its incompatability with all vulgarly productive work. (Veblen, 1964:247)

4.5.2.2 Conspicuous Consumption and Conspicuous Leisure

As Veblen points out, utility of consumption as evidence of wealth needs to be classed as an imitative growth. (Veblen, 1952:61) Similar to the function of unproductive leisure, unproductive consumption of goods is honorable, primarily as a mark of skill and privilege of human dignity; secondarily it becomes substantially honorable in itself, especially the consumption of the more desirable things. (Veblen, 1952:61) Veblen conceptualizes this process as 'conspicuous consumption'. In this context, I would like to draw a parallel between Marcell Mausse's 'gift theory' and Veblen's 'conspicuous consumption'. According to the former, primitive tribes

present gifts to their neighbor tribes in order to ensure the continuation of their honor, with no thought whatsoever being given to the function or the necessity of the gifts.

It should be obvious by now that the common properties shared by conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption are many. While the former is a waste of time and effort, the latter is a waste of goods. Both are methods of demonstrating the possession of wealth and, as Veblen suggests, they should be considered conventionally as equivalents. (Veblen, 1952:71)

Many scholars have commented on Veblen's theory. It is worth mentioning that these critics and their arguments are generally well-rounded, taking the whole view into account. David Riesman points out that Veblen regards consumption–and leisure behavior in general–as determined mainly by the desire to impress others, with the desire for sustenance, comfort, or thrift being only secondary. In either case, the behavior is 'economic' and individuals are passive puppets in a mechanism that they neither control nor comprehend. (Riesman, 1953:174) Contrary to Reisman, David Seckler states that Veblen's contention is that man is not simply a package of desires that are to be saturated by being placed in the path of the forces of the environment, but rather a coherent structure of propensities and habits, which seeks realization and expression in an unfolding activity. (Seckler, 1975:53) In this context, it seems that the importance of Veblen's argument originates from its perspective in so far as it defends the significance of

habits and traditions on the construction of individual identity and also manners. In fact, his claim is similar to Bourdieu's theory of habitus.

At this point, before continuing to expund upon Veblen's leisure class theory, Bourdieu's 'habitus' theory should be mentioned. According to Bourdieu, habitus is both a system of schemata of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices. Habitus produces practices and representations, which are available for classification and are objectively differentiated. Habitus thus implies a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of others'. Agents classify themselves, exposing themselves to classification by choosing, in conformity with their taste, different attributes that suit their position. As a matter of fact, nothing classifies somebody more than the way he or she classifies. Thus, according to Bourdieu, through habitus, we have a world of common sense, a world that seems self-evident. (Bourdieu, 1990:131) The modes of behavior, or dispositions, produced by the habitus are passed on through the generations, repeated from an early age and socially reinforced through education and culture. The advantage of the concept is that it seeks to reveal the hidden sides of the spontaneous beliefs or opinions (to which Bourdieu refers to as *doxa*), which shape people's view of the world on the basis of a reciprocal relationship between the ideas and attitudes of individuals and the structures within which they operate (Wolfreys, 2000):

> The source of historical action, that of the artist, the scientist, or the member of government just as much as that of the worker or the petty civil servant, is not an active subject confronting society as if that society were an object constituted externally. The source resides neither in consciousness nor in things but in the relationship between two stages of the social,

> that is, between the history objectified in things, in the form of institutions, and in the history incarnated in bodies, in the form of that system of enduring dispositions which I call habitus. (P Bourdieu, In Other Words, op cit, p. 190, quoted from Wolfreys)

In fact, Bourdieu's symbolic system, which is constituted as a significant distinction, includes analysis similar to that of Veblen's analysis of conspicuous consumption. Bourdieu's objection to Veblen's definition of conspicuous consumption is due to the fact that all consumption and, more generally, all practice, is conspicuous, whether or not it was performed in order to be seen: it is distinctive, whether or not it was inspired by the desire to get oneself noticed, to make oneself conspicuous, to distinguish oneself, or to act with distinction. Hence, every practice is bound to function as a distinctive sign, when the difference is legitimate, recognized, and approved. (Bourdieu, 1991:237)

Consequently, if we turn back and evaluate Veblen's leisure class theory from the perspective of present social groups and their leisure, what we are confronted with is a strikingly different picture. As Reisman points out, once values are confined to a small elite group, they spread much more widely. Indeed, the race for consumption goods has in part become devalued because 'everyone' can get into the act–as a result of the lowering of working hours and the rise in real income levels–and hence the tensions and compulsions of gentility may become relaxed. (Riesman, 1953:179) However, it would be going to far to say that consumption has lost the symbolic meanings that Veblen once found in it; these still exist, along with other meanings. (Riesman, 1953:179) Although no longer as visible as it was

when Veblen penned his leisure class theory, a kind of conspicuous consumption persists. Social groups still appear today as the representatives of particular kinds of lifestyles. Indeed, the consumption of elite nightclubs, which we will investigate in the next chapters, still preserves the role of conspicuous consumption. On the other hand, because of the fragmented structure of modern times, it is rather impossible to define a unique upper strata with a unique personality and taste.

4.5.3 Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu is one of most talented scholars of our era. The great value of Bourdieu's work lies in his demonstration of the political economy of culture. While he sharply criticizes humanism and rejects any historical, universal view of human nature, he in fact implicitly formulates an anthropology that posits a fundamental human tendency to pursue interest and accumulate power. (Swartz, 1997:68) Bourdieu's powerful analyses have revealed a world permeated by strategies and strategists of symbolic capital and a social field that motivates and produces such strategies and strategists. (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1999:91) In Bourdieu's studies, we can easily perceive the significance of habits, traditions, customs, and beliefs that filter and shape individuals. There are also collective responses to the present and the future in his studies. As Swartz states, he uses the economic language of interest as a conceptual strategy designed to correct Marxist objectivism and economism. (Swartz, 1997:72)

Bourdieu does not attempt to establish a one-to-one correspondence between selected signs and symbols and given social realities as, for example, between particular values and given social classes. In fact, he suggests that meaning obtained through the contrastive features between signs and a given social phenomenon is arbitrary. He even rejects all claims to universal knowledge, values, and beliefs that would stand beyond any social influence. (Swartz, 1997:86)

In this thesis, we will focus on certain concepts developed by Bourdieu: social space, symbolic capital, symbolic power, cultural capital, and social groups.

4.5.3.1 Symbolic Capital, Symbolic Power, and Cultural Capital

Bourdieu argues that symbolic capital represents a way of talking about the legitimation of power relations through symbolic forms. Related to his stratification analysis of relations between dominant and dominated groups, Bourdieu considers symbolic capital as ‘a sort of advance’ extended by the dominated to the dominant. In other words, it is a ‘collective belief’, a ‘capital of trust’ that stems from social regard as well as wealth. (Swartz, 1997:92) In this respect, by imposing symbolic relations of power, symbolic capital tends to reproduce and reinforce the power relations that constitute the structure of social space. Thus, legitimization of the social world is not the product of a purposeful action of propaganda or symbolic imposition. On the contrary, agents apply to the objective structures of the social world, which

tend to picture the world as evident. (Bourdieu, 1990:135) In saying this, Bourdieu has displayed a tendency to emphasize the role of the subject.

Bourdieu points out that not all judgments carry the same weight in determining the hierarchy of values granted to individuals and groups. Furthermore, the holders of large amounts of symbolic capital, particularly the nobles (etymologically, those who are well known and recognized) are in a position to impose the scale of values upon their products since they generally hold a practical *de facto* monopoly over institutions. (Bourdieu, 1990:135) We witness a similar monopoly of nobles over institutions in Simmel's fashion and Veblen's leisure class conceptualizations as well.

Symbolic capital, in the form of prestige, attached to a family and a name, is readily convertible back into economic capital. Perhaps such kind of a capital is the most valuable form of accumulation in a society. (Bourdieu, 1977:179) The mere exhibition of material and symbolic strength is likely to be a source of material profit in a good-faith economy, in which good status is at its most valuable. Thus, it is easy to see why the great families never miss a chance to organize exhibitions of symbolic capital (in which conspicuous consumption is only the most visible aspect).

As Bourdieu suggests, symbolic capital is denied capital; it disguises the underlying interested relations as disinterested pursuits. (Bourdieu, 1990:135; Swartz, 1997:90) Symbolic capital, a transformed and thereby disguised form of physical 'economic' capital, produces its proper effects. (Bourdieu, 1977:183) The significance of it lies in its apparent negation of economic capital. In other words, symbolic capital is a form of power that is

not perceived as power, but as a legitimate demand for recognition, deference, obedience, or the services of others. (Swartz, 1997:90) Bourdieu evaluates the expansion of the nonprofit sector as stemming from the 'conversion of economic capital into symbolic capital'. (Swartz, 1997:91-92) Yet symbolic capital can be obtained from the successful use of other capitals such as economic capital and cultural capital. Specific types of symbolic capital can exist in different societies as well. (Swartz, 1997:92) However, as Bourdieu mentions, symbolic capital is nothing other than economic or cultural capital once it is known and recognized. (Bourdieu, 1990:135)

On the other hand, another important concept of Bourdieu, related with symbolic capital, is symbolic power. Symbolic power, whose form *par excellence* is the power to make groups,[1] rests on two conditions. Firstly, it has to be based on the possession of symbolic capital. It is a sort of power that imposes a vision upon other minds. In this sense, symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition. Secondly, symbolic value depends on the degree to which the vision proposed is founded in reality. Bourdieu states that the construction of groups cannot be perceived as a fictional construction. Symbolic power is the power to make things with words. In this sense, symbolic power is a power of consecration or disclosure, the power to reveal things that are already there. (Bourdieu, 1990:138) Moreover, symbolic power is invisible power that can be exercised

[1] Bourdieu uses the word 'group' to indicate those groups that are already established and have to be consecrated as well as groups that have to be constituted, such as the Marxian proletariat.

only against those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it. (Bourdieu, 1991:164) Nonetheless, symbolic power legitimizes economic and political power, although it cannot be reduced to them.

Bourdieu's other capital, cultural capital, represents the collection of non-economic forces such as family background, social class, varying investments in and commitments to education, different resources, and also academic success. He takes up cultural capital in three different forms. The embodied state is directly linked to and incorporated within the individual and represents what they know and can do. Embodied capital can be increased by investing time in self-improvement in the form of learning. As embodied capital becomes integrated into the individual, it becomes a type of habitus and therefore cannot be transmitted instantaneously. The objectified state of cultural capital is represented by cultural goods, material objects such as books, paintings, instruments, or machines. Finally, cultural capital in its institutionalized state provides academic credentials and qualifications. These academic qualifications can then be used as a rate of conversion between cultural and economic capital. (Hayes, 2003) In other words, Bourdieu recognizes that all types of capital can be derived from economic capital through varying efforts of transformation. However, cultural and social capital are fundamentally rooted in economic capital, although they can never be completely reduced to an economic form. Rather, social and cultural capital remain effective because they conceal their relationship to economic

capital. (Hayes) This marks the difference between Bourdieu's view of culture and the orthodox Marxist view of superstructure. (Swartz, 1997:89)

4.5.3.2 Social Groups and Class

In Bourdieu's analysis, class is fundamental to his argument concerning objective conditions. His analysis of class, however, does not depend upon objective economic or indeed even political criteria alone for its foundation, but rather upon a broad-ranging account of class practices including tastes in food, clothing and body dispositions, housing styles, and forms of social choice in everyday life, as well as the more familiar categories of economy and polity. (Wilkes, 1990: 109)

As Bourdieu argues, class exists if and when there exist agents who can say that they are the class. In other words, he claims that there is the possibility of being a class when the people who thereby recognize themselves as members of the class or nation or any other social reality that a realist construction of the world can be invented and imposed upon. (Bourdieu, 1990:139) For Bourdieu, it is not really a class, not an actual class, in the sense of being a group, a group mobilized for struggle; at most one could say that it is a probable class, in so far as it is a set of agents. (Bourdieu, 1991:232) Bourdieu states that:

> Classes (are) sets of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and subjected to similar conditionings, have every likelihood of having similar dispositions and interest and therefore of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances. (However) This 'class on paper' has the theoretical existence which is that of theories… It is not really a class, an actual class, in the

> sense of a group mobilized for struggle; at most it might be called a probable class, inasmuch as it is a set of agents which will present fewer hindrances to efforts at mobilization than any other set of agents. (Schwibs, 1985: quoted from Wilkes: 1990)

Indeed, this discussion stems from the traditionally opposing ideas of the ‘class-in-itself’, defined on the basis of a set of objective conditions, and the ‘class-for-itself’, defined on subjective factors. Bourdieu points out that this discussion describes the movement from the one to the other, in accordance with a logic which is either totally determinist or on the contrary fully voluntarist. (Bourdieu, 1991:233)

Bourdieu makes no consistent distinction between conscious and unconscious forms of interest of calculation. He clearly rejects a rational actor model and goes to great lengths to explain the type of action he focuses on, a type of action that escapes the realm of conscious manipulation. (Swartz, 1997:70) Bourdieu is closer to a class unconscious than to a ‘class consciousness’ in the Marxist sense. He claims that the sense of the position one occupies in the social space (what Goffman calls the ‘sense of one’s place’) is the practical mastery of the social structure as a whole, which reveals itself through the sense of the position occupied in that structure. (Bourdieu, 1991:235) He defines ‘the sense of one’s place’ as the sense of what one can or cannot ‘allow oneself’ to do, which implies a tacit acceptance of one’s position, a sense of limits or what amounts to the same thing - a sense of distances, to be marked and maintained, respected and expected of others. (Bourdieu, 1991:235) This definition both embodies an important claim and presents an important breaking point discussions of class.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu shows how the logic of class struggle extends to the realm of taste and lifestyle, and that symbolic classification is key to the reproduction of class privileges: dominant groups define their own culture and ways of being as superior. Through the incorporation of `habitus' or cultural dispositions, cultural practices have inescapable and unconscious classificatory effects that shape social positions. (Lamont, 2002)

Bourdieu argues that in stressing the centrality of economic structures in social life, Marxism reproduces the classical subjectivism/objectivism dualism by restricting the notion of interest to the material aspects of social life. Thus do the symbolic and political dimensions come to be considered lacking in terms of one's own proper interests. This same dualism undergrids the Marxist distinction between infrastructure and superstructure, which Bourdieu rejects by broadening the idea of economic interest to include symbolic or non-material pursuits as well as material ones. (Swartz.1997: 66)

Lamont critiqued Bourdieu for exaggerating the importance of cultural capital in upper-middle class culture and for defining salient boundaries a priori instead of inductively. By drawing on interviews with professionals and managers, she showed that morality, cultural capital, and material success are defined differently and that their relative importance vary across national contexts and subgroups. Lamont also showed variations in the extent to which professionals and managers are tolerant of the lifestyles and tastes of other classes, and argued that cultural laissez-faire is a more important feature of American society than French society. High social and geographic mobility, strong cultural regionalism, ethnic and racial diversity, political

decentralization, and relatively weak high culture traditions translate into less highly differentiated class cultures in the United States than in France. (Lamont, 2002)

[i] The function of emulation in Veblen's theory reminds us of that of imitiation in Simmel's. Both of them represent the assertive effort to claim the upper class properties.

CHAPTER 5

LAILA AND KAKTUS AS EXAMPLES OF LEISURE SPACE IN ISTANBUL

Although globalization has had various effects upon different aspects of life, its most significant effects have been upon those aspects that are social and human. In the last decades, different forms of time-space considerations have become prime topics of discussion. The existence of different cultures and identities living side by side has become more and more common, a development which in turn has induced a variety of problems. With increasing globalization, increasing poverty and wealth have begun to intersect in the same geography. Optimistic supporters of globalization denied that global cities would surpass states to become the financial centers of the future, instead preferring to push their claims that a truly borderless economy of floating capital would be the ultimate future of globalization. However, such global cities have indeed become financial centers and in them, and for that matter in other smaller cities as well, increasing poverty existing alongside increasing wealth has become an increasingly frequent sight. Although in their everyday lives, the paths of the members of these different socio-economic groups may not intersect per se,

they live and work in close proximity to one another. Being in close proximity has sped up the construction of social distinctions, which has in turn sharpened symbolic boundaries in cities. Different stratums of society are much more informed about each other than they were in the past, due mostly to the new communication channels available today. At this point, we may employ Marcuse and Kempen's layered city concept to guide us as we try to comprehend this new form of the city. Marcuse and Kempen maintain that each city is in actuality multiple cities, layered over and under each other, separated by both space and time, constituting the living and working environment of different classes and different groups, interacting with each other in a set of dominations and dependencies that reflect increasing distance and inequality. (Marcuse&Kempen, 2000:265) Thus, each layer covers the entire space of the city, but no one layer shows the complete city. Despite residing in the same city, various stratums of society may very well be quite ignorant of how the others live. Related with this point, Bauman claims that the city has many inhabitants, each of whom carries her or his own map of the city in her or his head. However, each map has its empty spaces, which means that the individual to whom the map belongs has no idea about the inhabitants of that area; these empty spaces are, of course, located in different places on the different maps. The maps that guide the movements of various categories of inhabitants do not overlap, but for any map to 'make sense', some areas of the city must be left out as 'senseless'.

Social distinction, symbolic boundaries, identity, and community relations are concepts that interconnect and complete one another's

meaning. As Giddens mentions, modernity breaks down the protective framework of small community and of tradition, replacing these with much larger, impersonal organizations. The individual feels bereft and alone in a world in which she or he lacks the psychological supports and sense of security provided by more traditional settings. Besides, as Jenkins points out, produced by this rapid change and cultural contact, our social maps no longer fit our social landscapes. (Jenkins, 1996:9)

At this point, as Jenkins (1996,5) argues, in order to recognize ourselves we must use the concept of social identity, which is other people's understanding of themselves and of others, in order to understand who we are, who other people are, and to create new identities when this is thought necessary. This necessity sometimes causes us to establish new identites as 'holding operations', to use Watts' term. Watts maintains that identities are complex sorts of 'holding operations', stories told by us about ourselves. They are imaginary, fictional, straddling so to speak the Real and Desire, from which they seems to derive their weight and effect. (Watts, 1997:495)

Social identity is also important when considering the function of boundaries. Jenkins' (1996) study of social identity in particular provides useful tools for the study of boundary work. He describes collective identity as constituted by dialectic interplay of processes of internal and external definition. On the one hand, individuals must be able to differentiate themselves from others by drawing on criteria of community and a sense of shared belonging within their subgroup. On the other hand, this internal

identification process must be recognized by outsiders for an objectified collective identity to emerge. (Lamont, 2002)

In comparison to the past, boundaries are more sharply defined in city life today, although the expression of these distinctions has taken a more symbolic form. In this study, I try to problematize the conditions of and reasons for these symbolic boundaries and social distinctions. Although these distinctions could be constructed by various means, in this study I have limited myself to consideration of three means: leisure, consumption, and space.

Leisure has a very different meaning today from the one it had in the early capitalist period; however, it does still possess some of its past usages. The primary difference regarding how leisure is conceived of today as compared to how it was thought of in the past is that it is no longer defined simply as the opposite of work. Nevertheless, Veblen's definition of leisure in *Leisure Class Theory* remains valid as a means of social distinction still today. While Veblen limits his use of the term 'conspicuous leisure' to the aristocratic class, however, in the modern period leisure can be defined more broadly as the symbol of lifestyle.

In addition to leisure, consumption, too, also functions as a means to strenghten symbolic boundaries in today's world. The lifestyle packages that surround us today, however, do not offer much variety when it comes to the choices presented us. The available choices direct us to consume in order not to fall short of the level of the particular lifestyle to which we belong so that we do not get left behind. The particular package we choose directs us

to the community to which we desire to belong. Thus we can establish a distinction between our own and other communities and lifestyles. As Jenkins points out, these boundaries mark both the inside and the outside of a community, which is also why social boundaries play such an important role in the creation of inequality and the exercise of power. (Lamont, 2002)

Another means used to mark social distinction and symbolic boundaries is place. According to Giddens and Jenkins, we have lost our social maps, and so we are looking for new maps to our social landscapes. In this inauspicious, unreliable environment, as Massey states, 'in the middle of all this flux, one desperately needs a bit of peace and quite and "place" is posed as a source of stability and an unproblematic identity'. (Massey, 1994)

In order to investigate the validity of place as a means of delineating social distinction, I conducted some fieldwork in two different places in Istanbul: Laila and Kaktüs. In this section of my work, I reveal the data I have gathered during this fieldwork. Keeping within the framework of this study, I used these case studies to investigate how social distinction and symbolic boundaries are constituted through leisure, consumption, and space.

5.1 LAİLA

The general change in Turkey's cultural climate that occurred beginning in the 1980's has had an obvious impact upon the everyday life of individuals. After the liberal market economy of the 1980's and the years of Özal's prime ministry, there emerged a new generation which has espoused an ideological standpoint that is at odds with that adopted by the generation

of 1968. This new generation, referred to in the previous chapter as the ‘new elites’, felt the necessity for new places of entertainment and locales at which they could dine and drink as a component of their lifestyle. As described in the first chapter, new entertainment places are required in order to address the lifestyle patterns of the new elites. The entrepreneurs who realized this requirement of this new generation established a variety of restaurants, bars, and places of entertainment, using places that they themselves had experienced abroad as their source of inspiration. Thus have these people designed the first nuclei of this new entertainment life in Istanbul. Laila is a club that came onto the scene as a primary symbol of this new entertainment in Istanbul in the late 1990’s.

According to the interview I conducted with Şefik Öztek, the manager of Laila, in 1999, with the help of a professional team Laila, previously known as the night club Pasha, was renovated in 28 days and re-opened with its new name. At the time of its grand opening, when compared to the number of these kinds of entertainment places existing today, Laila was one of few places of its kind. Ostentatious opening ceremonies happen regularly at Laila to make sure that all potential customers are aware of the place. The channel of information about events happening at Laila changes from person to person, depending upon whether you have the means to be/are a customer or do not have the means/are not. Also, the channel that provides the information also depends upon this same differentiation. People who don’t/can’t go to Laila keep up with what’s happening at the club via television programs. For these people, this kind of place is directly associated

with the famous people who consume it; that is, with the popular television, movie, and theater artists, models, football players, and famous businessmen who appear at the entrance of Laila and similar places of entertainment. With their expensive cars, luxurious lifestyles, and objects of conspicuous consumption, these people naturally attract attention in public. Not only customers, but the media as well exert a temendous amount of effort to keep up with the happenings at the nightclub doors in the summer, with members of the press working hard to get the latest scoop for their various tabloid news stories.

Such attention to these people's showy lives from the outside sometimes causes social anger against them. Such anger has resulted in protest actions directed at Laila, for example. The lifestyle symbolised by Laila's customers, with their luxurious consumption patterns and high income levels, has drawn harsh criticism from the rest of society. This has led to the staging of certain protest actions at the entrance to Laila. Such protests present Laila, together with the lifestyle that it represents, as the symbolic reason behind the social explosion. As Keyder and Öncü state, the gap between Istanbul and the rest of the country has grown wider due to the increasing gap in accumulation potential. Moreover, this gap is also valid between different social groups that live in Istanbul, hence these kinds of reactions, which are the symbols of the discord between them. Because of such reactions, some of Laila's customers became frightened of the cameras constantly present at the club entrance and therefore began visiting Laila less frequently.

The customers who regularly go to Laila and similar entertainment complexes are informed about them in a different way than the others who only see such places from the outside. If you are on the guest list of a night club like Laila, you have a better chance of getting on the lists of other night clubs, and once you are on a club's guest list, you get a free entrance card to the club, which is valid throughout every summer season

I interviewed seven people in order to gain insight into their impressions and interpretation of Laila. While five of them were --for a period of time at least-- regular customers of Laila, the other two are from the management level. I myself have been to Laila twice, both visits being undertaken for the purpose of observation for this research. Besides observing, I also interviewed regular and irregular customers of Laila, as their points of view must be included in order for this to be a balanced study. Therefore, in addition to my own observations, I also give voice to the customers themselves as well.

By way of this presentation of my observations, I take you on a vicarious visit to Laila on a July night. Laila makes its first impression with its stupendous location on the Bosphorus in Kuruçeşme. Informants --both regular and irregular customers-- share the same opinion about the unique location of Laila. According to them, Laila is located in one of the most beautiful places in Istanbul and, in fact, one of the most beautiful in the world. From its Kuruçeşme location, Laila offers a magnificent view of the awe-inspiring Bosphorus Bridge.

As noted in the previous chapter, Güvenç and Aksoy have pointed out that many of the new elites who left the center of the city to reside on the outskirts still come to the city center for entertainment and to enjoy the unique beauty of the city. We know that, with the rare exception of cities like Istanbul that have unique geographical conditions, the process of leaving city centers for new residences, new shopping malls, and new entertainment complexes is widespread. However, İstanbul's city center, in large part due to the geographical beauty embellished by the Bosphorous Strait that runs through it, continues attracting people, thereby breaking with the mold of upper class flight into the self-contained outskirts. For those whom we refer to as new elites, Laila is an ideal place to spend the weekdays due to its crowd and its location, which can be arrived at quickly since houses of its clientele tend to be located in the vicinity. As can be perceived from Güvenç's map, the coastal neighborhoods along the Bosphorus tend to be populated by those with high-income status.

En route from Ortaköy to Bebek, you encounter Laila's door along the seashore. It is not an ordinary restaurant or bar door. There are bulky, costumed bodyguards at the door who decide who can/cannot enter into the place. They base their decisions upon your appearance. According to Şefik Öztek :

> We do not let people that seems to provoke a quarrel in the place. This is our only criterion while eliminating people at the door. Addition to this, of course everyone should take pains to their appearances. As we all know, at past our grandfathers and grandmothers had been wearing fashionable and clean clothes before going to Pera, Beyoğlu. Today, unfortunately people do not take care these kinds of thing. Why? I think we

> should….We do not order anyone to wear necktie, but we insist them to be stylish….

After my interview with Şefik Öztek, I did not experience any problem at the door when asking to enter the place, but I should confess that in order to meet the standards Şefik Öztek described, I wore high-heeled shoes, which is something very out of character for me. The tension at the door is, however, easy to overlook if you are already a VIP customer.

In order not to keep substandard crowds out of their place and thereby provide their elite customers with the comfort they expect, administrators instruct the varying number of door personnel, generally referred to as 'kapı' (door), stationed at the entrance to select customers. After passing the 'kapı' inspection, you are confronted with security control. Both the 'kapı' as well as security teams have uniforms. After being held subject to a body search, if it is on the weekend you pay an entrance fee[1], or if you are a VIP card owner, you don't pay at all.

All of the informants considered the selection that takes place at the door to be inadequate. Some of them consider the procedure to be so inadequate as to be simply irrelevant. Because their main concern is sharing the place with people who share the same lifestyle and are members of the same social group as themselves, they tend to find that the door personnel possess inadequate qualifications when it comes to deciding, based upon appearance, who to let into the club and who to keep out. As I conducted my research, the importance of the 'kapı' became obvious, and so I made a point

to ask various questions about the elimination process that takes place there. On the one hand, informants who belong to upper classes are not aware of the strict elimination process happening at the door, while on the other informants who do not belong to the upper classes are reluctant to support it. In reality, I believe that what is happening is in actuality something even more exclusive than just 'door' elimination, because feeling uncomfortable in a place provides a kind of auto control that allows such places to preserve their exclusivity at the highest level. When faced with the question of how would they feel if they were refused entry into Laila, upper class clientele replied: 'I would feel like an idiot'.

After we pass through the door and security control, we begin to walk down a corridor ramp leading down to the coast. Along the way we see the latest model of a luxury car on display. When we reach the end of the slope, we see before us several restaurants and bars, a dance floor, and the Bosphourus. Obviously, Laila is not merely a night club. Six high class restaurants and bars of Istanbul are located within Laila for the 2002 summer season. In the center of the these restaurants and bars is a large floor. These restaurants and bars, which pay high rent for their spots in Laila, are chosen from Istanbul's favorite entertainment places of the previous winter season. Restaurants in Laila offer various dishes from different world cuisines, allowing customers who visit Laila to choose from among various alternatives in the same place. You can get a main course for approximately 14-18 million liras[2], while a beer is 8 million Turkish liras in the bars. Besides the various

[1] The entrance fee in the 2002 summer season was 20 million Turkish liras.
[2] These prices are valid for the 2002 summer season in one of the restaurants in Laila.

world cuisines, there are small stands selling local foods (Afyon sausage, Knorr soup, etc.) as well. According to certain informants, because dining in Laila is such an expensive activity, some people come to Laila just to dance and drink.

We enter Laila at around 8 pm. As the sun set, candles and keresone lamps are being lit all around. Mostly people sip their drinks or chat at the bar while they wait for their dinner companions. They do not gaze at one another for long, as most of them appear to be acquaintances from the same community anyway.

Decoration consists predominantly of linen in light colors. Although every restaurant and bar is decorated differently and has different service personnel, all of them share a common view and concept. A country atmosphere is dominant in the place. Almost every year Laila redecorates, presenting itself to customers with a new annual concept. According to Şefik Öztek, due to the coast laws, they are not allowed to make radical changes in decoration.

As the sun, sinking below the horizon, begins to disappear, Laila is lit up with candles, kerosene lamps, and mild spotlights. Beverage company advertisements thus appear as well, lit by spotlights all around the panels and especially around the movie screen. All the restaurants work more than one shift per night and their lighting consists chiefly of candles on the tables, which also has the effect of softening the atmosphere.

The music played during dinner hours (20:00-23:00) is foreign and easy listening. During the later hours, the volume is turned up and the

repertoire becomes fast disco songs. Parallel to this change, spotlights begin lighting up the dance floor. Although music is not a high priority for those customers who come to Laila for the purpose of dining, for the other customers who come to Laila after dinner for dancing and drinking, music is an important criterion of their being there. With loud music, light shows, and creative decorations, these places host customers on both weekdays and weekends for approximately 100 days during the summer.

In Laila, each restaurant and bar has its own personel. Each of the workers, except for security personel, works for a specific restaurant or bar. According to my observations, the style and appearance of the personel marks them as representatives of particular bars of restaurants. The various personel adopt a particular style not only in terms of appearance, but in terms of serving as well. Their manner and dress also symbolize the customers' class habits and styles. While Veblen observed that the number of servants is indicative of the leisure of the landlord, here we see that the style of the servants symbolizes the customer's sense of self and status.

During the later hours of the night, a new crowd --possessing a different energy— emerges. This crowd is not of the same profile as the earlier customers. The circulation of customers also increases at these hours. This occurs because, in accordance with the increasing number of similar types of places, going out at night has taken on new meaning, i.e., nightclub customers have begun to make a round of several parties in one night. Such a constant circulation differentiates this from the 'meyhane' culture, according to which regular customers tend to spend entire evenings

into the night in one single place. To facilitate such circulation of customers, these new entertainment places like Laila with their big discos and choice restaurants have especially long hours, opening generally towards the evening and closing in the early morning hours.

I can classify the informants that I interviewed as follows: 1. Customers who came to Laila for a while, but now prefer other places; 2. Customers who regularly come to Laila. According to my informants, their main reason for visiting Laila has nothing to do with its decoration, music, and food. Instead, all of my informants indicated that their main reason for coming to Laila was to meet up with the familiar faces and friends that they knew would be there. Informants who no longer prefer going to Laila claim that their main reason for regularly going to Laila in the past was, again, to be amongst familiar people. During the previous season, however, due to the high proportion of customers who did not meet what was perceived to be Laila's standard customer profile, their visits to Laila became more infrequent. Regular customers say that they prefer Laila largely because their close circle of friends also have a habit of going there. All of the informants draw a profile of an 'other' about which they complain. While at first the informants refrained from describing the 'other,' that is, those whom they don't regard as suitable for Laila, they later went on to describe the 'other' people who 'lack self-confidence'. 'Although they do not really belong to the place, they behave as if they do…. it is obvious from their manners and decorum...' This is very much in keeping with Veblen's observation that manners and habits are useful evidence of gentility, because good breeding

requires time, application, and expense. (Veblen, 1964:243) Thus can the owners of wealth understand who has less capital by their different manners and decorum. Informants who no longer prefer to go to Laila describe the ‘other’ customers of Laila as 'having money, but spending it only to show it off.... trying to behave as if they belong to the place... going out only to make a show themselves’. Women informants define the ‘other’ always according to other women and especially their appearance. From their point of view, such women’s overly revealing clothing is utterly unbearable. Moreover, one of the women informants tells me that she finds these other women to be so disgusting that she cannot bear to face them even in the WC’s. Indeed, after an interview, one of the women informants confesses that she views these other women as prostitutes. Another description of the ‘other’ is, 'Although they do not really have the financial means to be in Laila, they go anyway in order to be in the same atmosphere with the people who represent the class to which they aspire to belong. In order to be able to go to Laila on the weekends, they don't spend any money during the weekdays.’ These people who are described as overly enthusiastic to be sharing the same atmosphere with people from the upper class are labelled ‘followers’ by one informant. This term reminds us of Simmel’s argument regarding fashion. Simmel points out that the fashion of the upper stratum of society is never identical to those of the lower. Just as soon as the lower classes begin to imitate the upper classes’ style, the upper classes reject this style and adopt a new one, which in its turn differentiates them from the masses; and thus the game goes on. (Simmel, 1971:299) We can apply this observation to the situation at hand, in

which those people called ‘followers’ act as the imitator consumers of the upper classes’ fashionable places.

This dissatisfied group prefers to visit Laila on the weekdays at early hours so as not to be confronted with the ‘other’ crowd. Besides, there is an evident fear on their part that the ‘other’ crowd could potentially provoke a quarrel in Laila. The possibility of thus getting caught in a crush is the greatest fear of all the informants. This group of customers possesses the same properties that I encountered at the early hours of the night. Their behavior indicates that they are comfortable, a relaxedness that stems from their feeling that they are members of the community in question.

For some informants, the main reason to be at Laila is the opportunity to be next to some of the most beautiful girls in Istanbul. According to my observations in Laila, late into the night, especially after 11pm, a certain crowd of women and men gazing lasciviously at each other takes over the dance floor. Both the statements of my informants as well as my own observations indicate that sexual expectations run high amongst customers as the night wears on. During the late hours of the night, gazing between customers increases, while parallel to this mimics and gestures are exaggerated. Some of the informants who no longer frequent Laila complain about such highly sexualized flirtation.

The customers who complain about the atmosphere described above and the dissimilar types of people present there prefer places where they can be with those they consider to be more similar to themselves. These places are relatively new in comparison to Laila and similar clubs and their

uniqueness lies in that they are far less well known than the aforementioned. Because of their lesser fame, they are able to detain the ‘other’ crowd just long enough to ensure the satisfaction of those who belong to that upper class group, like the informants mentioned above. Every summer such places renew themselves, opening up at new locations, almost always run by the same entrepreneurs and targeting the same group of customers. By doing so, they satisfy the customers’ constant urge for something new. As mentioned above, Simmel’s ideas regarding fashion help us to easily comprehend the mechanisms at work in this situation. As soon as the lower class begins imitating the fashion of the upper class, the upper class rejects this fashion and goes one to find a new one. In this context, we can consider places as objects of fashion and thus explain the need for a new place as the necessity for the upper social groups to move on to a new fashion before the lower classes assume it for themselves. Moreover, informants state that lately they generally prefer small, boutique-like places where they spend time with their acquaintances and friends and where the management, who also tends to be from the same close circle, might give them a warm welcome. Thus can the community needs, including that for a warm and welcoming atmosphere, be satisfied to a certain degree. This is also consistent with my informants’ claim that they don't get tired of one other: ‘To be in public is a tiresome matter. That’s why I prefer to be away from crowds. In crowds, you might have to face people that you don’t want to see’.

According to the informants, knowing the management is another attractive factor when it comes to choosing where to go out. Knowing the

management at one place can also help one decide where to go next because they can just follow the same management to the next place that they open. Moreover, in this way customers don't lose track of their acquaintances because the management carries a huge customer mass along with them whenever they open a new locale, thereby keeping community ties tight. The customers whom I interviewed were all informed about these matters. They know who the owners and managers are, when and why places close. They have detailed knowledge about the places that they frequent. All of the informants emphasize the comfort they feel when they are acquainted with the people surrounding them at their locale of choice.

According to one of the informants who does not belong to such a circle in Laila, ‘Elites go to places where they don’t have to face their fans and followers.’ The same informant also says, ‘These people always want to see the same people all the time.’

Do we witness conspicuous consumption in the Veblenian sense within this tight circle of elites? İnformants answered this question with a definite affirmative. According to them, how to tie a necktie, name brands of handbags and shoes, and where to have one’s hair done are just a few examples of such conspicuous consumption. Another example is a request for extra security; having unnecessary, or at the very least more than the necessary number of, security guards around one’s table is another form of conspicuous consumption encountered at Laila.

In my research, I usually designed my questions so as to discover why my informants frequent Laila or not. In so doing, my ultimate goal was to find out exactly what it is that these people intend to consume in such places. What I found was that all of the Laila informants had very definite reasons for choosing the places that they do. Their reasons are closely related with the symbolic reflections of consumption. However, they also frequently talked about the existence of the 'other' in the place as well, pointing to the presence of the 'other' as their main reason for visiting the club or not.

Although certain people are eliminated at the door, the regular customers are still bothered by certain people in the place. As I mentioned above, their main problem is the presence of the 'other' people.

5.2 KAKTÜS

Another type of gathering place is frequented by leftist, intellectual people. Because of the political pressure on the higher echelons of the intellectual community in the 1980's, the members of this community were forced to change their meeting habits. During that period, while there was an abundance of cheap nightclubs, 'meyhane's, and beerhouses frequented by men as well as high priced cafes, there were not any examples of a café in the European style and sense. Until Kaktüs was opened in 1993 in Beyoğlu, the first example of the café-bar concept on İstiklal Avenue. Three friends; Gülsüm (machine engineer), Nakiye (advertisement sector) and Ömer (journalist) prepared Kaktüs for its grand opening to the public. Rather than a place that provides commercial benefits, they planned to design a place in which they and their larger circle of friends could feel comfortable. In addition

Ömer, one of the owners, claims that his intention was to design it as a public space in which members of different stratums of society could come together. The majority of the customers who frequent Kaktüs regularly, however, still belong to the close circles of friends of the owners. Although Kaktüs has a more heterogonous customer profile today than it did in its first days, the professions of customers are now, as they were then, mostly from the media, literature, art, advertising, and cinema world.

In the late 80's-early 90's, beerhouses were widespread and many men were regular customers of beerhouses on İstiklal Avenue. When one of the beerhouses named Express was closed down, partners rented the space and prepared what would become Kaktüs according to a very different concept and style. One of its owners, Nakiye, had lived in Paris and the architects and internal decorators of Kaktüs had work experience in Europe and so, having been influenced by their experiences abroad, they designed the cafe in a French style. Since its opening, Kaktüs' decoration has not changed. Green tones are dominant. Upon entering, directly to the left is a small bar with stools. To the right are wooden tables and wooden chairs, but more conspicuous than these is an L-shaped leather divan. There are a total of 14 tables, each of which can be shared by two people. It is a small place in which various numbers of people like to gather and share this particular atmosphere. Because customers sit so close to one another, they can easily hear ongoing dialogues at the tables next to them. When you first enter through the door, you are faced with mirror-covered wall. The mirror provides an illusion of width, as well as providing greater opportunities for gazing.

When they first rented this space, the owners' intention, also in keeping with the French concept they had adopted, was to open a café on the boulevard and place tables for customers to sit outside when the weather was pleasant. Kaktüs's location mid-way between the French Consulate and Galatasaray High School on the Taksim end of Istiklal is also another characteristic of the place that is an important factor in completing its image.

At Kaktüs, during the day music is chosen mostly according to the staff's own taste, while at night the regular customers' preferences determine what is to be played. All of the informants that I interviewed stated that they were pleased with Kaktüs' music style. It should be added that in Kaktüs, Turkish music is not played.

It is not unusual for certain customers to spend a whole day at Kaktüs. There are some regular customers ("müdavim") who arrive at Kaktüs early in the morning, spend the whole day there reading, writing, and chatting, returning home only late in the evening. Although I have not spent an entire day in Kaktüs myself, I have been there many times at various hours of the day to make observations and take notes. At the early hours of the morning, there are usually regular customers who come to drink Kaktüs' famous coffee and read their newspapers. Kaktüs is the first café in Istanbul to have a daily supply of newspapers and magazines for its customers to read. This characteristic is indicative of the owners' mentality, in that they aimed to make Kaktüs a place not just to eat and drink, but also to read and chat. At the time that Kaktüs first opened, these were the symbols of a different lifestyle on Istiklal and in Istanbul. The customers' tendency to spend an

extensive amount of time, often in one stretch, at the place also indicates that they have plenty of leisure time. At noon, the cafe fills up with a variety of people, many of whom are not regular customers. At this point, the best observers of the customer profiles that are dominant at different times of the day is Kaktüs' personnel.

The personnel of Kaktüs has remained the same since its very first day. Vahit, who has been a member of the Kaktüs staff since its inception, states that in fact he spends his vacations and off days with his friends from Kaktüs and adds: 'You see, this is my world.' In addition, he points out that in this professional community, working at Kaktüs is a privilege both in terms of the financial rewards it provides as well as the particular kind of relations it allows one to foster with customers. Because the staff members do not see themselves as barmen or waiters, they develop a different kind relationship with the customers. This is considered a privilege for both the customer and the personnel here. According to my informants, some of the customers come here for the express purpose of chattting with the personnel. If they cannot find anyone else to talk with, they chat with the waiters. Kaktüs is the kind of a place in which you can spend many long hours. As mentioned above, some regular customers come here early in the morning and stay until the evening hours. Prices at Kaktüs are high in comparison with the other café-bars of İstiklal. One beer, for example, is 3,5 million liras[3]. However, the narrowness of the place and the long hours spent here by individual

[3] These prices were valid for the 2002 summer season.

customers might legitimize these prices. Besides, these prices are obviously aimed at a customer profile that can afford to pay them.

I interviewed seven people about Kaktüs, five of them customers, one of them personnel, and the other one of the owners. Some of the customers are are regulars, while others prefer not to define themselves as such, although they do come to Kaktüs frequently.

Kaktüs is a meeting point for many people during the evening hours. In the café, almost everyone knows each other, as they are all tend to be members of one big circle. In the later hours, the majority of customers are regulars. Customers defined as regulars ("müdavim") come to Kaktüs everyday and spend a long time (8-9 hours) there, their working conditions being particularly conducive to this. As mentioned above, they tend to come from professions that have flexible working hours, like journalists, people working in the advertising sector, moviemakers, authors, artists, etc. In other words, to use Bourdieu's terminology, they possess an abundance of cultural capital. Most of these regulars are middle aged or older and have frequented Kaktüs since its first days. Informants state that they feel more comfortable in Kaktüs than they have ever felt anywhere else. One reason for this comfort is their acquaintance with other customers. Most of them have been seeing one another for a long time, and most also happen to have similar lifestyles. The regulars also feel comfortable coming to Kaktüs alone because in a way they know that they can find someone to talk with. And if they cannot find anyone else, they can always chat with the waiters. (The regulars' sense of comfort stems from the existence of long-term acquaintances. It is because of this

that the member of this community feel no anxiety or foreignness here. This feeling of comfort essentially helps customers to avoid feeling lonely. Because they are full of acquaintances, these types of places offer a cure to the increasing loneliness of the modern individual living in a metropolis. Kaktüs and similar places catering to regular customers are useful, albeit to a very slight degree, in this struggle with loneliness.) In addition to the constant presence of acquaintances, customers also appear to be drawn to Kaktüs by its physical properties, with which they form a kind of emotional bond. . According to one of the owners, Kaktüs' success in terms of maintaining a flow of customers that includes many regulars is in large part due to sound decisions made when the place was first established and sticking to those decisions.Customer preference dictates that the only possible change in decoration might be whitewashing the walls.

Another reason why the customers experience such comfort here is their common politic visions, as nearly everyone shares basically the same values and perceptions. Hence many of the cafe's customers, many of whom were part of the original Kaktüs circle, supported the same political activities in the past. However, one informant, who does not define herself as a regular, states that 'they are leftist intellectuals who do not suffer from a lack of money; that is their dilemma.'

When asked to express their feelings about Kaktüs, most compared it to their homes:

> I know longer view Kaktüs as a coffeehouse. This is true for many of my friends and acquaintances as well. For us, it's become a part of home.
>
> It's become like my home living room.

They use such expressions both when describing why they have formed such an intimate relationship with this particular place and when explaining why they spend so much time there. For them, Kaktüs is a part of their lifecycle, a kind of life habit.

According to the informants, on the one hand Kaktüs stands as an example of the English pub tradition and its culture, while on the other hand it seems to be a continuation of the tradition of “kahvehane” (a kind of coffeehouse) which our fathers and brothers used to frequent in their own neighborhoods.

> It is a close circle of people….it resembles to a neighborhood café…at past like our fathers, uncles habit of going cafes in the neighborhood. Today this habit is too far away from our daily lives, but in past people was going every night to those cafes to play backgammon, to see their friends and to drink coffee. These cafes were the places of the people from that neighborhood. Kaktüs reminds me these neighborhood cafes.

A significant difference between Kaktüs and kahvehane’s is the integration of the single woman into public space. Parallel with the 1980s feminist movement, women began to travel alone and go to cafes and other public areas. The comfort of being alone in a café without the unpleasant pressure of male gazes or manners is one of the main points that women informants emphasize when talking about Kaktüs.

However, as one of the informants declared, ‘relations in Kaktüs sometimes resemble relations in a closed community’; therefore, people coming from outside this circle might be treated as the ‘other’ in this community. So, what kind of people consume Kaktüs except for the regulars?

According to one informant, there is a group that follows the müdavims. These followers, however, are temporary customers, so to observe them or become acquainted with them is not easy. During the weekends as well there appears to be a totally different customer profile. These are the people who come to İstiklal to shop or stroll down the avenue with their lovers. At these times, it is the regulars who feel like the 'other's of the place.

Customers who do not define themselves as regulars express that they feel comfortable at Kaktüs. Although they are not regulars, they claim that the manners of the regulars do not make them feel in any way excluded. Those people who don't define themselves as regulars, they come from similar educations and profession groups as müdavims. Some of these informants claim that Kaktüs is not such kind of a place that every type of people can come in without any hesitation. At this point they stress that a kind of auto control mechanism is put into use for customers. Therefore according to the informant it is very possible for individuals to feel that they do not belong to Kaktüs. As one of the müdavims declared for the relations in Kaktüs: "It is a kind of closed community. If you are not in the circle, such kind of a relation causes the feeling of foreignness." On the other hand physical conditions of the place is an increasing factor of exclusivity. In certain nights, among the growing conversations, raising laughs and jokes from table to table, person could feel him/herself as a foreigner fallen among a family. However this family picture could provide a sharp distinction also:

> And also insolent people come to Kaktüs and they can ridicule with others who do not belong to their circle of friends. I have witnessed such kind of a situation a few times. Indeed the girl that they laughed at deserved this....It

> happenned two monthes ago. There was a crowdy table. A girl came to Kaktüs with an exaggerated dress with full of jewellery. If you see such kind of a girl at the street , you can look twice. I mean she is such kind of a girl. And the people sitting at the crowdy table ridiculed with her laudly. However the girl didn't leave. I appreciated her. Tables are so close to each other that it is impossible not to hear all those ridicule and mockery.

After its establishment, important changes have occurred in Kaktüs. Above all, it couldn't preserve its relative homogenous structure. Due to its existence as a commercial organization at the final analysis is an obstruction for preserving the place as a local club of a close circle of people with its community relations. Besides the significant change that have affected Beyoğlu also influenced Kaktüs's development.

The interviews, which I carried out in Kaktüs, were more difficult than I did for Laila. Its reason grounds from their intellectual background. Due to they knew what I prepare for a master thesis for sociology, they refused to interview with me. The most clear explanation for this situation is the argument of a müdavim refusing my proposal: "I can't let my Kaktüs to be a sociological research object."

On the other hand Kaktüs is a unique example of consuming places related with leisure. Before all, Kaktüs is not renewing itself according to newness, it has regular customers and also consumption is not as clear as Laila. However Kaktüs is not different from any consuming place. Its most important property is to organize consumption in a refined way. While müdavims and the other customers consume this place, they feel and behave as if they are in their home, but in reality they consume Kaktüs. This process indicates the invisibility of consumption and perfection of capitalism.

In both of the places as we can notice there is the evident signs of symbolic boundaries. Rather this distinction and boundaries have prepared and constructed not only for the different stratums of the society according to their income, it is also set up for the very close social groups to them. We can perceive that increasingly the boundary of the groups are becoming frequent. However as Massey mentioned above, it is not possible to set one's identity through a place. Above all places are not the main components of identity construction, besides today with the decreased number of customer, places cannot be satisfied and exist economically. Although Laila and Kaktüs prefer to adress and service for a certain customer profil, they cannot succeed this.

Consequently the relation that the people construct with the places is first of all targeted the community that consume the same place. At this point neither we can discuss only about the community connection, nor merely identity. All of these concepts intersect at the point of possession of lifestyle and belonging feeling through place consumption. On the one hand consumption is provided through the distinction that is set up between self and other. The owner or the managers of these places design these distinctions through symbolic boundaries, therefore social distinction is doubled. Thus small, safe and similar communities have begun to expand in society.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have attempted to investigate the conditions that cause social segregation and the processes that strengthen symbolic boundaries. In order to fully grasp the conditions of this process, it is not sufficient to simply study it as it is carried out on a daily basis. Therefore, I first presented a general overview of the matter and evaluated it in the context of globalization.

At this point, it is clear that the globalization discourse imagines a world without boundaries. According to optimistic theoreticians, capital does not respect any boundary in a globalized world in the economic context. This optimistic approach, however, causes an illusion, one which claims that as the ultimate result of globalization, fair distribution of capital will happen on a worldwide scale. While it is true that capital has a flowing form, it continues flowing along the same routes, not worldwide. One of the main indications of this process is the rise of global cities as financial centers and the inheritors of the previous role of nation states.

On the other hand, when we take into consideration the effects globalization has had upon the social and human aspects of life in particular, what we find is the simultaneous creation of increasing poverty and increasing wealth within and between societies, otherwise known as the

class polarization crisis. (Sklair 2002) Increasing class polarization, enlarging gaps between the poor and the wealthy social stratums, have at the same time led to an increase in social distinction.

What kinds of social dynamics and means are valid for the construction of social distinction and symbolic boundaries? Although a variety of means are at work in this process, in this study I have taken up only three of them: leisure, consumption, and place.

The environment in which all of these concepts exist and reflect upon the everyday life of the modern individual is city life. Thus, before examining the concepts, I discussed the effects of globalization on cities. I investigated the city as a consumption area in which increasing social segregation emerges as a layered structure.

I decided to focus upon Istanbul as a prime example of a metropolitan area in which the aforementioned theories take concrete form. However, in order to comprehend the transformation of Istanbul over the last decades, it was necessary to first briefly review the political, economic, and cultural changes that Turkey experienced after 1980. Therefore, I offered an overview of the political games that have been played over Istanbul. This review of the developments that occurred during the 1980's was intended to function as a social map for us and prepare us for the further consideration of the changes that have occurred in the entertainment life of Istanbul.

In the second chapter, I focused upon the main concepts upon whcih my thesis is based: social distinction and symbolic boundaries. Neither social distinction nor symbolic boundaries can be evaluated independent from the

discussions of community relations and identity constructions. Therefore, in this chapter I also discussed the significant role of community relations and identity construction in the making of distinction. Thus were we able to move on to discuss the conditions that lay the groundwork upon which social distinction and symbolic boundaries are established as well as what kind of dynamics force people to set themselves apart from what they consider the 'other'. As mentioned earlier, according to Giddens, modernity has severed community connections, leaving the modern individual to feel lonely and completely disconnected. In addition, the last decades have witnessed the increasing influence of globalization, which has resulted in rapid changes, which is why, as Jenkins claims, our social maps no longer fit our social landscapes. (Jenkins, 1996:9) On the one hand, individuals must be able to differentiate themselves from others by drawing on criteria of community and a sense of shared belonging within their subgroup. On the other hand, this internal identification process must be recognized by outsiders for an objectified collective identity to emerge. (Lamont, 2002)

Today, leisure and consumption are closely linked to one another because leisure has become an industry that provides consumer goods and then provokes people to consume them. Consumption also functions as a means to strengthen symbolic boundaries in the modern world. The lifestyle packages that surround us do not present varied choices, but rather direct us to consume in order not to fall short of the level of the particular lifestyle we aspire to and be left behind. Every package we choose directs us to the community to which we desire to belong. Thus do we make ourselves distinct

from other communities and lifestyles. As Jenkins points out, these boundaries allow us to be both inside and outside of a community. Social boundaries play an important role in the creation of inequality and the exercise of power. (Lamont, 2002)

In the last chapter, I lay out the data gathered during my fieldwork. My intention in this chapter was to test the validity of the concepts that I had discussed in the theoretical chapters.

Although I investigated the conditions that force people to set up social distinctions and symbolic boundaries in a globalized world, I devoted most of this thesis to the societal conditions of this process. The psychological and anthropological aspects of it, however, could very well lend more insight into the matter. Nevertheless, albeit confined within the limits of a master thesis on sociology, I believe that this study could be a small step towards comprehending the social distinctions that exist in our own geography.

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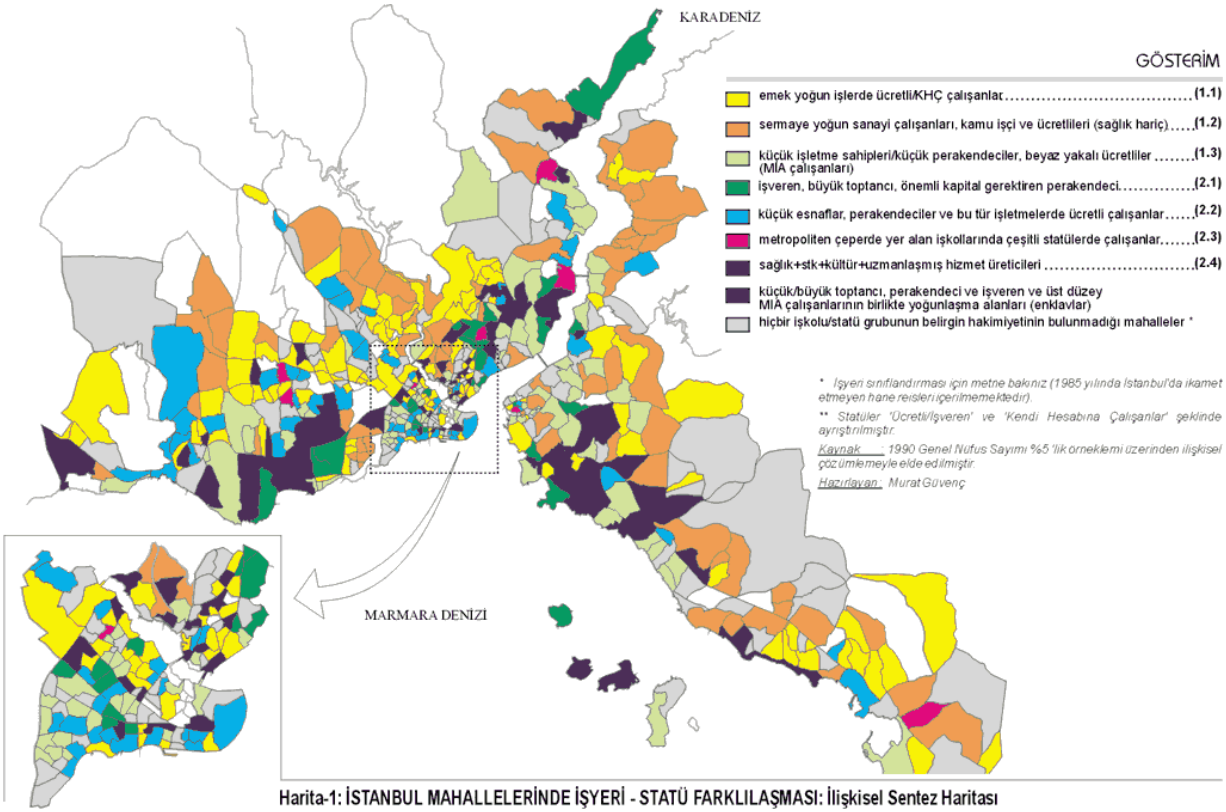
APPENDIX A

MAP 1: Status-Work Place Differentiation in Neighborhoods of Istanbul



Harita-1: İSTANBUL MAHALLELERİNDE İŞYERİ - STATÜ FARKLILAŞMASI: İlişkisel Sentez Haritası