

URBAN MIDDLE CLASS, LIFESTYLE AND TASTE IN KEÇİÖREN AND
ÇANKAYA, ANKARA: DISTINCTION THROUGH HOME FURNITURE,
FURNISHING AND DECORATION

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ABSTRACT

URBAN MIDDLE CLASS, LIFESTYLE AND TASTE IN KEÇİÖREN AND ÇANKAYA, ANKARA: DISTINCTION THROUGH HOME FURNITURE, FURNISHING AND DECORATION

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This dissertation aims to scrutinize the fractions of the Turkish middle class, based on Bourdieu's theory of social, cultural, economic capitals and habitus. Distinction among the fractions was identified through lifestyles and tastes via home furnishing and decoration.

A quantitative field research was conducted in two towns of Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, namely Keçiören and Çankaya, and the data was collected by applying a detailed questionnaire on a sample that is not representative. The data was analysed with SPSS. The outcomes of factor and multiple correspondence analyses were formulated as four fractions of the Turkish middle class: Lower/bitter, Middle/resentful, Upper/contemptuous, and Well-off/happy middle class. The structural and material conditions, social-psychological utterances of the respondents and interviewees, survey results, field notes and observations as well as insights collected from furniture/decoration magazines provided the basis for defining and naming these subcategories. This categorization is an important step for further studies of lifestyles and tastes of the fractions. Lifestyles were defined as everyday habits/routines/activities, and tastes as selections/arrangements of furniture/accessories of everyday life objects. The finding of the dissertation is that the middle class(es) in Ankara is stratified within itself and these fractions have different lifestyles and tastes of their own: The well-off/happy fraction has an 'outgoing'

lifestyle, and ‘legitimate/highbrow taste’; the upper/contemptuous fraction has a ‘shopping mall-centred’ lifestyle, and ‘middlebrow taste’; the middle/resentful fraction has an ‘emulation-centred’ lifestyle and ‘popular taste’; finally, the lower/bitter fraction has a ‘stuck to home, family and neighbors’ lifestyle and ‘taste of necessity’.

Keywords: Fractions of Turkish Middle Class, Distinction through Home Furnishing, Habitus-Lifestyles and Tastes, Ankara, Multiple Correspondence Analysis

ÖZ

ANKARA KEÇİÖREN VE ÇANKAYA'DA KENT ORTA SINIFI, YAŞAM TARZI VE BEĞENİ: MOBİLYA, EV DÖŞEMESİ VE DEKORASYON ARACILIĞIYLA AYRIM

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Bu doktora tezi, çalışmada tanımlanan ve çalışmaya entegre edilen Bourdieu'nun sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik sermaye ve habitus kuramına dayanarak orta sınıf(lar)ın tabakalaşmasını araştırmaktadır. Orta sınıf tabakaları arasındaki *ayrım*, ev döşemesi ve dekorasyonu aracılığıyla yaşam tarzları ve beğeniler dolayısıyla tanımlanmıştır.

Detaylı bir anketin uygulandığı niceliksel bir alan araştırmasıyla, Türkiye'nin başkenti Ankara'nın Keçiören ve Çankaya ilçelerinde temsili olmayan bir örneklemden toplanan veri, SPSS kullanarak analiz edildi. Analiz sonuçlarına göre Türkiye'ye özgü dört orta sınıf tabakası oluşturuldu: Dar gelirli/Buruk, Orta/Tamahkar, Üst/Kibirli ve Müreffeh/Mutlu tabakalar. Oluşturulan tabakalar, görüşmecilerin yapısal ve maddi koşulları, analiz sonuçları, hem onların hem de görüşülen/konuşulan diğer kişilerin sosyo-psikolojik ifadeleri, ve taranan ev/dekorasyon dergilerinde satır aralarına nüfuz etmiş yaklaşımlar dikkate alınarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu kategorileştirme daha sonraki orta sınıf tabakalarının yaşam tarzları ve beğenilerini anlamak için yapılan analizlerin sonuçlarını yorumlamak için bir aşamadır. Yaşam tarzları, günlük yaşam alışkanlıkları, rutinleri ve eylemleri; beğeniler ise evdeki mobilya ve süs eşyalarının seçimi ve düzenlenmesi olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu tezde, örneklemiyle sınırlı kalarak, Ankara'da orta sınıf(lar)ın kendi içinde tabakalaştığı ve her tabakanın farklı yaşam tarzı ve beğeniye sahip olduğu bulgulanmıştır: Dar gelirli/buruk orta sınıf, 'ev, aile ve komşu arasında sıkışmış' yaşam

taşı ve 'ihtiyaçlarına bağlı' beğeni ile; Orta/tamahkar orta sınıf, 'imrenme-merkezli' yaşam tarzı ve 'popüler' beğeni ile; Üst/kibirli orta sınıf, 'alışveriş merkezi odaklı' yaşam tarzı ve 'ortalama fakat itirazcı' beğeni ile; ve Müreffeh/mutlu orta sınıf ise, 'dışa açık' yaşam tarzı ve 'münhasır/seçkin' beğeni ile diğer tabakalardan ayrılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Orta Sınıf Tabakaları, Ev Döşemesi aracılığıyla Ayrım, Habitus-Yaşam Tarzı ve Beğeni, Ankara, Çoklu Uyum Analizi

To My Parents
and
To My Friends

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|--|
| ABPRS | Adress Based Population Registration System |
| ADD | Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği (Atatürk Thought Association) |
| AKP | Adalet ve Kalkıma Partisi (Justice and Development Party) |
| CHP | Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People Party) |
| ÇYDD | Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (Association in Support of Contemporary Living) |
| GOP | Gazi Osman Paşa |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| ISCO | International Standard Classification of Occupations |
| SES | Socio-Economic Status |
| TEGV | Türk Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı (Turkish Education Volunteers Foundation) |
| TURSTAT | Turkish Statistical Institute |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In modern times, various activities and objects constitute the daily routines of individuals, groups and classes. The choices of the activities, objects and their arrangements have become the routines of everyday urban life. While the selected activities become habits and routines in daily life, most objects turn into objects of desire for everyday choices and preferences as well. These preferences of habitual activities and choices of objects are influenced by social, cultural and economic conditions of individuals. In this context, this study tries to shed light into social distinction among social classes, specifically the Turkish middle classes, taking into account the social, cultural and economic bases of this distinction in an approximately 70-year period, focusing mostly on the last 30 years.

The transformations in the social class structure have been subject to extensive debates in both the media and the academia in Turkey. It has been claimed that the changes are reflected in the everyday life, and materiality and non-materiality of different classes and their lifestyles and tastes. These arguments emphasize that middle classes, and especially the new middle class(es) differ from other classes with respect to their cultural and economic characteristics, lifestyles and taste.

In other words, the material culture, or materiality, is a socially constructed process in which people realize themselves and distinguish from others as a social and cultural entity by utilizing their social, economic and cultural heritage attained from their families, social environments and also their own ‘lived’ experiences. With respect to literature, materiality of the classes is constructed by their lifestyles and tastes, based mostly on the social and cultural characteristics of the classes, rather than the economic ones.

Furniture and associated accessories, one the categories of consumption items, and an indispensable part of urban life, constitute a part of the material culture through which individuals make themselves distinct. The changes in the social structure have implications on

the consumption of furniture, determined by the life-style and taste, while the changes in the processes of production triggered by technological change are also reflected in the production of furniture. In other words, the processes of production in furniture have been subject to the effects of the same fundamental changes with other processes of production. Considering furniture and decoration as a consumption good in daily life, it should not be surprising to it is also an object of desire, while being an industrially designed and mass-produced goods. Finally, the macro level changes in the production of furniture have had implications for the taste and preferences of individuals.

Changes in processes of production, as is known since Marx, lead to changes in the social division of work, the labour process and the class structure. In the Turkish case, we observe that the class structure of the Turkish society has been rapidly changing in line with the changes in industrial production. These have profound effects on the employment and occupational structures and compositions, with new occupations emerging, while others disappear. Specifically, handicraft and manufacture in furniture production have been replaced with mass- and computer-based production. At the same time, technological innovations and changes in furniture production have progressed hand in hand with new designs, technics, materials and styles. Another significant consequence of the changes and technological innovations in production processes has been the abundance of furniture in markets, leading to a drastic increase in affordability and accessibility to furniture and decorative items.

Abundance, accessibility and affordability for a wide range of goods have increased in different levels for social classes. Thus, either the goods possessed or the activities in everyday life were affected by the changes in the accessibility and affordability of goods and services for classes. While these processes have been discussed through consumption and consumption patterns, the usage, arrangements and combinations of possessed goods are combined with discussions on tastes and lifestyles. On the one hand, people choose specific commodities among a wide range of goods to establish, and present, their individuality and materiality. On the other hand, they are constantly exposed to new fashions and trends in the mass media, urging them to renew these objects and their previous organizations. In the last thirty or thirty-five years in Turkey, the debates on the changes in class structure, in both academia and the media, have usually centred around the transformation of middle class(es) and their habits, routines and activities. The emergence of a 'new middle class' has been a constant theme in these debates and discourses. It

has also been argued that the middle class has a distinctive lifestyle and taste that are fundamentally determined by social and cultural characteristics, and not the economic one.

In the light of these transformations, this study aims to classify the fractions of the Turkish middle class(es), in the city of Ankara, through social, cultural and economic characteristics, employing Bourdieu's theory and concepts of social, cultural, and economic capitals, and multiple correspondence analyses similarly applied to display the lifestyles and tastes of these separate fractions.

In this study, a multidimensional investigation will be organized to examine and describe the Turkish middle class and its inner stratification through lifestyles and tastes, as reflected through their everyday life and objects in the houses. In other words, home furniture, furnishing and decoration were chosen to clarify and understand the routines in daily life and daily objects in the Turkish society in Ankara. The Turkish middle class is defined, on the one hand, by utilizing middle class literature and the class debates in Turkey; while individuality and materiality are investigated, on the other hand, in the lifestyles and tastes of the Turkish middle class. Consequently, the responses to a questionnaire on the daily routines such as hobbies, sports, and habits of cultural consumption, visiting places, eating out, and home furnishing and decoration in living spaces, are analysed to understand and shed light into lifestyles and tastes, and aesthetics of the Turkish middle classes. This study focuses on the social, economic and cultural dimensions of the process, excluding the political one. The reason for the exclusion of the political dimension derives from a necessity to draw limits to the research.

In this framework, the fractions within the middle class has been classified primarily on the basis of quantitative data collected by means of a questionnaire applied to 'middle class' respondents in Çankaya and Keçiören districts of Ankara, selected according to two variables: occupations/employment, and their social, cultural and economic characteristics and capitals. Following the definition of the lifestyle and aesthetics of each middle class fraction, the assumption that this difference is related more to economic capital than social or cultural capital is analysed statistically.

At this point, the living spaces need to be defined in the context of the study. The living space is defined as a room used for the daily living routines of the households. The items selected for the

study are seating groups, display and storage units, including eating sets in some cases, on the condition that they were installed in a living space. Seating sets include sofas, canapés, couches, settees, (open or wing) armchairs and low coffee tables, and sometimes stools and ottomans. Display furniture consists of cabinets, sideboards, consoles, buffets, selves, chests and drawers. They are also used as storage units in many living spaces. Eating sets are primarily composed of dining tables, chairs, consoles, china cabinets, sideboards, and drawers used for storing eating utensils, cutleries and items used for serving the dishes.

Home furniture and accessories, such as sitting, eating, display and storage furniture, upholsteries and draperies, and decorative objects were used as fundamental instruments to scrutinize tastes in a given space of the houses of the Turkish middle class fractions. Rather than an analysis of the existence, or absence, of these items, the main subject of this dissertation is the ways of togetherness and arrangements of furniture and decorative objects in a living space. This dissertation argues that the togetherness of these objects is not realized through occasional choices, but rather, the owner selects and arranges these items through his/her lived experiences, habits, customs, or her/his social, economic and cultural characteristics, and also on the basis of the symbolic meanings and values of the selected objects. In this context, furnishing and decoration are defined as material culture, which is the material construction of life-styles and tastes of the individuals/households.

This dissertation is an endeavour to dissect the fractions of the Turkish middle class by applying Bourdieu's theory about class position through social, cultural and economic capitals, and to investigate the distinction of life-styles and tastes among the fractions. At the same time, this dissertation presents two crucial challenges to the arguments concerning the differentiation of middle class and the lifestyle and taste of these fractions. The first one is an objection to the argument that presumes a single 'middle' in Turkey, composed of a homogenous 'new middle class' that differs from other classes in terms of social and cultural characteristics that determine their lifestyle and taste. The second is an objection to the argument that the differentiation in middle classes and their fractions is more a consequence of the social, cultural and politic characteristics of the (new) middle class than their economic characteristics. In this respect, although the author accepts the importance of such variable as time spent in school, social and cultural habits attained in time, and habitus and cultural capital, in the sense they were used by Bourdieu, she claims that the actual differentiation in lifestyle and taste is based on economic

capital. In fact, Bourdieu himself also emphasized the ultimate importance of economic characteristics in an empirical sense and as emphasized by classical Marxism, while emphasizing the importance of the time spent in school, social and cultural habits, behaviour and tendencies, that is habitus and cultural capital.

The differentiation of lifestyles and tastes in the Turkish middle class(es) is linked to the combination and volume of social, cultural and economic capitals as outlined in Bourdieu's theory of distinction. Depending on the social, cultural and economic capitals which the members of the society own, society becomes fragmented. This fragmentation is reflected in the lifestyles and physical milieu of the members of different classes, as well as among the members of the same class. In other words, the material objects used in houses give rise to different tastes, which is reflected, in turn, in different and competing lifestyles. To scrutinize and explain the lifestyles and tastes of the middle class(es), the fractions are constructed and presented in social spaces of the figures of correspondence analyses according to the clustering of items or categories of variables, or factors of social, cultural and economic capitals depending on assets and resources, and occupations/employment.

In this context, the major aim of this study is to analyse the inner stratification of the Turkish middle class in Ankara according to their combination and volume of social, cultural and economic capitals. This is reflected in their lifestyles and taste via their choices for furniture, furnishing and decoration.

The theories of class and stratification provide the initial theoretical tools to define the middle class with respect to social, cultural and economic characteristics, and also on the basis of occupational and employment status. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the discussions and analysis of social classes and stratification have gained new dimensions in both theoretical debates and empirical research. They are methodically established employing classical Marxist and Weberian class theories. Although both Marxist and Weberian definitions in class and stratification theories will be discussed in detail to highlight the concepts of the middle class below, middle class is primarily defined according to occupations and employment status in this study. In order to signify the use of occupations and employment status, a single phrase expressing them together is used, in the form of employment/occupations.

Even though employment/occupations are selected as the main criteria for determining the respondents in the field study, the middle class and its fractions are categorized by employing Bourdieu's concepts of social, cultural and economic capitals. After the fractions of middle class are constructed, their habitus, lifestyles, taste and aesthetics will be analysed following Bourdieu's sociological conceptualization. Taste and aesthetics refer to cultural patterns of choice and preference to highlight the distinctions via things depending on styles and works of art. In a social inquiry, while taste is about the human ability to judge what is beautiful, good and proper, aesthetics is used in its popular meaning referring to 'popular aesthetics', which implies the subordination of form to function and the most common everyday choices in cooking, clothing and decoration for everyday life.

To summarize these points, this dissertation is designated as a quantitative research to investigate the middle class(es) and their lifestyles and tastes in Ankara. Major qualitative data was collected by the application of a furniture user questionnaire in two districts of Ankara. Quantitative data was supported with qualitative data, which are explained in Chapter 2. The methodology of the study is discussed in detail in the chapter on Methods, under three subtitles: Basic Concepts, Methods and Demographic, Socio-Cultural Profiles and analytical constructions of the fragments of the Turkish middle class and their presentations on correspondence figure. Thus, this chapter provides both conceptual and analytical tools to investigate the distinctions of lifestyle and taste between the Turkish middle classes.

The living space taken into consideration is mainly the living room, *salon*. It should be noted that the salon and the living room are used interchangeably in the contemporary Turkish houses. The living spaces are the salon, living room, drawing room, guest room and the sitting room. In the everyday life of contemporary Turkish families, two kinds of living space are prominent. One is the guest room or the *salon*, which is the meeting space for formal or prestigious guests, more distant friends and relatives. The guest room or saloon is equipped with contemporary furniture items, but more qualified, expensive and prestigious items. It is always kept clean and tidy, and ornamented with decorative items. China cabinets or a buffet is placed to display the 'family treasure'. The second room is the sitting room used for daily activities and routines. It is decorated in a more informal way.

The main function of the living space is to provide space for the activities of the family members. However, the living room does not have a specialized function. Specifically in the case of traditional houses, the early apartments, and small size houses, they are used simultaneously for a variety of purposes. In other words, the living rooms have multiple functions in these houses, whereby family members carry out all daily activities during the daytime, and turned at nights into a bedroom for the use of family members as well as the guests. The selected furniture items in the living spaces of contemporary Turkish middle class houses are composed of items for seating (armchairs, couches, sofas, etc.), eating (dining table and chairs, etc.), displaying (sideboards, china cabinets, buffets, etc.), putting on (café tables, tripod or low tables, stands, shelves, etc.), and storing (wardrobes, cabinets, commode, drawers, etc.).

It should be noted that this study basically depends on the conjoining of the author's academic interests on social classes and their attempts to display their distinctions from other classes. The fact that Ankara is the capital city of Turkey, and the existence of an established furniture industry, Siteler, in the city coincided with the author's personal interests in home furniture, furnishing and decoration, making it a meaningful location for a sociological research aiming to scrutinize and understand the fragmentations of middle class(es) and their lifestyles and tastes. In terms of an historical framework, this dissertation aims to shed light to the shaping of lifestyles and tastes in the immediate past from the 1980s onwards.

This study is about how and why the middle class and its fractions separate and distance themselves from the other classes, specifically from the working class. To scrutinize and understand the distinction among the middle class fractions, life-styles and tastes of the Turkish middle class(es) are investigated through social, cultural and economic capitals in order to determine the places of the agents in social space. This investigation is conducted in two main parts. The first part, excluding 'Introduction', comprises the Chapter 2 describing the methodology, and the Chapter 3 outlining the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. In Chapter 2, the basic concepts of the study, together with the context, scope, significance, research questions, methods and the statistical analyses employed are defined and the framework of the dissertation is drawn. In Chapter 3, theoretical and conceptual frameworks including the middle class debates starting with Marx, and Weber, and the contributions in Turkish social science literature are described and discussed. The literature on consumption and lifestyle is also consulted in order to develop the conceptual framework and tools of the study. Next, the theory

and concepts borrowed from Bourdieu's theory on class fractions through the compositions and volumes of capitals, habitus, life-styles and tastes are discussed. This will be followed by a general description of the case study, and finally a historical brief of Ankara will be provided.

The second part is about the case study in Ankara. It comprises the Chapter 4, which is about the analytical construction of the Turkish middle class fractions, and the Chapter 5, which is about life-styles and tastes of the middle class fractions. The demographic characteristics of the respondents are introduced in the last section of Chapter 2, and the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study is clarified in Chapter 3. Building on these sections, Chapters 4 and 5 describe how the case study was conducted. In Chapter 4, the fractions of the Turkish middle class are statistically analysed and constructed according to the combinations and volumes of social, cultural and economic capitals. Each fraction is dependently designated in graphics of multiple correspondence analyses of social space. Finally, the distinction of the fractions through *habitus*, life-styles and tastes are analysed and displayed in graphics of multiple correspondence analyses as social space, in the same way that the construction of the fractions were attained. Thus, life-styles and tastes of the fractions are discussed by matching them with various furnishing styles and decorative items in living spaces in Chapter 5. The conclusions of this dissertation are summarized in Chapter 6.

This dissertation attempts to examine and understand the distinction of the lifestyles and tastes of the middle class(es) throughout their daily routines and choices of objects for everyday life, particularly the home furniture, furnishing and decorative objects. In this sense, this dissertation provides an empirical description of class fractions, their lifestyles, taste and aesthetical dispositions via material objects in the living spaces of their houses. A classification of the class fractions with respect to occupations/employment, social, cultural and economic capitals of the respondents maintains two different contributions to the literature on class structure, lifestyle and tastes in Turkey. First, it is an application of Bourdieu's theory and concepts to the context of Turkish society; secondly, it is an empirical dissertation on inner stratification, lifestyles and tastes of social classes. In other words, the scope of this study should be specified as to understand, interpret and explain the construction of class distinctions through lifestyles and tastes, utilizing the practices of everyday life, and home furniture, supportive and decorative items in living rooms or spaces in houses.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

*“The end justifies the means!”¹
(Common saying with reference to Niccolo Machiavelli)*

In this chapter, basic concepts and method of the study are explained to identify the fractions of middle class, lifestyle and their taste and aesthetics in social space in Bourdieu’s theory.

In the first part of this chapter, the basic concepts employed in the study will be defined in order to provide a guide for the framework of the study. In the second part, quantitative method employed in the study will be clarified with regard to the selection of neighbourhoods in Ankara, the sampling, the process of data collection as application of furniture user questionnaire,² and the coding and analysis of the data. Finally, the respondents’ socio-demographic profiles will be introduced in space by using figure of correspondence analysis, which points of categories of variables.

2.1. Basic Concepts

Middle Class(es): There is a variety of criteria employed in social sciences for defining the concept of middle class as will be discussed in the following chapter. Within the confines of this dissertation it should be noted that the concept of middle class denotes an occupational position. This was an obligatory and a practical preference; thus, the interviewers were supposed to conduct the survey only with middle class respondents. In other words, It was decided that middle class families be chosen to apply the questionnaire on the basis of their occupations.

¹ Amaca giden her yol mübahtır!

² The questionnaire can be found in Appendices A (Turkish) and B (English).

Since occupation could be easily asked for and replied by the respondents, it was taken as the primarily criterion to apply the questionnaire.

In the questionnaire, employment/occupations were asked in the following manner: “Would you tell me clearly where you work, and what you do as a job?” The answers were classified in nine categories: house wife, unqualified service worker, retiree, blue collar, white collar, self-employed, high qualified professions, small or medium/large employer. These categories were derived from Boratav’s (1995a) categories for defining various classes and social groups within Turkish urban society.³ The advantage of such grouping is that, while taking occupation as the basic determinant, it demonstrates the associations between material and non-material sources of various classes which define class inequalities in a given society (Parkin, 1973, pp. 17-18). In general, class structure and occupational structure have been interchangeably used in stratification and class studies since the 1970s, especially in British sociology since the 1990s. In other words, occupation is a fundamental and an appropriate tool to correlate with social, cultural and economic characteristics, or capitals in the context of the study, of the respondents as well as the scrutinisation of lifestyles, taste and aesthetics of the middle class.

In this sense, in the context of the study, middle class and who the Turkish middle class is will be discussed and defined further in Chapter 4.

Employment/Occupations: In a capitalist society, class structure is determined on the basis of ownership of the means of production; hence, the basic distinction between employers and workers is decisive in this frame. In the 1970s, however, technological improvements on the one hand, and economic policies and their implications on employment/occupations, on the other, have gradually changed and transformed the overall occupational structure. As a result, a new occupational hierarchy emerged as new salaried workers have come to occupy a middle level among the employers and workers. As these social groups have gradually expanded, they have been named as “middle class” and the newly emerged occupations as “middle class occupations.” This new occupational hierarchy is described in various occupational schemas by a number of authors including Duncan, Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Mills, Scott, Wright, and also by

³ Originally, urban class and social groups are in nine categories as *unemployed, retired, high-qualified salaried, white collar salaried, unqualified service worker, blue collar worker, Crafts/Marginals/self-employed professionals, small or medium/large employer* (Boratav, 1995a, p. 7).

the ILO (International Labour Organization) in its ISCO (International Standard Classification of Occupations) series starting from 1968.

All of these classifications could suitably be used in this study. However, there is a fundamental problem when choosing between these schemas. All of them have been designed to identify jobs conducted by actively working people. Consequently, the position of housewives and the retiree are not included in these categorizations. As Kalaycıoğlu, Karam, Tüzün and Ulusoy (1998, p. 128) also emphasize, such occupational schema does not cover social stratification in Turkish society. For this reason, employment status and occupations have been used as employment/occupations to refer to employment status and occupational schema. Regarding the subject of the study, the interests of housewives or the experiences of the retiree and their shared values about common occupations are significant for the analysis of taste and aesthetics with respect to house furnishing and decoration.

On these grounds, based on Boratav's classification criteria (1995a, p. 7), occupations were arranged differently. His categorization of urban classes and social groups cover all segments of the Turkish urban society dating back to the post-1980 period. It also includes the unemployed, retired, high-qualified salaried, white-collar salaried, unqualified service workers, blue-collar workers, crafts/marginals/self-employed professionals, and small or medium/large employers. Boratav groups the retired as an independent category in his urban class profiles since retirement provides a regular monthly income, social benefits, and also health insurance. Thus, retirees are distinguished as an independent social group apart from both the unemployed and active workers. The unemployed category was dropped since the unemployed persons were not included in the study as an occupational category. However, similar to the western schemas, housewives are also excluded from Boratav's classification. Since housewives comprised almost 25 % of the respondents, housewives are categorized as an additional independent group to Boratav's typology. Adding housewife as an independent category was a critical decision since this is a gender-based category. Some mainstream researchers may question including a gendered typology into the standard occupational classification. However, this category was essential since it was the housewives who were more enthusiastic and voluntary to take part in the research as the topic attracted their attention. Additionally, home furnishing is, to a certain extent, a gendered theme not only in the west but also in the Turkish society. The gender

dimension of furnishing is outlined in many academic studies such as Ayata's (2002) study. The respondents also continuously emphasized this during the field study.

Consequently, occupations are valued as housewife, unqualified service worker, retiree, blue collar, white collar, self-employed, high-qualified professionals, small and medium/large employers. The definition of each category is as such: Housewives describe women who do not take place in occupational hierarchy or employment status. Unqualified service workers include waiters, watchmen, janitors, clerks, and drivers. Retirees are people who receive pensions. Blue-collar people normally consist of workers in the production process in the industries, construction and mine workers. Nevertheless, Boratav expands it to cover the salaried workers in technical maintenance services or carpenter's workshop of a university as a case in point. In my case study, blue collar generally denotes this second type of worker. White-collar jobs require specific education or training and are composed of nurses, dentists, bank officers, secretaries, teachers, and police officers. Self-employed defines people who work on their own and do not employ any wage labourer. This group is composed of three subgroups: craftsmen, tradesmen, shopkeepers; workers in marginal or informal jobs; and qualified middle-class (such as medical doctors, lawyers and accountants who have their own offices and who do not employ any staff). Being high-qualified professionals require graduation from university and include elite and qualified jobs such as engineers, lawyers and specialist medical doctors. Small employers employ one or two permanent workers. Medium/large employers employ six or more permanent workers (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 1998, p. 134). In my case study, none of the respondents were categorized as large or big employers. Thus, the employers, with the exception of small ones, were all categorized and named as medium employers.

To sum up, in the mainstream literature on stratification and class analysis, occupation is accepted as the major determinant for defining the middle class. In the current study, in order to be able to analyse the inner stratification of the middle class further components such as social, cultural and economic capitals were added to the analysis as will be discussed in detail below.

Social, Cultural and Economic Capitals: Social, cultural and economic capitals are defined and accounted for throughout the categorical data and items of variables to scrutinize taste and aesthetics in middle class houses. This study refers to both material and non-material determinants; therefore, social, cultural and economic capitals are employed in addition to

employment/occupations. Various types of capitals – including social, cultural, economic, political, educational and health capitals—are preferred to refer to all kinds of material and non-material possessions of individuals, as has been the common stand over the last thirty or forty years. The concept of capital is broader than the monetary conception of capital in economics. The monetary and non-monetary connotations have been used in social sciences since Marx's use of the term capital. Specifically Tocqueville's descriptions about the vibrant associational life of American democracy and economic strength and Durkheim's definitions of organic and mechanic solidarity construct the basis of the recent meanings of capital in modern social sciences (Field, 2008, pp. 6-7; Halpern, 2005, pp. 5-7).

The concept of economic capital is basically used by Bourdieu in sociological, by Coleman in socio-economical and by Putnam in political analysis since the 1980s.

Social capital widely refers to networks or to the resources they offer to individuals. Indeed, it is “the sum of the actual and potential resources that can be mobilized through membership in social networks of actors and organizations” (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995, p. 862). In other words, social capital refers to various types of vertical and horizontal relationships and consists of kinship networks as well as work-based or interest-based relationships among people. Within the framework of this thesis, social capital is established according to the relationships and networks among the respondents and their relatives or according to work-based, interest-based and school-based friendships. Taste and aesthetics are acquired in the socialization process and the above-mentioned networks and resources are also compiled in the same process. Thus, social capital is accepted and accounted for as a component of the determinants of the fractions of middle class, and thereby taste and aesthetics, as reflected in home furnishing and decoration.

Cultural capital, taking various forms, is composed of “long-standing dispositions and habits acquired in the socialization process, the accumulation of valued cultural objects such as paintings, and formal educational qualifications and training” (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995, p. 862). Especially, the dichotomy of high and low culture depends on the accumulation of cultural capital, with repercussions on material culture and thereby, creating distinctions among people (Bennett, 2005; Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio & Useem, 1978; Holt, 1998; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Lamont, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). In a scrutiny on taste and aesthetics as they are reflected in houses, cultural capital together with social capital is inevitably taken into account as

a determinant of taste and aesthetics due to its potential to create distinctions among people. When assessing cultural capital in this dissertation, basic elements to acknowledge are education, books, original paintings and sculpture, and other similar variables.

Economic capital refers to monetary income and other financial resources and assets. Compared to other forms of capital, economic capital is the most liquid and convertible form. With a higher level of economic capital, it becomes possible to acquire more expensive and qualified goods. Furthermore, high volumes of economic capital specifically characterize some positions. The *nouveaux riches*, for instance, is an exemplary case with high volumes of economic capital, but lower volumes of social and cultural capital (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995, p. 863). Economic capital, in addition to social and cultural capital, is also included in the definition of the characteristics of the middle class(es) examined in this study. However, it is only taken into consideration as monthly income. The inclusion of income as an indicator is criticized by some scholars, as there is distrust about the validity of the expressed real income. For this reason, recent theoretical and empirical studies use various other techniques to measure income. These include such techniques as measuring the expenditure of the family or the household on a monthly basis. It should be added that other assets such as house, car, durables and electronics are also included in the correspondence analysis of economic capital in order to show the possessions of each fragment of middle class. In other words, middle class fragments are constructed with respect to the composition and volume of the capitals they own.

As will be discussed in the analytical chapter of the case study, economic capital is crucial in creating a classy house by providing resources for the acquirement of furniture and decorative items.

*Habitus and Lifestyle: Habitus*⁴ and life-style designate the everyday life and practices of the agents in the social world in Bourdieu's explanation (1984, p. 169). Habitus defines the set of all kinds of temperaments, skills, behaviours and attitudes, and ways of acting acquired through the socialization process.

⁴ In this thesis, non-English words are written in *italic* within original languages in the first time. After the first usage, they are written same way within the full text format.

The habitus includes all acquired aptitudes also referring to habitual activities and experiences of everyday life that are usually taken for granted by individuals. Indeed, the habitus mostly implies a system of dispositions in Bourdieu's sense. It makes understandable the instinctive influences of acquired dispositions on someone's physical or material milieu. For this reason, in addition to the capitals and occupation, social origin, family background such as father's and mother's birthplace, education and employment/occupations are also included in variables of habitus and lifestyles of the middle class fractions.

Lifestyle is another concept employed in the study. It refers to a characteristic set of behaviours in a given time and place including social relations, consumption, entertainment, and dress. Thus, lifestyle is a mixture of habits, conventional ways of doing things, and reasoned actions, which can be observed in someone's behaviour and practices. Such features as occupational status, educational level, age, gender and also leisure activities determine lifestyle. Each social group or homogenous social grouping has a distinctive lifestyle produced with the interconnections of the schema of social practice, the habitus, and cultural and economic capitals (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1985).

To sum up, while habitus is the result of the objectification of social structure and socialization process at the level of individual subjectivity, lifestyles are more or less constructed and stylized ways of life including social relations, patterns of consumption, entertainment, leisure, and dress changing according to habitus and also the composition and volume of the capitals.

Since taste and aesthetics are a part of lifestyle, primarily habitus and lifestyle are defined according to the composition and volume of the capitals. Therefore, all of the acquired and possessed components are articulated with the tastes of the Turkish middle class(es) with respect to home furniture and decoration.

Tastes and Aesthetics: Taste and aesthetics are difficult concepts to draw a framework for, particularly with aesthetics connoting many philosophical arguments. In this dissertation, taste and aesthetics carry a sociological meaning referring mainly to the cultural patterns of everyday choices and preferences of individuals. Besides, tastes and aesthetics are conceptual instruments used to draw distinctions between objects such as furniture, accessories, and decorative items in middle class houses. In other words, in this study, tastes and aesthetics are basically about

popular tastes and aesthetics the beautification of living spaces in which daily life and routines take places. This sociological meanings designates Bourdieuan sense and usage rather than the Kantian understanding of aesthetics (1984, p. 178). Popular tastes and aesthetics refer to spontaneous and functional tastes and aesthetics of everyday choices of individuals (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 77-94). In this study, tastes and aesthetics, as Bourdieu's emphasis, are used in sociological context, and they imply the 'spontaneous and functional tastes and aesthetics of everyday choices of individuals' will be used simply as tastes with reference to this meaning.

Tastes and aesthetics are also about the human ability to judge what is beautiful, good and proper. However, beauty is not the sole objective of planning and furnishing a house. A house should also be expressive of the personality of those living in it and most important of all, it should function effectively. For a beautiful home beauty, expressiveness, and functionality should be taken into account which are the basic objectives when decorating a house (Ruth, 1955, pp. 1-2). Tastes and aesthetics preferences and attendance to various cultural events are associated with the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of individuals. To be able to make a distinction between tastes of various classes Bourdieu develops three different definitions. The first is 'legitimate taste' which is the highest educational capital of the dominant class and its fractions. The second is 'middle-brow taste' which characterizes the middle class(es). The third is 'popular taste' which is the most common among working classes (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 194), it will be discussed in Chapter 3. Shortly, in sociological terms, tastes signify the daily choices and preferences of individuals. In this study, the distinction among different social groups and the fragments of the Turkish middle class in particular are investigated and analysed through home furnishing and decoration of the parlour.

Home Furnishing, Furniture and Decoration: The investigation of tastes of the middle class(es) should be based on the material objects used to decorate the physical environment in a house. Thus, furniture, furnishing and decoration of parlours (or living spaces or saloons) was the focus of the study to examine the variations of tastes within the Turkish middle class(es). In this context, sitting, eating, displaying and storing items, and accessories including curtains, floor coverings and lighting as well as decorative objects such as paintings, sculpture, wooden and copper items and ethnic objects are accepted as the material objects signifying various tastes. Questions about harmony among these objects, their colours and patterns, fabrics and styles were also included in the questionnaire. The respondents were also asked to tell about their

childhood furniture and home decoration in order to understand and explain the effects of their habitus on their tastes.

In summary, this study will begin by defining the inner stratification of the middle class on the basis of occupation and according to the social, cultural and economic capitals the families own. This defines the different lifestyles among the Turkish middle class families. Then lifestyles of each stratum will be correlated with the capitals they own and with their habitus. This, in turn, will provide the basis for the analysis of the varying tastes patterns of the Turkish middle class strata. In this context each fragment's distinctive tastes as reflected in their houses will be discussed with reference to their parlour furnishings.

2.2. The Methodological Frame of the Study

Entering a friend's house or a furniture department, one takes a look around and notices the forms and styles of furniture and decoration and willingly or unwillingly recognizes the differences among the tastes, aesthetics and the styles of furnishing and decorations in interiors or among the furnishing and decoration concepts of windows/showrooms. What are the differences among tastes? How and why do these differences emerge or are created in the interiors of houses? Why do people prefer different styles when furnishing their houses?

In addition to the increasing variation in tastes in home furnishing, there is also an academic debate about the changes taking place in the class and occupational structure of the Turkish society. The differentiation of daily life habits and practices are pointed out as a consequence of these occupational changes. What follows is that the current changes in tastes of various social classes or groups are linked to the transforming occupational structure in Turkey. In this context, the (new) Turkish middle class(es) attracts a particular attention from social scientists such as Ayata (2002), Bali (2004), Gürel (2007), Karademir-Hazır (2008), Şimşek (2005), Uzunarslan (2002) with regard to their changing lifestyles.

Considering the related literature and the ongoing social changes in the occupational structure of Turkey, this study aims to scrutinize social stratification among the Turkish middle class through the material objects selected and used in houses. In other words, it aims at analysing the

distinctions in life-styles, tastes of the Turkish middle class in Ankara through the styles of furniture, furnishing and decoration of houses. Following Bourdieu's theory from *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste* (1984), which is considered as a landmark in social sciences about social, cultural and economic capitals, this work aims to discuss the inner stratification of the Turkish middle class in Ankara. The political dimension was excluded to narrow the focus of the study. Thus, a questionnaire was applied only to the middle class(es) who were selected according to their occupations.

2.2.1. The Research Question

The differentiation of tastes of the Turkish middle class(es) is linked to the combination and volume of social, cultural and economic capitals as outlined in Bourdieu's model. Depending on the economic, social and cultural capitals which the members of the society own, the society becomes fragmented. This fragmentation is reflected in the lifestyles and physical milieu of the members of different classes as well as among the members of the same class. In other words, the material objects used in houses give rise to different tastes, which in turn is reflected in different and competing lifestyles.

To scrutinize and explain the lifestyles and tastes of the middle class(es), the fractions are constructed and presented in social spaces of the figures of correspondence analyses according to the clustering of items, categories of variables or factors of social, cultural and economic capitals, employment/occupations, depending on assets and resources. Primarily, demographic characteristics of the respondents are introduced in the last subsection of this chapter.

In this context, the main focus of this study is to analyse the inner stratification of the Turkish middle class in Ankara according to their combination and volume of social, cultural and economic capitals. This is reflected in their lifestyles, tastes via their furniture, furnishing and decoration.

2.2.2. The Methods

Quantitative method is used in this study to analyse the inner stratification and distinction of tastes of the middle class(es). The detailed questionnaire prepared for furniture users/consumers includes questions about home furniture, accessories and decorative objects, as well as demographic profiles. A pilot study was carried out in Çankaya and Keçiören districts in Ankara and the questionnaire was revised accordingly. All of the questions aimed at exploring the reasons for distinctions of tastes in the interiors of houses of the Turkish middle class(es). To collect information about socio-demographic (occupation, education, social origins, household size and number of children, family backgrounds, and duration of residence in Ankara), socio-cultural (daily habits in the past and present, social relations, hobbies and leisure activities), and economic profiles (income, possession of house, car, and other durables and electronic devices) of the respondents, detailed questions were added to the questionnaire. The research was carried out in eight neighbourhoods of Çankaya and Keçiören and the data gathered was used for statistical analysis.

Even though this study is primarily based on quantitative data, qualitative data was also used. These included participant observation (recorded as field notes), informal small talks, structured interviews, and personal conversations. The ethnographic data gathered during the research was used as a supplementary source of information when interpreting the results of statistical analyses. Structured interviews were carried out with furniture producers, designers, and users. Informal interviews and small talks were spontaneously conducted with retailers in the furniture department stores and in several stores of supplementary items and home accessories in Sıteler,⁵ and also with the furniture users. Moreover, small talks were made in the Furniture and Decoration Fairs in Atapark Exhibition Center⁶ and in the Bilkent Culture and Congress Center.⁷

⁵ Sıteler is the region in which furniture industry is located in Ankara.

⁶ Atapark Exhibition Center is located in Keçiören and very close to the location of main furniture industrial region, Sıteler. Annual furniture fair is organized here by the Chamber of Furniture Producers, Ankara Trade Chambers. This fair is an important activity and an opportunity to exhibit new and trendy styles, models and new fashion for all kinds of furniture including home, office, garden and park furniture, and accessories for the producers and designers. The visitors of these fairs in the Atapark Exhibition Center are mainly from classes with low cultural, social and economical capitals. Those who visit the fairs in the Bilkent Culture and Congress Center (located in Çankaya), on the other hand, are from higher socio-economic classes.

Another set of interviews and small talks were carried out with friends who furnished or decorated their houses or offices and who expressed their personal judgments concerning their tastes notion of furniture, accessories and decorative items. They also expressed their thoughts about combination of ready-made concepts/styles in windows/showrooms. All of the interviews were carried out in Ankara between 2007 and 2009. In addition to the above mentioned sources, windows, furniture and decoration fairs, broadcasting and publications including internet, television, advertisement catalogues, newspaper supplements and all related magazines such as garden, home and decoration were the other materials which provided information feeding the research process.

2.2.3. The Sample

Primarily, it should be noted that since the participation of the research was voluntary of the respondents, the sampling is non-representative; therefore, the findings of the study are only limited to its sample. To apply the questionnaire, the pollsters rung the doorbells, gave information about the research and asked whether or not they would like to participate in the study. The respondents filled in the questionnaire only if they wanted to participate in the study voluntarily.

For the field research, the two established and settled districts, Çankaya and Keçiören, were selected to scrutinize the distinction of lifestyles and tastes by taking into consideration the inner stratification of the middle class(es) in Ankara. Having decided on these two districts, the next step was to select the most suitable neighborhoods from which to collect the data. Since the focus of the research is the social and cultural characteristics or capitals of families in general and since social and cultural capital are both associated with duration of residence in an urban area, the most urbanized and settled neighborhoods in both districts were selected. The most established and settled neighborhoods in both districts and a middle-class suburb were decided on as field of the study to apply the questionnaire. These are as follows: Gazi Osman Paşa

⁷ Other annual furniture and decoration fairs are arranged at the Bilkent Culture and Congress Center. These fairs include the big export and import furniture firms and its target mass have higher social, cultural and economical capitals than the mass of the fairs organized in Atapark Exhibition Center.

(GOP), Ayrancı, Bahçeli-Emek and Çayyolu⁸ in Çankaya and Kavacık Subayevleri, Etlik, Basınevleri and Asfalt in Keçiören. All of these neighborhoods are located in the centre of the two districts except for Çayyolu that is a suburb located in the west of Ankara. Çayyolu was included into the study since suburbs are relatively homogeneous middle class areas. Families in suburbs have high socio-economic status according to their occupational composition, education levels or income. In addition, a suburban population has a stronger family-based life compared to other urban populations. In these areas, the percentage of married population is comparatively high. Moreover, women labor force participation is relatively low (Duncan & Reiss, 1956, pp. 6-7). Similar findings are confirmed by Ayata's (2002) research carried out in Çayyolu.

The sample size of the questionnaire was defined with reference to Nan Lin's (1976) book entitled, *Foundations of Social Research*. According to Lin, to make a reliable and valid study with a population over 500.000, the research should be conducted with a sample over 384. Accordingly, 421 household questionnaires were applied during the field study. However, it should be emphasized that the sampling of the study is non-representative. For this reason, the findings of the research are limited to the sampling of the study.

The distribution of questionnaires in the selected districts and neighborhoods were determined according to the household size in each neighbourhood. The data was bought from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) and is based on the results of the Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS)⁹ in 2007. Since household size varies in each neighbourhood, the weight of household was accounted for each neighbourhood by taking into consideration the sample size (at least 384). Following this calculation, small size neighborhoods like Keçiören Kavacık Subayevleri and Basınevleri, only 30 questionnaires were applied in these two neighbourhoods to make statistically meaningful analyses. The biggest neighbourhood was Asfalt; thus, 87 questionnaires were applied in that neighbourhood.

The respondents were mainly selected according to their occupation. The questionnaire was applied to both women and men. Additionally, age and marital status were also taken into

⁸ Although in some parts of Çayyolu, local administration is elected through the Yenimahalle District Governorship, Çayyolu as a whole is accepted as part of the Çankaya district.

⁹ *Address Based Population Registration System* (ABPRS) is the new census and population registration system which was first applied by the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry, TURKSTAT in 2007.

account because of the experience and concern of the respondents about the subject of the study. The age range was set between 25 and 65. According to the pilot study, young people were less interested in answering questions concerning home furnishing and furniture; most noted that their parents furnished their homes. Thus, the lowest age limit was determined as 25. The upper age limit was determined as 65 since those over 65 were less interested in being part of the research. In the context of the dissertation, age effects the accumulation, composition and volume of social, cultural and economic capitals year-by-year, and thus, the socio-economic status of families. Hence, everyday life habits, daily routines and activities of individuals and families have been gradually transformed according to age. As Wilska notes, the need, taste and style of home furniture and decoration of persons change according to age (2002, pp. 200-202). These points were also expressed and confirmed by various retailers. Duties and responsibilities of household members, their marital status, family structure, and household size are all influenced by age.

In addition to employment/occupations and age, marital status was also set as another criterion. In the Turkish society, individuals most commonly furnish their own houses when they get married since children generally live with their parents until they get married. Families provide financial support for their children when they are buying furniture. Friends and relatives also share their own experiences and networks to help and give opinion to the couples when they are furnishing their houses. In general, marriage is an important experience related to house furnishing and decoration, and thus, it displays a distinction of taste and aesthetic dispositions via furniture, furnishing and decoration. However, a number of single people were also involved in the survey because of their concerns about furnishing and decoration.

2.2.4. Data Collection

The questionnaire was mainly applied between March and September, 2007. Interviewers collected quantitative data in an approximately seven-month process. The questionnaires were applied at the respondents' houses.

The total research project was conducted over a period of six years. As mentioned above, many small talks and observations were spontaneously comprehended with the users, producers,

designers, customers and retailers while strolling in Sıteiler, shopping malls, and furniture and decoration fairs in Ankara, including IKEA.¹⁰ Besides, ideas about newly designed products, furniture models and styles were shared throughout the research: in fact, whenever the topic came up with colleagues, friends or relatives. Thus, the ethnographical information used in this study is mainly based on everyday life experiences and observations which supported the statistical findings of the research.

In addition, home and decoration magazines and newspaper supplements were followed to recognize the new trends and designs in furniture, accessories, decorative elements, upholstery, and home furnishing styles. When the field research was being designed and when the data was being gathered, monthly home and decoration magazines were scanned: that is, between 2005 and 2007. These magazines were both Turkish and English magazines including *Maison Française*, *Elle Decor*, *Home Art*, *Marie Claire Maisons* and *Evim* (Turkish), *House Beautiful* (Turkish and English), and *House and Garden* (English). For a two-year period, *Maison Française*, *House Beautiful*, and *House and Garden* were scanned regularly. Indeed, these magazines and supplements provide a source for acquiring a distinctive tastes which are widely consumed by women.

2.2.5. Data Analysis

Quantitative data was coded in SPSS after the data collection process was completed in November 2007. Then all statistical analyses were conducted in SPSS 18 (PAWS Statistics). All variables used in statistical analyses were categorically coded to apply appropriate statistical analyses.

Considering the critiques about concepts such as causality, generalization and their measurements, data is analyzed statistically. Statistical significance is 0,05 ($p=0,05$) for all analyses. The required assumptions for both parametric and non-parametric tests were controlled

¹⁰ When the field research was made in 2007, IKEA hadn't been opened in Ankara, yet. It had only branches in İzmir and İstanbul. However, IKEA was known by the Ankaralites, craftsmen and tradesmen in Sıteiler, and was also mentioned in home and decoration magazines; it was visited several times in other cities.

before the tests were conducted. After the missing values were dropped, N still remained in meaningful limits to conduct statistical analyses.

Hypothesis testing analyses have been conducted as the chi-square and ANOVA. Frequencies and contingency tables are taken for the illustration of frequency of variables. As it is known, this is generally constructed to record and analyze the relation between two or more categorical variables. Thus, they are frequently employed to display distributions. Besides, factor analyses have been formulated to account for combining the related variables for the social and cultural capitals. Using the results of factor analyses, the categories of social and cultural capitals were re-coded to conduct correspondence analyses.

Factor analysis: Factor analysis is one of ‘dimension reduction’ analyses in SPSS. Factor analysis is used to formulate the social and cultural capitals as the unobservable latent variables. Factor analysis is defined with a mention of its statistical usage:

a technique used to identify factors that statistically explain the variation and covariation among measures. Generally, the number of factors is considerably smaller than the number of measures and, consequently, the factors succinctly represent a set of measures. From this perspective, factor analysis can be viewed as a data-reduction technique since it reduces a large number of overlapping measured variables to a much smaller set of factors. If a study is well designed so that different sets of measures reflect different dimensions of a broader conceptual system, factor analyses can yield factors that represent these dimensions. More specifically, the factors can correspond to construct (i.e., unobservable latent variables) of a theory that helps us understand behavior (Green & Salkind, 2008, p. 313).

Since an explanatory factor analysis provides evaluation of interrelationships among a large number of variables underlying and reducing dimensions of factors, factor analyses were accounted for social and cultural capitals. The results of factor analyses provide statistical values to show the interrelationships among the variables. After the frequencies of these values were taken, they were plotted. The break points of the plots were used to describe the levels of social and cultural capitals. However, factor analysis was not accounted for economic capital because only income can be accepted as economic capital.

According to the associations among the social, cultural and economic capitals, employment/occupations and other assets, the fraction of the Turkish middle class have been fundamentally constructed and illustrated within the space of correspondence analysis, clouding

as social space. Here, it is necessary to give an explanation about correspondence analysis and interpretation of the results which can be seen in the figure or graphics of the analyses.

Correspondence analysis: Correspondence analysis is a multivariate statistical analysis. It can be applied to categorical rather than continuous data. Thus, it obtains a means to illustrate or to summarize a set of data in two-dimensional graphical form. Both principal component and multivariate correspondence analyses are used as descriptive and exploratory techniques to analyse simple two-way and multi-way tables and display the correspondence between the rows and columns. In other words, correspondence analysis is a special kind of canonical correlation analysis, and a method especially applicable for analyses of large contingency tables. While it analyzes the relations between the categories of two discrete variables, there is also a tool to analyze the *association* between two or more categorical variables by representing the categories of the variables as points in a low-dimensional space. Thus, the association, or correspondence, between two or more variables could be displayed without loss in any case and variable. In addition to these, the correspondence charts demonstrate the clustering or clouding of values, the most and the least correspondent values and interaction between the variables. In other words, the graphical display provides a distinct way to depict how the variables are related. In consequence, the greatest benefit of this analysis is that it makes it possible to establish and demonstrate the communication of complex relations between multiple variables much easier (Clausen, 1998, pp. 13-18).

Coordinates or axes are important to understand the results and figures of correspondence analysis, and interpret the relative positions of the points and their distribution in space. The distances between the points within the sets of variables depend on the chi-square distances. Its interpretation is only approximations to the chi-square distances. “The points and distances in space of correspondence graphical display are significant to realize *that it is only the distances within each set of points that are defined, not the distances between points from different sets or variables*” (Clausen, 1998, pp. 16-17, italics is original). However, within (multiple) correspondence analysis (as well as in other factorial approaches such as factor analysis and principal component analysis) is not a statistical algorithm which determines the direction of the principal axes. Rather, the axes are only for aesthetic reasons that one prefers to have the high or positive values on the parts or cells of the first and second dimensions of the map or the graphical plots of (multiple) correspondence analysis (Blasius & Friedrichs, 2008, p. 28).

The contribution of points has contributed to determine the direction of the dimension concerned. Interpreting the results is to decide how well each point is described by each dimension. This is expressed by the contribution of dimensions to points, which provide information on how much of the inertia of a point is explained by a dimension. The interpretation of the configuration of the points is based on the chi-square distances between points, and these distances are defined separately for each set of points. This implies that if two row points lie close together, the profiles of these two points are similar. As the profiles become more dissimilar, the points become further apart. The relation between the column points relies on the same condition too (Clausen, 1998, pp. 18-23).

The interpretation of the association, or correspondence, between the origin of axes and the points should be clear. As Clausen mentions:

The marginal profiles for both sets of points lie on the origin of the axes, so that a point with a profile like the average will also lie in this center. It is important to recognize, however, that two points positioned close together in a low-dimensional solution may lie far apart in a solution with higher dimensionality. As far as the distance between row points and column points is concerned, the relation is more complicated since these distances are not defined as chi-square distances. All the points in one set of points contribute to determine the position of every point in the other set of points, and vice versa.

This means that caution must be exercised when interpreting the distance between two points from different sets of points. (...) however, proposed a procedure that makes it possible to compare distances both within and between sets of points.

In addition to the proximity of the points and their constellations in space, it is usual practice to interpret the dimensions and give them a name by studying the distribution of the points and their order along the dimensions. This corresponds to the interpretation of the results in, for example, factor analysis and multidimensional scaling. The contribution of points to the dimensions supplies additional information about which points are most important for the dimension (Clausen, 1998, p. 24).

The distribution of points in the figure has sensible interpretability and indicates justifiability to interpret the results. Besides, when a parallel set of data could be obtained, subgroups from the same population, analyses of the two sets of data should give appropriate results (Clausen, 1998, p. 25).

In this research, many variables have been used and re-conducted to scrutinize the stratification in the Turkish middle class and the distinction of lifestyle, taste and aesthetical dispositions through furniture, auxiliary and embellishments. Considering the subjects and the variables, (multivariate) correspondence analysis and its figures obtain the most suitable analytical and

aesthetical tools to demonstrate and display the synchronisation between variables in a space; in the case of this study, the plots or figures of correspondence analysis have been accepted as a social space in which the items of social, cultural and economic capitals, employment/occupations, habitus and lifestyles, and lastly tastes in living spaces of the Turkish middle class(es).

The results of the analyses have been interpreted together with ethnographical data. Because ethnographical data is not separated from the research process of this dissertation, it is inevitably reflected and utilized to understand and explain the results of the analyses.

2.3. Demographic, Socio-Cultural and Economic Profiles of the Respondents

Aforementioned, 421 household questionnaires were applied in Çankaya and Keçiören. The respondents were mainly middle class members working in service class jobs. The questionnaire was applied to both women and men respondents between the ages of 25-65. The distribution of the questionnaire in the selected four neighbourhoods in each two districts is depicted in Table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of Questionnaires in Neighbourhoods

| Neighborhood | Percentage |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| Çankaya Gazi Osman Paşa | 8.6 |
| Çankaya Ayrancı | 16.4 |
| Çankaya Bahçeli-Emek | 11.2 |
| Çankaya Çayyolu | 15.2 |
| Çankaya (Total) | 53.1 |
| Keçiören Kavacık Subayevleri | 7.1 |
| Keçiören Etlik | 13.8 |
| Keçiören Basınevleri | 7.1 |
| Keçiören Asfalt | 20.7 |
| Keçiören (Total) | 51.3 |
| Total | 100.0 |

Following the sociological research tradition, the first part of the questionnaire included questions about the socio-demographic profiles of the respondents. The data obtained from this part contributed to figure out the distinction of taste and aesthetical dispositions of a given group. The respondents' demographic profiles including sex, age, marital status, duration of marriage, household size, and number of child(ren) are conducted with correspondence analysis combining their socio-cultural profiles including birth place, employment/occupations, monthly income and education; and displayed in spaces of figure of correspondence analysis at the end of the section.

Demographic Profiles: Basic independent variables as sex, age, marital status, length of marriage, household size and number of children, which affect lifestyle and aesthetical dispositions will be explained in this subsection.

Sex: As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire was applied to both women and men respondents. Since home furnishing and decoration are generally thought as women's job, and lifestyle as an everyday practice and a set of activities is affected by sexes, the distribution of the questionnaire between women and men was kept in balance as much as possible. As a result, while 55.6 % of the respondents were women, 44.4 % of them were men.

Age: As also mentioned previously, the ages of the respondents vary between 25 and 65. Age is significant for this study since the respondents accumulate capitals and experience as they grow older and their lifestyle and tastes change over time. For this reason, age was grouped according to four values and labelled by regarding their experiences. These are as follows: those less than 35-year-old (22.9 %) (Young, coy and inexperienced in the sense that they have some, but not enough experience); those between 36 and 45-year-old (23.9 %) (Settled, has some experience in home decoration and furnishing, mature); those between 46 and 55-year-old (38.1 %), (Mature, has stored enough experience, has children who have reached the age of marriage or who are already married); and those over 56-year-old (15.2 %) (The most experienced group some of whom have changed their furniture; have children who are married. In fact, some even have grandchildren).

The distribution of age groups follows: While the percentage of younger 35-year old and between 36-45-year old are approximately the same, those between 46-55-year-old and those

over 56-year-old are significantly different from these. This is because the groups who are younger than 45 were generally a member of the active labor market. Those who do not work in this age group have responsibilities at home such as taking care of their children. The between 46-55-year old was the most willing group to participate in the research since they were retirees and did not have dependent children. The smallest group was those over 56-year-old group. As mentioned previously, the application of the questionnaire caused some difficulty because of their health problems and because they sometimes lost concentration. The factor of age also reflects the changes and transformations of aesthetical dispositions and needs over time. As demonstrated in the case study, the younger 35-year old is informed about new trends and recourses and also about the opportunities and possibilities that are easy to reach through online tools. This group can make preferences when furnishing their homes including more colourful and courageous styles. The between 56-65-year old group, on the other hand, has acquired their furniture and accessories a long time ago and therefore, they have an established style. Instead of changing their main style, they frequently have re-upholstered their basic items to make their house more comfortable and easy to clean. In general, age is the most significant determinant for different desires, lifestyle and leisure activities. In other words, needs, taste, and home decoration and furniture styles change according to age (Wilska, 2002, pp. 200-202). While the younger 35-year old and between 36-45-year old frequently spend time outside the house, the between 46-55-year old and between 56-65-year old prefer to stay at home. Further details about lifestyle and tastes will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Marital Status: Marriage is an important opportunity to be informed about both the material construction of tastes and to present the distinction of taste via furniture and home furnishing. The majority of the respondents have experienced marriage or were married. The percentages of single respondents were 11.4, married 78.1, and divorced/widowed were 10.5. The respondents also stressed the importance of their marriage experience when furnishing their homes. Hence, marital status was an important variable in this study.

Length of Marriage: Length of marriage is a crucial factor for furniture and furnishing. The percentage of those who have been married for less than 10 years was 19.2; those who have been married for 11 to 20 years was 22.8; and those who have been married for more than 21 years was 58.0. The lower limit for the duration of marriage has been defined as a 10-year period or less since this period is frequently defined as the average furniture usage duration after being

purchased. Duration of marriage influences lifestyle and taste in three forms. Similar to age, duration of marriage adds a time dimension to life-styles and tastes for furnishing and embellishment of a house. Secondly, furniture, upholstery and decorative fashion of the year when the couple got married dominate the spouses' aesthetic considerations which are reflected in their interiors. Over time, families need to totally change or partially re-upholster their furniture and convert their interiors under the influence of new trends. In general, duration of marriage reflects the changes and transformations in families' everyday life and lifestyles. When the couples have children or when the number of people living in the house increase, they change or re-arrange their furniture, thus, their style and living spaces. Sometimes a one-aimed settee is replaced with convertible and multi-aimed sofa, sometimes several items and decorative objects are moved to another room or simply thrown away to create a play space for the kids. Sometimes sitting rooms are converted to a nursery room and the parlour becomes a daily living room after a baby arrives. Thus, aesthetical disposition in a house can be transformed by families' changing needs as the duration of marriage increases.

Household Size and Number of Child(ren): Similar to duration of marriage, household size and number of child(ren) are also significant in constructing and displaying tastes. Moreover, household size and number of child(ren) also dominate lifestyles and tastes. Household size category includes a whole range of families varying from single person families to families with more than 5 members. The percentages of household sizes are as 'Alone' (5.7), 'Between 2 and 4 members' (92.6), and 'More than 5 members' (1.7).¹¹ Number of children are labelled as 'Childless' (17.6 %), 'Between 1 and 2 child(ren)' (61.8 %), and 'More than 3 children' (20.7 %).

It should be noted that household size is becoming smaller and transformed from extended families to nuclear families in the Turkish society. Household size, number of children and family structure (nuclear or extended) are accepted as indicators of lifestyle. For example, the childless category and nuclear families with one or two children are natural indicators of the higher professional's lifestyle in suburbs, gated communities or condominiums (Bali, 2004;

¹¹ The percentage of households with more than 5 members is very low in total. When this category is included in correspondence analysis, the distribution of points is observed as too loose in the right bottom cell. For this reason, it is accepted as missing value, adopting Clausen's (1998) writings on correspondence analysis. Thus, the other cells can be easily found in Figure 1.

Kumkale, 2004; Şimşek, 2005; Wynne, 2002). Numbers of children, household sizes and household composition have the same effect on life-styles and tastes as does marital status and duration of marriage. Crowded household's furniture needs to be replaced in a shorter time period compared to less crowded families.

Childless respondents appear in all age groups and they make up 17.6 % of the total. While some elderly respondents mentioned that they wanted to have children but they could not, the younger respondents said that they delay having a child because of their age, job, working conditions or income. As Hakim (2000) emphasizes, some professional/managerial respondents said that they do not want to have any children. Not wanting to have a child or the preferred number of children depends on the composition and volume of capitals and lifestyles (Bali, 2004; Bourdieu, 1984; Brooks, 2000; Şimşek, 2005; Wynne, 2000).

Household composition: Besides the size of households, the composition of the household is also significant for the economic or occupational sphere (Lockwood, 1995). When examining lifestyle, taste, and aesthetics, it is important to consider the interaction between different generations who live together in the same house. Their needs and aesthetical dispositions can contradict with each other or provide a harmonious living space for all. Thus, the transformation of family structures is worth investigating. A demographical transformation from extended to nuclear families was observed in most urbanized districts such as Çankaya and Keçiören in Ankara.

According to the Family Structure Survey 2006,¹² household composition is depicted in four main categories in Turkey. These categories are: Single person households, nuclear family,¹³ extended family and households composed of students/workers. The percentages of each group are as follows: single person households 6.0 %, nuclear families 80.7 %, extended families 13.0 %, and households composed of students/workers 0.3 % of the total.¹⁴

¹² Family Structure Survey 2006. Retrieved July 03, 2008, from http://www.tuik.gov.tr/metaveri/64_m1.doc

¹³ It is used as 'family nucleus' in the report of TURKSTAT (Family Structure Survey 2006. Retrieved July 03, 2008, from http://www.tuik.gov.tr/metaveri/64_m1.doc)

¹⁴ Family Structure Survey 2006. Retrieved July 03, 2008, from http://www.tuik.gov.tr/metaveri/64_m1.doc

In this study, the overall percentage of nuclear families is 86 which is higher than the Turkish average; single person households is 5.7 which is slightly lower than the Turkish average; extended families are approximately 10 % of the total households which is much lower than the Turkish average. There were no households composed of students/workers. In other words, nuclear families were the biggest group in the sample. When household compositions are compared with the results of the Family Structure Survey 2006, nuclear families increase in the settled neighbourhoods in Ankara.¹⁵

Socio-Cultural Profiles: Socio-cultural profiles are taken as the respondents' birth places and spending years in school. Socio-cultural profiles of individuals differ in urban social milieu since urbanites have more opportunities to improve themselves by utilizing social and cultural resources and benefits. In the American occupational structure background, variables (including father's occupation, parents' education, income, and race) are accounted for nearly half of the variance in occupational attainment including family influence during the schooling period (Gilbert, 2003, p. 170). Education is one of the most important factors for upward social mobility. However, social mobility also depends on macro or structural factors such as family background. Gilbert draws a two-fold picture for social mobility. The first is economic growth and the changing shape of occupational structure. The second is individual ambitions, abilities, and family advantages (2003, p. 171).

Referring to literature of social and cultural capitals and habitus, urbanites can establish their own lifestyles and tastes. For these reasons, the socio-cultural profiles of the respondents as urbanites of Ankara are detailed through their birthplaces, social origins, duration of residence in Ankara, level of education, and occupation. These characteristics and the relationships among them are examined by taking into account both generational differences and differences in neighbourhood characteristics.

Birth place: In this study birth places are valued as Town and Small City (22.6 %), Big City (30.2 %), and Metropolitan City (47.1 %). Population sizes of the cities¹⁶ were taken into

¹⁵ Since the compositions of household are dominantly nuclear families, it is not included in correspondence analysis of demographic and socio-cultural profiles of the respondents.

¹⁶ Retrieved June 12, 2008, from <http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/adnksdagitimapp/adnks.zul>.

account to identify settlements, specifically to identify the cities (Keleş, 1990, pp. 55-59; Mumford, 1961, pp. 29-55). Village, town/sub-region and cities are administrative units as described by the Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷ Small cities have a population of less than 100,000; big cities are between 100,001 and 1,000,000; metropolitan cities are between 1,000,001 and 10,000,000; and megacities are over 10,000,001.¹⁸

Education: The multidimensional role of education and the key role it plays in capital accumulation in urban areas are undeniable.¹⁹ Higher education is mostly accessible for the children of families who have an upper class position in society. As Gilbert argues:

But at the upper levels of occupational system, the good jobs go primarily to those who have completed college—about a quarter of young men and women. Within that select group, the further differential impact of family background on jobs attained or dollars earned is rather small: It is the degree that counts. Of course, background has a lot to do with the chance of getting the degree in the first place, so we reach a double conclusion: *College degrees both protect the privileges of people born into upper-status families and permit many from lower-status families to climb into the elite* (Gilbert, 2003, p. 164, emphasis in original).

Better education is thought as the ‘magic key’ for families to realize their dreams concerning their children’s future. Prestigious occupations such as technical and professional jobs can only be obtained through formal education. The significance of education in the stratification system is demonstrated by various studies (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 2008; Lockwood, 1995, p. 9; Savage, 2000, p. 74).

Education also determines social, cultural and economic capitals and lifestyles of individuals (Arun, 2010; Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1992). As Wynne states the majority of those who have high status jobs like top managers or professionals also have higher educational levels (2000, p. 6). Furthermore, well-educated women and men show greater interest in home furnishing (Ayata, 2002; Karademir-Hazır, 2009; Martin, 1993; Nelson, 1952; Pile, 2005; Rutt, 1955). As Bourdieu (1984) has pointed out, education is the most important means of climbing to higher

¹⁷ http://www.icisleri.gov.tr/_icisleri/Web/Gozlem2.aspx?sayfaNo=541

¹⁸ Retrieved June, 22, 2008 from <http://www.farkliyiz.com/forum/f432/sehirlerin-siniflandirilmasi-83982/>

¹⁹ In the literature on classics of urbanization migration from rural to urban areas is explained through “pull and push factors”. Better education, occupation and income prospects for children are outlined as pull factors for urbanization when discussing the urbanization processes in developing countries. In general, expectation of a better life in urban centres is explained through social, psychological, cultural and economic factors (Keleş, 1983, 1990).

social levels and is closely related to taste. Bourdieu also explores the relationship between higher-education system and social structure. Although in the model developed by Bourdieu, education is emphasized positively, it nevertheless “serves to maintain than reduce social inequality” (Swatz, 2000, p. 207). Bourdieu links education, academic performance, cultural and parental backgrounds with “social class structure without reducing this relationship to one of simple class determinism” (Swartz, 2000, p. 209). Especially, he emphasizes the little chance of the working-class youth to attend a university.

By taking into account the importance of education for cultural capital, education is labelled in eight categories of length of education as literate, primary school, secondary school, vocational high school, high school, vocational school, university/undergraduate and post-graduate. However, education is not taken as a single variable to account for cultural capital. Rather, it is accounted to conduct a factor analysis.

In Turkey, the literacy rate has gradually increased year-by-year since 1935.²⁰ According to TURKSTAT annual statistics, it has reached 97.37 % of the total. Literacy rate of men is 98.53 % while women compose 96.14 % of the total population. Those who have secondary education compose 58.56 % of the total. Of these 61.17 % are men and 55.81 % are women.²¹ In most developing countries, men were more educated than the female population. Although female literacy has increased steadily, it still remains below the male literacy rate. The total population and female-male literacy is illustrated in Table 2 below.

²⁰Source: <http://nkg.die.gov.tr/goster.asp?aile=3> (Inspired in 12/07/2008)

²¹ http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=14&ust_id=5 (Inspired in 12/07/2008)

Table 2

*Population by Literacy 1935-2000**Source: <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>

| Census Year | Total(4) | | | Illiterate | | | Literate | | |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Total | Female | Male | Total | Female | Male | Total | Female | Male |
| 1935 | 12 862 754 | 6 649 478 | 6 213 276 | 10 387 105 | 5 997 138 | 4 389 967 | 2 475 649 | 652 340 | 1 823 309 |
| 1940 (1) | 14 900 126 | 7 459 731 | 7 440 395 | 11 242 759 | 6 495 796 | 4 746 963 | 3 657 367 | 963 935 | 2 693 432 |
| 1945 (2) | 15 166 911 | 7 601 594 | 7 565 317 | 10 583 606 | 6 321 796 | 4 261 810 | 4 583 305 | 1 279 798 | 3 303 507 |
| 1950 (3) | 17 856 865 | 8 912 793 | 8 944 072 | 11 997 046 | 7 144 008 | 4 853 038 | 5 779 915 | 1 724 690 | 4 055 225 |
| 1955 | 19 366 996 | 9 547 428 | 9 819 568 | 11 392 958 | 7 078 529 | 4 314 429 | 7 915 238 | 2 436 472 | 5 478 766 |
| 1960 | 22 542 016 | 11 050 832 | 11 491 184 | 13 625 086 | 8 300 718 | 5 324 368 | 8 901 006 | 2 743 164 | 6 157 842 |
| 1965 | 25 664 797 | 12 591 279 | 13 073 518 | 13 138 956 | 8 450 391 | 4 688 565 | 12 505 021 | 4 132 941 | 8 372 080 |
| 1970 | 29 273 361 | 14 475 325 | 14 798 036 | 12 817 836 | 8 424 341 | 4 393 495 | 16 455 525 | 6 050 984 | 10 404 541 |
| 1975 | 33 530 605 | 16 274 192 | 17 256 413 | 12 144 188 | 8 048 078 | 4 096 110 | 21 331 366 | 8 212 708 | 13 118 658 |
| 1980 | 37 523 623 | 18 524 522 | 18 999 101 | 12 197 323 | 8 394 868 | 3 802 455 | 25 311 211 | 10 123 133 | 15 188 078 |
| 1985 | 43 112 337 | 21 311 483 | 21 800 854 | 9 703 662 | 6 770 698 | 2 932 964 | 33 321 762 | 14 497 065 | 18 824 697 |
| 1990 | 49 163 110 | 24 306 582 | 24 856 528 | 9 587 981 | 6 808 809 | 2 779 172 | 39 555 483 | 17 488 623 | 22 066 860 |
| 2000 | 59 859 243 | 29 613 798 | 30 245 445 | 7 589 657 | 5 732 525 | 1 857 132 | 52 259 381 | 23 875 115 | 28 384 266 |

(*) Population 6 years of age and over.

(1) Data of 1940 has been estimated by using the data of 1935 and 1945.

(2) Population 7 years of age and over.

(3) Population 5 years of age and over.

(4) "Unknown" is also included.

In this study, literacy rate reaches almost 100 %. Additionally, level of education of the previous generations is also significant for understanding differences in social, cultural and economic capitals of both individuals and families. Although the impact of father's education and occupation is emphasized when discussing social class differentiation and transmission of wealth through generations, the impact of mother's education is also discussed in the stratification study carried out by Kalaycıoğlu et al. (2008) in Ankara. The major difference, however, is observed in higher education levels. In the survey, females who graduated from higher education institutions (44.9 %) were higher than males (38.5 %). The main reason for this is not only that the survey was conducted in the most urbanized neighborhoods and middle class settlements in Ankara, but also that women, especially the highly educated ones, were more interested in participating in the research.

It should be noted that almost all respondents emphasized the significance of education. Specifically, the respondents with lower education expressed that their children should at least have undergraduate degree, and that they should be responsible to provide the best opportunity for their children's education. They also emphasized that higher education is essential for a good and prestigious job and for a high social status.

To summarize, there are significant differences between the education levels of female and male respondents and those of previous generations. There is also a clear trend towards declining illiteracy rates and rising education levels. For instance, each generation has a higher education level than the previous one. Furthermore, as length of stay in Ankara increases, female education tends to increase as well. In other words, the gender difference in education levels becomes smaller.

Economic Profiles: Economic profiles are taken as employment/occupations and monthly income levels.

Employment/Occupations: Parents, especially fathers who have higher education levels and occupational positions help their children to switch to higher social class positions (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Bourdieu, 1984; Gilbert, 2003; Savage, 2000). After Bourdieu's study, the significance of occupation has gradually been stressed in stratification and class analyses by cultural approaches, specifically through the British sociological approach. In this approach,

prestigious occupations are emphasized not only for the possibility of upward social mobility but also for higher compositions and volumes of social, cultural and economic capitals. Thus, occupations directly affect lifestyle, taste and aesthetical considerations of individuals. The association between occupation and lifestyle as cultural acquirements and also as requirements has been emphasized in Weber's theory (Ayata, 2002; Ayata & Ayata, 1996; Bali, 2004; Bourdieu, 1984; Brooks, 2000; Saktanber, 2002; Weber, 1978; Wynne, 2000).

Before Boratav's employment status was adopted, occupations were defined according to ISCO 08.²² This classification was modified and new developments in the world of work were integrated into it. According to ISCO, the codes for major groups are as follows:

1. Managers
2. Professionals
3. Technicians and associate professionals
4. Clerical support workers
5. Service and sales workers
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers
7. Craft and related trades workers
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers
9. Elementary occupations
10. Armed forces occupations²³

The above occupational schema provides the base to refer to the occupational hierarchy in this study. However, these categories do not include the retirees and housewives. The Turkish occupational categorizations are presented in the study by Kalaycıoğlu et al. (1998) and Tüzün (2000). These works suggest that the occupation of the household head should be taken into account alongside the respondent's occupation. The household head may not have a regular or even a casual income, but nevertheless, as a major source of authority, they play a crucial role in the decision making process. Boratav (1995a, p. 7) on the other hand, indicates nine categories: unemployed, retired, highly qualified professional, white-collar employee, unskilled service

²² International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). ISCO was mainly identified in 1968 by the International Labor Organization. The occupational classification system of major, sub-major, minor and unit groups shown in the Annex to this resolution is endorsed and updated by the Meeting of Experts in Labour Statistics and is designated as the International Standard Classification of Occupations, 2008 (ISCO-08) in December, 2007, Inspired in 12/07/2008 <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/isco88/publ4.htm>.

²³ Retrieved July, 12, 2008, from <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/index.htm>.

worker, blue-collar worker, small traders/marginals, small employers, and medium-big employers.

Monthly Income: In addition to demographic and socio-cultural profiles, monthly income of the respondents is also significant in defining their class positions. In sociological research tradition, as discussed below, income directly influences lifestyles and tastes. For this reason, monthly income is also included in correspondence analysis.

After demographic, socio-cultural and economic profiles are discussed, the fundamental variables of the profiles of the respondents are displayed in Figure 1 as social space using correspondence analysis. Above, it was explained that correspondence analysis was preferred because it made possible to view all categories that belong to each variable as points coded categorically in the correspondence analysis and the proximity of these points to one another as well as the intersection point of the coordinates reflect similarity or difference depending on how far or close they stand. Figure 1 is composed of four cells and the categories that display the characteristics of the respondents have created a clustering in the form of points.

As could be observed in Figure 1, each grouping of the categories has been stigmatized within different clouds. The colours are chosen to label the socio-psychological and emotional conditions of the respondents that are based on the observations and field notes of the author. According to the closeness of education levels and occupations in the same cloudings, these colours are interpreted that the colours are colours of the fractions of the Turkish middle class. There are four main colours: *magenta-pink* refers the highest socio-cultural and economic profile, *purple* designates the upper, *blue* is the middle, and lastly yellow is the lower. The positionings, neighbourings and also touching points of the clouds display the groupings and characteristics of the respondents in social space. Furthermore, the transparent colours provide to see the labels of each cloud. Thereby, after these short explanations about the colours, while taking into account the colours of cloudings, Figure 1 can be read off more easily.

In Figure 1, which is taken as social space, if the clustering that was formed because of the distribution of the points that display the categories is defined, it can be observed that basically, four clusterings are formed. According to this, Group 1, the yellow one, composes of people who are below 35 years of age and single. In this group, people living alone outnumber the others and they are either unqualified or blue-collar workers. This group is situated in close

proximity to points that indicate graduation from high school or a vocational college, working as a white collar male, earning a monthly income of 2000 TL or below and metropolitan cities as birth place. It can easily be observed from left below to Group 2, the blue one, and right above areas that these fall close to Group 3, the purple one. The existence of this group, which is composed of the youngest respondents, reflects a loose distribution and is marked with the colour green.

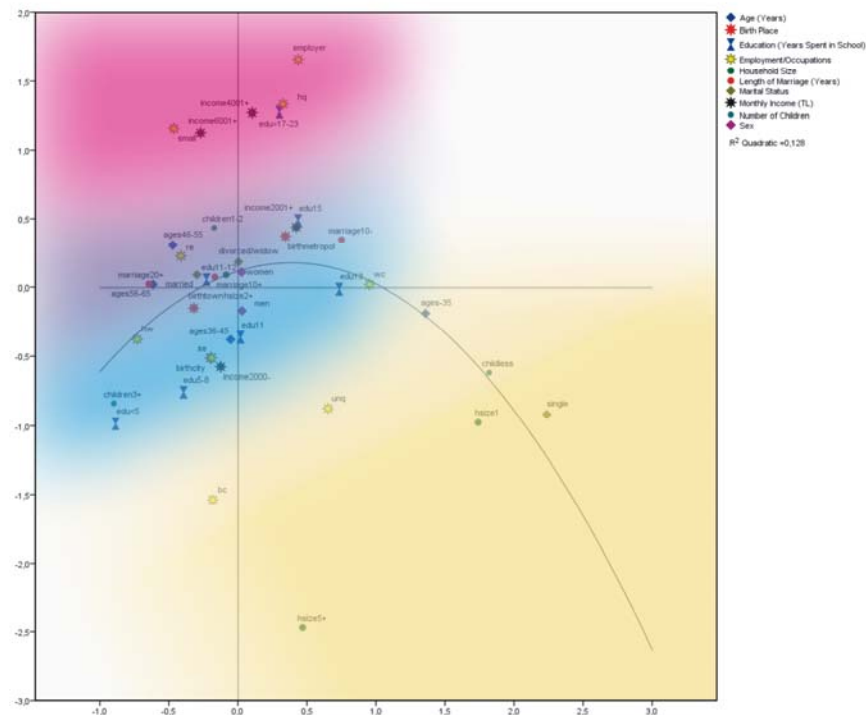


Figure 1. Demographic, Socio-Cultural and Economic Profiles of the Respondents

DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILES: Ages: ages35- (Younger than 35), ages36-45 (Between 36 and 45), ages46-55 (Between 46 and 55), ages56+ (Elder than 55); Birth Place: birthtown (Town/Small City), birthcity (Big City), birthmetropol (Metropolitan City); Education (Years Spent in School): eduilliterate (excluded), edu<5, edu5-8, edu11-12, edu11, edu13, edu15, edu17-23; Employment/Occupations: hw (House Wife), unq (Unqualified Worker), re (Retiree), bc (Blue Collar), wc (White Collar), se (Self-Employed), hq (High Qualified Professional), small (Small Employer), employer (Middle-Size Employer); Household Size: hsize1 (Live Alone), hsize1+ (1-4 Members), hsize5+ (More than 5 Members); Length of Marriage: marriage10- (Less than 10 Years), marriage10+ (Between 10 and 20), marriage20+ (More than 20 Years); Marital Status: single (Not married), married (Got Married), divorced/widow (Divorced or Widow); Monthly Income: income2000- (less than 2000 TL), income2001+ (Between 2001-4001 TL), income4001+ (Between 4001 and 6000 TL), income6001+ (Over 6001 TL); Number of Children: childless (No Children), children1+ (1-2 Children), children3+ (Over 3 Children); Sex: women, men

Groups 2 and 3 are situated in close proximity and Group 2 from above while Group 3 from below supervene, which makes it seem as if the two can be evaluated as one single group. However, upon a closer look at this clustering, it is possible to observe that the clustering resolves and thus, forms two different groups. Moreover, when the associations of Group 1 and Group 4, the majenta one, are observed, it will be in place to label the lower part of the clustering as Group 2 and the upper part as Group 3.

In this framework, Group 2 reflects people in the 36-45 age group whose education level varies from literate but no formal schooling to high school graduation (In fact, some less than 5 years of formal schooling and some up to 11 years). This reflects the clustering of the group which is composed of respondents who are either housewives or are self-employed. They are born in a big city, have 3 or more kids and earn 2000 TL or less. The close proximity that this group bears with Group 1 was mentioned above. Its contact with Group 3, on the other hand, is close with respect to two points: male respondents and people born in a town or small city. From a point which is a bit far from the right, there are respondents who are vocational college graduates or have nearly 13 years of formal education but still display these qualities. This group is closer to categories that display married people, families composed of 2-4 people and male respondents. When this is evaluated in a general sense, although this group carries some similarities with Group 3, it is still a different group and thus labeled with the colour blue.

In Group 3, age is 46 and over and men and women are distributed almost evenly. Moreover, some of them have been married for a long time while others are either divorced or widowed. They have 1 or 2 kids and these respondents live in 2-4 member households. In addition, they graduated from a vocational high school, a vocational college or a 4-year university which means they had 11-12 to 15 years of education, and are retired or still work as white collar. Their income varies between 2001-4000 TL. They are born in towns, small cities or metropolitan cities. This group is labelled with the colour purple.

The fourth and the last group, as can be observed clearly from Figure 1, reflect a loose clustering and are situated above separately from all the other groups. The significant characteristic of this group is that they have a monthly income of more than 4001 TL. Moreover, these respondents range from highly qualified professionals to small or middle employers who have post-graduate education summing up to 17 years. With these characteristics, although they are separate from

all the other groups, they are still close to the clustering where Group 3 rests with respondents that fall into the categories of 46-55 years of age, having 1-2 kids and 15 years of education, being born in a metropolitan city, retired, married and women. This group is labelled with the colour majenta/pink.

After these detailed explanation of Figure 1, it can be said that basic demographic, soci-cultural and economic characteristics display that there are four different groupings or cloudings in the Turkish middle class in social space. In other words, these gatherings of characteristics can be interpreted that they are primarily findings to demonstrate of the inner-stratification of the Turkish middle class, and that the respondents who have higher social position are the members of the higher strata. The fractions of middle class are analytically constructed in Chapter 4, and then their life-styles and tastes are discussed Chapter 5.

In this section, having defined the concepts that the study is grounded on, the methodology of the study and the basic demographic, socio-cultural and economic profiles of the respondents, the theoretical and conceptual basis of the study will be explained in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

“No doubt I did speak of the union of theory and practice within ‘theoretical practice’ ”

(Louis Althusser)²⁴

3.1. MIDDLE CLASS(ES)

3.1.1. Introductory Remarks

In the post-war period, technological improvements and innovations have reflected on and also transformed economic, social and cultural structures in the world. Specifically, since the 1970s, on the one hand, important changes have taken place in the status of work and employment; on the other hand, social, cultural and economic lives have been transformed as an outcome of these changes. Both social theories and empirical studies attempt to understand and explain these transformations in social classes and/or class structures.

The classes and stratification studies in modern societies have been theoretically or empirically grounded on the theories of Marx or Weber. They have been influenced by various developments in social theory. The critiques of positivism and normative functionalism, the revival of interest in theoretical Marxism, and the turn to philosophical ‘realism as well as more recent critiques of ‘totalizing discourses’ from within the *postmodernist*²⁵ perspectives point out

²⁴ Althusser, (1967). To My English Readers, in *For Marx*, p. 15.

²⁵ In its most general sense, *postmodernism* defines a philosophical movement that is a reaction to modernism, that rejects modernist dichotomies such as woman/man, black/white, imperial/colonial and that treats reality as relative and plural while rejecting the existence of an absolute truth. However, next to philosophy, it is influential in artistic fields such as architecture, fine arts, cinema, design, visual arts and music as well as fields such as theology, literature and literary criticism, sociology, linguistics, history and anthropology that put emphasis on the cultural dimension. It defines social, cultural, politic and economic

different dimensions of class issues (Crompton, 1996, p. 187). In recent class analysis and stratification studies, two major aspects can be considered as Marxist and Weberian.

The Marxist authors, such as Braverman, Carchedi (1975), the Ehrenreichs, Poulantzas (1975) and Wright (1985) analyze classes in relations of production and exploitation and the antagonism which is inherent in class relationships which are the fundamental power for social change are put into question. The Weberian writers, i.e. Crompton, Goldthorpe, Savage and Warde, make evaluations within the relations of market and occupational schema. In addition to these, some authors, such as Bourdieu, Giddens, and Goldthorpe have employed the concepts from Marx and Weber, and from there onwards improved their own conceptual tools. Concepts which include exploitation, domination, subordination, ownership or property borrowed from Marx and those from Weber, which include occupational and social status or prestige, transformations in life and lifestyle, have enabled the writers to elaborate on and evaluate social classes. Additionally, some postmodern authors, such as Baudrillard, Gottdiener and Jameson, emphasize the significance of consumption and lifestyle. In the postmodern era, societies and social classes are formed by consumption patterns, or in Baudrillard's words, consumption of signs.

The conceptual definitions of the classes and the boundaries involved bear serious intellectual difficulties because of the new forms of work, the structure of employment and blurred margins between control and decision mechanisms in modern societies. There are several approaches to classify social classes. One of them defines classes according to the ownership of the means of production, production and distribution of economic surplus, domination and subordination, exploitation and control of labor power in the capitalist system. The other, on the other hand, mediates consumption patterns or standards of living according to people's expenditure.

Beside these classifications, recent studies have a tendency to judge ways of consumption, lifestyle and leisure to distinguish a social group from the others. This aspect concentrates more on the cultural dimensions rather than the economic and social ones. It can be said that Bourdieu's study, specifically *Distinction* (1984) on French taste, is accepted as a turning point

changes and social values in the field of social sciences and everyday language after the 1970s. *Postmodernist* refers these perspectives, and the people who adopt the principles of postmodernism.

in terms of making an emphasis on culture in social sciences. The cultural aspect frequently and interchangeably uses class and occupational structure on the one hand and exploits cultural assets as well as economic and social ones on the other to define classes. British sociology frequently takes advantages of the cultural approach and amalgamates class analysis with a variety of subjects from ethnicity to gender, race, age, family, voting behaviors among many others (Scase, 1992, p. 79).

In other words, classes have been defined according to objective or subjective indicators. On the one hand, the objective determiners generally refer to measurable criteria such as the ownership of means of production, possessions or property, income, occupations and employment status. In this way, class issues are investigated in three steps. Firstly, information about the informants' jobs, titles, duties, earnings and the like are gathered. Secondly, these jobs are allotted in various categories such as 'higher professional and managerial', 'routine non-manual' or 'semi-skilled manual'. Finally, these jobs are classified as occupational groupings, and each one is referred to as a 'social class' (Scase, 1992, p. 3). Marshall et al. (1988) and Goldthorpe (1983, 1984) construct their studies by applying these three steps. On the other hand, the subjective studies mediate the criteria which consist of perceived indicators such as culture, collective class belongings, people's self-expression, or perception, and the definition of their own classes.

It should be mentioned that these three steps are partially applied and preferred in a given sense in this study, too. Although objective indicators are obtained from the field study, subjective ones, specifically the ones on social and cultural capitals, are maintained from re-recorded and reorganized latent variables, which are explained in the method section.

The most known and used indicator is the occupational schema to draw the class boundaries in recent class analysis and stratification studies. As Crompton (1996) argued, occupation is an 'extremely powerful indicator of an interrelated network of social advantage and disadvantage' in the modern society (p. 114).

All these approaches make an important theoretical and conceptual contribution to define either newly emerged occupational or supervising positions between capital and labor or social groups between bourgeoisie/capitalists and proletariat/working class. Of course, these studies have not only been about the middle class and in fact, only related argumentations and debates will be

included in this study as it is restricted to the middle class. These theories and conceptual instruments have been employed in empirical studies as well. In spite of the fact that different names have been employed as well, these newly emerged “in-between” or intermediary class positions or social groups are generally referred to as the middle class in social theory. However, the people who work in these occupations are discriminated by the old middle class, which is also referred to as the old or traditional middle class, and working class. This discrimination is made clear through the usage of some concepts such as “white collar”, “new petty bourgeoisie”, “new middle class”, “new working class” and “service class” in class and stratification theories. These conceptualizations have attempted to explain class relations and also occupational structures by referring to and taking into account basic social, economic, political and cultural changes and transformations of the capitalist societies²⁶ in modern times, especially the post-war period.²⁷

²⁶ Marx defines three modes of production in modern history after the collapse of the Roman Empire:

feudalism, the locally based agrarian society of the Middle ages, in which a small landowning aristocracy in each district exploited the labor of a peasant majority; *capitalism*, the emerging industrial and commercial order of Marx’s own lifetime, already international in scope and characterized by the dominance of the owners of industry over the mass of industrial workers; and *communism*, the technologically advanced, classless society of the future, in which all productive property would be held in common (Gilbert, 2003, p. 4) (Originally emphasized).

Capitalist mode of production after the Industrial Revolution is referred to within different periods utilizing and combining various literature from economics, social, cultural, political, historical to science and technology. The authors protecting their own academic positions have emphasized different dimensions either by agreeing, disagreeing or challenging and criticizing the other theoretical and conceptual approaches in these fields. These periods are: 1. Early capitalism from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution until the beginning of the 20th century; 2. Monopoly capitalism during the WW II; through the 1920s; 3. The Great Depression, or Crisis, of Capitalism until the end of WW II; 4. Welfare capitalism, or *Golden Age* of capitalism or Lash and Urry’s *Organized Capitalism*, from the mid-1940s to the end of 1970s; 5. New capitalism, or post-capitalism, or Offe’s *Disorganized Capitalism*, or Castells’s *Information Society*, or Harvey’s, Baurillard’s, Gottdiener’s and Jameson’s postmodern era, especially for approximately last forty years.

²⁷ Modern societies compose of the capitalist, socialist and state socialist societies. I only utilize the literature about the advanced and developing capitalist societies because of the lack of socialist experiences in our society. Balzer’s edition (1996), *Russia’s Missing Middle Class*, White’s (2004) *Small-town Russia*, Li’s edition (2010) *China’s Emerging Middle Class*, *Mexican Middle Class*, *Middle Class in Developing Countries*, *Indian Middle Class* are given as several examples of the middle class in ex-Soviet, state socialist and the other societies in the world. Some studies, i.e. Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton (1981), Forty (1986), emphasize the differences among the taste and aesthetics of the classes, especially those who originate from old aristocracy or the old middle class and those who are new political elites/leaders from working class, as assumed in this thesis.

Although the rise of middle class(es) can be traced back to the beginnings of the previous century, its/their post-war form(s) have been taken into consideration in the context of this study. After the post-war period, the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism²⁸ has been realized in modern capitalist societies. It can be said that today's class structures have shaped the results of the changes in the sphere of work, the new social division of labor and the employment policies both in the public and private sectors under the new capitalism since the beginning of the 1970s.²⁹ In other words, neither social classes nor occupational structures in the new phase of capitalism are the same with the time of Marx and Weber since the 1950s (Breen & Rotman, 1995, p. 87). While the technical and scientific professions (McKibben, 1998; Braverman, 1974), the clerks and retailers (Mills, 1962; Öngen, 1994) have increased in occupational schema, their class positions have been discussed by employing new conceptualizations in the studies of classes, stratification and inequality.

As expressed by Scase (1992), "occupations do not determine the nature of social classes; instead, it is class relations, embedded as these are within the control relationships of organizations, that determine the delineation of occupations and, therefore, occupational orders" (pp. 25-26). The classes are not directly determined by the occupations, but the functions of capital and labor. Indeed, the classes are realized in the social relations of production. Thus, functions define classes and occupations. Whilst the functions of capital include 'ownership, control and coordination, and research and technological development', the functions of labor are 'production of economic surplus, execution of necessary but non-productive tasks'. Looking up the functions, the former determine the middle classes who are shareholders, proprietors, directors, managers, higher-grade professional employees, scientists, engineers and technologists and the latter are the working class who are productive manual workers, clerical, secretarial,

²⁸ In the most widely known meaning, Fordism refers to the assembly-line mass production and centralization of control of/on the labour processes in factories employing the principles of scientific managerialism. Post-Fordism denotes the new production types using new technologies without assembly-line production and the decentralization of control of/on the labour processes in workplaces that are no longer in big-size factories. Many authors think that this transition is the main reason of the change of class relations and occupational positions, and the emergence of new in-between occupations, especially in managerial and professional occupations including advertisement, finance, communication and information technologies.

²⁹ The changes and transformation of work, labor process, the new social division of labor are theorized within economic, social, cultural, political and also spatial dimensions by various writers, i.e. Aglietta (1979), Beck (1992), Castells (1996, 1997), Harvey (1989, 1996, 2003), Jessop (2006, 2008), Lash & Urry (1987, 1994), Massey (1984), Offe (1985), Sennett (1993, 1998, 2006, 2008).

routine ‘non-manual’, ‘support’ and maintenance workers in occupational categories. Hence, the classes depend on the production and expropriation of economic surplus according to the relations of control and *distribution* of resources. The class and class relations are ‘hidden’ within the productive process, the spheres of distribution and personal consumption (Scase, 1992, p. 27). In this sense, the stratification and hierarchical patterns of occupations tend to be classified in similar ways:

- 1.Owner-managers of large enterprises and individuals with substantial property assets and shareholdings;
- 2.Directors, managers and higher grade professional and technical employees;
- 3.Lower grade professional, managerial and technical employees, and owner-managers of medium and small enterprises;
- 4.Skilled and semi-skilled manual, clerical, secretarial and routine non-manual employees;
- 5.Unskilled manual employees and those who participate ‘part-time’ in the labor market (Scase, 1992, pp. 27-28).

While the first defines the occupations of the capitalist, the last two are the jobs of the proletariat, or the working class, and the second and third levels are generally accepted as the middle class positions by Scase. However, the forth category, except from skilled and some semi-skilled manual employees, is recently labeled as the middle class or service class. The cross-national consistency of this pattern designates the association between the occupational groupings and the functions of both capital and labor.

Nevertheless, the classes are not only occupational positions. In fact, they also have social, cultural and economic differences as well. In other words, the social, cultural and economic capitals, their compositions and volumes determine the individuals’ class positions. The distinctive class positions, in Bourdieu’s words (1984), reflect on their taste and aesthetical dispositions as well as lifestyle.

As mentioned previously, this dissertation mediates social, cultural and economic capitals to focus on the distinction of taste and aesthetics as everyday choices through home furniture and decoration in the Turkish middle class(es) houses. In this section, firstly, the frames of occupational class definitions of the middle class will be drawn by utilizing the literature on class and stratification. Secondly, taste and aesthetics and their material contruction in the houses will be clarified as everyday choices and preferences to beautify the home by utilizing furniture, accessories and decorative objects will be discussed.

3.1.2. Classics: Marx and Weber

Modern class structures have begun to be shaped since the Industrial Revolution. Both Marx and Weber were historically interested in the economic, social, political, juridical as well as cultural changes and transformations which were observed and experienced in their times. The contemporary class and stratification theories are basically grounded on their social theories which are regarded as classics.

3.1.2.i. Marx

Even though class and stratification debates can be traced back to ancient philosophy, the modern discussions start with the attempts of Marx to formulate a systematic class theory in the capitalist mode of production. Marx developed his economic, social, political and philosophical ideas in the midst of the Industrial Revolution, and systematically elucidated the association between economic and social facts. Most of the later theories about class and stratification have been developed with respect to his theories; adopting agreement, support and challenge.

Marx defines the main classes in modern capitalist societies:

The owners merely of labor-power, owners of capital, and ground-rent, in other words, wage-labourers, capitalists and land-owners, constitute then three big classes of modern society based on upon the capitalist mode of production (1967, p. 885).

Besides these three great classes, he adds:

Middle and intermediate strata even here obliterate lines of demarcation everywhere (although incomparably less in rural districts than in the cities). However, this is immaterial for our analysis (1967, p. 885).

In this sense, Marx analyzes modern capitalist societies and capitalist mode of production focusing on wage-labourers and capitalists, and he does not include land-owners and middle strata in his analysis on industrial capitalist mode of production. In other words, he describes the two main social classes as the capitalist class or *bourgeoisie* and the working class or *proletariat* according to the ownership of the means of production in industrial capitalist societies. While the bourgeoisie owns the means of production, such as mines or factories, and dominates the

proletariat, the proletariat must sell their labor to the owners of the means of production to earn a wage and thus, stay alive; not to mention that this group is subordinated by the bourgeoisie.

In addition, there is middle class or petty bourgeoisie between these two basic classes. Middle class consists of the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, rentiers, the handicraftsmen and peasants among the bourgeoisie, proletariat and landowners in capitalist society (Wacquant, 1991, p. 40). Marx argues that middle class would be thinned out and lost in the capitalist class structure through times. Thus, a capitalist society becomes a wholly polarized society between these two extremes (Gilbert, 2003, pp. 3-7). In other words, sooner or later, since the middle class would disappear from the class structure, Marx was not heartily interested in the middle class (Öngen, 1994, pp. 63-64).³⁰ That is to say, in Marx's theory, while the bourgeoisie and proletariat construct the two main classes, middle class is positioned between them as petty bourgeoisie in the capitalist class structure. These polarized classes are constructive elements of class conflict and struggle in Marxist economic and political theories.

With regard to Marx, the mode of production, or economic system, is the main determinant of a society's *superstructure*, which is composed of social, cultural, political and juridical institutions and ideas. Class system is based not only on pure compulsion, but also on the persuasive influence of ideas. Marx utilized the concepts of *ideology* and *class consciousness* to explain and understand the system. Ideology and class consciousness produce and develop through people's

³⁰ It should be mentioned that in social sciences both Marxists and other writers deliberately emphasise Marx's projection that middle class would eventually disappear and for this reason he did not take this class into consideration in the scope of this study. However, after his death (1883), the philosopher Karl Kautsky (1854–1938) edited Marx's manuscripts for *Capital IV: Theories of Surplus Value*, and it was published as the fourth volume, *Theorien über den Mehrwert* [Theories of Surplus Value, 1905–1910] of three-volume edition; then its first volume was published in English as *A History of Economic Theories* (1952). In Chapter XVIII: Ricardo's Miscellanea. John Barton of this first volume, Marx discusses the emergence of surplus production and surplus value linked with agriculture and industry within the context of the capitalist mode of production. Here, he says:

What [Ricardo] forgets to emphasise is the constantly growing number of the middle classes, those who stand between the workmen on the one hand and the capitalist and landlord on the other. The middle classes maintain themselves to an ever increasing extent directly out of revenue, they are a burden weighing heavily on the working base and increase the social security and power of the upper ten thousand (1969, p. 573).

However, this quotation which claims the opposite to the assertions that Marx ignored the middle class requires a more detailed reading of his original work. However, such a reading is beyond the scope of this study. For this reason, in this study, having left such a detailed reading to another study, the general comment that Marx had not included middle class in his analysis was taken as the basis in this study.

own experiences collaborating with the others to produce, reproduce and continue social life. However, social experience is not homogenous in a class-divided society, and each class has its own experiences which are considered within its own particular class interests.³¹ With reference to Marx, culture is one of the basic elements of superstructure in a given society. In the context of this study, taste and aesthetics as a part of the culture of a class are determined by a society's superstructure in a class-divided society.

To sum up, Marx defined classes in economic relations according to the mode of production. Even though Marx expressed who were the petty bourgeoisie or the middle class, he didn't use occupations to categorize the classes. Rather, he focused on the ownership of the means of production. Nevertheless, at the last instance, economy determines class structure.

3.1.2.ii. Weber

Weber was interested in familiar problems of capitalist societies including the origins of capitalism, the role of ideology, and the relationship between social structure and economic processes. Weber frequently took advantages of Marx's work, but he reached different conclusions, and provided a conceptual clarity and subjective aspects of stratification, as expressed in everyday interactions for/in the field of stratification (Gilbert, 2003, p. 7).

Weber, like Marx, makes an emphasis on the most important class distinction between those who own property and those who do not. Within Weber's own statements:

³¹ Between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, there is constant class conflict and proletariat takes places in continuous class struggle that forges history and a society's *superstructure* of social, cultural, political and juridical institutions and ideas. Although class conflict and struggle, and the concepts of ideology and class-consciousness construct the backbones of Marx's social, political and philosophical theory, this dissertation focuses on sociological knowledge of middle classes' taste and aesthetics rather than the political one. For this reason, the political and philosophical emphases in Marx's theory are not mentioned in the context of the study. Besides these, ideology and class consciousness are also important concepts of Marx in explaining and understanding class conflict and struggle as well as the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, the corresponding specific form of the state. In *German Ideology*, *Capital I, II* and specifically *Capital III* and *18th Brumaire*, Marx discusses the base-superstructure relations emphasizing material production and social (re)production. However, since political dimensions are not involved in the framework of this study, the concepts of base and superstructure are not comprehensively discussed here.

“Class situation” means the typical probability of

1. Procuring goods
2. Gaining a position in life and
3. Finding inner stratifications,

a probability which derives from the relative control over goods and skills and from their income-producing uses within a given economic order.

“Class” mean all persons in the same class situation.

- a) A “*property* class” is primarily determined by property differences,
- b) A “*commercial* class” by the marketability of goods and services,
- c) A “*social* class” makes up the totality of those class situations within which individual and generational mobility is easy and typical.

Associations of class members—class organizations—may arise on the basis of all three types of classes. However, this does not necessarily happen: “Class situation” and “class” refer only to the same (or similar) interests which an individual shares with others. In principle, the various controls over consumer goods, means of production, assets, resources and skills each constitute a *particular* class situation. A *uniform* class situation prevails only when completely unskilled and propertyless persons are dependent on irregular employment. Mobility among, and of stability, class positions differs greatly; hence, the unity of a social class is highly variable (Weber, 1978, p. 302).

As stated in the quotation, Weber uses ‘class situation’ and ‘class’ in the same meaning and distinguishes three main class situations as *property class*, *commercial class* and *social class*. While he separates positively and negatively privileged property and commercial classes, he discusses those ‘in between’ as “the various ‘middle classes’ (*Mittelstandsklassen*), which make a living from their property or their acquired skills” [which refer to entrepreneurs, witness peasants, craftsmen, officials for property class]; and those “in between again are ‘middle classes’” [which designate self-employed farmers, craftsmen, public and private officials, the ‘liberal professionals’ and the labour groups with exceptional qualifications for commercial classes] (1978, pp. 303-304).

In addition to property and commercial classes, Weber discusses who social classes are, and expresses that the social classes are:

- a) the working class as a whole, b) the petty bourgeoisie, c) the propertyless intelligentsia and specialists such as technicians, various white-collar employees, civil servants, and lastly d) the classes privileged through property and education. The definitions of social classes construct his upward social mobility theory. While a) and b) are rising towards c), d) can possess *everything* since they have the power of money. Besides, in this sense, c) also has a chance to move upwards into class d) (Weber, 1978, p. 305).

Thus, while Weber discusses the classes under capitalism, depending on whether they possessed property or not, he expresses the possibility and potentiality of upward mobility with acquired and developed skills and education.

The definitions of class and class situation, status and status group are distinctive in Weber's social ranking or stratification theory. While class and class situation both depend on the individual's economic position and strength in the economic market, which in this respect is similar to Marx's argument, status and status groups designate social prestige as a subjective phenomenon, unlike the objective and measurable economic fact of class. With reference to Weber's statements:

“Status” (*ständische Lage*) shall mean an effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges; it is typically found on

- a) Style of life, hence
- b) Formal education, which may be
 - α) empirical training or
 - β) rational instruction, and the corresponding forms of behavior,
- c) Heredity or occupational prestige.

In practice, status expresses itself through

- α) connubium,
- β) commensality, possibly
- γ) monopolistic appropriation of privileged modes of acquisition or the abhorrence of certain kinds of acquisition,
- δ) status conventions (traditions) of other kinds (Weber, 1978, pp. 305-306).

With respect to Weber's detailed definition, it is possible to acquire by means of a class position which carries out wealth starting from upbringing and education to create a common lifestyle. After Weber defines status, he adds the meaning of status group to this definition:

A “status group” means a plurality of persons who, within a larger group, successfully claim

- a) A special social esteem, and possibly also
- b) Status monopolies.

Status groups may come into being:

- a) In the first instance, by virtue of their own style of life, particularly the type of vocation: “self-styled” or occupational status groups,
- b) In the second instance, through heredity charisma, by virtue of successful claims to higher-ranking descent: heredity status groups, or
- c) Through monopolistic appropriation of political or hierocratic powers: political or hierocratic status groups (Weber, 1978, p. 306).

In this sense, the development of hereditary status groups emerges by an organization or qualified individuals. Status groups are corresponding political powers and economic opportunities, but they do not depend on the rise of commercial classes' market-oriented economy. Rather, status groups arise within the framework of organization. In this context, Weber proposed to evaluate on a “status society” or a “class society”. Then, he expresses, “The

status group comes closest to the social class and is most unlike the commercial class. Status groups are often created by property classes” (Weber, 1978, pp. 306-307).

Furthermore, Weber focused on the interrelations between class and status, between economy and society as a class position. While class position, or occupation, maintains a certain income to a person, s/he conducts a lifestyle by using this income and makes friends with others who have the same income and live in the same manner. This interaction makes it possible for people to conceive themselves as a special type and to distinguish themselves from the others who are the outsiders. Although this interaction is a corporative factor for people who live in the same manner through earning the same amount of income, it is restrictive for those who live differently. For example, the rich, the poor, uneducated or clumsy follow a certain lifestyle and feel comfortable within themselves and with people that they find similar while they find themselves uncomfortable with the others that adopt a different lifestyle. Thus, a status group has a certain lifestyle and forms an ingrown circle. Moreover, status groups develop conventions or customs in time to cover appropriate and different ways of dressing, eating and living, and thus, a way of life that is distinctive from the others that they find dissimilar. These distinctions are based and countered back on the market and consumption laws. Therefore, high-status groups, preserving their advantages, attempt to monopolize those goods that symbolize their lifestyle. These principles have moral judgments and values, and they conduct and designate a special lifestyle (Weber, 1978, pp. 926-939). Improving the concepts of lifestyle, Weber links with class, class situation, status and status groups in market and consumption. With Weber’s statements:

In contrast to classes, *status groups* are normally communities. They are, however, often of an amorphous kind. In contrast to the purely economically determined ‘class situation’ we wish to designate as ‘status situation’ every typical component of life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of *honor*³². This honor may be connected with any quality shared by a plurality, and, of course, it can be knit to a class situation: class distinctions are linked in the most varied ways with status distinctions. ...

In content, status honor is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific *style of life* can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle. Linked with this expectation are restrictions on ‘social’ intercourse (that is, intercourse which is not subservient to economic or any other of business’s ‘functional’ purposes). These restrictions may confine normal marriages to within the status circle and may lead to complete endogamous closure. As soon as there is not a mere individual and socially irrelevant imitation of another style of life, but an agreed-upon

³² In this study, even though the British English is preferred, some quotations include American spellings which were used in original writings and wordings.

communal action of this closing character, the 'status' development under way (Weber, 1958, pp. 186-187).

Besides, Weber's three status groups, as mentioned, are categorized as "self-styled" or occupational, hereditary and political or hierocratic regarding their mode of consuming goods. These status groups construct and present distinctive lifestyles:

With some over-simplification, one might thus say that classes are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas status groups are stratified according to the principles of their *consumption* of goods as represented by special styles of life (emphases is original, Weber, 1978, p. 937³³).

In other words, each status group has its own lifestyle. Furthermore, social status or lifestyle yields social honour or prestige for its members in the local community which may be the basis of economic power (Weber, 1978, p. 926).

Shortly, by underlying Marx's idea of economic basis of class, Weber elucidated the association among economy and society employing the concepts of class, status, social class, lifestyle, consumption, occupation and income. Especially, Weber's emphasis on lifestyle and consumption patterns has affected recent social theory and given a new direction to define the classes through social, cultural and political experiences. Weber's theory of social class is utilized more flexibly and suitably than Marx's theory in recent studies. Weber's approach takes class as a dimension of social differentiation interrelating market, ownership of property, occupation, income, consumption and lifestyle. Indeed, class is a sum or a combination of various conditions such as possession, income, occupation, education, status, social honour and prestige or authority. Thus, class is a multidimensional social variable of not only the relations of production, but also those of consumption (Öngen, 1994, p. 40).

To sum up, Marx emphasized the significance of class conflict and class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for class interests that determine the belonging of a class which were shaped by class-consciousness. Weber outlined the differences among shared identity between class and status groups. Economy has a constitutive role in defining the classes in both the theories of Marx and Weber. On the one hand, while Marx emphasized the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, he highlighted the disappearance of the middle class because they would either

³³ Same texts were published in both Weber, 1958 and 1978.

fall in the realm of the proletariat or rise to that of the capitalist as a result of the capitalist economic system. On the other hand, Weber took into account economy because individuals gained income in an economic system and then, according to their income, they developed some habits. Moreover, they preferred to connect with people who lived in a manner similar to them. Thus, they belonged to a social group and shared social values, consumption patterns and lifestyles.

Conglomerating the definitions of Marx and Weber, the (old or traditional) middle class is composed of small entrepreneurs, artisans, small shopkeepers, farmers (in rural society) and free professions such as lawyers, medical doctors and engineers. In spite of the different names attributed, both the Marxists and Weberians, widely use the term middle class(es) in contemporary social theory.

In the next section, current middle class debates will be encapsulated by ascribing and summarizing the major conceptualizations and approaches in contemporary social sciences.

3.1.3. Middle Class after Marx and Weber

Following the heritage of Marx and Weber, class and stratification studies endeavor to understand and explain the current class structure that has taken place under the changes and transformations of work and employment in contemporary modern societies. A new social division of labour,³⁴ and as a result of this, new social groups have emerged under these new circumstances. The newly emerged social groups who work in the new managerial and executive occupational positions are distinguished from the capitalists and the working class.

Marxist approaches fundamentally aim at labeling the class struggle in political-economic fields (Burris, 1999; Öngen, 1994). To mark the boundaries between the classes is specifically important because class positions determine the manner of the class struggle for political power.

³⁴ There were important political debates about the classes before and after the post-war period among the social democrats and socialists and non-communist left, especially the French, British, German Russian and also Italians (Burris, 1986, 1995; Carter, 1985; Ross, 1978; Szelenyi & Martin, 1988; Wacquant, 1991). They frequently discussed the places of the classes in the struggle of political power. Political dimension is not included in this dissertation.

For this reason, Marxist writers frequently borrow Marxists concepts such as ownership of the means of production, exploitation and control of labor, production of surplus values to define the classes and class position in contemporary capitalist societies. The Marxist aspect still employs the concept of 'class' to analyse social structure, taking into account new occupational positions. The basic conceptualizations in order to define the middle class(es) will be clarified below in the context of the study.

Weberian approaches, on the other hand, have frequently employed a more flexible attitude within social theories. Because classes in market relations, social status and prestige, lifestyle and life chances are frequently employed to understand and explain the changes in social, economic, and political as well as cultural domains. They also have a variety of aspects and a generative matrix within multidimensionality:

Class is understood as the summation or weighed combination of a variety of positional effects on partly orthogonal scales or divides—of property, occupation, authority, education and prestige. It entails both objective and subjective factors and arises in the sphere of consumption no less than in that of production (Wacquant, 1991, p. 47).

As stated in the quotation, the central points of Weberian approach have been shifted from the possession of the means of production and exploitation to ownership of goods, consumption and lifestyle under the new capitalism. The expansion of non-manual jobs has been analysed together with its heterogeneity, consumption patterns and lifestyle. Whilst lower-level non-manual employment is similar to traditional manual work (subordination, supervising, routinisation, and low rates of pay, etc.), higher-level non-manual jobs resemble the dominant structures of wealth and power (domination, decision-making, supervising, higher rates of pay or being associated with the 'bourgeoisie' or 'proletariat'). Thus, the expansion of higher-level jobs is associated with the rise of a 'new' class, or a 'service' class (Crompton, 1996, p. 89). The inner stratification of any class has been emphasized through the cultural significance of consumption or the modes of life or lifestyle and leisure for approximately forty years.

By the end of the 1980s, Crompton describes three groups to categorize the theoretical and empirical interests in class studies:

[first], the macro-level analysis of large data sets, gathered by those who had developed theoretical, relational, approaches to 'social class' (Goldthorpe & Wright); second socio-historical accounts of

class formation (Lash & Urry, 1987; McNall et al., 1991); and third, a growing interest in the *cultural* construction and reproduction of class associated with a developing ‘sociology of consumption’ and fuelled by the emphasis on consumerism which seemed, increasingly, to characterize contemporary societies (Bourdieu, 1986). (...) Whereby ‘occupation’ was taken to be a measure of ‘class’ without worrying too much about the finer details (Crompton, 1993, pp. ix-x).

In spite of the critiques, the occupational definition of class has frequently been used as ‘an excellent indicator of both levels of material reward and social standing in an industrial society’ (Crompton, 1993, p. 13).³⁵ In contemporary social theory, the ‘classes’ are widely described by the occupational structure. Moreover, ‘class structure’ and ‘occupational structure’ are considered as synonymous and used interchangeably (Crompton, 1993, p. 77).

Although Marx and Weber clearly identified the boundary between the individuals’ social classes, contemporary social scientists do not ascertain the borders between the classes, particularly salaried workers and working class. The main troubles have materialized the transformation of work and employment under the new capitalism after the post-war period. These problems have been highlighted to accomplish new conceptualizations such as white collar versus blue collar, new petty bourgeoisie, contradictory class locations, new middle class, professional-managerial class, new working class and service class.

While class and stratification theories and conceptualizations have been summarized and criticized, Marxist and Weberian approaches have frequently been distinguished from each other because of the employed concepts and emphasized explanatory relations. In this study, such a division is not preferred, as can be observed below since these aspects are recurrently nested together. By considering the definitions of the middle class(es), both approaches try to illustrate socially, culturally and also economically the new class structure in current societies.

It should be emphasized that the emergence of intermediate strata and the attempts to define them “create serious enthusiasm in social sciences more than the rediscovery of the wheel in the advanced industrial societies” (Ross, 1978, p. 163). Similar enthusiasm can be observed in the Turkish academia and media after the 1980s as well. Specifically, the emergence of higher

³⁵ As explained in Introduction and Methods of the study, I prefer the occupational definition of class because the class of the informants is easily decided according to their occupations in the first instance when we knocked the doors and wanted to apply the questionnaire in the field study in Ankara.

professional and managerial occupations, lower service classes' jobs, and the political debates about 'modernist/secular-Islamist' and the 'old-new middle class' have been involved and reflected on the sociological debates, too. In this sense, this study can be accepted as a result of this excitement in the Turkish academia, too.

The concepts used so as to distinguish the new strata are mentioned shortly below by placing the occupational schema in the center of the explanations. At the same time, these clarifications provide justification about the occupational preference in this study. Moreover, a more important point needs to be stressed. On the one hand, these conceptualizations signal at an inner stratification in middle classes resulting from the changes that took place in work and employment structures in the last fifty to sixty years. In this respect, the qualitative and quantitative expansion of the middle class can be explained with reference to Marx who had argued that the middle classes would eventually disappear either by becoming proletariat or capitalist (although he also noted that it would almost be impossible for the middle class to pursue the capital accumulation necessary to become capitalists.) On the other hand, it also proposes an explanation to the theoretical and conceptual arguments revolving around 'the old versus new middle class(es) in Turkey, which is defined and discussed in section 4.1.2.

Apart from these, middle classes that will be defined below indicate that their formation depends on economic assets or income level regardless of occupational hierarchy, different combinations of capital, volume or the consideration of all these elements together.

In this respect, it summarizes different arguments on the concept of middle class by taking into account Marx's prediction that it (middle class) would eventually disappear either as becoming proletariat or capitalist, Weber's argument that inasmuch as income in the economic sense is related to culture and lifestyle so is occupations, and Bourdieu's argument that compositions and volumes of capital are determined according to fragments: a fact that he has also proved in his empirical studies. Moreover, by making use of the comparison and evaluation of the middle classes based on empirical research, the next chapter will form the conceptual basis to compare the arguments that centralize around the old/traditional and new middle class in the Turkish academia and media.

3.1.3.i. White Collar vs. Blue Collar/American Occupational Approach

White Collar vs. Blue Collar: “White collar” is exploited to distinguish routine non-manual workers from the manual or blue workers. While the blue-collar workers generally signal at the workers in industry, construction and mine, the white-collar workers are the salaried workers and employees in public, private or service sector. Basically, it can be said that the existence of white collar workers can be observed in three separated class positions in the new social division of labor: high executive and managerial professions that participate in the decision-making process in capital accumulation process and have high-paid salaries; middle executives and managers that are positioned between high executives and working class, and earn less than the first group; and office workers that do not have any power to control work and labour and mostly earn less than the working class.

Mills (1967) historically illuminated the occupational changes in both rural and urban American society by comparing it with European societies over, approximately, a hundred-year period. He used the term *white collar* to differentiate the old American middle class from the new occupational positions. While the old middle class is composed of farmers, established free professions, medical specialists and salaried bureaucrats, the white-collar mass included managers, salaried professionals, salespersons and office workers. The old middle class was scattered and they were replaced with new white-collar mass. According to Mills, “the new middle class [...] hanging over the white collar world” (Mills, 1967, pp. ix-xiv). In addition, the white collar jobs reflect on the conditions and lifestyles because of the requirements of the jobs such as kind personalities including smiles and kindly gestures. The new middle class or white collar can be considered as a symptom and a symbol of modern society as a whole (Mills, 1967). Under the conditions of new social division of labour, the types and levels of skills for new jobs and their functions have changed, and new occupations as sources of income are associated with *class* position; as a source of prestige connected to *status* (Mills, 1967, pp. 63-71). Some authors, i.e. Lederer and Marschak (1995), evaluate private and public employees as white-collar workers (pp. 58-62). It can be said that white collar is the expansion of old middle class. Small and medium sized enterprises are specifically founded in the service sector by higher-educated professions, and these occupational positions are called “middle classes’ jobs” (Breen & Rotman, 1995). The firms in the field of law, engineering, planning, technology, communication, computer, media and advertisement can be given as examples for these kinds of

white collar jobs. In brief, white collar occupations encompass the sales, clerical workers, professionals in science, engineering, technology, education, health, wealth, supporting management and administration and managers in the recent occupational schema (Mills, 1995).

The American Occupational Approach: Besides Mills's conceptualization of white-collar, the American approach takes class structure as system of occupational structure, and "virtually every aspect of a community's structure is related to its basic functions" (Duncan & Reiss, 1956, p. 15). Occupational structures and mobility were analysed according to family background variables such as father's socio-economic status (SES), father's education, parent's marital status and race in the American society (Blau & Duncan, 1967). Nine variables as *occupation, income, wealth, personal prestige, association, socialization, power, class consciousness, and social mobility* are employed to describe the American occupational structure. The American occupational structure is categorized in six classes: capitalist class (investors, heirs and executives); upper middle class (upper managers, professionals, medium-sized business owners); middle class (lower managers, semi-professionals, craftsmen, foremen, non-retail sales); working class (low-skill manual, clerical, retail sales); working poor (lowest-paid manual, retail, and service workers); and underclass (unemployed or part-time manual jobs, people receiving public assistance) (Gilbert, 2003, pp. 11-14). Approximately 45% of Americans are considered as middle classes according to objective measurements such as income and occupation (Gilbert, 2003). In other words, social classes depend on the differences among annual income or assets, social status, closeness to political power in American stratification approach (Borataw, 1995b, p. 8). Moreover, most Americans position themselves as middle class according to the subjective class identification such as self-identification and perception (Devine, 2005; Moskowitz, 2005) in contemporary USA.

Briefly, contemporary middle class includes farmers, small entrepreneurs or businessmen, managers, established free and salaried higher-educated professionals, medical specialists and salaried bureaucrats, private and public employees, wagedworkers, salespersons and office workers who compose the conceptualization of white collar and the American occupational structure.

3.1.3.ii. New Petty Bourgeoisie/Contradictory Class Locations

New Petty Bourgeoisie: In current usage, the petite bourgeoisie refers to the artisan who neither hires nor sells labour power (the pure petty bourgeoisie) and small employers, with small covering most enterprises that have individuals or families as their majority owners (Breen & Rottman, 1995, p. 87; Scase, 1992, p. 47). The increase of the non-productive wage-earners, i.e. groups including commercial and bank employees, office and service workers, etc., is generally referred to as ‘white collar’ or ‘tertiary sector’ workers.³⁶ There are main three tendencies about the places of these groupings either in the bourgeoisie or the working class in class structure. The first tendency taken as the bourgeoisie is based on the ‘embourgeoisement’ of advanced industrial society emphasizing the independence of the relations of production and ‘entrepreneurial functions’. The second tendency is taken as working class because of the mode of distribution, i.e. wages, and opposition to the bourgeoisie, and because of the lack of ownership of the means of production there is a third tendency which is represented by Dahrendorf. The third tendency accepts that some of these new groups belong to the bourgeoisie while the others are the working class in Weber’s sense of the exercise of ‘power’ and ‘authority’ (Poulantzas, 1979, pp. 193-197). Beside these three approaches, these groups are named as the middle class like as the third force. This theory is based on the old traditional political and sociological theory. The conceptualization of these new groups as the middle class aims to dissolve the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Thus, this means that the social classes and class struggle no longer exist. As a result of this, the use of the term class itself becomes superfluous (Poulantzas, 1979, p. 197).

Poulantzas calls these new wage-earning groups as the new petty bourgeoisie while “they belong together with the traditional petty bourgeoisie (small-scale production and ownership, independent craftsmen and traders) to one and the same class, the petty bourgeoisie.” (Poulantzas, 1979, p. 204). The new petty bourgeoisie designates the social groups who work in the newly emerged occupational positions such as technicians and engineers (Poulantzas, 1979, p. 83). The new petty bourgeoisie executes the occupations out of the factories, have authority to

³⁶ Poulantzas basically discusses these new groupings within class struggle in political power relations to define who are the petty bourgeoisie as traditional and new ones, and how they take position in class struggle. However, since political dimension is not included in this study, Poulantzas’s conceptualization is taken into account for the definition.

monitor, control and supervise the lower workers, and have higher salary than intermediary workers under the regulations of new capitalism. They are neither capitalist or proletariat, nor petite bourgeoisie in the traditional sense of the meaning (Ross, 1978). Rather, they are authorized to exercise the power of the capitalist on the proletariat. Due to their roles concerning surveillance at work, they have been referred to as the new petite bourgeoisie or new salaried petty bourgeoisie to express and designate their differences from the petty bourgeoisie.

The class positions of salaried intermediates are structurally determined by the social relations of production, and the classes cannot be identified except from class struggle in any capitalist society. To conceptualize their class positions, Poulantzas (1977, 1979) defined two divisions between ‘productive and non-productive labour’, and between ‘manual and mental labour’, referring to Marx, specifically the writings on the division of the productive and non-productive labour, and manual and mental labour in *Capital I, II, III*, and also *IV*. The first division is employed to draw the boundary between proletarian and non-proletarian class positions. Being a part of wage-labour (non-ownership in the means of production) is not a sufficient condition to be positioned in the proletariat while analysing the economic determinants of class. While productive labour directly produces surplus value through the production of *material* commodities, non-productive labour does not (originally emphasized by Burris, 1999, p. 311). Thus, such a position excludes service workers, state and commercial workers as non-productive labour from the proletariat or working class, and considers the wage earners in these sectors as a part of a separate class, the “new petty bourgeoisie”.

The second division is employed as a political and ideological determinant of class to protect the reproduction of the dominant mode of exploitation in social relations. This reproduction is achieved through the relations of supervision and authority within the capitalist enterprise. The salaried managers and supervisors, whose work is considered as mental labor, take on an antagonistic relation with the working class, whose work is considered as manual labour, in spite of their engagement with productive labour. Besides, the salaried managers and supervisors enforce capitalist domination over working class, and thus, they are labelled as the new petty bourgeoisie. The division between mental and manual labour clarifies and reproduces the subordination practiced on the working class. In consequence, professionals, technicians and other mental workers are excluded from the working class or proletariat and thus, becoming a part of the new petty bourgeoisie (Poulantzas, 1977, 1979). Therefore, the new petty bourgeoisie

is composed of non-productive, mental labour. Therefore, the contemporary petty bourgeoisie comprises of small shopkeepers, artisans, free professions, small and mid-size entrepreneurs, wage earners in service sector, state and commercial workers, managers, supervisors and mental workers as professions and technicians.

Contradictory Class Locations: Another conceptualization is the ‘contradictory class locations’ used to outline the boundary of the classes. Wright develops the theory of contradictory class locations as an alternative to Poulantzas’s new petty bourgeoisie theory. Wright, like Poulantzas, sets his theory employing the basic theoretical definitions of Marxist conception of class. He defines classes in *relational* rather than *gradational* terms, and by the *social* organization of economic relations rather than the *technical* organization of economic relations. Furthermore, classes are identified within the social organization of economic relations by the social relations of *production* rather than the social relations of *exchange* (originally emphasized by Burris, 1999, p. 313). Wright’s economic model defines class positions according to control over the investments and resource allocation, the physical means of production and labour. While the control of the investments and resource allocation and the physical means of production describe the relations of “real economic ownership”, the control of labour covers the economic relations of “possession” (Burris, 1999, p. 313). According to Wright, in the polarized and antagonistic relations, while the capitalist class has a dominant position, labour is in a subordinate position, and this shapes the main class division between capital and labour. Additionally, he considers the traditional petty bourgeoisie as a third class whose position embraces both real economic ownership and control over the physical means of production and not control over the labour of other workers.

Wright defines three “between” class positions which are “contradictory class locations”: *Managers and supervisors*, between the capitalist and working class, *semi-autonomous employees*, between petty bourgeoisie and working class, and *small employers*, between the capitalist class and the petty bourgeoisie (Wright, 1978, 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 2011). Later, Wright improves the model of contradictory class locations by explaining the relationships of *exploitation*, and elucidates the class locations of salaried managers and various nonsupervisory intermediaries, specifically salaried professionals and technicians (Wright, 1989a, 1989b). Thus, Wright’s contradictory class locations entail the salaried managers, supervisors, nonsupervisory intermediaries, salaried professionals and technicians, semi-autonomous employees and small

employers among the three basic classes in the U.S. labour force. In fact, Wright's contradictory class positions bear a resemblance to Weber's intermediary positions.

3.1.3.iii. New Middle Class/Professional-Managerial/New Working Classes

New Middle Class: The new middle class is mostly described within the social positions of newly emerged social groups who work on higher occupational positions³⁷, earn higher income and have higher social status. This concept is mostly used to cover the occupations, which are defined by being white collar, being a member of the new petty bourgeoisie and also the existing contradictory class positions of newly emerged social groups under the new capitalism. In other words, the new middle class designates the new middle groups in new social systems, or in Touraine's words, the *post-industrial* society (Ross, 1978, pp. 184-185).

Different from the occupational schema, Carchedi (1977) conceptualized the new middle class with respect to three social relations to explain class positions: *Ownership relations*, *expropriation relations* and *functional relations*. Ownership relations is concerned with whether the means of production is owned or not; expropriation relations are associated with those who expropriate surplus labour and those who are expropriated of surplus value; and functional relations are linked with those who perform the "global function of capital" and those who perform the "function of the collective worker." There is a correspondence among these three relations. This correspondence determines two basic classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, this correspondence is not perfectly seen every time, and sometimes a kind of noncorrespondence emerges between the elements of ownership, expropriation and functional relations. The degrees of this noncorrespondence are determined by the balance between the global function of capital and the function of the collective worker. Appraising Carchedi's definitions of contradictory class locations and noncorrespondence, he differs from previous authors in two ways. Firstly, he defines relational criteria more plainly, emphasizing "the antagonistic relation between those whose function is to ensure the appropriation of surplus labour and those whose labour is appropriated." Secondly, he describes "contradictory class

³⁷ Occupational hierarchy can be found at ISCO 08 (International Standard Categories of Occupations, 2008). (www.ilo.org).

locations exclusively in terms of a noncorrespondence between ownership of capital and surveillance of labour (not ownership of capital and control of the physical means of production” (quoted by Burris, 1999, p. 322). While Carchedi’s new middle class includes foremen and other low-level supervisors because of their roles in surveillance, it excludes many top corporate professionals, planners and technocrats because of their indirect supervisions on the labour of others. The indirect supervisions are existence in the proletariat (Burris, 1999). As a result, Carchedi’s new middle class is more complex and difficult to understand because of the definitions concerning the correspondence of relations and direct or indirect supervising roles on the others’ labour.

Professional-Managerial Class: The conceptualization of professional-managerial class accepts and describes professional and managerial stratum as a separated class under the new circumstances of the labour process. This class is positioned higher in the occupational schema.

The definition of professional-managerial class is based on the theory of Barbara and John Ehrenreich (1977) with respect to two general characteristics. The first one is a “common relation of the economic foundations of society—the means of production and the socially organized patterns of distribution and consumption.” The second is a “coherent social and cultural existence”, which involves features such as a “shared lifestyle, educational background, kinship networks, consumption patterns, work habits and ideology” (quoted by Burris, 1999, p. 323). Taking into account these two general characteristics, the “professional-managerial class” is “consisting of salaried mental workers who do not own the means of production and whose major function in the social division of labour may be described broadly as the reproduction of capitalist culture and class relations” (quoted by Burris, 1999, p. 323). Indeed, the professional-managerial class fulfils the reproduction function as agents of social control or as producers and propagators of the dominant ideology (teachers, social workers, psychologists, entertainers, advertising copy writers, managers, engineers, college-trained technicians, etc.). Thus, each of them brings about the capitalist relations of production.

The members of professional-managerial class share either a common economic function or a common cultural existence. The Ehrenreichs’ professional-managerial class is defined as a coherent social class within multidimensional measurements including common educational background, lifestyle, consumption patterns, mobility closure, and intermarriage (Burris, 1999,

pp. 323-325). By improving theory of professional-managerial class, the Ehreinreichs' borrow their first criteria concerning common relation to the economic foundations of society from Marx, and the second one concerning coherent social and cultural existence from Weber. Indeed, the Ehreinreichs' employ both Marx's and Weber's concepts to explain the association between high-level occupations and their sociocultural characteristics including lifestyle of the newly emerged social class.

New Working Class: Another concept concerning the new wage labour is developed by Braverman (1974). He also writes about the immense changes that took place and discusses this process in his book, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, referring to other contemporary debates as well. He uses the term "new working class" to embrace occupations such as engineers, technicians, scientists, lower managerial and administrative aids and experts, teachers, etc. He designates "educated labour" as a better paid and to some extent privileged position. While the new working class is composed of mental labor, manual labor covers "old working class" (pp. 25-28). The growing working-class occupations which include clerical workers and manual officers coincided with the scientific-technical revolution in the last century and resulted in an expansion in the working class (Ross, 1978, pp. 180-182). Braverman's working class covers both manual workers as in the old working class and mental labour as in the new working class. His new working class is similar to the Ehreinreichs' professional-managerial class.

3.1.3.iv. British Sociological Perspectives/Giddens's Structuration Theory/ Service Class

The British Sociological Perspectives: After the 1980s, Britain experienced neo-liberal economic policies under the governance of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990). As a consequence of the policy that Thatcher adopted in the field of economy, work and employment have fundamentally changed and transformed social, cultural and economic structures of the British society as well as the class structure. In the beginning of 1990s, British sociology started to rethink about class analysis to better understand these changes.

Class analysis has basically followed two directions in the British tradition: The first of the two concentrates on class structure and class action while the other focuses on the class formation process. The reassessment of class analysis and stratification studies has flourished to depict the

difficulties in previous theoretical and empirical studies in British sociology. Social scientists such as Savage (2000), Skeggs (2005), Crompton & Scott (2005), Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst (2005), Warde (1996, 1997, 2010) argue that both Marxist and Weberian approaches do not explain the recent issues in societies in the post-war period. They propose to analyse the changing class relationships within gender, race, ethnicity relations, and consumption, lifestyle and leisure.

It is considered that traditional Marxist and Weberian class analyses do not shed light on the nature and the changing characteristics of contemporary classes, especially the middle classes in Britain (Butler & Savage, 1995). Since the emphasis on consumption and lifestyle of the British sociological perspectives will be explained in the subsection of 'consumption and lifestyle' below, they will not be dealt in detail at this point. However, the major argument in British sociology is based on the argument on 'service class'. Anthony Giddens constructed a *structuration* theory combining structure and agency dimensions for the analysis of middle classes. These two will be briefly explained below.

Giddens's Structuration Theory: Apart from the suggestions concerning the rethinking of class analysis, the other endeavour is realized by a British sociologist; namely, Anthony Giddens. He makes an emphasis on exploitation and the market capacity, defining a three-class system in the capitalist society: 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower' (or working) class. The upper class has ownership of the means of production; the working class has only the possessions of manual labor power; and the middle class has possession of educational or technical qualifications. Giddens (1995) defines the old middle class as the petty bourgeoisie except for "the propertyless non-manual, or 'white collar' workers" who are defined as the new middle class. In a given society, the class structure depends on Giddens's distinctive combination of mediate and proximate structuration factors. Mediated structuration factors are "those that 'intervene between the existence of certain given market capacities and the formation of classes as identifiable social groupings'." Proximate structuration covers "the 'localised' factors that condition or shape class formation." Three sources of proximate structuration are the division of labour, authority relationships and consumption patterns (Breen & Rottman, 1995, p. 45). Although Giddens's class structuration is evaluated in structural frames, it maintains the theoretical basis for the differences of materiality of class tastes through consumption patterns in the context of this study. Thus, each class has its own distinctive taste and abilities throughout the consumption

patterns. In other words, Giddens's structuration theory makes use of both structure and actor to define the classes. By taking into account Giddens's mediated structuration factors, his middle class(es) resembles the white collar, the new petty bourgeoisie, or the new middle class in advanced societies.

Service Class: The "service class" has become popular in the Weberian sense, specifically in British sociology, since the 1980s. The term service class is used interchangeably with middle class and sometimes the new middle class within class and stratification theory.

With reference to the above argument, it can be argued that there is no single middle class definition. Rather, it has various fragments depending on the occupational structure. Besides, the new middle class(es) is/are distinguished from the working class only by the fact that they are non-manual workers (Crompton, 1996, p. 175). In this sense, they include both quite low-level service employees such as workers in a hotel, restaurant or hospitality industry, and fairly new higher-level professionals like psychotherapists, librarians, and social workers. Actually, these occupations are mostly associated with the growth and development of the welfare state³⁸. The expansion of occupations requires marking the boundaries between the "service class" and the other classes.

However, although the new middle class is frequently being referred to as higher occupations, service class also involves lower unskilled workers or employees. Whilst service class was firstly used to define the distinctively growing professionals and managers in capitalist societies in the 1930s (Butler, 1995; Goldthorpe, 1995; Savage, Barlow, Dickens & Fielding, 1992; Witz,

³⁸ The improvements of work and life conditions and the changes of lifestyle of the working class had been realized as a result of the welfare state policies. Goldthorpe and his colleagues (1971) studied the embourgeoisement of working class comparing it to the middle class's lifestyle. In the *Affluent Worker*, the authors tested the embourgeoisement of working class in the early 1960s workers in UK. The embourgeoisement is not understood as a simple imitation of lifestyle of the bourgeoisie. Rather, it refers to the qualitative and quantitative improvements of the working class's social and work life such as sociability, aspirations and perspectives, working conditions, and the increase in education levels, income and other payments within the western industrial societies (p. 157). The concept of 'affluent worker' designates these improvements of standards in both work and everyday life of the working class. Referring the Affluent Worker team's works (1959, 1964), Lockwood defined three-fold worker class typology according to their social, economical and cultural characteristics: 1: Traditional proletarian worker; 2: Traditional Deferential Worker; 3: New Privatised Worker (Devine & Savage, 2005, p. 7).

1995), its recent use includes those who are employed in new occupational positions. These occupations are also defined as new middle classes' or white collar jobs, especially professionals, managers and administrators. Savage and his colleagues (1992) state that the service class has "a remarkable *diversity* of market and work situations: it includes employers and employees, managers and managed, credentialed and uncredentialed workers, millionaires and those earning below average salaries" (pp. 8-9). Lash & Urry (1987) define the service class by associating it with work places:

Those places (which) are located within a set of interlocking social institutions that service capital through meeting three functions: to conceptualise the labour process; to control the entry and exercise of labour power within the workplace; and to orchestrate the non-household forms under which labor-power is produced and regulated (Lash & Urry, 1987, p. 187).

Although these authors frequently use the term service class, the recent usage of the term in recent class and stratification literature can be observed in Goldthorpe's class schema. Goldthorpe's work on social stratification and mobility has a significant place in contemporary sociology, especially in Anglo-Saxon British sociology. Goldthorpe's class schema has frequently been employed to highlight class positions in industrial capitalist societies since the end of the 1970s. After Goldthorpe drew his first form of occupational schema, he has improved it within different studies, such as Goldthorpe (1983, 1984, 1985, 1995), Goldthorpe and Payne (1986), Erikson & Goldthorpe (1992). Goldthorpe and his colleagues highlight the nature of industrialization, the affiliation between economic growth, industrialization, social mobility and the division of labour in this process. Goldthorpe defines three main class positions which are self-employed, employees and employers utilizing both Marx and Weber. In this schema, the middle class is positioned as non-manual workers in the position of employees (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992). Non-manual workers are composed of white-collar workers including service class (professionals, administrators, managers, high-grade technicians, supervisors of non-manual workers) and routine non-manual workers (routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce, sales personnel, other service workers) and the petty bourgeoisie including small proprietors and artisans with or without employees. In this sense, service class consists of both higher and lower fragments of occupational schema. By evaluating on Goldthorpe's schema and his revisions, the composition of the middle class includes propertyless non-manual workers, employers and proprietors (Goldthorpe, 1995). In his revisions, Goldthorpe's class schema categorizes a given society according to occupational

positions. Even though Goldthorpe's occupational class definition bears both Marxist and Weberian influences, he falls closer to the Weberian approaches.

Briefly, Goldthorpe's and his colleagues' definition of service class is parallel to other explanations concerning the expansion of the occupational structure in social theory. Most social scientists, either Marxist or Weberian, use service class as a synonym for 'salaried' workers. Furthermore, it also includes employers and proprietors, especially small and medium-size ones which are firms owned by those who have higher education such as engineers, lawyers, physicians, etc., as well as employees. It only excludes working class who can be classified as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, or blue collars in industry, mine and construction sectors, and the capitalists. Goldthorpe's use of service class is frequently used interchangeably with middle class (Lockwood, 1995; Savage, 1995; Savage, Barlow, Dickens & Fielding, 1992; Butler, 1995; Witz, 1995). In other words, service class is a word which is interchangeably used to refer to and to cover the widest range of middle class in recent class and stratification theories.

3.1.3.v. Consumption and Lifestyle

By considering recent theories and empirical studies on class analysis and stratification, consumption has frequently been taken into account because of its role and reflections on lifestyle and leisure. At the cost of over emphasizing, it can be argued that there has been much effort to understand all changes and transformations in everyday life through an investigation of changes of consumption and lifestyle. Some authors, Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal and Wright (2009), evaluate the transformations of consumption and their reflections on lifestyle as well as changes in tastes of the classes.

The debates on consumption can be traced back to the writings of Weber within the framework of sociology. Veblen in America and Simmel in Europe studied and wrote about consumption in the beginning of the twentieth century in modern industrial capitalism. Their exploration concerning leisure and consumption in new urban life is the starting point for the analysis of consumption and consumerism in modern capitalism. In post-war period, Marcuse (1991) gives an account of the human condition in terms of his/her new needs and desires and the new

conceptualization and theorization of consumption, specifically *needs*, more specifically “true” and “false” ones.

Consumption patterns, or lifestyle, are used as indicators, similar to occupation, to draw the line between one class and the others in contemporary sociology. Crompton (1996) categorizes these in three interrelated classifications depending on the significance of consumption. The first one stresses the cultural importance of consumption in both *construction* of collective or class identities and the maintenance of positions of advantage and disadvantage. The second one focuses on the significance of consumption sectors for a range of behavioural and attitudinal factors, including voting behaviour within urban sociology in Britain. The third one is broader than the other two and emphasizes the significance of consumption as a *focus* for collective action in the late twentieth-century industrial societies, and elaborates on the consequence of this for ‘class’ identities (p. 103). Even if these consumption-based arguments have been categorized in a Weberian approach, they have utilized ontologically and epistemologically qualitative or quantitative methodological aspects and can emphasize different dimensions such as occupations, life chances, lifestyles or consumption patterns, education, social status and prestige to study class differences and stratification.

The aim of these debates, as mentioned above, was to understand and explain the changes that took place in class structures in the world throughout production and property-centred theories. After the 1970s, the juxtaposition between organizing demand for mass production and mass consumption has dissolved. Then, debates about the explosion of lifestyle, the diminishing faith in rationality as a guiding principle and the disillusion with ideologies has emerged (Breen & Rottman, 1995, p. 152). The consumption-centred theories elucidate these changes and transformations through the choice of consumption, life-styles, and the changes and practices in everyday life and lifestyle. Furthermore, lifestyle and also leisure have been specifically argued to analyse the classes linked with consumption and consumerism after the 1970s. This period has overlapped with the critiques on the objectivism of modernism and the rise of subjectivism, which are rooted in the critiques of post-structuralism and post-modernism. Post-modernism and post-structuralism are discussed in multi-dimensional ways including identity politics, culture of modernism, change and transformation of work and leisure to architecture and aesthetics. Specifically, postmodernism is debated by being linked within subjectivism and identity construction processes of individuals. The debates on post-modernism or subjectivism is not

included here because of the limits of the study. Such arguments and debates are seen in Jean Baudrillard's (1998), Mark Gottdiener's (1990), David Harvey's (1989), Stuart Hall's (1992, 1996, 1997) studies.

Consumer and consumption have reverberated on empirical studies in the academia to understand and explain the new changes and practices in societies since the end of 1980s, and especially from the beginning of 1990s. Here, they can be briefly mentioned and exemplified: Baudrillard's (1998) 'consumer society'; Douglas and Isherwood's (1979) 'consumption' as an issue of anthropology; Bourdieu's (1984, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1998), forms of capitals (economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals), dispositions and habitus as a system of dispositions, field and game; Miller's (1987, 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2002) anthropological and ethnographic studies about consumption and material culture; McCracken's (1988) 'consumerism' in Europe; Harvey's (1995) *The Condition of Postmodernity*; Beck's (1992) 'reflexive modernization' to define the new form of culture and consciousness, and emphasis on individualization; Lury's (1996) consumer culture; Corrigan's (1997) 'consumption' as an issue of sociology; Featherstone's (1998) combination of consumer culture and postmodernity; Miles's (1998) 'consumerism' to clarify social, economic and cultural change; Gottdiener's (2000a, 2000b) approaches to consumption and 'the consumption of space and the spaces of consumption; Trentmann and Taylor's (2006) conceptualizations 'from users to consumers'. Baudrillard (1998) in his conceptualisations of consumer society, (1988) emphasizes the significance of the relations of signs in consumer society. Consumption has been defined as "a systematic act of the manipulation of signs" (pp. 21-25).

Beside these authors, some others such as Beck (1992), Burawoy's (quoted by Breen & Rottman, 1995, pp. 37-39), Eagleton (1976, 1993, 1997) have focused on the shift in ideologies and class consciousness to scrutinize the changes and transformations in class structures. Hall (1980), Hall & Gieben (1992) and Hall & Du Gay (1996) and Miller (1987, 1998, 2001a, 2002) have focused on identity, consumption and cultural studies, and their studies have covered issues extending from television to books, or from magazines to leisure activities.

Veblen (1992, 2005) observed that the newly emerged social groups differentiated themselves from other social groups and classes, and especially from working class. Veblen emphasized

“conspicuous consumption” as the characteristic of these newly emerged social classes’ attempts to differently present themselves by imitating the consumption habits of the old middle class.

Bocock (1992) revealed that the categorization of the population according to consumption patterns had begun to change significantly in the 1980s. The old social class categories cannot provide an explanation about the new consumers and consumption patterns and ‘lifestyle’ (p. 138). Besides consumer and consumption, *consumerism* is mediated to designate the shift from production to consumption in the mentality of everyday life. Consumerism indicates three important modes: the way of the position in a social hierarchy marks or confers with material goods; the way of the roles of fashion and demand donates in spurring economic growth and changing manufactures; and the ways in which people can distinguish their own meanings for objects that were produced by themselves or others (Martin, 1993, p. 142). While Miles (1998) defines consumerism as a way of life, Martin emphasizes the complexity between consumerism, consumption and materialism. Martin describes *consumerism* as the cultural relationship between humans and consumer goods and services; including behaviors, institutions and ideas; *consumption* is often associated with its Latin root-to waste, to decay, to be used up; and materialism suggests a value system in which goods play a central role (1993, p. 142).

While Martin explains the rise of consumerism, the writer signifies the shift from the Protestant aesthetics of prudence and frugality to hedonistic consumer culture with respect to Weber’s theory. Additionally, the rise of middling classes and changing roles of women has been intertwined with many of the consumer, consumption and consumerism studies. The middling families and a meaningful “revolution” in housing begin in the second half of the nineteenth century. The use of manufactured goods and improvements in housing proceeded together (Martin, 1993, pp. 148-156).

Since 1725, while the pictures of wealthy classes have begun to change, forks, knives and also napkins have begun to materialize. Chairs in new-fashioned forms also took the place of stools and benches in the houses. This replacement combined and expanded with other stylized cases for display or storage to hold old or new values such as china tea wear or silver ornaments. Besides, a mirror or dressing table, a bookcase or chest of drawers came into view as household furnishings which started to elaborate and thus, define wealth, and allocate greater storage or attention to fashion (Martin, 1993, pp. 148-156).

All goods had specialized functions and were placed in hierarchically segmented spaces. In other words, these processes had many components. On the one hand, the middling families rose and they took new stylized goods and replaced new manufactured goods with old ones. On the other hand, specialized functions emerged and separated and segregated spaces which were named according to these functions such as dining, living, cooking rooms. These concepts were not totally new, but they dispersed to all wealthy and wealthier families' home. These changes in interiors were actually realized by combining leisurely consumption of food and drinks in 1750s. This process required new equipment and furnishings: tables and more chairs for sitting, eating and entertaining, more and a variety of different dishes, and also new cutleries and napkins to demonstrate the new civilized manners. While some consumers chose new household goods such as teacups rather than items of comfort and convenience, others preferred the specialized tables, chairs, storage furniture, lighting instruments, and different cooking equipment in individual households that didn't need to invest in small items of display or gentility. Nevertheless, these objects were instruments to express the new sociality and gentility in the houses. The larger task of reformulating how to think about consumerism and the process of acquisition, three prerequisites for an object to make its way into the possession of any person is stressed: it must be affordable, available and desirable (Martin, 1993, pp. 148-156). Specifically, specialized functions of rooms and furniture and how these are used to create personalities in interiors are crucial in the context of the study.

In addition to consumption, lifestyle and leisure are the other significant components in distinguishing personal identity. Brooks (2000) specifically stresses lifestyle of upper middle class. Such lifestyle includes membership to sport clubs or to lions/masonry/rotary, entertainment habits and cultural activities. Reading books, magazines and newspapers, watching television and preferring certain television programs, going to the cinema/concerts/exhibition/museums, shopping, eating outside, food and drinks, hobbies, other leisure, outdoor and holiday activities are popular within this class. All these memberships and activities are ways of the participation in urban life for the upper middle class and it is also what defines their lifestyle. Martin (1993) defines the physical centres of shopping as the new social arenas, increasingly blurred lines between consumption and entertainment, and the wish for material things as the new world power. The processes in shopping are very complex and symbolic bundles of social and cultural arenas are different. In fact, the individuals in shopping

touch, see, and own (pp. 141-157). She explains the associations with individuals' behaviour in shopping, consumption processes, and material goods while window-shopping.

Familiar emphasis is made by Savage et al.'s (1992) arguments about cultural assets, consumption and lifestyle of the middle class(es) focusing on public-bureaucrats as professionals in Britain:

Increasingly cultural assets can be legitimized through their role in defining and perpetuating consumer cultures associated with private commodity production. Those receptive to the post-modern lifestyle increasingly look to the market to legitimate and reward their cultural assets (Savage et al., 1992, p. 215).

It should be annotated that whenever consumption, consumer or consumerism, lifestyle and leisure are expressed in a sociological contexts, all are taken into account in relation to the changes of class or occupational structure under the new capitalism or postmodern times. With reference to Bauman (1998), if individuals consume anything whenever they want, and have and use credit cards to consume, they can be citizens of today's new postmodern society. If they do not, they are definitely not consumers in the society of consumers, and hence, they are poor in these societies. Being a citizen is only realized within consumer choices, not the skills that one performs or the job that one does at work. In other words, consumption, lifestyle and leisure studies combine class issues and analysis.

Even though both theoretical and empirical studies usually derive from advanced capitalist societies, class structures by any means of dominant-subordinate or assets/property or occupation dependent classification are widely employed to work on social differentiations in modern societies in the world. The social differentiation and (middle) classes have been scrutinized in different dimensions and issues including the definition and formation of the class(es), its/their social, economic, cultural and political characteristics, consumption habits/patterns, everyday life and lifestyle in the developing countries and also traditional societies have been taken up. Fundamentally, these studies can be viewed in two categories: The first of these attempts to describe class structures either as objective or subjective criteria. The second composes of those that put emphasis on the cultural significance of consumption, lifestyle and leisure, self and identity under the influence of the studies in the advanced industrial capitalist societies.

The reference points of lifestyle and leisure are important to display the changes and transformations of everyday life in recent urban life. In recent studies of lifestyle, one of the most important habits that have changed is spending more time out for routines in the houses. Spending time, eating and meeting out with family members and friends are exemplified as determinants of lifestyle. Besides, going on holiday, getting assistance for domestic labour, reading a newspaper, using internet, watching television and preferring certain programs, visiting the museum and exhibitions, going to the cinema, opera, theatre, concert, circus, doing sports regularly, having a membership to gymnastic/fitness clubs, acquiring hobbies are the major components that define lifestyle and leisure of the social groups according to their everyday routines and activities. Besides, swimming, tennis and specifically outdoor and extreme sports are very popular activities in creating and displaying a distinctive lifestyle (Bali, 2004; Brooks, 2000; Şimşek, 2005; Rojek, 1989a, 1989b; Wynne, 2000). If daily habits are put aside, house and car ownership and types and brands of cars and the like, the method preferred to make savings, using credit cards are some of the other main elements that determine lifestyle. As much as ownership and types of house and car, the time of ownership is important in some societies as well. Scase & Scase (2009) emphasize the importance of house and car ownership before marriage as the crucial indicator of being a member of the new middle class in India. The writers also add that a new middle class man spends several hours drinking coffee in a coffee house after work.

With reference to Wynne (1990), Crompton (1996) defines the fragments of new petty bourgeoisie as the *déclassé* and the upwardly mobile ‘economic’ petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals have different lifestyles. The economic petty bourgeois is named as ‘drinkers’ by Wynne (1990, pp. 180-181), and characterized by a leisure style which includes regular convivial drinking, family holidays purchased as hotel packages, eating out at steak-houses, entertainment preferences for musical comedy, and large spectacle, and a preference for comfort and tradition in home furnishing. The ‘cultural’ petty bourgeois is called as ‘sporters’, and are distinguished via style rather than comfort. Moreover, for holidays, they prefer *gîte*³⁹ or make other personal arrangements, or join hobby clubs and voluntary associations. Furthermore, they have a tendency to patronize avant-garde theatre and classical music concerts.

³⁹ A simple, usually inexpensive rural vacation retreat especially in France. (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/gite>).

The brief explanations concerning lifestyle and consumption are necessary to draw the limits of this study. Even though consumption is a major subject in many recent studies, it is not separated from the studies about lifestyle and leisure, as can be observed from these brief references. It should be noted that consumption is not taken into account as a major tool like habitus and lifestyle in this study. Rather, consumption is evaluated on in relation to partially economic possession and partially lifestyle.

However, although the major subject is not furniture consumption and consumers, the ways of acquiring and beautifying the house are realized through consumption. By considering the specialized functions and the separated and segregated spaces such as dining, living, cooking rooms and the changes in furniture in the Turkish houses, these processes have been traced back to the last quarter of the 19th century. In fact, they have been put into wide use for social classes since the 1950s, specifically 1960s (Eldem, 1968; Orçan, 2004; Yanıklar, 2006). Tekeli (2005) emphasized the importance of having separated and specialized rooms to furnish and counteracting a given space. He argued that the specialized space usage process was partially realized in urban places after the apartmentalisation and many houses still had multi-functional rooms such as sitting room as kid's rooms or the parlour as guest rooms.⁴⁰ The changes in furniture items and manner of furnishing are crucial for the context of this study.

3.1.3.vi. The New Middle Class(es) in Third World/Developing Countries

The expansion of the middle class(es) as service class or new middle class has taken place in developing countries as well. The middle class in rural or agrarian societies or countries have generally been equalled to the old middle class in Western countries. Middle class involved tradesmen, craftsmen, free professions, salaried employees from lawyers, engineers, and medical doctors to public officers, teachers, social workers, landowners, rich farmers and animal husbandries, shopkeepers, etc. Their relatives and social milieu are called as the *eşraf*⁴¹ in Turkish which means respected people and their families in a given town or city. After 1970s,

⁴⁰ Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli is the famous Turkish academician. In the early designing times of the research, the interview was made with İlhan Tekeli in 10/18/2005. In the interview, he emphasized the importance of the specialized room or spaces to change furniture and style of furnishing in the houses.

⁴¹ *Eşraf*: 1. A person with honour, respectable person 2. The rich locals of a place, influential person.

especially in 1980s, work and employment have also changed in these countries under the new phase of global capitalism.

The emergence of new social groups, which are the new middle class, has increased in the third world countries of Latin America and South Asia since the 1970s. The burgeoning middle class, especially professions, high- and middle size executives have been accepted as the powering engine of economic growth (Scrase & Scrase, 2009, p. 2). In addition, educated public officers, white-collar service workers and sometimes blue-collar workers such as electricians are included in the definition of middle classes (Gilbert, 2003; Butler & Savage, 1995).

Lifestyle of the new middle class in India is defined as:

Mores have changed from savings to instant gratification, and young couples are buying houses even before get married, spending time out in restaurants and thinking nothing of buying with loaned money things considered Epicurean by their parents (Scrase & Scrase, 2009, p. 2).

The Mexican new middle class is characterized with the employee couple in public sector with two kids and a detached suburb houses, similar to the American middle class in suburbia in the post-war period. Having a house in suburbia is considered as very important for the new middle class. Although the houses are big enough to furnish for special functions such as working room, additional guest rooms, kids rooms, the newly acquired durables or electronics such as computer are displayed for visitors by placing them in the most visible and prestigious corners of the parlours or sitting rooms.

Chile's experience and meaning codes are very different from both Indian and Mexican ones. The middle class directly and only refers the employees in public sector in Chile. Indeed, other 'service class' and 'new' middle class members are not included in the middle class. "Belonging to the middle class is *not* belonging to the working class, or to the upper class, nor to the rich" (Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991, p. 16). The borders are clearly set by the middle class who definitely work in the public sector. Thus, for Chile, there is no other criterion for being middle class without an employee in public sector. The Chilean middle class is generally in economic hardship (Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991). As it can be observed from the very short brief accounted from some developing countries, middle class and lifestyle studies have peculiarities that are

different from the Western countries. The debates in Turkish academia and media include similarities with the middle class(es) in both the Western and the developing countries. While life-styles are analysed in Chapter 5, the literature on class studies and the old or traditional and new middle class(es) and their lifestyle are utilized to draw the frame of conceptualization in the Turkish middle classes lifestyles.

3.1.4. Bourdieu on *Distinction*: Class, Class Fractions and Tastes

Bourdieu⁴² has made an emphasis on the role of practice and embodiment in social dynamics by combining social theory and data from quantitative surveys, photographs and interviews within both material and social construction of everyday life. In this sense, he explains how an individual displays her/his status distinctively from other groups, particularly from those of lower ones, through taste/aesthetic dispositions. However, the tendencies that construct distinction via taste/aesthetics are not simply formed by the combination and volume of the individual's current socio-cultural and economic capitals, and the occupation status which is determined according to occupation/employment. In fact, Bourdieu claims that more than anything else, the tendencies that determine taste/aesthetics are shaped by the social environment where the individual spends her/his younger days; that is her/his childhood, and that in accord with the future social position of the same individual, this effect becomes visible through the distinction that the individual forms via taste/aesthetics.

⁴² Bourdieu has conducted theoretical, conceptual and empirical studies on a variety of disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and political science within social sciences since the late 1950s. While Bourdieu has been influenced both by traditional anthropology and sociology and previous social scientists such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim & Lévi-Strauss, he has improved his own theory on social life as well as the idea of social orders. In this sense, even though Bourdieu utilizes both structure and agency in his studies, he builds upon the attempts to transcend basic oppositions such as subjectivism/objectivism, micro/macro, and freedom/determinism in social sciences. Concepts such as field (a structured social space with its own rules, schemes of domination, legitimate opinions and so on), power relations (the mechanisms of social domination and reproduction of social hierarchies) and symbolic violence (the self-interested capacity to ensure that the arbitrariness of the social order is either ignored or posited as natural, thereby justifying the legitimacy of existing social structures in social life) are used by Bourdieu in a distinctive manner. Bourdieu's work, the concepts that he has developed and used and the effects of these on social sciences has been subject to many discussions as well as criticism. To name a few are, Shusterman (1999), Fowler (1998), Grenfell & James (1998), Robbins (2000), Swartz & Zolberg (2004), Reed-Danahay (2005), Jenkins (2002).

It was mentioned earlier that life-style(s) and taste of the strata of Turkish middle class(es) have been subject to a Bourdieuan analysis. Bourdieu's relevant key concepts, *disposition*, *habitus*, *social space* and *its transformations*, *three-dimensional space*, *class(es)*, *class fractions*, *class condition*, *(social, cultural and economic) capital(s)*, and *taste* which are employed in the study will be described in this section.⁴³ Even if it is possible to define these concepts in simple terms, it is worth noting that each concept becomes comprehensible within the contextual frame that Bourdieu signals at in his social theory and also within the correspondence of each concept with the others. For this reason, here, the concepts have been defined within the limits of the study and in relation to one another.

The term *disposition* is one of the most important concepts in Bourdieu, particularly linked to the meaning of the concept of *habitus*. Disposition expresses the result and/or way of organizing action, being and/or habitual state of an individual or group. It also refers to specific predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination of individual(s) or group(s) (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 11-13). While dispositions are acquired over time, they are constructing and constructed systems in social life. For example, aesthetic disposition constitutes and is constituted within the consumption of works of art as cultural goods (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 99-101). In other words, dispositions are distinctive tendencies that are formed and/or affected by the habits and actions that individuals acquire over time. Bourdieu claims that these dispositions form systems according to the characteristics of different classes or class strata acquired over time and that these 'system(s) of dispositions' constructs the *habitus* of the particular class and/or class strata. However, in Bourdieu's social theory, neither disposition(s) nor *habitus* as system(s) of dispositions is simply made up of the tendencies of individuals or classes. On the contrary, it is a social positioning that should be dealt with in relation to the composition and volume of social, economic and especially cultural capital. At this point, Bourdieu constructs a social realm that is related to *habitus*, the combination of capitals and volume and addresses this realm as a multi-dimensional space and thus, makes use of the term social space:

Initially, sociology presents itself as a *social topology*. Thus, the social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e.,

⁴³ It should be noted that in this study, terms distinctive to Bourdieu such as '*habitus*, social, cultural and economic capital(s) for social positioning, social space, class, class fractions and taste' have been used and thus, only these terms have been defined.

capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder. Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space. Each of them is assigned to a position or a precise class of neighboring positions (i.e., a particular region in this space) and one cannot really – even if one can in thought – occupy two opposite regions of the space. Inasmuch as the properties selected to construct this space are active properties, one can also describe it as a field of forces, i.e., as a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field and that are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to direct *interactions* among the agents (originally emphasized) (Bourdieu, 1985, pp. 723-724).

While defining social space as one based on differentiation or distinction that is constructed by active properties, what he means by properties are the resources that social, cultural and economic capitals signal at. Bourdieu, who deals with active properties in this framework, claims that constructing a theory of social space breaks from Marxist theory in three aspects:

Constructing a theory of social space presupposes a series of breaks with Marxist theory. First, a break with the tendency to privilege substances - here, the real groups, whose number, limits, members, etc., one claims to define – at the expense of relationships; and with the intellectualist illusion that leads one to consider the theoretical class, constructed by the sociologist, as a real class, an effectively mobilized group. Secondly, there has to be a multi-dimensional space, solely to the economic field, to the relations of economic production, which are thus constituted as coordinates of social position. Finally, there has to be a break with the objectivism that goes hand-in-hand with intellectualism, and that leads one to ignore the symbolic struggles of which the different fields are the site, where what is at stake is the very representation of the social world and, particular, the hierarchy within each of the fields and among the different fields (1985, p. 723).

Thus, Bourdieu claims both to have fallen apart from Marxist theory through his social space theory and also he defines social class differently from Marx and Weber. In his definition, even if social class is basically defined by a property, it is not only defined by a collection of properties. Rather, the combinations and volumes of social, cultural, economic capitals and also symbolic and political capitals, which were not included in the study, determine social class. Bourdieu's definition rejects a homogeneous class definition which is defined either as 'material conditions of existence and the conditionings they impose' or as 'possessions of means of production' in Marxist theory. At the same time, it also rejects the definitions through the position in production relations related to occupation, social status and prestige. Bourdieu does not define social classes only by property, social origin, age, race, income or by cause-effect and conditioner-conditioned relations within the production relations. He defines a fragmented society that bears a relation structure which covers all of the above. Such a class definition reflects on the conceptual tools of Bourdieu makes use of while constructing the fractions of a class. Moreover, he paves the path for the possibility to conduct a multi-dimensional analysis of

the lifestyles and tastes of a class and class fractions by making use of the theoretical and conceptual tools that he has constructed.

In the social world that represented as a multi-dimensional social space, Bourdieu explains social mobility via his own conceptualization as well.⁴⁴ The transformations in the capitals of the agent or the class fractions give way to their mobility in social space. Especially, while the increase in educational capital through longer schooling provides a better occupational position, it also gives way to an increase in economic and social capital, properties and a transformation in social space which results in social mobility. However, the constructed class is unequally and socially constituted in a society; and the agents from working class or proletariat as the constructed class do not have access to schooling, and thus, to the possibility to improve their educational capital because of their habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 106-114). Consequently, realizing social mobility which is claimed to be possible theoretically is in fact, beyond reach for certain classes or class fractions.

Bourdieu, next to the term mobility that defines the change of social space for the agents, also discusses and explains the transformation of social space. While the combination and volume of the agent's capitals changes in social space, the transformation of social space also takes place by the transformation of occupation structure through social, economic and technological changes. In other words, the agent who now has a higher educational capital can have opportunity to access more prestigious and higher paid work that an unqualified agent has and even, get hold of this job. This fundamentally takes place because the transformation in work results in the one at occupation. That is, the agent possesses qualified education capital by means of work, technology, government politics etc., can have access to a better occupation in the newly transformed work. As a result, the agent can increase her/his economic capital by means of better income and her/his social capital by means of a higher positioned occupation (1984, pp. 99-106). Consequently, Bourdieu explains that social space is transformed and transforming by

⁴⁴ According to Bourdieu, mobility also refers to political mobilization. The agents "mobilize themselves or are mobilized (in accordance with the specific logic, linked to a specific history, of the mobilizing organizations) for and by individuals or collective political action" (1984, p. 106). However, here, due to the scope and limit of the study, a mobility that is dependent on political action will not be scrutinized. The mobility in this context is the combination of capitals and the increase in volume, particularly with an emphasis on educational capital of the agent.

means of evaluating the linked relations between the agents and the structure in the most general sense.

At this point it is necessary to explain the time dimension that, Bourdieu has added to the analysis using the term *three-dimensional space*. In fact, all of the terms that are mentioned above possess the time dimension in Bourdieu in a concealed manner that is to say while disposition(s) and habitus define tendencies that are acquired over time in the social realm, the combination of capitals and volume make up for property, collection of properties and chain of properties, class and class fractions, and these are defined in relation to time. In addition to these, social space where the multi-dimensional of the social realm is existent, where class and class fractions take place and where the agent's social mobility takes place is a concept that signals at the relationship with time. Moreover, the transformation of social space has been defined in relation to the change in work and occupations over time, the agent's improvements in educational capital and thus having access to new occupations. In this way, Bourdieu defines *three-dimensional space* where he implies all of these concepts:

Endeavouring to reconstitute the units most homogeneous from the point of view of the conditions of production of habitus, i.e., with respect to the elementary conditions of existence and the resultant conditionings, one can construct a space whose three fundamental dimensions are defined by volume of capital, composition of capital, and change in these two properties over time (manifested by past and potential trajectories in social space) (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 114).

Bourdieu while defining three-dimensional space states that the initial differences result from the overall volume of the capital as usable resources and powers made up of social, cultural and economic capitals and while qualified professionals have easy access to material and cultural goods by means of their high incomes, unqualified office workers with a low income can have access to much less and to do so they have to spend much of their time. For example, while a professional can invest in the cultural capital that signals at bourgeoisie lifestyle such as going to the theatre or investing in her/his children's education, an office worker must allocate most of her/his time to that particular investment when she/he wants to buy a car or restore her/his house (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 114-125). In short, Bourdieu he has formed and enlarged the multi-dimensional perspective including time to analyse class and class position by adding the concept of three-dimensional space. Thus, he examines and explains life-styles and tastes involving time as well as social, cultural and economic factors.

In this study, *taste* is final concept to be discussed as used by Bourdieu. Bourdieu defines three different types of taste for different classes: *Legitimate taste* refers to the taste(s) of the dominant class and its fractions with the highest educational capital. It is represented in the works of high fine arts such as paintings of Goya or Breughel, heavy classical music, cinema, jazz, and so on; *Middle-brow taste* designates the taste(s) of the middle class and its fractions with the middle-level cultural capital. It is represented with relatively light classical music and more common songs such as *Rhapsody in Blue* or *Hungarian Rhapsody*, *Jacques Brel's* songs; and *Popular taste* indicates the taste(s) of working classes and varies according to the ratio of educational capital (industrial and commercial employers or even senior executives than among primary school teachers and cultural intermediaries). It is represented by 'light' or popularized classical music.

According to Bourdieu, the tastes of class and class fractions are established not only with the preferences in music and works of art but also in all cultural practices including museum visits, concert-going, reading as well as preferences in literature, painting or music, and these are closely linked to the educational level (measured by qualifications or length of schooling) and secondarily to social origin. In this sense, tastes are associated with cultural capital and habitus of the individuals and groups.

To sum up, while Bourdieu has developed his theories and conceptualizations in social theory, he gives explanations on class fractions, which are determined by the combinations and degrees of social, cultural and economic capital. He writes and discusses that judgments of taste in France are related to the material construction and social position, or more precisely the social positioning. Indeed, "the aesthetic disposition is one dimension of a distant, self-assured relation to the world and to others which presupposed objective assurance and distance" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 56). In this respect, Bourdieu, in *Distinction* (1984), constructs "the model of the relationships between the universe of economic and social conditions and the universe of life-styles"⁴⁵ for the French petite bourgeoisie and analyses it as "the system of distinctive features which express or reveal economic and social differences" (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. xi-xii). Thus, taking into account the habitus and lifestyles of the class and its fractions, he depicts the link

⁴⁵ With reference to Weber, Bourdieu accepts that each class fraction has a distinctive lifestyle and for this reason he emphasizes this distinctive quality by using the term as "life-styles". In this study, the term life-styles is used as the claim that class fractions have different 'life-styles' is accepted and in fact discussed within the case study as well. In this way, it was possible to make an emphasis on the difference in lifestyle of the classes by using the term 'life-styles'.

between cultural choices including, songs and cinema everyday choices including dress, interior decoration, sports and cooking and makes a critique as the distinction of judgment of taste.

After the simple definitions of the concepts borrowed from Bourdieu, social, cultural and economic capitals and taste(s) will be discussed in the next sections by referring to related literature.

3.1.5. Social, Cultural and Economic Capitals

The main argument of this dissertation is grounded on the fact that there is not one single middle class. Rather, the middle class(es) is/are fragmented like a society. Such fragmentations designate inequality among the class(es), or the middle class(es) throughout the compositions and volumes of the capitals.

The capitals are defined by Bourdieu:

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital* made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47).

Capitals determine individuals' class positions in social structure. However, a study via the capitals bears some difficulties. Bourdieu elucidates the ways of dealing with these difficulties in *Distinction*:

Projection onto a single axis, in order to construct the continuous, linear, homogenous, one-dimensional series with which the social hierarchy is normally identified, implies an extremely difficult (and, if it is unwitting, extremely dangerous) operation, whereby the different types of capital are reduced to a single standard. This abstract operation has an objective basis in the possibility, which is always available, of converting one type of capital into another; however, the exchange rates vary in accordance with the power relation between the holders of the different forms of capital. By obliging one to formulate the principle of the convertibility of the different kinds of capital, which is the precondition for reducing the space to one dimension, the construction of a two-dimensional space makes it clear that the exchange rate of the different kinds of capital is one of the fundamental stakes in the struggles between class fractions whose power and privileges are linked to one or the other of these types. In particular, this exchange rate is a

stake in the struggle over the dominant principle of domination (economic capital, cultural capital or social capital), which goes on at all times between the different fractions of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 125).

Even though the capitals are fundamentally derived from Bourdieu's theories of capitals in this dissertation, there is a significant literature on the capitals. In this subsection, these are going to be summarized.

As Field (2008) states, inequality should be defined throughout capitals including social, cultural and economic capitals of people (p. 28). Although the capitals are distinguished from each other and are pretended to be free from economic values, every capital is "broadly based but still ultimately concerned with economic value" (Johnson, 2009, p. 23). In other words, to be aware of the correlation amongst social, cultural and economic capitals and their inseparability from each other, the capitals were constructed to provide an analytical bases and sustainable study. Thus, the different compositions and volumes of capitals could be described for the classes and also fragments of the middle class. Each fragment has its own taste and aesthetic judgments in their interiors depending on their social, cultural and economic capitals (Bourdieu, 1984). To scrutinize these assumptions about the middle class(es), the taste and aesthetics in Turkish middle class(es)' houses have been questioned through home furniture, furnishing and decoration in this dissertation.

The construction methods of the fragments of the Turkish middle class(es) are explained in the Method Chapter. In this chapter, theoretical frames of the social, cultural and economic capitals will be elucidated.

3.1.5.i. Social Capital

Social capital has become a popular concept and has gradually become a subject in academia since the 1980s.⁴⁶ In the widest sense, it refers to the conducted networks or resources by relationships of people in which "just knowing people is not enough if they don't feel obliged to help you" (Field, 2008, p. 3). In spite of this basic definition, the writings on social capital are

⁴⁶ Field (2008) gives the rise of writings about social capital since 1990 till 2008 (p. 5).

based on the works of three seminal figures: Pierre Bourdieu, James [S.] Coleman and Robert Putnam. While Bourdieu developed his concept staying within the limits of social theory during the 1970s and 1980s, Coleman conducted his concept utilizing a fusion between sociology and economics, and Putnam founded his concept through the idea of association and civic activity by putting a stress on the political dimension. Although there are differences among the authors, all of them think “social capital is composed of personal connections and impersonal interaction, together with the shared sets of values that are associated with these contacts” (Field, 2008, pp. 15-16). Coleman’s notion of social capital as the founder varies from relationships in education process to resources for dealing with poverty in poor and marginalized communities (Field, 2008, p. 23).

However, among the people who use the concept, there is not an absolute definition and an agreement on how the term should be measured. To measure social capital, the World Bank working team has developed a questionnaire including six dimensions as groups and networks; trust and solidarity; collective action and cooperation; information and communication; social cohesion and inclusion; empowerment and political action. Except from the work on developing standard questionnaire, various dimensions of social capital are questioned as a part of a larger household survey to generate quantitative data on the living standards measurement survey or a household income/expenditure survey (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones & Woolcock, 2003).

As Putnam (1995) states, “Social capital, in short, refers to social connections and the attendant norms and trust” (quoted from Halpern, 2005, p. 1). The term refers to two different characteristics of relationships, networks and resources. The first one is mostly related to resources such as information, ideas and support, and these types of social ‘capitals’ are only accessible within the relationships in and through a given network. The second one indicates the interactions of members of a community in various informal networks and formal civic organizations. This kind of social capital varies from chatting with neighbours or engaging in recreational activities to joining environmental organizations and political parties (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones & Woolcock, 2003, p. 3). Besides these, these relationships are distinguished as ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’ and ‘linking’ social capital. ‘Bonding’ social capital refers the relationships among people who have familiar demographic characteristics, such as family members, neighbours, close friends and work colleagues; ‘bridging’ social capital defines the ties amongst people who do not have many shared characteristics as the case is in the bonding

type. Lastly, 'linking' social capital refers to the link between people in positions of authority, such as representatives of public (police, political parties) and private (banks) institutions (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones & Woolcock, 2003, p. 3). Shortly, social capital refers to many types of vertical and horizontal relationships among people; or in Field's (2008) words:

[...] draws attention to the links between the micro level of individual experiences and everyday activity and meso level of institutions, associations and community. Moreover, by defining connections as a form of capital, the concept points broadly towards a set of explanations that can link the micro, meso and macro levels together (Field, 2008, p. 8).

Or in Bourdieu's sense (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992):

Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Acknowledging that capital can take a variety of forms is indispensable to explain the structure and dynamics of differentiated societies (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119).

In this quotation, Bourdieu considers the importance of durable and institutionalized network. Even though Bourdieu is criticized regarding asking only about membership to a golf club to measure social capital in *Distinction* (1984), he is one of the most important figures to develop the recent theoretical and conceptual frames of the term, besides Coleman and Putnam. With respect to literature, social capital is composed of:

Most forms, be they kinship, work-based or interest-based, can be seen to have three basic components. They consist of a *network*; a cluster of *norms, values and expectations* that are shared by group members; and *sanctions* – punishments and rewards – that help to maintain the norms and network (Halpern, 2005, p. 10).

Whilst Bourdieu's notion for social capital designates the more or less institutionalized social relations in everyday life, Coleman's view emphasizes the dimensions of dealing with poverty utilizing relationships as social capital, and Putnam's view points out the mutual interrelationship between government and civil society⁴⁷ (Field, 2008, pp. 23-32).

⁴⁷ Putnam (1993) "sought to identify and then explain differences between regional administrations in north and south of Italy" (quoted from Field, 2008, p. 33).

Social capital is accepted as a complement of the individuals' socio-cultural and economic profile. However, while Bourdieu's view indicates that "the privileged individuals maintain their positions by using their connections with the other privileged people", Coleman's view "discerns the value of connections for all actors, individual and collective, privileged and disadvantaged" (Field, 2008, p. 31). Fine (2010) stresses on the multi dimensions of social capital and correlates social capital with a "reaction against the extremes of both neo-liberalism and *postmodernism*"⁴⁸ (pp. 5-6). Moreover, the trust designates another dimension of social capital which emerges and improves in the relations or affairs among people, institutions and also states in social, economic and political life including seeing friends, talking to neighbours as well as voting in election (Aizlewood & Pendakur, 2008).

In this study, a model to measure social capital is developed in the thesis level. The method of construction of the social capital was previously explained in Chapter Two; and it was applied in the case study employing everyday life activities as durable networks among more or less equal people in the social standing.

3.1.5.ii. Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is built up with reference to Bourdieu's (1986) definition about what cultural capital is. In his words:

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the forms of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, ect.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as well as seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47).

Although education is involved in cultural capital, opportunities for education and academic attainment are investigated in correlation to social capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Coleman, 1961). Furthermore, both Bourdieu and Coleman most obviously share "a common concern with social

⁴⁸ See footnote 25.

capital as a source of educational achievement” (Field, 2008, p. 31). In other words, this notion designates the difficulties about the separation of the capitals from each other.

Referring to Bourdieu’s definition of cultural and symbolic cultural capital, in the form of education and knowledge, the capacity defines and legitimizes cultural, moral, and artistic values, standards and styles. The consideration of artistic values, or taste and aesthetics in the context of the thesis, is related to cultural capital. High-culture styles may have high degrees of symbolic cultural capital, whereas folk culture may enjoy a little of them (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995, p. 862). According to Bourdieu, people, or the agents, create their distinction through their possessed forms of cultural capital, and display their distinction from others with materialised life-styles, taste and aesthetics through styles of chosen everyday objects, activities and daily routines.

Actually, cultural capital is accepted and applied as the *objectified* and *institutionalized* states. Coleman’s study finds that input and output of public education is not only related to the family and community background but also to the nature of school itself (Field, 2008, p. 25).

In Bourdieu’s theory, the concept of cultural capital maintains the possibility to “analyse cultural background, knowledge, disposition, and skills as analogues to economic goods that are produced, distributed, and consumed by individuals and groups” (Swatz, 2000, p. 208). Cultural capital is viewed as objective forms (books, works of art), practices (visiting museums, concert) or formal education in institutional academia and it is embodied in micro- and macro-economic relationships (Swatz, 2000, p. 208).

To sum up, although social and cultural capitals are theorized as separate forms of capitals, their acquisition depends on economic capital and time.

3.1.5.iii. Economic Capital

Economic capital consists of cash and assets; and it is defined as monetary values of economic assets. Bourdieu argues that different types of capital can all be derived from economic capital which means that it is composed of goods that are directly and immediately convertible into

money within the universe of bourgeois production and exchange system (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47). However, the ‘transformations’ of economic assets to other capitals are not easily and automatically realized. Rather, the transformations need effort and time. Its benefits become visible only in the long term. To name a few, “the cost of schooling and the cash equivalent of time devoted to study” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47).

The importance of economic capital and influences on the acquisition processes of other capitals are emphasized by Bourdieu:

The different types of capital can be derived from *economic capital*, but only at the cost of a more or less great effort of transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question. For example, there are some goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary costs; others can be obtained only virtue of a social capital of relationships ... unless they have been established and maintained for a long time.

...

So it has to be posited simultaneously that economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these transformed, distinguished forms of economic capital, ... the fact that economic capital is at their root, in other words – but only in the last analysis – at the root of their effects (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 53-54).

The definition of economic capital and its roles on all other capitals seem to reflect the accuracy of the Marxist explanations concerning the roles of economics on social structure. Specifically, as Bourdieu stated, “economic capital is at their root, in other words – but only in at last analysis” (1986, p. 54). In this sense, while economic capital constructs the roots of all the other capitals, it determines the fractions of social classes as well.

In this study, though economic capital is composed of both cash and other exchange goods such as a house, car, other durables and electronic equipment in households, it is included only as income or cash in the first correspondence analysis, which will be discussed below.

A link between recent meanings of capital and neo-liberalism following the post-1990s is established. Furthermore, upon referring to ‘McDonaldisation’⁴⁹ and ‘Disneyisation’⁵⁰ (Fine,

⁴⁹ McDonaldization was firstly used by George Ritzer in *The McDonaldisation of society* (1993) to emphasize the cultural change of society referring the characteristics of fast food restaurants and using efficiency, calculability, predictability- standardized and uniform service and control. Hereafter, his concept is frequently employed to discuss different sociological issues by both himself, i.e. *The McDonaldization of society: An investigation into the changing character of contemporary social life*, (1996), *The*

2010, pp. 1-35), Fine uses ‘social capital as McDonaldisation’ as a metaphor (Fine, 2010, pp. 17-20). The term implies the popularization of the concept of capital in the academia. Fine’s argument is mainly related to social capital and points to the shift from macro theories to micro theories as well as to the decreasing significance of grand narratives in social sciences. Besides, Fine criticizes the current use of the concept of capital in academia referring mainly to inequality, stratification, and poverty on the basis of the distribution of different combinations and volumes of capitals among social groups to replace sociological and economic grand theories. Moreover, Fine (2010, pp. 60-84) points out that the widespread use of capitals in a positive sense justifies inequality in a society while emphasizing its negative implications makes the dark side of social capital come to the fore.

To sum up, the fractions of the Turkish middle class are labelled according to the compositions and volumes of capitals and occupations. These fractions shed light into habitus, lifestyle, taste and aesthetics throughout furniture, furnishing and decoration in the houses.

3.1.6. Habitus and Life-styles

Habitus and life-style(s) designate the habitual activities, practices and daily routines in everyday life of the agents and the group(s) in Bourdieu’s theory.

Habitus: Habitus defines the sets and ways of all kinds of acquired temperaments, skills, behaviours and attitudes of agents, groups, classes and class fractions throughout their social life. However, habitus and life-style are not easily separated from each other in Bourdieu’s theory. In Bourdieu’s words, it is defined as:

The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification [...] of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to

McDonaldisation of society 5 (2008) and different social scientists, i.e. *McDonaldisation: The reader* (2006).

⁵⁰ Disneyization indicates homogenization of consumption, merchandizing, and emotional labour, and refers thematic construction and entertainment implying *Disneyland* thematic parks. Alan E. Bryman’s book, *The Disneyization of Society* (2004).

differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of lifestyles, is constructed.

The relationship that is actually established between the pertinent characteristics of economic and social condition (capital volume and composition, in both synchronic and diachronic aspects) and the distinctive features associated with the corresponding position in the universe of life-styles only becomes intelligible when the habitus is constructed as the generative formula which makes it possible to account both for the classifiable practices and products and for the judgements, themselves classified, which make these practices and works into a system of distinctive signs. [...] The habitus is necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transportable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application – beyond the limits of what has been directly learnt – of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions. That is why an agent's whole set of practices (or those of a whole set of agents produced by similar conditions) are both systematic inasmuch as they are the product of the application of identical (or interchangeable) schemes, and systematically distinct from the practices constituting another life-style (1984, p. 170).

While the agent's habitus as a system of dispositions designates her/his conditions through the inherited and learnt practices, skills and works, it implies her/his life-style as well. In this sense, the habitus is:

The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes (1984, p. 170).

As stated in this statement, due to the behaviour patterns which the agent has acquired and learnt in the environment that she/he grew up in, her/his habits and skills, habitus defines a structure that is both structured and structuring. In other words, it is a structure which was structured within the social structure which includes things such as school, family, district, town and city, and it is also a structure which effectively makes its way into the present. With the effect of this structured and structuring structure, habitus is the whole that results in the individual's behaviour and tendencies not in any way other than the one that is expected of her/him. Aforementioned, in Bourdieu's sense, habitus implies a system of dispositions. Habitus provides an example of how the external social and physical world might unconsciously assimilate someone's world (Miller, 1995, pp. 102-103). Social origins, family background, education and occupations/employment are important in the formation of the habitus. In this sense, since it illuminates a habitually gained system of dispositions, it not only influences but also determines the agents' or groups' tastes and styles of furnishing and decoration of houses, dressing, consumption, leisure and entertainment.

From a Bourdieuan perspective, while conducting a study, the concept of habitus provides the anchor, the compass, and the course of journey, and at the same time, it can be the *topic* and *tool* of investigation (Wacquant, 2011, pp. 81-82). In this respect, habitus has both been investigated as a topic and also used as a conceptual tool to analyse the life-styles and tastes of the middle class fractions in the study.

Life-styles: Life-styles refer to the characteristic sets of behaviours, habits, ways of doing things in a given time and place. Life-style is a stylized combination of habits, social relations, consumption, entertainment, eating, dressing, furnishing, decoration and reasoned actions which can be observed in someone's daily activities and practices. Features such as social origin, occupations/employment, educational level, age, gender and also leisure activities construct life-style. As mentioned previously in the section 3.1.3.v. Consumption and Lifestyle, recent class analyses have been made over emphasis on the distinction of lifestyles throughout consumption patterns.

Lifestyle, aforementioned, is mostly discussed together with a culture of consumerism (Chaney, 1996, 2002; Miles, 1998; Wynne, 2000), and leisure activities and hobbies (Rojek, 1989a, 1989b). While Kephart (1982, p. 93) defines lifestyle as 'the total life-style of a people – their customs, attitudes, and values, the shared understanding of a society', Chaney (1996, p. 5) challenges this description and gives his own definition as "Lifestyles are dependent on cultural forms, each is a style, a manner, a way of using certain goods, places and times that is characteristics of a group but is not the totality of their social experience. Lifestyles are sets of practices and attitudes that make sense in particular contexts" (Chaney, 1996, p. 5). In this sense, sociological studies of lifestyles and leisure as a sub-discipline started to emerge in the mid-1980s. Four positions have emerged as central: the cultural studies approach, feminism, post-work theory and over-work thesis (Slater, 1997, p. 306). In this context, lifestyles are concerned with social identity, distinction and difference of modern societies in modern times. Bayley stresses the importance of taste in the development of modernity: "Taste is a new religion whose rites are celebrated in department stores and museums, two institutions whose origins lie exactly that historical period which witnessed the explosion of popular consumption" (quoted from Chaney, 1996, p. 6).

Nevertheless, lifestyles and leisure mostly emphasize both materialistic and hedonistic dimensions linked with consumption (Brooks, 2000; Miles, 1992; Veblen, 1992, 2005). The hedonistic and selfish pleasure is implied through a new focus of lifestyles and consumer tastes by the phrase “If it feels good, do it” from the 1960s, specifically the early 1970s (Binkley, 2004, pp. 71-72). These arguments basically refer to turning the work from fixed Fordist model to flexible and reflexive post-Fordist mode, and the fragmented characters of lifestyle of “new middle classes” or “cultural intermediaries.”

It has been argued that the vanguard lifestyle movements of the 1970s pioneered a set of cultural changes that facilitated a shift in the moral basis of middle-class identities, from professional life to consumption, lifestyle, and highly reflexive forms of leisure – changes that have been variously termed post-Fordist, postmodern, late-capitalist, and postindustrial. Specifically, it has been argued that the core tenets of this traditional middle-class moral culture – deriving from utilitarian and biblical moral traditions, professionalized in the Taylorist management regimes in the early part of century – variously conveyed a dualistic view of the world; that is, a sovereign, rational individual was set against the world and against himself or herself in a relation that was egoistic and instrumental. This instrumental rationality found its way into the professional administrative positions inhabited by the postwar middle class and culminated in the faith in specialization, expertise, and supervised planning that characterized the mass markets and bureaucratic hierarchies of the Fordist economy (Binkley, 2004, pp. 92-93).

As seen in this quotation, the rise of arguments on lifestyles and hedonistic highlights emerged linked with the changes and turns in work and culture in the post war period.

The other dimension of this new lifestyle is discussed within the relation of the physical centers of shopping. In this sense, shopping and shopping malls have increasingly become the new social arenas of consumption, entertainment and the wishes for material things (Martin, 2002). Time spent shopping and possession of things became the first popular activity as a leisure activity in the last few decades of the twentieth century. Thus, shopping is not a term that defines people’s eating, drinking, walking around and purchasing a few things. Rather, it describes gazing, viewing, watching as a major social activity. Looking at objects, places, events and other people has a wider meaning; that is, the consumption of both goods and services (Bocock, 1992, pp. 121-165). Although the leisurely consumption of food and drinks has begun in the 1750s (Bocock, 1992, p. 153), it has become an element of commercial culture in the present time (Miller, 2000).

Beside these pleasure-based consumption modes and lifestyles, some other consumption styles are characterized by modest and rational spending patterns in Finnish society (Wilska, 2002, p. 195). Furthermore, while lifestyle is mostly discussed with regard to social background, education and occupational consumption patterns, it is distinguished with regard to neighbourhoods as well (Wynne, 2000, pp. 69-93).

To sum up, these debates basically aim at understanding and explaining the changes of the class structures throughout the explosion of lifestyles, diminishing faith in rationality as a guiding principle, and disillusion with ideologies which emerged after the 1970s (Breen & Rottman, 1995, p. 152). The arguments and theories elucidate the changes and transformation referring to the shift from the production-and property-centered approaches to the consumption-centered approaches in the academic and empirical studies in the societies since the end of the 1980s and especially from the beginning of the 1990s.

After the general explanation on debates of lifestyles, Bourdieu's view should be clarified in the context of the study. The individuals or homogenous social groups have distinctive life-styles with respect to their habitus, social practices, and the combinations and volume of social, cultural and economic capitals (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1985). Life-styles refer to the systematic practices and social products of systems of dispositions as habitus, and indicate systematicity:

Systematicity is found in the *opus operatum* because it is in the *modus operandi*. It is found in all the properties – and property – with which individuals and groups surround themselves, houses, furniture, paintings, books, cars, spirits, cigarettes, perfume, clothes, and in the practices in which they manifest their distinctions, sports, games, entertainments, only because it is in the synthetic unity of the habitus, the unifying, generative principle of all practices. Taste, the propensity and capacity to appropriate (materially or symbolically) a given class of classified, classifying objects or practices, is the generative formula of life-style, a unitary set of distinctive preferences which express the same expressive intention in the specific logic of each of the symbolic sub-spaces, furniture, clothing, language or body hexis. Each dimension of life-style 'symbolizes with' the others, in Leibniz's spaces, and symbolizes them (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 173).

Indeed, life-style covers all material and symbolic construction of social spaces of the agents and the groups, or the class fractions, and taste refers to a part of life-style. While habitus is the result of the objectification of social structure at the level of individual subjectivity, life-styles are more or less constructed and stylized ways of life including social relations, patterns of consumption, entertainment, leisure, and dress according to habitus and also the composition and volume of the capitals. According to Bourdieu, life-styles are systematic products of habitus

(Bourdieu, 1984, p. 172). Shortly, life-styles and tastes are discussed and explained as the stylization and aestheticization of everyday life practices and daily activities in Bourdieu's theory.

3.2. TASTES via HOME FURNISHING and DECORATION

3.2.1. Introductory Remarks

Until the nineteenth century in Europe, the middle class represented by tradesmen, skilled craftsmen and professionals was so small as to be a relatively minor group in the social and economic order. In the nineteenth century, the aristocratic upper class began to lose its domination for both political and economic reasons. The class of agricultural workers decreased in size as work in mills, factories, and mines supplanted farm work. The growing middle class was made up of rising stratum of society that learned to turn the Industrial Revolution into a source of new wealth. The rich and powerful who lived in great houses, châteaux, and palaces had always been surrounded by richly decorated objects, ornate rugs, and draperies, all handmade from costly materials by skilled craftsmen. The new middle class could afford such things now that they were inexpensively produced in quantity; the decorative and the ornamental became the dominant theme of all design (Pile, 2005, p. 247).

This quotation displays a brief historical explanation about the emergence of middle classes and their taste in interiors within the correlations between industrial innovations in production, accessibility and affordability of decorative and ornamental objects.

In this section, the meaning of tastes is described and discussed linked with furniture, furnishing and decoration in the context of the study.

3.2.2. Tastes and Aesthetics: Choices of Objects/Things for Everyday Life

Even though *taste*, *aesthetic*, *beauty*, *beautification*, *style* and also *design* have slightly differed from each other, they are generally used interchangeably in everyday life. Particularly, aesthetics as a whole branch of philosophy refers to cultural patterns of choice and preference to highlight the distinctions via things depending on styles and works of art, and it becomes even more

difficult and complicated to draw the frame of these terms. Taste and aesthetics are employed in their sociological meanings related to everyday life rather than philosophical one.

In the sociological context, while *taste* refers to the acquisition of the individual in a given time and place through lived experiences, *aesthetics* designates a pleasurable harmony among objects that are used in everyday life. In this sense, taste indicates experiences of the individual to make things, places or spaces physically more attractive for the senses; and aesthetics points out beautification of things, places or spaces with respect to general rules such as harmony, sensibility and emotional attractiveness of the chosen items.

According to Bourdieu, while taste is “the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers. This predisposes taste to function as a marker of ‘class’” (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 1-2) while aesthetics refers to popular aesthetics as “the affirmation of the continuity between art and life, which implies the subordination of form to function” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 4). This is the exact opposite of the Kantian aesthetic and is most related to everyday choices of everyday life, e.g., music, food, cooking, painting, sport, literature, hairstyle, clothing and decoration. In this sense, popular aesthetics is related to the science of taste and of cultural consumption, not the Kantian sublime aesthetics. Thus, the barbarous reintegration of aesthetic consumption into the world of ordinary consumption demolishes the opposition, on which Kant’s high aesthetics is grounded, between the “taste of sense”, and the “taste of reflection”, and between facile pleasure, pleasure reduced to pleasure of senses, and pure pleasure, pleasure purified of pleasure” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6).

In this study, tastes and aesthetics are used interchangeably because both concepts used to refer anthropological and sociological meaning. For this reason, the terms are written with the word of ‘tastes’. In this framework, ‘tastes’ refers to the atmosphere created by agents or classes through their furniture, upholstery and ornament choices in their living spaces by making use of the experiences that they have acquired in a certain place or time.

Style refers to a meaning that is different from that of taste, aesthetic and also beautification, and it is important in explaining tastes of given things such as home furnishing and decoration. Auslander (1996, pp. 1-2) makes clear that taste has been understood to be innate and emotional,

yet it bears a capacity to being improved through education; it is individual and idiosyncratic yet absolute; it is transcendent of time and space yet socially constructed. Style has been understood to be historical and specific, resulting from either collective effort or individual genius. A style has characteristics and can be named and dated, and is understood to be pervasive within a given moment (Schapiro, 1953, p. 287). As these basic definitions suggest, there is a constant tension and contradiction between these two terms. Thereby, style can be defined as a constant form, quality and expression in the art of an individual or a group in a given time and a place; and style refers to collectively created forms, qualities and ways of expression for selected objects, works or art in their anthropological and sociological meanings.

In this study, style refers to the manner in which the respondents have furnished their living spaces by making use of furniture, curtains, carpet, illumination devices, paintings, sculpture, photography and decorative objects signalling at a certain period via form, colour, pattern, mode of production and material. In chapter five, furnishing styles have been defined as classical, modern and eclectic (combination of different styles and sources) with reference to the literature on furniture and interior design as well as home and decoration magazines and the utterances of the respondents.

The other concept is *design*. Actually, design refers to “the practice of conceptualizing and constructing modernity in material form” (Attfield, 1997, pp. 269-287). The orthodoxy of “good design” practice derived from theories of modernism encompassing mass-produced goods as a by-product of engineering and architectural design practice based on the relationship between industrialization, innovation and social reform, rather than as a minor aspect of art (Attfield, 1997, p. 268). It refers to ‘well-designed’ objects and ‘well-furnished and well-decorated’ interiors in the context of the study. It can be said that the word design is used in its literal meaning instead of ‘furnishing’ and ‘decoration’ in home and decoration magazines by the authors. While the authors or experts make suggestions to the readers on how to furnish their interiors, they specifically prefer to use the word ‘design’ to define the business in interiors.

In this study design does not refer to the organization of furniture and other objects as the term is used in home and decoration magazines, but it refers to the designing of a furniture or a decorative object as a product by an expert such as a designer, architect or an interior designer.

Shortly, in this dissertation, while tastes designates the constructed and created harmony, sensibility and beauty with furniture and accessories in living spaces, style refers to the selection and arrangement of items within specific forms and adornments derived from given times and places. Like habitus and life-styles, tastes are derived from Bourdieu's theory. He (1984) introduces his book, *Distinction*, stating:

There is an economy of cultural goods, but it has a specific logic. Sociological endeavours to establish the condition in which the consumers of cultural goods, and their taste for them, are produced, and at the same time to describe the different ways of appropriating such of these objects as are regarded at a particular moment as works of art, and the social conditions of the constitution of the mode of appropriation that is considered legitimate. But one cannot fully understand cultural practices unless 'culture', in the restricted, normative sense of ordinary usage, is brought back into 'culture' in the anthropological sense, and the elaborated taste for the most refined objects is reconnected with the elementary taste for the flavors of food (Bourdieu, 1984, p.1).

This quotation designates the relationship between individuals and their physical environments and judgments of taste.

Whereas the ideology of charisma regards taste in legitimate culture as a gift of nature, scientific observation shows that cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education: surveys establish that all cultural practices (museum visits, concert-going, reading, etc.), and preferences in the in literature, painting or music, are closely linked to educational level (measured by qualifications or length of schooling) and secondarily to social origin. The relative weight of home background and of formal education (the effectiveness and duration of which are closely dependent on social origin) varies according to the extent to which the different cultural practices are recognized and taught by the educational system, and the influence of social origins is strongest – other things being equal – in 'extra-circular' and avant-garde culture. To the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of consumers. This predisposes tastes to function as markers of 'class'. The manner in which culture has been acquired lives on in the manner of using it: the importance attached to manners can be understood once it is these imponderables of practice which distinguish the different – and ranked – modes of culture acquisition, early or late, domestic or scholastic, and the classes of individuals which they characterize (such as 'pedants' and *mondains*) Culture also has its titles of nobility –awarded by the educational system – and its pedigrees, measured by seniority in admission to the nobility (Bourdieu, 1984, pp.1-2).

As seen, Bourdieu explains and categorizes tastes for the preferences of material objects and attendance to various cultural events in correspondence with social, cultural and also economic capitals of the agents, the groupings, the fractions or the classes. Actually, Bourdieu's theory of taste and aesthetics is associated with everyday object and art perception and rooted from Kant's aesthetic theory in *Critique of Judgement*, in which art perception of the working class was called as 'barbarous taste' (Bourdieu, 1993). He defines three levels on the tastes of the classes:

1. *Legitimate taste*: It is represented by the work of the elite artists, i.e., Goya and Brueghel's paintings, Bach and Ravel's works, cinema, jazz, etc. for dominant class and its fractions with highest cultural and educational capital; 2. *Middle-brow taste*: It refers to more common and known songs of art, i.e., *Rhapsody in Blue*, *Hungarian Rhapsody* and songs of *Jacques Brel*, for middle classes with middle level cultural and educational capital; and 3. *Popular taste*: It is represented by 'light' or popularized classical music. It is most common among working classes, industrial and commercial employers or even senior executives with generally low cultural and educational capital. But, it is less common among primary school teachers and cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu's definition hierarchically classifies the preferences and choices and indeed dispositions of classes in painting and music as works of fine arts in everyday life according to the agent's capitals, specifically cultural educational capitals, and class habitus.

The author of this dissertation has reason to think that the hierarchy of tastes, as the term is used in the context of this study, in relation to Kant's 'sublime' and 'barbarous' taste carries a parallelism with class hierarchy that juxtaposes with 'dominant' or 'high', 'middle' and 'subordinate', 'low' or 'working class'. In this context, while the taste of the dominant class is defined as 'legitimate', 'high' or 'high brow', that of the subordinate or working class is defined as 'popular', 'barbarous', 'low' or 'low-brow' and that of the middle class as 'middle' or 'middle brow'. However, it should be noted that the taste/aesthetics levels that are positioned between 'high-, middle- and low-brow' categories are discovered in studies conducted in different localities, i.e., Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, (2000), Bourdieu, (1984), Bennett, et.al. (2009), Lamont, (1992), Peterson, (2005). Specifically, while popular taste designates the newest and most popular fashion or trends, spontaneous or functional taste eventually mostly refers to 'taste of necessity' of everyday choices (Aydın, 2008; Blasius & Friedrichs, 2008; Bourdieu, 1990a, pp. 77-94).

In addition to legitimate-popular and high-low taste, the notion of "good" and "bad" tastes is another way to express the appreciation or discontent about tastes (Madigan & Munro, 1996, p. 45). Generally, good taste refers to sublimated, refined, legitimate and high tastes of dominant class and its fractions, who are concerned about and are linked to fine arts and stay within the sacred sphere of culture; bad taste indicates popular, lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile and

barbarous tastes of working class, who are interested in the natural enjoyment and who stay close to the sphere of profane (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 7). In this context, so as to scrutinize, understand and explain the classification of tastes, the meanings of high-, middle- and low-brow should be clarified by referring to the literature on culture and art consumption.

Tastes, which is categorized as popular, low(er)-brow or bad taste signal at working class and lower-middle class. Especially, ‘taste of necessity’, which Bourdieu defines as taste that is bound to the satisfaction of supplying a certain necessity, signals at the taste of working class. In other words, legitimate/highbrow/good tastes, which define the taste of upper and upper middle classes is drawn by means of cultural choices, activities (going to a concert, cinema, theatre, art exhibition and museum) and the frequency of these activities. Contrary to this, popular/low-brow/bad taste refers to the taste of lower middle class and working class where different objects are used together to fulfil a certain need in everyday life. In this context of the study, this kind of taste is composed of furniture and ornaments that fill the demands of sitting, dining, exhibition and storage in living spaces.

In fact, this hierarchy is not only categorized by tastes but also classified by the classes such as elites or upper-class, middle class or working class as well. To reach high culture or ‘high-brow’ tastes, art professionals, lifestyle markers or art directors of a prestigious art gallery, or long-standing members of an elite class teach consumers how to achieve elite, or upper-class identity through consumption, specifically art consumption (Swift, 2007, p. 12). Besides, high- and low-tastes are defined by linking them with “high culture” and “low culture”, too. While high/elite culture was rooted in European art, food and fashion in America, low/popular culture was “an empty conceptual category”, that was defined as “the culture that is left over after we have decided what is high culture” (Swift, 2007, pp. 14-15). High or low culture does not have fixed meanings. Rather, labels of culture as high or low, specifically high, change in a given place and a time. For example, French cuisine, like French art, represented high culture in the 1980s for upper-middle class, but it has lost its place in cultural hierarchy nowadays (Swift, 2007, p. 211). In other words, the selection and combination of products and material goods display their lifestyles via tastes according to high or low culture of the classes (Madigan & Munro, 1996, pp. 45-47).

However, Bourdieu's classification of taste is criticized in several points. Primarily, it is about the peculiarities of the French *petite bourgeoisie* and new bourgeoisie, and it provides little contribution to illuminate contemporary social change in France (Wynne, 2000, p. 51). Bourdieu (1995) responds to the critiques that claim that his model is not unique for all societies. Rather, it can be adapted for other countries in different times by taking into account the characteristics of localities and times.

Bourdieu classified tastes, specifically labelled as highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow tastes, and he also discussed the distinction between classes and the approach that each adopts in relation to the others. 'Snob' and 'slob' distinction, especially by taking into account cultural capital, defines how classes perceive each other's taste. While "highbrow snobs" refers to those who patronize fine arts and avoid contact with popular entertainment, "lowbrow slob" indicates those who enjoy what is often called "debased" or "brutish" popular entertainment and tastes (Peterson, 2005, pp. 258-259). This argument, which has its base in America, states that Bourdieu's finding that in French society people with a high cultural capital and a high status possess a distinctive taste/aesthetic is not true for the American society. In fact, an American with a high status and cultural capital, when compared with a French person in the same position, is interested not only in fine arts but also in folk and popular.

Given the Bourdieu (1984) findings, this was surprising because these 1982 findings suggest to us that cultural capital was seen by many high-status US respondents as the ability to appreciate the distinctive aesthetic of a wide range of cultural forms, including not only the fine arts but a range of popular and folk expressions as well. Noting that the findings contradicted the usual contrast between the exclusive highbrow snob and the indiscriminating lowbrow slob, we suggested that high status respondent seemed more nearly "omnivorous" in their tastes, while those near the bottom of the status hierarchy were more nearly "univorous" (Peterson, 2005, p. 259-260).

This approach which particularly studies highbrow snob taste and omnivorous and univorous tastes comparatively in other countries is in a sense, an opposition to Bourdieu's claim that agents who have a highbrow snob taste and a high cultural capital are distinct from lower class lowbrow slob with a low cultural capital and a popular folk taste.

Another argument is articulated as "cultural repertoires" to refer to cultural levels that are constructed by Bourdieu via composition and volume of capitals. The cultural repertoires argument that makes an emphasis on cinema, music, theatre and other cultural activities claim

that the differentiation between dominant and subordinate classes signal at a 'social exclusion'. The class differentiation is determined through these cultural repertoires instead of labelling cultural consumption as highbrow-lowbrow or legitimate-popular taste. While upper classes tend towards artistic films, music or art consumption, lower classes tend more towards popular music and cinema and while the cultural repertoire of upper classes is high that of lower classes is low. In addition to this, cultural repertoire argument makes an emphasis on exclusion in class differentiation (Barnett & Allen, 2000; Lamont, 1994; Lamont & Molnár, 2001; Petersen & Kern, 1996). Lamont who has compared American and French upper-middle class culture has emphasized that while the French bears a more artistic cultural repertoire, the cultural repertoire of American upper-middle class is made up of more popular cultural products. It is also emphasized that although cultural repertoires provide a foundation for social exclusion, it is not supported through enough quantitative data and empirical study conducted on the comparison of different classes (Barnett & Allen, 2000, pp. 161-162).

Considering the debates on tastes as the set of life-styles, the urban professionals, or new middle classes, have become conspicuous consumers, and their conspicuous acquisitiveness has become a powerful sign of upward mobility since the 1980s (Swift, 2007, pp. 30-31). Food and cuisine performance at dinner at homes and eating in restaurants play as conspicuous consumption goods and are becoming increasingly important roles in identity construction and display processes for middle – and upper-middle-class (Swift, 2007, p. 211). Thus, food, cuisine and eating out have become ways of constituting and displaying the distinction of tastes for middle- and upper-middle-classes.

In brief, by means of a hierarchical taste classification that covers all social classes, Bourdieu labels these as 'legitimate'-'middle'-'popular' or 'highbrow'-'middlebrow'-'lowbrow' taste and thus, he categorizes social classes according to taste. Although this study covers only middle classes, due to the claim that different middle classes have different tastes, Bourdieu's categorization is preferred for everyday taste/aesthetic choices. It is categorized as legitimate/high-brow, middle-brow and popular/low-brow tastes and each middle class constructed analytically is defined in Chapter 5 in terms of home decoration and the combination of tastes. Tastes that differs according to class and the distinction formed through this frame is defined and discussed with reference to empirical data.

3.2.3. Furnishing and Decoration as Material Construction of Tastes

In this study, the furnishing and decoration of the living space, the material construction and the visibility of tastes by the individual; or the objects that are chosen to be used in everyday life and the manner in which these are organized are analyzed as the material construction of tastes by the individual in a manner that expresses the personality of that particular person.

In this framework, the person's choice of objects/things/artifacts among the ones in her/his physical environment, the composition of these and the relationship that the person constructs with these objects is analyzed by the material culture discipline as the individual's material culture and thus, the construction of this materiality. Being a sub-division of archeology, material culture which focuses on gaining information about the lives of ancient societies by means of archeological remains and which does research on the relationship of humans with objects, especially, artifacts also does research on the modern human's relationship with objects/things/artifacts from an anthropological and sociological perspective (Tilley, 2004, 2006, 2008; Miller & Tilley, 1984). The examination of individual's, that is the consumer's, relationship with objects/things/artifacts, in particular consumption goods, around her/him starts with the 'objectification' concept with an emphasis on Hegel's reference that is also based on the ancient period (Miller, 2005, pp. 1-50; Tilley, 2006, pp. 60-73). Material culture studies, arguments on consumer society, consumption, and consumerism that started in the 1970s and that became even more popular in the 1980s, and postmodernism arguments that put an emphasis on the symbolic meaning of objects/things/artifacts/consumption goods together emphasize the 'socialness' that individuals construct by means of objects/things/artifacts/consumption. These arguments are held by some authors such as Baudrillard (1988, 1998), Featherstone (1998), Miller (1995) as directly focusing on material culture or materiality and lifestyles arguments via postmodernism.

In this framework, the author of this dissertation has grouped the literature on material culture and the anthropological and sociological studies, which dealt with the relationship of individuals with objects/things/artifacts/consumption goods as material culture, starting from early 1970s, into three different perspectives:

1. The approach that puts an emphasis on the importance of ‘class position’ in the individual’s relationship with objects/things/artifacts/consumption goods: This approach which is inspired by Bourdieu’s theory and empirical studies (1984, 1985, 1986, 1990a, 1990b, 1993, 1998) by many different writers, in different dimensions and varying localities (i.e., Aydın, 2006; Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Blasuis & Friedrichs, 2009; Lamont, 1992; Peterson 1997a, 1997b, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Tampubolon, 2008; Warde, Wright & Gayo-Cal, 2008, Vester, 2005). The conceptual collaboration and criticism directed to Bourdieu’s theory by various authors has previously been mentioned in the section 3.4.1.

2. The second approach is the one which puts an emphasis on the relationship between individuals and objects/things/artifacts/consumption goods and which defines this relationship in the framework of consumption patterns and lifestyles: The writers (Auslender, 1996; Brooks, 2000; Dant, 1999, 2005; Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Miles, 1998; Miller, 1995, 2005) who have adopted this approach, do not disregard the fact that the differences in consumption patterns and lifestyles result from class differences. Moreover, these writers treat the issue in a scale that varies between ‘materiality’ on the one hand and ‘consumption culture’ and ‘consumerism’ on the other. In other words, the actual emphasis is not on consumption patterns and lifestyles via class difference but on class difference via materiality or consumption patterns and lifestyles. This relationship is discussed by writers who give more importance to materiality with an emphasis on objects/things/artifacts and by the ones who give priority to consumption and lifestyles with an emphasis on consumption goods.

3. The third approach makes an emphasis on ‘socialness’ constructed and signaled by the symbolic meaning and value of objects/things/artifacts: This approach, although labelled as ‘sign value’ as a consequence of Baudrillard’s conceptualization (1996, 1997), makes an emphasis on material culture via the ‘industrially designed and mass produced objects/things/ artifacts which are the consumption goods of the contemporary world’ (Appadurai, 1986; Csikszentmihalyi & Roshberg-Halton, 1981; Dant, 1989, 1998; Featherstone, 1991; Forty, 1986; Lamont, 1992). Especially, the writers such as Arjun Appaduari, Judy Attfield, Alison J. Clarke, Adrian Forty, Daniel Miller, Steven Harold Riggins spend effort in their studies to understand and explain the relationship between the individual and objects/things/artifacts and even consumption goods, and the socialness that is constructed by things and artifacts and the realm of the material world.

In brief, the material culture of an individual does not only rely on the relationship with objects/things/artifacts as consumption goods but also the construction of the materiality of the surrounding environment by choice and usage. In the context of this study, it has been mentioned before that while examining material culture as the material construction of the individual's life-style and taste or the material construction of life-style and taste as the material culture of the individual, Bourdieu's argument, which was described as the first approach that was grounded on class position, was preferred. However, it should be noted that the other two approaches were not totally disregarded and were in fact, used from time to time as can be observed from the case study.

In this framework, the individual's material culture or the material construction of life-style and taste, everyday life and the relationships with objects/things/artifacts are examined in their social, cultural and economic dimensions. This, that is, the individual's material culture, in fact, covers all everyday objects that an individual uses in everyday material life, from kitchen equipment to mattresses and quilts, from bathroom fixtures to four square houses and their organization although this study is restricted to home decoration only. Furthermore, both aesthetic design and scientific efficiency as essential elements of the products in material world are not only reflected on the status of the classes but also help to shape their status (Moskowitz, 2005, p. 18). Some objects consist of the standards as subsistence, convenience, comfort and luxury. While "a necessity is something indispensable to physical health; a convenience is something that relieves from slight pain or annoyance [...]; a comfort [...] is a common and inexpensive means of enjoyment; a luxury [...] is an unusual and expensive means of enjoyment" (Moskowitz, 2005, p. 5). Besides social, cultural and economic transformations, the "rapid inflation in consumer tastes, as dominant tastes (or 'positional goods') such as foreign holidays, cheap champagne, designer sportswear has also been experienced in the new phase of capitalism or postmodern era. Thus, these goods rapidly lose their relative cultural values because of easier accessibility and affordability (Featherstone, 1991, p. 89). In this sense, while to possession of material objects and goods provide a great emotional satisfaction for people (Featherstone, 1991; Forty, 1986; Miller, 1995), their social, economic, cultural and symbolic meanings and also values display the classes and class fraction's taste and the class positions of the agents (Bourdieu, 1984).

Miller (1995) explains the associations with taste and aesthetics and material culture in contemporary societies.

Up to now, objects have been related to external contextual dimensions in an unmediated form, without consideration of their internal organization. Although the term 'style' is often used to cover a wide range of artefactual properties which relate such artefacts to their social environment [...], here it will be used to refer solely to the relationship between artefacts within a given object domain, such as all windows or all cars (Miller, 1995, p. 127).

The humility of common object is especially clear in an area of mass material culture such as furnishing. While it is possible to draw attention to these objects' frames as forms of display, more commonly they are the appropriate background for living. What is important is that they should not draw our attention towards them by appearing in some way wrong, inappropriate or misconceived, more appropriate terms are warm, friendly, modern or stylish, and if our attention should focus upon the pattern or texture of the wallpaper or upholstery, this should always be in order to comment on the taste of the selector [in the context of the study, the users] (Miller, 1995, pp. 101-102).

While the middle class tries to express its differentiation from the other social groups, as Miller (1995, pp. 135-6) emphasizes, emulation stimulates the desire to retain differentials, which carries out the accessibility of knowledge about goods and their prestige connotations. This designates the importance of fashion used as the means for the differentials. Simmel defines (1904, pp. 133-134) fashion as an imitation of a given pattern to satisfy the need for social adaptation, the need for distinction, the tendency towards differentiation, change and individual contrast, and a product of class distinction to display the numbers of forms, honor especially, and separate from others. Indeed, the middle class establishes its own differentiations utilizing fashion in objects for home furnishings as well as their togetherness in a space.

If we go back to the issue of the decoration of the living space as the material construction of taste, it has been stated earlier, furniture is the main constructive item, and accessories and decorative items are the secondary objects, things, items or artifacts for aesthetics, beauty or beautification of interiors. Beautiful, elegant and tasteful spaces are created and constructed with all well-designed and qualified, pleasing and rarely obtainable items within several principles, and thus, personality is expressed in the houses. However, home furnishing as material construction of tastes in the houses is required to explain referring interior design and decoration literature.

Since the early 18th century, while the pictures of wealthy classes have begun to change and to materialize. While chairs in new-fashioned forms have also been taken the place of stools and benches in the houses, qualified and expensive china and silver ornaments and also stylized objects for the wealthy classes, and their cheaper imitations for the middle and lower classes were produced and displayed on the windows. Besides, a mirror or dressing table, a bookcase or chest of drawers came into view as household furnishings, which started to elaborate and thus, define wealth, and allocate greater storage or attention to fashion (Martin, 1993, pp. 148-156). All goods had specialized functions and were placed in segmented spaces. In other words, these processes had many components. On the one hand, the middling families rose and they took new stylized goods and replaced new manufactured goods with old ones. On the other hand, specialized functions emerged and separated and segregated spaces which were named according to these functions such as dining, living, cooking rooms. These concepts were not totally new, but they dispersed to all wealthy and wealthier families' home. These changes in interiors were actually realized by combining leisurely consumption of food and drinks in the 1750s. This process required new equipment and furnishings: tables and more chairs for sitting, eating and entertaining, more and a variety of different dishes, and also new cutlery and napkins to demonstrate the new civilized manners. While some people chose new household goods such as teacups rather than items of comfort and convenience, others preferred the specialized tables, chairs, storage furniture, lighting instruments, and different cooking equipment in individual households that didn't need to invest in small items of display or gentility. Nevertheless, these -affordable, available and desirable- objects were instruments to express the new sociality and gentility in the houses (Forty, 1986; Martin, 1993, pp. 148-156). Besides, particular items, i.e., coffee table, designate the way of objectified different type of lifestyles and leisure, which traditionally associated with the display of class status (Attfield, 1997, p. 272).

Interiors are differently furnished in societies depending their social and cultural heritages. Specifically, furniture was not frequently used in ordinary Asian and African interiors:

Furniture was little used in Islamic interiors. Low benches or couches were generally covered by textiles, carpets, and rugs. The development of weaving techniques in the Near East generated the design of rugs of great beauty and variety. A number of regions developed individual styles that give their names to the greatly valued "oriental rugs" still collected and imitated. Certain Islamic characteristics can be identified in the rugs produced in the Muslim countries. In general, prohibition of representational images led to the development of traditions of rich geometric

complexity, the use of abstract elements with calligraphic bases, and the use of highly conventionalized flower and plant forms to avoid any realistic pictorial imaginary. Many rugs were intended for use by kneeling worshipers at daily prayers. Such prayer rugs are of appropriate size and incorporate a panel with a strongly directional form, intended to be pointed toward Mecca when in use for prayer (Pile, 2005, pp. 74-76).

The term Industrial Revolution⁵¹ is important to grasp the complexity of the developments in the last two centuries as well as to consider what technology was available in the eighteenth century. These processes involved the transition from craftsmanship to manufactory and later, factory production, and the change and introduction of new technologies and techniques of engraving, glass blowing, shipbuilding, cabinet making among many others. While Britain became the dominant world power, France, Germany, the United States and other some countries rose in wealth and status as the process of industrialization progressed (Pile, 2005, p. 240). These resulted in a change in social classes, especially the rise of the wealthy clients who were self-made industrialists, and managers and professions to serve industry. The Industrial Revolution also brought about new ways in building construction. All of these caused and resulted in the interaction of new needs and new technologies (Pile, 2005, pp. 239-247).

In the early days of the Industrial Revolution, scientific development and industrialization were primarily influenced on modern plumbing, lighting and heating; they impacted furnishing and decoration of interiors, too. However, the world of design paid little attention to all of the inventions, and the impact of the early phases of the Industrial Revolution on interior design was more technical than aesthetic (Pile, 2005, p. 249). These processes accompanied with the publications of books, home and garden and also women magazines on home furniture and interior decoration since the early nineteenth century.⁵² These publications included description of various furniture items, their drawings, the way of beautiful and tasteful home furnishing by the use of different styles of furniture and decorative elements and their tasteful combinations. They gave detailed hints of household taste and how to present and exhibit their various collections of different elements such as vases, sculptures, and ethnic items, as well. In those times, the upper and upper middle classes, specifically the *nouveau riche* or the *sonradan*

⁵¹ The Industrial Revolution includes important technological innovations as well as social, cultural, economic changes. Here, it only mentioned within associated with furniture production and interior decoration/design.

⁵² Hope's (1970 [1807]) and Eastlake's (2005 [1869]) books are exemplified as the first books about furniture, home decoration and interior design.

*görme*⁵³ were interested home decoration and interior design because of the production of inexpensive furniture pieces and textile (Pile, 2005). In other words, while the ways of furnishing and creation of elegant and classy interiors were mainly differentiated under the influences of industrial mass-production, these publications proposed and exemplified to collect, select and arrange appropriate furnishing and decoration styles for small, big, old and new houses with respect to the owners' tastes.

Until the emergence of new and appropriate design approach for industrial mass-production interiors naturally furnished and upholstered in classic adorned and embellished furniture and clothed with classically brilliant and patterned textiles, which basically construct the furnishing styles as *classic*, *modern*, and *eclectic*.⁵⁴ In the end of the 19th century, modern approaches echoed on interiors furnished and decorated with modern designed furniture, accessories, upholsteries and textiles. Thereby, modern interiors with accoutered with newly designed modern furniture items have been got into as choices and preferences for everyday objects/things/artifacts as materiality of people's tastes.

Considering on home furnishing, beauty or elegance, or Bourdieu' sense 'legitimate, high or highbrow taste, is not the one and the only objective of furnishing a house. Rather, it is mostly a result of the effective accoutrement of a house according to persons' needs, desires and expression of personality as well as the functions of objects. As Ruth mentioned:

The appearance of the home should be worthy of its high purpose, to provide a place for the promotion of the spiritual, intellectual, and physical growth of the family, as well as to furnish a shelter for it. Beautiful home surroundings constitute the most important factor in the development of visual good taste, for through daily contact with beauty a lasting appreciation of it evolves. Those fortunate families that live in dwelling of taste, no matter how simple, should have a higher

⁵³ The *nouveau riche* in French and the *sonradan görme* in Turkish are used for 'new rich' or 'new money'. They refer those who have acquired abundant wealth within their own generation and who have experienced a rapid upward social mobility in their own life. The terms are generally used to refer that these people originate from lower classes, and their acquired wealth has provided the means for the obtainment of goods or luxuries, which previously were not purchased. At the same time, both terms are used to display distinction of social class tastes within a derogatory fashion. They can obtain goods and luxurious with their money, but their tastes are vulgar because of lacking the experience or value system to utilize wealth in the same manner as those of 'old riche' or 'old money' who have families wealthy for many generations.

⁵⁴ The characteristics of furnishing styles as traditional, classic, modern and eclectic are explained in Chapter 5. 'Modern' as a term in this study refers to the more recently designed, made or produced items with smooth surfaces, and less decorated or unadorned forms.

understanding than others of the meaning of home. Their children should in turn be inspired to create homes that have beauty (Rutt, 1955, pp. 1-2).

The creation of beautiful, attractive and functional interiors is aimed and succeeded in home planning and furnishing by application and consideration of three objectives: *beauty*, *expressiveness* and *functionalism* (Rutt, 1955, p. 2). *Beauty* is freely defined as the combination of well-designed and well-qualified man-made things qualities to provide pleasure for the trained eye. There are certain principles to recognize and appreciate beauty, which can be defined as proportion, balance, emphasis, rhythm, and repetition in the houses. Beside these basic factors, the elements and their components are composed of line, form, color, texture, pattern, light, and size of space. *Expressiveness* in the houses refers the character and the personality. The selection to furnish and decorate a home is consciously or unconsciously realized to express some idea or theme, i.e., naturalness, sophistication, intimacy, formality, informality, warmth, coolness, delicacy, strength, freshness, antiquity, modernism, honesty and sincerity in homes. *Functionalism* refers the maintenance of aimed objectives when home furnishing and decoration. Specialized rooms for living, sitting, study, music, cooking, dining and sleeping are furnished and decorated to provide the maximum of service, comfort and pleasure for these functions (Rutt, 1955, pp. 2-16).

These principles have been frequently advised in contemporary home decoration and interior design books, magazines and newspapers' supplements to create and adorn an attractive, beautiful and elegant interior. Additionally, many professions and experts (e.g. Denby, 1963; Eastlake, 2007; Hope, 1970; Lynes, 1954; Massey, 2008; Miller, 2003; Parissien, 2009; Pile, 2007) have emphasized these points to establish a sophisticated, refined and harmonious interior. They have also explained the complements to support the tasteful interiors with accessories such as curtains, floorings, lightings, mirrors, pictures, clocks, bibelots, vases, copper, wooden and silver objects, as well as colours and patterns of items with respect to tastes of the owners/users or the agents.

Aforementioned, the selection and arrangement of these items in a living space is not an occasional choice. Rather, they are the result of the owner's conscious or unconscious selections, which are shaped by his/her habits, customs, and also her/his social, economic and cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1984) and symbolic capital (Baudrillard, 1996; 1998; Bourdieu, 1984).

Indeed, the establishment of the materiality with respect to the owners' tastes is not taken as a simple activity in which people haphazardly piles up objects. It refers the complex social, economic and cultural processes including symbolic ones (e.g Attfield, 2000; Denby, 1963; Luice-Smith, 1988; Massey, 2008; Pile, 2007; Pink, 2004). In other words, furnishing as materiality of class positions, thus life-styles and tastes is constructed by intricate meanings in social relations and hierarchies. Beside, material culture and also consumption studies are claimed that while people establish their materiality, they satisfy their desires as well as their needs (Baudrillard, 1998; Douglas & Isherwood, 1996; Forty, 1992; Miller, 1995) and comfort in their houses (Attfield, 2000; Miller, 1995, 2001a & 2001b). Materiality throughout similarity or familiarities as well as differences, establishes furnishing styles with furniture, supportive and decorative items in interiors regarding togetherness of appropriate pieces (de Haro & Fuentes, 2008; Denby, 1963; Lynes, 1954; Massey, 2008; Pile, 2007).

Contemporary furnishing styles originate from a variety of historical sources, traditions, manners and design approaches with respect to forms, adornments, finishing, upholstery, textiles and materials (Denby, 1963; Eastlake, 2007; Hope, 1970; Lynes, 1954; Massey, 2008; Miller, 2003; Parissien, 2009; Pile, 2007). Recent technological and material innovations have made possible produce to imitate new furniture and other items inspiring from older materials, forms, fabrics, lighting units, textile, curtains and rugs/carpets, etc. Beside these, all of these objects with specialized functions for specialized rooms are used to furnish interiors. Primarily, the upper and upper middle classes used these new stylized and produced items and replaced with old ones in their specialized rooms for dining, living, cooking or sleeping. Then, the middle and lower classes started to use imitating the upper classes' ways of specialized rooms and their decorations (Eldem, 1968; Pile, 2005; Tekeli, 2005⁵⁵).

In this study, the decoration of living space as the material construction of life-styles and tastes, as indicated by Bourdieu in taste hierarchy, is related to class position. However, furniture and home decoration define certain implications in the literature about furniture, interior design and decoration. In spite of the cultural differences, furniture, and also furnishing and decoration, have main four implications in the modern times: *a functional item, an indicator of social status,*

⁵⁵ Interview with İlhan Tekeli in 2005 by the author.

a measure of technological progress, and a pure maker or indicator of personal and subjective statement (Lucie-Smith, 1988, pp. 1-15).

Function is the first implication to define furniture. The practical functions are relatively few: furniture to sit on (stools, benches, and chairs); furniture to put things on (tables and stands); furniture to sleep or recline on (beds and couches); or furniture to use for storage (chests and wardrobes). Even though these functions are sometimes joined in an item of furniture, they more often differentiate within a given category, thus a piece of furniture gets its form designed to meet a single and particular need. Furniture of this type was designed in the eighteenth century. For example, the kind of chair called a *voyeuse* was designed in two types for the use of spectators at a card-game, one of which was for the use of men and the other for women (Luice-Smith, 1988).

The second one is an indicator of social status. This particular role refers to the hierarchies in a society. While the throne-chair and its ornaments point to the power and strength of the kingdoms in the past and the present, the possession of Mackintosh chair designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh, or buying new furniture for new homes, aside from practical reasons, assert and confirm social status with furniture.

The third one relates to the technological aspect. This is a good measure of technological progress, especially in the twentieth century. However, it has to be taken into account that the furniture making was a craft rather than an industry until the twentieth century, and the technology used was a matter of the degree of the skill to work on a particular material, i.e. wood. In this respect, there was not a steady progression going beyond craftsmanship in Europe from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the mid-eighteenth century. In other words, the technological revolution has overtaken on furniture-making and also the materials severely for only the past seventy and eighty years.

The last implication is the way in which furniture is used to compose a personal and subjective statement of the individual who chooses to live with it. Furniture is a response to practical everyday needs, on the one hand, and it is in the service of desire in the domestic interior, on the other (Lucie-Smith, 1988, pp. 8-10). As to be seen in the following chapters, these implications of furniture also apply to the meanings of the furniture in the Turkish homes.

As to be seen in the following chapters, the implications of furniture also apply the meanings of the furniture in the Turkish homes. The furnishing and decoration in living spaces are distinguished according to the respondents' response to their furniture, accessories and ornaments.

To sum up, culturally and economically valued goods such as the designed, qualified, handmade or imported furniture, lighting items, original sculptures and pictures, ethnic rugs, carpets, wooden and copper objects and oriental corner have been widely used to create and imitate the elegant and classy houses. These items are the objects to display and express the sociality, status and gentility in the houses, in this study 'distinction', of the fractions of middle class throughout social cultural and economic capitals, as well (Ayata, 2002, p. 38; Karadoğan, 2007, pp. 60-65; Martin, 1993, p. 154). Thereby, in the context of the study, these items are used to define cultural capitals and tastes of the respondents, as explained next chapter.

To scrutinize aesthetics and taste of the Turkish middle classes, various questions concerning home furniture and furnishing were asked in both the questionnaire and the informal interviews. In the case of furniture and furnishing, to gather information questions on styles (forms and shapes), upholstery, patterns and colours of fabrics, materials, ornamentations, and wooden or metal accessories were asked. To gather information on supportive elements of furnishing, floorings including carpet, rugs, laminate, parquets, hand-woven carpets and rugs, *kilims*⁵⁶, curtains involving fabrics and sewing styles, lighting comprising direct or indirect light, chandeliers, appliqués, designed lighting elements were inquired. Similarly, to further detail the information necessary for the study, questions about decorative items such as accessories and pictures on the walls, original sculptures, ethnic objects such as masks, totems, copper and wooden items as well as the 'oriental corner' were directed to the respondents. Besides these, in the questionnaire, fourteen descriptive adjectives were provided for the respondents. Then, they were asked to choose three of these adjectives and to order them in a sequence in an attempt to define their homes. Furthermore, in order to understand their interest in new furniture and furnishing trends, they were also asked whether they regularly read home and decoration magazines.

⁵⁶ *Kilim* means rugs in Turkish.

3.3. Concluding Remarks: Middle Class, Life-styles and Tastes

In this chapter, the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study is discussed. Although a middle class definition that is based on occupation is preferred in the study, in the middle class(es) section, firstly the middle class approaches of Marx and Weber are explained as they are the classics of social class and strata literature and then, contemporary class and stratification literature and middle class discussions which cover a large place in class analysis is summarized. With reference to these arguments, it was aimed to reach a 'unitary' middle class definition that covers the whole of society except for capitalists, working class and unemployed populations. With this aim in mind, the 'unitary' class definition was made by making use of Boratav's urban social classes that are specific to Turkey and by excluding the big employer and workers in industry, mining, construction etc., and including the housewife category. This was combined with British sociological approach's service class based on occupation and thus, the 'unitary' middle class of the study was defined. In this way, the middle class covered in this study excludes the capitalist employer, the workers in the industry and mining and includes respondents that they themselves or their spouses work in middle and high positions as well as retirees and housewives.

In the next section, Bourdieu's social classes and class distinction which also form the theoretical and conceptual basis of this study are defined. According to Bourdieu, the factors that determine the position of the agents in the social space and their class positions are social, cultural and economic capitals and the class habitus, life-styles and tastes are discussed.

In the last section, the sociological meaning of tastesthetics, home decoration and the choices made in the objects used in everyday life and their organization in the context of tastes and aesthetics are defined. In this framework, furniture and home decoration which are perceived as the material construction of tastes is associated with material culture that is defined as the individual's relationship with the objects surrounding her/him.

In this way, by constructing the fractions of Turkish middle class and by analysing their life-styles and tastes, the conceptual tools are explained in this chapter. In short, the reason why such a wide definition of a middle class was preferred was to make it possible to analyze the

distinction in life-styles and tastes of these middle classes through the research on furniture and home decoration.

After methodology, theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study are drawn, the case study of the dissertation is realized in next two chapters. In Chapter 4, the case study is started with historical overview of Ankara as the capital city of Turkey, and the definition of the Turkish social structure and middle class(es) referring to the related literature. Then, the categorical variables of social, cultural and economic capitals are accounted, and then the fractions of the Turkish middle class are analytically constructed with multivariate correspondence analysis. In chapter 5, the life-styles and tastes of the fractions of the Turkish middle class are analyzed using multiple correspondence analyses.

II. CASE STUDY in ANKARA, TURKEY

CHAPTER 4

THE FRACTIONS AND HABITUS OF THE TURKISH MIDDLE CLASS(ES)

“We should bring our chopsticks”

(A Korean Couple in Italian Spaghetti Restaurant, in Bitter Sweet Life, South Korea Television Serials, Episode 1)

4.1. Introductory Remarks in Case Study

In this chapter, before beginning the case study, a historical brief on social, cultural and economic peculiarities of Ankara and Turkish social and class structures are summarized according to the related literature. Thus, the Turkish frame is theoretically and conceptually drawn to make clear the limits of the study, and then the dissertation is analytically constructed.

4.1.1. Overview of Ankara

Ankara is one of the most historically rich cities in Central Anatolia. The archaeological findings demonstrate that its history can be traced back to the Paleolithic Epoch of the world. In the Bronze Age, Ankara was under the rule of Assyrians and the Hittites. The Civilization of Phrygs dominated the region in the Iron Age. Approximately in 530-500 B.C., the Classical Hellenistic Period started and it continued until the 4th Century. The Castle of Ankara dates back to about 200 B. C. in the Hellenistic period. After the Roman Emperor Augustus invaded the lands of Galatians, Ancyra (Ankara) became a part of the Roman Empire and was announced as the capital city of Galatia in the year 25 B.C. After that, the Augustus Temple, which was devoted to Rome, was built in the honour of the Emperor Augustus and the city's local goddess. Between

the 4th and 6th Centuries, Christianity was institutionalized in Ankara. Even though the Temple was used as a pagan temple, it was converted to a church following the institutionalization of Christianity. After the 7th Century, Arab invasions began, and the collapse of the Byzantine period started. At the same time, new regulations emerged and these were implemented in Central Anatolia, and thus, Ankara became a Middle Age city. After that time, Anatolian Turcoman Age began, and firstly the Seljuk, then the Mongol Empire and then the Ottoman Empire ruled in Central Anatolia. Until the 1920s, Ankara was under the control of the Ottoman Empire (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu & Özsoy, 2005, pp. 338-378). Until the Republican Period, Ankara was especially located around the inner-and outer-citadel and sprawls of the old city.

In Ankara and its surroundings, the main economic activities were the husbandry of Angora goat and production of wool until the end of the 19th Century. While woolen weaving industry was the dominant economic activity, Angora woolen textiles were the most important products to export in Ankara and its surroundings. Because of animal husbandry, tannery was the other significant economic activity. In addition, agriculture was another important economic activity. A variety of vegetables and fruits were cultivated in the vineyards and orchards. All trade and commercial life were organized in the local open and closed bazaars that were constructed around the citadel. After the first half of the 19th Century, husbandry of Angora goats and related industries lost their importance because of the development of capitalism in the world, and the technological innovations in the British woolen industry. After that time, Ankara turned into a typical small Central Anatolian city with respect to its economic, social and cultural life (Etiöz, 1998, pp. 81-91; Etiöz, 2006, pp. 11-42; Şenyapılı, 2004; Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu & Özsoy, 2005, pp. 338-378).

When the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, Ankara was a typical small rural town, and its economy was based on agricultural products and their trades, and was referred to as a city of deprivations due to lack of housing, infrastructure, fresh water in houses, road and public transportation, not to mention the lack of social and cultural life (Esental, 1957; Şenyapılı, 2004: 22; Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu & Özsoy, 2005, pp. 378-450; Karaosmanoğlu, 2006a, 2006b). After Ankara was announced as the capital city of Turkey, the National Council took an important decision to construct a modern capital city and to try to overcome all these deprivations. Nevertheless, the old city had to be protected and not to be changed or renewed, and the new city was to expand outside the borders of the old city (Tunçer, 2001: 75; Tekeli,

1994; Tekeli, Şenyapılı & Güvenç, 1991, pp. 53-95). Particularly, the New city was improved by planned and newly designed urban structures such as streets, avenues, public spheres and parks, and such as well as all kinds of educational institutions and establishments (Cengizkan, 2002, 2004, 2005). Shortly, contemporary Ankara has been constructed as a modern city since the foundation of Republic.

Becoming a capital city involved the establishment of state and public institutions and urban formal and informal sectors. These new institutions and sectors needed additional educated/uneducated and skilled/unskilled labour, and thus, many educated people from Istanbul and other big cities, and skilled and unskilled people from rural Anatolia were pulled to Ankara. Thus, these new inhabitants rapidly increased the population in Ankara. Furthermore, the rapid rise of population, industrialization and urbanization caused a rapid enlargement and expanded the sprawls and suburbia for residential, industrial and commercial aims. The plans for the new city and their revisions were applied to build a modern urban environment in Ankara in the Republican period. It should be noted that although Ankara has been under the control of the Muslim rules for a long time, it cannot be defined as an Islamic city⁵⁷ such as Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Fez, Tunis and Tripoli.

Ankara is composed of three main regions nowadays: the Old City, the New City and the Remaining City.

1. *The Old City*: The old city is composed of Ankara Castle with surrounding neighborhoods and Ulus. The early republican buildings and institutions such as the First and the Second National Council Buildings were turned into the Museum of National Independency War and the Republican Museum, the Turkish Central Bank, Ankara Governor's Office and some other official institutions are located in the old city. The Castle of Ankara, the Augustus Temple, Ulus,

⁵⁷ The conceptualization of Islamic City is mainly based on the division and definition of the Occident and Orient city by Max Weber. G. Mançais, W. Marçais, O. Spies and G. von Grunebaum discussed and developed Weber's arguments. According to this conceptualization, the Islamic city has three main characteristics: a Friday mosque, markets, and a ritual public bath. While Abu-Lughod criticizes this argumentations, she gives new distinctive characteristics of the Islamic city: The juridical distinctions among population classes on the basis of their relation to the Umma (community of believers) and the State; the set of architectural and spatial imperatives grounding and encouraging gender segregation in Islam; and the system of property laws which govern both rights and obligations of other property owners and the state (Abu-Lughod, 1987; Gottreich, 2004; O'Meara, 2007, p. 2).

Samanpazarı, and the Hacıbayram Mosque are to be found in the old city. The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations and the Ethnography Museum are located close to the old city centre. Besides these historical places, in our times urban retail and commercial businesses such as various shops and workshops varying from tailors, shoes-makers to goldsmiths are in this part of the city.

2. *The New City*: This part of the city was mainly constructed after the enlargement processes of Ankara after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Most ministerial and governmental buildings and residential neighbourhoods were expanded, and the neighbourhoods of the new city, the ministries, and presidency of the Republic of Turkey are located in this part of the city. Today, the new city bears the main urban centres and meeting places. Kızılay, Tunalı Hilmi Street, Beğendik Department Store and many books and music stores, the cafes and bars, restaurants and food courts, cinema saloons, and retail and commercial businesses which sell everything from food and spices to cloths and jewellery are located in the new city. Additionally, the corners of streets and the corner stores have been used as meeting points in Kızılay in the new city, which is totally constructed in the republican period.

3. *The Remaining City*: It encompasses the remaining neighbourhoods, districts and suburbia of Ankara. Some of the remaining city was developed from small districts or villages; and the others expanded simultaneously with the Municipalities because of the increase in population and the requirement to construct public buildings, new housing and residential areas. In other words, after the foundation of the Republic, Ankara has experienced a rapid urbanization. This part includes the newly built neighbourhoods, suburbia and their commercial and business centres as well as the shopping centres and malls. Big shopping malls, i.e. Ankamall, Armada, Bilkent Centre, Arcadium, Optimum, Migros FTZ and CarrefourSA are some of these shopping centres, which are located in this part of the city and the selected districts of the study. They were questioned as used urban places in questionnaires.

These three parts of Ankara have different roles in socio-cultural life and entertainment culture in urban life in Ankara. With respect to Wirth (1938), the city cannot be defined only by population size and urban structures. Rather, the city is a social entity. After the foundation of the Republic, Ankara has also recreated and transformed its social and cultural life. Particularly, people who had a high education degree and who interiorized the Western social and cultural life

also moved to Ankara. The native people of Ankara called them the “strangers”⁵⁸ (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu & Özsoy, 2005; Esendal, 1957; Karaosmanoğlu, 2006a, 2006b; Cantek, 2003; Şenyapılı, 2004, 2005). The strangers had a crucial role in the construction of the Republican and westernized ideology in Ankara’s social and cultural life and in the entertainment culture both during the day and at night in urban life. The secular Republican ideology and modern westernized social and cultural life were combined and diffused within the everyday life of old Ankara and reflected the mental life, as Simmel (1950) stated, and mode of urban daily life, as Wirth (1938) mentioned. While social and cultural life was forming in modern Ankara, the main segregation was clearly seen between native people of Ankara and the strangers. While native people have typical traditional small town everyday life and daily routines, the strangers as republican elites constructed, formed and lived in a modern, westernized and secular everyday life and daily routines. In early Republican times, there were several taverns, casinos, restaurants, patisseries and café houses as meeting places. The strangers, especially people from İstanbul and İzmir constantly complained about the lack of social and cultural life in Ankara. While, such activities were improved in time, predominantly, the new way of social and cultural urban life in restaurants, balls, taverns and casinos at night as well as cinemas, theatres, operas and balleta in Ankara were constituted and shaped by the new inhabitants and their participation (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu & Özsoy, 2005; Bahar, 2003; Esendal, 1957; Karaosmanoğlu, 2006a, 2006b; Cantek, 2003; Şenyapılı, 2004, 2005).

Both selected districts, Çankaya and Keçiören, are the central districts of the metropolitan Ankara. While some neighbourhoods of Çankaya are located in the New City, other neighbourhoods in Çankaya and all neighbourhoods in Keçiören are located in the Remaining City. Both districts were vineyards, orchards and summerhouses of the native Ankaralites before the Republic, and later they were transformed and changed into new housing areas because of the demand of housing. Both districts were opened legally; specifically, in the rural migration processes after the 1950s, or in time; illegally, to housing, by the invasion of public domain

⁵⁸ According to Simmel, “The stranger is by nature no “owner of soil” – soil not only physical, but also in figurative sense of a life-substance which is fixed, if not in a point in space, at least in an ideal point of the social environment. [...] it is an exaggeration of the specific role of the stranger: he is freer practically and theoretically; he surveys conditions with less prejudice; his criteria for them are more general and more objective ideals; he is not tied down in his action by habit, piety, and precedent.” (Simmel, 1950). The native people of Ankara called the new comers as the stranger in the early republican period. The main reason of this appellation was different social and cultural capitals of them, as Simmel defined.

through the emergence of the *gecekondu* (shanty).⁵⁹ In the present time, both districts are relatively developed and improved regions, particularly the neighbourhoods, which are the object of the research. Although the processes of urban renovation, regeneration and gentrification in some fields of neighbourhoods in Keçiören were continuing when the field research was conducted, all neighbourhoods in Çankaya had been renewed, regenerated or gentrified (Eraydın & Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2005; Uzun, 2005). The selected neighbourhoods are mainly residential areas involving businesses and commercial stores and shops of neighbours. It was decided to concentrate on two districts according to their social, cultural, economic characteristics. With respect to the academicians who worked on Ankara, Çankaya has a relatively modern and highly educated Turkish middle class, and Keçiören has a more traditional and conservative middle class. Gazi Osman Paşa (GOP), Ayrancı, Çayyolu and Bahçeli-Emek are the neighbourhoods in Çankaya, and Kavacık Subayevleri, Etlik, Basınevleri and Asfalt are in Keçiören. The academicians, municipal officers and other experts call these neighbourhoods as the middle class neighbourhoods (Şenyapılı, 2004; Cengizkan, 2005; Güvenç, 2005; Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2005; Şenyapılı, 2005). Shortly, it should be added, the selected neighbourhoods have integrated to the contemporary urban life in Ankara.

4.1.2. Who is/are the Turkish Middle Class(es)?

In this study, it has been stated that types of employment/occupations that compose the service class of the middle class are an eclectic vocational definition covering ‘retired’ (Boratav, 1995) and ‘housewives’, which are treated as a separate category within the Turkish social structure. Such a definition is a broad one, which only excludes the social capitalists and the working class operating in production from what is defined as the ‘middle class’. In Chapter 2, it was stated that the sample of the research had been determined according to occupational criteria. In this respect, the ‘middle class’ defined in this study, with reference to the urban population, covers a social class that is defined as ‘old/traditional’ and ‘new petty bourgeoisie’ by Marxists’, or ‘traditional/old’ and ‘new’ middle class’ by Weberians. Next to this, according to the American school, the social class that is not positioned within the lowest and highest 20 per cent of the income segments is defined as ‘middle class’ (Boratav, 1995). In fact, the occupational

⁵⁹ The *gecekondu* means shanty in Turkish.

characteristics of this definition were explained above in section 3.4.1. Another criteria is small scale self employed people and villagers (not included in this study) and dependents or paid civil servants and workers of the service industry (Yalçın, 1946, p. 42). Actually this, in the broad sense, signals at the service class, which covers most of the urban population both in terms of occupation and forms of employment in today's contemporary world. Such an overlap, in terms of categories of occupation and employment is acceptable in defining the Turkish urban population with reference to the studies conducted by Boratav (1995a).

It was previously stated that the expansion of the middle class in determining the urban class structure in Turkey after the 1980s, and especially in the 2000s, is one of the main agendas of the media and the academic milieu. The expansion of the middle class puts emphasis on distinction which refers to the lifestyles, tastes, especially tastes in consumption and cultural consumption of the agents employed in occupations as well as to new occupations that came into being due to the changes that took pace in forms of labour. Whether the lifestyles and tastes of the Turkish middle class form such a distinction or not is the subject of Chapter 4. Before, moving on with the case study, it will be explanatory to summarise the social characteristics and class structure in Turkey.

From the early days of the republic the sociology literature in Turkey has focused more on understanding and explaining the social structure in Turkey, rather than analysing social stratification and class analysis. The main reason for this lies in the republican ideology to create a 'classless' society and the populism principle of the Atatürk thought⁶⁰ (Timur, 2008, pp. 144-150). In fact, the term class, during the transition period from the Ottoman to the republic, is a term that is used to define different religious groups/congregations/communities with reference to their clothing. To briefly mention the literature on social and class structure of Turkey will be explanatory in terms of better understanding how the context of this study is positioned. Such an evaluation will make it easier to understand and explain the historical background as to the accumulation of social, cultural and economic capitals, which are used in the inner stratification

⁶⁰ The six principles of Atatürk are republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, and revolutionism. What is understood from Atatürk's principle of populism is that in the society no person or class is privileged in comparison to others. Everyone is equal under the supervision of the law. According to the principle of populism, no one is superior to the others in terms of religion, language, race or sectal divisions. Retrieved from http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atat%C3%BCrk_%C4%B0lkeleri#Halk.C3.A7.C4.B11.C4.B1k.secularism

of the middle class and thus, their composition and volume as well as to deal with the ‘middle class’ issue in Turkey historically. Below, the social sciences literature that studies the period from the Ottoman times to our day historically in the context of social/cultural, economic and political levels is briefly summarised.⁶¹

Sociological approach: The studies that analyse and discuss the social structure in Turkey and its principle problems from a sociological perspective from the time of the Ottomans to the present day should be mentioned. These studies focus on both the conceptual and methodological arguments within the field of sociology and the social structure in Turkey as well as the basic problems that it bears. The social characteristics that cover a large place in all of the social studies literature are explained together with the demographical characteristics. According to the population poll conducted in 1927, Turkey’s population was determined as 13.648.270. In this poll, the population of city/town and first degree (province, district and sub-municipality) was listed as 3 305 879 (%24) which boils down to the fact that the remaining population (%75.8) was made up of towns and villages without a municipality. While in 1945, %83 of the population and in 1955, %71 of the population lived in villages (Karpas, 2008, p. 202), in December 2007 %70.5 of the Turkish population were living in cities and the city where the population living in the cities is highest was Ankara with %92.7.⁶² These values clearly reflect the change and transformation in the Turkish social structure. In this framework, social sciences focus on a number of subjects varying from conceptual issues to social structure, village monographies, social change and transformation, family, modernization, industrialization and urbanization. The studies of Berkes (2002a, 2002b), Boran (1940a, 1940b, 1941a, 1941b, 1941c, 1941e, 1945, 1947, 1970), Karpas (2003), Kartal (1992), Keleş (1975), Kıray (1975, 1999, 2003, 2005), Mardin (1992, 2006), Yalçın (1946), and Yasa (1970) are the milestones of the related social sciences literature. One of the main subjects of these studies is determining the characteristics of the Turkish social structure because within social sciences literature the

⁶¹ It is neither easy nor appropriate to divide the social science literature on the construction of modern Turkey as social, cultural, economic or political. The writer of this study believes that it is more appropriate to perceive the social and political change in Turkey under the scope of a wide scale social science rather than to treat each concept in its own right and separately. Next to this, the writer is also aware of the fact that the related literature is too vast to be summarized in simply a few paragraphs. Such an approach, also, is neither the target of its study nor fits its scope. Here, only the literature that is directly related to the study of middle classes with its most acknowledged samples are displayed.

⁶² Retrieved June 22, 2008, from <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=3894>

discussions concerning whether Turkish society is feudal due to agricultural production and land ownership or whether Turkey is unique in its own context with reference to Ottomans governing system and land structure is an important issue. After the war, in the field of agriculture, there has been a social transformation from being an agrarian society to a modern-capitalist one as a result of the mechanization in agriculture. This period resulted in a rapid migration from the rural to the urban.

Until the recent years, the main subjects of social studies were internal migration, shanty towns, (Ayata, 1989; Erman, 2010; Karpav, 2003), urbanization (Geray, 1967; Kıray, 1998), social stratification (Akpınar, 2005; Ayata & Ayata, 2000; Hinderink & Kıray, 1970; Kalaycıoğlu, et.al., 2008; Keleş, 1975), social structure (Boratav, 1995a, 1995 b), socio-economic status index (Kalaycıoğlu, et.al., 1998; Tüzün, 2000), status differentiation and urban culture (Ayata, 1988, 1989; Güvenç, 2000), consumption (Orçan, 2004; Yanıklar, 2006) and lifestyles (Bali, 2004; Kozanoğlu, 1995; Şimşek, 2005). Next to these subject matters, after the 1980s, especially after the 1990s, due to the social and cultural change caused by the introduction of structural adjustment policies, both in the world and in Turkey, studies focusing on ‘expansion of the middle class’, ‘becoming middle class’, consumption, lifestyles and tastes have increased in number.⁶³ Actually, it should be noticed that the sociological approach has includes the anthropological and ethnographical studies, too. Indeed, these studies have generally investigated cultural characteristics of Turkish society. These studies are mentioned so as to draw the frame of the term middle class used in this study.

Economical Approach: Basically, this approach tries to understand and explain the economic structure in Turkey and the transition from an agrarian economy to the capitalist one. Until the 1980s, the transition to modern-capitalist economy from the economic structure of the Ottoman Empire was discussed via the concepts of development, improvement and progress. (Boran, 1970; Geray, 1967; Kıray, 1999) In this framework, the mechanization of agriculture, industrialization and the shift to capitalist mode of production was discussed. Writers i.e. Aren (2007), Avcıoğlu (1996), Berkes (1969-1970), Boratav (1980, 1990, 1995a, 1995b), Cem

⁶³ This period is discussed in relation to concepts such as ‘cultural turn’, ‘post-modernism’, ‘globalization’, ‘social and cultural globalization’, etc. However, these conceptualizations are not discussed here because they follow a different path than the concepts used in this study, especially from social and economic capitals and distinction.

(2004), Keyder (1995), Kıvılcımlı (1974), Yerasimos (1992, 2000, 2001) put emphasis on the economic dimension by dealing with issues such as ‘underdevelopment’, ‘Asia type production’,⁶⁴ ‘capitalization’ and ‘distribution of income’. The main emphasis that this approach has made is the fact that Turkey has not yet become thoroughly ‘capitalised’ neither in agriculture nor in industry. The period from the formation years of the republic until the 1980s is named as the ‘statist economic period’ and the one that is after the 1980s is named as the ‘liberal and open export submission’ period, and discussed within this framework. The economic policies after the 1980s have especially caused changes in the fields of finance, stock market and banking.⁶⁵ After this period, the studies conducted differ from the ones that try to explain the economic system as a whole. At a period when modern capitalist economy has begun to settle down, many studies are being conducted by making use of signals such as national statistics and value groups, income distribution, development, industry, agriculture, consumption and expenditure, minimum substance, and poverty.

Political Approach: Another approach and literature in relation to the social structure surfaces in studies that focus on the political progress and the change in the political regime together with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The literature that studies the period of the ‘national struggle’, the construction of the Turkish nation, and the political transformation resulting from the acceptance of republic as the political regime focus on ‘the foundation of the republic in Turkey’ and the ‘history of Turkish democracy’. In fact, the related literature does not focus on the mentioned period only as a change in governance, but also as a social, cultural, economic, and most importantly, political change. The writers i.e. Ahmad (1999, 2007, 2008), İnalçık (1994), Karpas (2007, 2008), Lewis (2009), Timur (2008), Zürcher (2009) while making an emphasis on the political break from the Ottoman to the republic, also treat this period via social change and transformation, making an emphasis on social continuation. Social class is especially mentioned while discussing and explaining the class conflict and alliance during the years of the national struggle, the one-party regime between 1924-1946 in the Republican Period, and the shift to multi-party regime in 1946. Apart from this, the enunciation of the republic is perceived as a change from a monarchy to a

⁶⁴ Taxing or exaction to the surplus values produced by the villagers (Boratav, 1995b, p. 11).

⁶⁵ This period is discussed together with the military intervention of 24 January (1980) and the economic policies adopted from then onwards. A discussion on the effects of these policies is beyond the scope of this study.

democratic republic, as a 'history of Turkish democracy' (Karpas, 2009; Ahmad, 1999, 2007, 2008). According to Karpas (2008, pp. 31-32), the Turkish democracy was raised on the Ottoman state's cultural heritage. The middle class defined here is specific to Asian nations and especially to the Ottoman, and it is a result of the 'timar'⁶⁶ ownership system of the Ottoman. This ownership based middle class can be Muslim or from any other religion and is composed of social groups such as the 'ulema', civil servants, soldier families, retired soldiers and intellectuals. These are important personalities in rural towns and cities and are referred to as the *eşraf*. They possess the local authority both in economy and everyday life (Karpas, 2008, pp. 32-54). In this framework, social classes until the end of the 1940s were composed of villagers,⁶⁷ industrial workers, and landowners from the middle class, businessmen and intellectuals (Karpas, 2008, pp. 201-239). For those years the factors that define a person as middle class were working in a job that is either half manual or completely automated, possessing an income that is above the average, leading a relatively comfortable life, having received some education, possessing some notion of public behaviour and being active in the political and cultural spheres via understanding one's role in society (Karpas, 2008, p. 216).

In 1919, when the national struggle started, social classes and communities were defined in the following manner: the ruling classes; non-Muslim Greek merchants, brokers and land owners in western Anatolia and İstanbul and their Muslim counterparts in the southeast; soldier-civil intellectuals as representatives of the exploitive class production relations within the *eşraf* and petty bourgeois (Timur, 2008, pp.18-20). Next to this, after the national struggle the social classes that had a role in the power struggle were defined as the commercial bourgeois, the petty bourgeois in Anatolia, big landowners and soldier-civil intellectuals; and the classes that did not have a role in the power struggle were defined as 'working class and poor villagers' (Timur, 2008, pp. 65-72). Put differently, during this period, the social classes in Turkey, which was perceived as an agrarian society, were composed of the commercial bourgeois such as the merchants and brokers, feudal land owners who had a vast amount of land in their possession, merchants from Anatolia, soldier-civil intellectuals, *eşraf*, which, in a certain sense, fits into the

⁶⁶ Timar is a land granted by the Ottoman Sultans between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, with a tax revenue annual value of less than 20 000 akçes. (Retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timar>).

⁶⁷ Because the study is conducted in the city, villagers have not been counted among the middle class and the related literature is excluded.

definition of the middle class within the stratification and class literature, working class, and middle and upper villagers. These middle classes, when taken into consideration together with the narrations of eşraf families that lived in small cities in the republican period, (Durakbaşı, 2010, pp.3-38; Karadağ, 2010, pp. 39-58) it wouldn't be wrong to assert that the eşraf families in the rural had Ottoman roots.

According to Marxist theory, the making of the social classes can be explained by how surplus value is distributed. In this sense, bourgeois is the class that takes possession of the surplus value while the working class is the one that actively produces it. These are the fundamental or basic distribution-share principles, and the bourgeois and the working class are formed as a result of the primary share relationship. Apart from this, the surplus that is produced and possessed within the primary share relations in any society, is shared again via the mechanisms within the market as well as outside the market, or they are transferred. These redistribution, sharing or transfer processes are secondary distribution-share relations. The mid-classes are a result of these secondary distribution-share relations (Boratav, 1995b, pp. 7-24). To define such a class structure in Turkey results in the emergence of dual classes whose production processes are unique in relation to the transition from simple meta production to capitalist mode of production and the share and distribution of surplus value.

As a result, with reference to the social sciences literature from the time of the Ottomans to the present day, the contemporary social class structure in Turkey can be defined as follows.

1) Bourgeois: This is definitive in the social and economic sense, referring to capitalists and big land owners; in other words, the segments that take possession of the surplus value; and also in the political sense, the term define the ruling class.

2) Working Class: This is definitive in the social and economic sense, referring to segments that produce surplus value in sectors such as industry, metallurgy and construction; and also in the political sense, the term defines the class that is ruled.

3) Petty Bourgeois/Middle Class(es): This is definitive in the social and economic sense, referring to bureaucrats that work for themselves, service workers in public and private sectors, tradesmen, artisans, (professional) self-employed workers, marginal groups such as traders in the

bazaars, daily workers, barrowmen and even villagers (Yalçın, 1947, p. 36). This marginal group has more importance in developing societies or in societies that are shifting from agricultural production to industrial production-from agrarian society to urban society-from socialism to capitalism (Boratav, 1995b, p. 10). In the political sense, this class is mostly the supporter of conservative ruling class where status qua plays an important role.

The sampling of this dissertation is composed of the third group; that is, the *petty bourgeoisie/middle class*. Taking into account the recent class definitions, the middle class debates result from the changes and transformation of the work and employment forms in Turkey as well as in other parts of the world. Thereby, these processes resulted in the emergence of new jobs and the real ‘expansion’ of both public and private white-collar or service workers, both of whom are well-educated and unskilled. This expansion covers jobs in banking, insurance, bureaucracy, communication and information services, executive and managerial departments, tourism, sports and leisure sectors.

In other words, these jobs require well-educated and high-qualified professions in some fields such as communication and information sectors, finance and insurance, law and managements. Furthermore, the high-qualified professionals, i.e. engineers, lawyers, medical doctors, and, architects, have been employed in communication, energy, construction, health, entertainment, public relations, logistics, etc. These companies have employed high-qualified professions as employees. The class positions of engineers and architects in Turkey through the relationships of the State and the Union of Turkish Chambers of Engineers and Architects were analysed in this period (Köse & Öncü, 2000; Öncü, 2003). Thereby, such jobs in higher positions have been called as the well-educated new middle class jobs. On the other hand, in addition to old white-collar and service workers, these new fields require abundant new kinds of un- or semi-skilled employees for repairing and customer services such as cell-phone repairmen, dealers, carriers, clerks, maids, receptionists, and also janitors, cleaners, housekeepers, etc. The definitions of the ‘traditional/old-new petty bourgeoisie’ or the ‘traditional/old-new middle class’ have been discussed as the results of these processes since the 1980s. In other words, Turkish society has been in a transitional period from traditional to new middle classes for approximately thirty years.

When all these old and new jobs are combined to define the middle class in our times, *the Turkish middle class in Turkey* is composed of *the traditional middle class + traditional high qualified professionals + traditional public officers and white-collars + new educated white-collar workers in private sector and new educated entrepreneurs who have their own firms + unqualified service workers who work in newly emerging for jobs* approximately twenty-five to thirty years. Considering the recent social stratification and class literature, summarized above, the debates and arguments throughout the world revolve around on whether or not the traditional/old middle class and the new one are familiar. For this reason, the preference of the largest description of the middle class as ‘service class’ and adding the category of housewife to this definition is suitable to the scope of this study.

After the Turkish middle classes are described with respect to their occupations, the characteristics of the middle class can be specified according to the general indicators of middle classes. Basically, middle class is defined as people with a university degree; their social origins are based on middle, low or working classes, wage earners in high position and prestigious status. In some approaches, being middle class is related to annual income levels: if someone’s annual income stays in middle 60 %, indeed, this is not within the lowest or highest 20 %, s/he is a member of the middle class. However, in this study, income is not the only one criterion to being defined as middle class. Considering the literature in Turkey and in the world, the simplest criteria to be middle classes, keeping mind Karpat’s description (2008, p. 216), can be expressed as receiving college education, ownership of a house or a car and an annual income over than \$ 6000 (Ayata, 2007, 2010; Şimşek, 2005, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c). According to these authors, such middle class is the *new middle class*.⁶⁸ Besides these, education, social origins and father’s occupations (Yalçın, 1946, p. 31, 26, 29) are also important in defining class positions and potential for upward mobility, and thus, being middle class.

⁶⁸ It has been mentioned previously that the political dimension is excluded from the scope of this study. The old-new middle class distinction, in a general sense, and in the media puts an emphasis on the political aspects with regard to the need to explain the differences between AKP and CHP followers and supporters. In this sense, it is possible to conceptualise old-new middle class in accord with Bourdieu’s concepts of politic capital, symbolic violence, politic power and power relations. However, because such a discussion is beyond the scope of this study, it would be enough to mention that this could make up the main topic of another research and thus, not go deeper into the issue in this context.

The author of this study prefers to add the workers, who are relatively skilled or at least trained in job in new service jobs, to this description. Shortly, as mentioned above, the Turkish middle classes are composed of the old and new middle class, which are familiar with the social stratification and class literature in the world. Considering the literature on the middle classes, education is one of the most important and distinctive characteristics as well as employment/occupations and income. In addition, the fundamental *distinction* among the classes creates the social and especially, cultural characteristics of people. The terms distinction, consumption, lifestyle and taste are used as means to display the difference of the new middle class from the traditional/old middle class and other social classes as well as to define who composes this new class.

In today's urban life, the life practices match the routines that this extreme concept defines. In fact, in a material and cultural sense, the patterns of consumption are a result of lifestyles and taste. In the same manner, taste defines consumption and lifestyle. Put differently, the relationship between them is not merely one of reason and result, but more a dynamic relation that is in constant interaction with one another. Similar to the relationship between social, cultural and economic capitals, it is a continuous and dynamic relation. Therefore, it is not always easy to disintegrate consumption, lifestyle and taste.

The development of consumption, which is the most important component of lifestyle and taste, can be traced back to the time of the Ottoman. The changes in the consumption patterns in the Ottoman Empire had been active since the middle of the 19th century with the Crimean War because thousands of foreign soldiers stayed in Constantine (İstanbul) for a short time and behaved according to the western norms. Hence, people in Constantine were exposed to the Western lifestyles. Before the Crimean War, only non-Muslim Greeks, Armenians and Jews lived like the western peoples in the vast Ottoman Empire. The emergence of department stores that sold every kind of clothing in Constantine was the result of the integration between the capital city and European economy in the second half of 19th century after the Crimean War (Toprak, 1995, pp. 25-28). The rise of bourgeoisie was realized through the westernization process and social changes as the results of this process in the Ottoman times (Göçek, 1996). In this contexts, consumption modes that are similar to the non-Muslims and the Europeans started to be common among the Muslims and such behaviour diffused into their everyday life and daily routines. Orçan (2002) explains the consumption culture by going along the westernization and

modernization process⁶⁹ in Turkish society from the Ottoman to the recent years. Faroqhi (1987, 2000) scrutinizes different spheres of everyday life such as economical, social, cultural and juridical activities and the changes in lifestyle from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century of the Ottoman times, giving details from their material cultures; Aktüre (2001) gives historical reviews about daily life in Ankara and practices from economical activities to social networks in the late Ottoman and early Republican times.

In this sense, consumption similar to the non-Muslims and the Europeans spread among the Muslims and diffused into their lifestyles between the 1920s and 1940s, specifically during the time when the Mayer Companion was working in İstanbul (Bali, 2008). Thereby, consumption patterns and habits in Turkish society gradually changed in the post war period, especially after the 1980s. The transformation of consumption habits is called as the breakdown or collapse of ‘frugal’ or ‘satisfied’ society and transition to ‘consumer society’ (Orçan, 2002). However, the changes and transformation of consumption habits should not simply be perceived as the ‘frugal’ society dramatically becoming a lavish society. There are significant similarities with consumption literature in Turkey and in the world, which was summarized in 3.1.3.v. Consumption and Lifestyle. Modest and rational spending patterns and saving money were important for most consumers, and also many underestimated their consumption (Wilska, 2002, p. 195). Modest and rational spending and saving money are also important for today’s Turkish society, which is analytically displayed in the following chapters.

While a transition is taking place from an agrarian society towards an urban one lifestyle also changes. When urbanization first started in Turkey in the 1940s, infrastructure services such as road, water, electricity, public transportation, and health services as well as social and cultural services such as cinema, theatre and library were discussed altogether. While in the first years of the republic, it was the eşraf, a heritage that was transferred from the Ottoman, that determined the lifestyles in the rural parts of the country, for Ankara it was and still is the civil population who came to the capital as managers, soldiers, beaurocrats and others that worked for the government and determined the lifestyles. (Durakbaşı, 2010, pp. 6-38; Karadağ, 2010, pp. 39-58). In this sense, Ankara which is completely a ‘modern’ city with its public works (Boran, 1941c), and especially, its entertainment culture (Karaosmanoğlu, 2006a, 2006b; Şenyapılı,

⁶⁹ The westernization and modernization process are Orçan’s own conceptualizations.

2005) is the ignition point of the ‘stylized everyday life’ and ‘life-styles’ of today’s Ankara. The process by means of which Ankara became the capital and its history is narrated in section 4.1.1.

When we take the related literature into consideration, lifestyle in Turkey, as indicated in 3.1.3.v, is discussed in relation to everyday habits such as ‘consumption patterns, cultural consumption, entertainment, meeting and eating out, leisure activities and hobbies’. These discussions carry a parallelism with what Bourdieu conceptualises as ‘lifestyles’ through the definitions of ‘stylized everyday life’. Actually, the recent debates on everyday life practices and daily routines, i.e. leisure activities and hobbies, sports and outdoor activities, habits of eating and drinking out, meeting out with family members and friends, visiting shopping centers/malls not only to shop but also to eat, meet, stroll, window shop and entertain in places such as cinema, theatre, concerts, etc., have been discussed related to lifestyles (Akçaoğlu, 2008; Ayata, 1988, 2002, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2010d, 2010e; Bali, 2004; Karademir-Hazır, 2009; Öncü, 2002; Şimşek, 2005, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Tutalar, 2008). Furthermore, urban culture and urban life have changed and transformed in different dimensions (Acar & Ayata, 2002; Ayata, 1988, 2002; Ayata & Ayata, 1996, 2000; Doğuç, 2006; Durakbaşı & Cindoğlu, 2002; Kandiyoti & Saktanber, 2002; Özyeğin, 2002). Actually, ‘stylized everyday life’ or ‘life-styles’ can be defined as the spending ways of disposable income, and the spending time and money for pleasure, entertainment and cultural consumption, eating, drinking, meeting out with friends and family members, and holiday habits. Life-styles and tastes hold a big place in visual media in newspapers, periodicals as well as television programs. In this sense, the broadcast of private TV channels has been a turning point. All these new habits and routines in everyday life construct and display *distinctive* life-styles and tastes. Actually, tastes cover all preferences from clothing to entertainment, from reading to watching television, etc. in everyday life. Besides these, in the context of the study, tastes refer to different attitudes to the design of the interiors, and styles of the preferred objects to furnish these interiors.

According to the evaluation above, it wouldn’t be wrong to assert that the urban social structure in contemporary Turkey is very much alike with the social structure of modern capitalist societies. For this reason, giving a broad definition of the Turkish middle class that relies on occupation and includes housewives and the retired is due to the unique position of Turkey and the related literature. In brief, in this study, Turkish middle class is defined in a manner that excludes working class and the big employer/capitalist/bourgeoisie and includes housewives and

the retired. Such a vast definition is crucial to the analytical discussion of the study. In next two chapters, firstly, the fractions of the Turkish middle class is constructed in Chapter 4, and then, the Turkish middle class fractions' life-styles and tastes are analysed and discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2. Analytical Contraction of Social, Cultural and Economic Capitals

The habitus of the Turkish middle class is constructed throughout the social, cultural and economic capitals. Thus, the strata, or fractions in Bourdieu's sense, of the Turkish middle class within itself have been analytically constructed depending on the responses to the questions concerning social, cultural and economic capitals in the questionnaire. As it is remembered that the construction of the fractions of a class throughout the capitals is the construction of the class habitus, which is system of dispositions in Bourdieu's theory, as well. In other words, the habitus of a given class has been socially learnt and culturally acquired dispositions of the individuals in whole life, and it refers the class positions in social space. To construct the habitus, three main steps were followed: 1. Factor analyses were constructed for each capital including the explanation about the related variables. 2. Multiple correspondence analyses were conducted to display the distances between the categories of variables associated with family backgrounds and the clustering of each capital and the related variables in social space. 3. Final multiple correspondence analysis was conducted to show the clustering of the capitals and employment/occupations on social space. Thereby, whilst the fractions of the Turkish middle class were displaying on social space, the habitus of each fractions was also displayed.

Firstly, to calculate the social and cultural capitals, the labels of the variables were coded as categories starting from zero in order to apply it to the factor analysis.⁷⁰ The levels were determined according to the breakpoints observed in the analysis output in frequency tables and plots, and the values were stated as well. Due to the fact that economic capital was only defined as monthly income, no factor analysis was made. However, because occupation/employment was one of the most important factors in determining monthly income, it was dealt together with monthly income while defining economic capital. In this way, four levels were determined

⁷⁰ In Chapter 2, the explanations concerning the usage of factor analysis as a tool that determines a result or in the context of this study, as a tool that determines factors that determine capital should be kept in mind.

analytically in all three capitals: *lower, middle, upper and highest*. At the end of sections of the section that explains each capital, a table was added that displays the variables in each level via (+) and (-) symbols as a summary. After this section, the capitals are symbolized with their levels: the social capital as S1, S2, S3, S4; the cultural capital as C1, C2, C3, C4; the economic capital as EC1, EC2, EC3, EC4; and employment/occupations as hw (house wife), unq (unqualified worker), re (retiree), bc (blue collar worker), wc (white collar worker), se (self-employed), hq (high qualified professional), small (small employer), and employer (middle-size employer). The capitals and employment/occupations were symbolized with these symbols in multiple correspondence analyses as well.

Secondly, multiple correspondence analyses were conducted for family backgrounds and the capitals using the categories of employment/occupations and the related categorical variables in the next section.

Furthermore, all multiple correspondence analyses in this chapter involve employment/occupations. Taking into consideration the associations among the habitus and thus the capitals, the employment/occupations crosscuts all capitals because of their constant interconnections and interactions. Thus, employment/occupations is involved in multiple correspondence analyses to display the clouding of each capital and related variables in social space. The involvement of employment/occupations in all correspondence analyses can be thought as the repetition of their influences. However, it is not a repetition. Rather, it is taken as the way to show the important role of employment/occupations on social, cultural and economic capitals.

Finally, after these two statistical steps another multiple correspondence analysis was applied using the social, cultural and economic capitals and the categories of employment/occupations, under the heading 4.4 Thus, the positions in social spaces of the fractions of the Turkish middle class where the total existence of the capitals and employment/occupation can be observed were defined in four cells of X and Y coordinates in 0 intersection point in the form of clouding/clusters in Figure 5. Each clouding in Figure 5 were defined by attributing a different colour to each fraction of the Turkish middle class in the social space.

Thus, in this chapter, the analytical construction of the habitus of the Turkish middle class strata was explained step by step in the below three sections. Therefore, the conceptual grounds to scrutinize life-styles and tastes of the Turkish middle class in Chapter 5 were analytically constructed by making use of Bourdieu's distinction theories and by his manner in which multiple correspondence analyses is used to analyse these theories empirically.

4.2.1. Analytical Construction of Social Capital

As mentioned earlier, social capital is composed of networks and all social resources derived from kinship, friendship from schools, works and interest-based institutions. To account for social capital, a factor analysis is conducted by using variables that reveal 'meeting kins and friends within the last one week/last weekend', 'eating out with kins and friends', 'kins and friends as guests/visitors' 'frequency of eating out with kins and friends' and 'membership in trade unions, NGOs (ADD/ÇYDD/TEGV⁷¹/Environmental Associations), and 'charity/solidarity/mutual support associations'.⁷² In this framework, social capital signalled at a differentiation in four levels as lower, middle, upper and highest.

Factor analysis is applied to the below mentioned variables. Correlations are calculated and plotted; their breakpoints are used to determine different levels. These levels of social capital are named and symbolized as *lower (S1)*, *middle (S2)*, *upper (S3)* and *highest (S4)*.

⁷¹ NGOs compose of three Turkish associations as ADD: Atatürk Thought Association (Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği), ÇYDD: Association in Support of Contemporary Living (Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği), TEGV: Turkish Education Volunteers Foundation (Türk Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı) and environmental associations.

⁷² Charity/solidarity/mutual-aid and support associations consist of neighbourhood beautification, supporting, and mutual-aid associations. While factor analysis is accounted for, 'membership of cultural/sports/entertainment clubs, alumni associations and political party', 'meeting with neighbour/hemşehri (townsmen) and cultural/sports/entertainment clubs and alumni associations in the week/at the weekend', 'eating out with neighbour/townsmen and cultural/sports/entertainment clubs and alumni associations', 'neighbour/townsmen and friends from cultural/sports/entertainment clubs and alumni associations as guest/visitor' 'frequency eating out with neighbour/hemşehri and cultural/sports/entertainment clubs and alumni associations' are also included. However, the analysis does not result in a single factor. Thus, the variables including membership of cultural/sports/entertainment clubs, alumni associations and political party and neighbour/townsmen relations are excluded from the factor analysis.

Within the literature on social capital, apart from the variables used in factor analysis, social relations that result from environments such as ‘unions, political parties, sports and entertainment clubs, and fraternity associations’ as well as ‘neighbourliness’ and ‘*hemşehrilik*’ (townsmanship) are emphasized as institutionalized social resources (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995, p. 862; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Field, 2008; Fine, 2010). In spite of the framework of this study, the relations with friends from political parties, sports and entertainment clubs, fraternity associations as well as ‘neighbourliness’ and ‘townsmanship’ it is necessary to mention the relations that result from different environments, which affect the composition of social capital. The reason why these variables are not included in factor analysis is explained in footnote 75.

After the missing values are excluded N equals to 415. According to the output of factor analysis, a single factor was explaining 37 % of social capital. The correlations were identified the range between -1,17509 and 3,68014.

The *lower level of social capital (S1)* begins from -1,17509 and ends with -1,17509 (84 respondents, 20 %). The markers in this level are meeting with friends and eating out. Although some of the respondents have met with friends within the last one week or weekend, these respondents have not eaten out or the vice versa took place; that is they have eaten out within the last one week or weekend but they haven’t met with their friends. None of these respondents is a member of trade unions, NGOs or charity/solidarity/mutual support associations. The social relations on the S1 level remain closely stuck to family and kin.

The *middle level (S2)* ranges between the values of -0,28587 and -0,03111 (213 respondents, 50 %). In this group, the respondents have more developed social networks. Most of them meet with their relatives or friends on a weekly basis, and eat out several times. Some of them are members of trade unions, but these members do not meet with their relatives or friends. Approximately, half of the respondents are in this group. Associational life becomes more characteristic for the social relations of this group.

The *upper level (S3)* takes values between 0,02159 and 3,68014 and makes up for approximately 28 % of the total number of respondents (114 respondents). In this level, the respondents do

meet with their relatives or friends and they go out to eat frequently. They are not members of NGOs and trade unions but they may be members of solidarity/mutual support associations. The *highest level* (S4) only consists of the value 3,68014. These respondents frequently meet with friends and often go out to eat. They meet with kins but with less frequency. The most important characteristic of this group is their membership to trade unions, NGOs and solidarity/mutual support associations. Of course, we have to keep in mind that they only compose 1 % of the total number of respondents (4 respondents).

Social Capital, the variables used for identifying social capital and their association with the different levels are summarized, by using (+) and (-) symbols. Eventually, both symbols are used at the same time to express that some of the respondents agreed while others disagreed. As can be observed from Table 3, the variables are characteristic for social capital on the different levels.

Table 3

Social Capital

| Social Capital (Used Variables) | | Lower (S1) | Middle (S2) | Upper (S3) | Highest (S4) |
|------------------------------------|--|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Social Relations & Resources | Meeting with kins within the last one week | + | + | + | + |
| | Meeting with kins last weekend | + | + | - + | - + |
| | Kins as guest/visitor within the last one week | + | + | - + | - |
| | Eating out with kins | - | + | - + | - |
| | Dinner with kins within the last one week | + | + | + | + |
| | Meeting with friends within the last one week | - | + | - + | + |
| | Meeting with friends last weekend | - | + | - + | + |
| | Friends as guest/visitor within the last one week | - | + | - + | + |
| | Eating out with friends | - | + | - + | - + |
| | Dinner with friends within the last one week | + | + | + | + |
| | Frequency eating out per month | - + | + | - + | + |
| | Membership to trade unions | - | - | - + | + |
| | Membership to NGOs | - | - | - + | + |
| | Membership to charity/solidarity/mutual support associations | - | - + | - + | + |

If we take a look at the variables used in the factor analysis of social capital by taking into account the variables that give a single factor and that do not give a 0 variance, it is possible to claim that the dominant type of social relation is the one with relatives and friends. However, when the fact that this friendship referred in factor analysis is not a friendship which is usually observed as high where there membership to a trade union, NGO and charity/solidarity/mutual support associations is high as well. In other words it can be claimed that this friendship does not refer the friendship rooted from the required registered membership to such institutions. In all levels, relationship with relatives is very close and symbolized with (+) in weekday and weekend interactions. The distinctive relationship type changes into (-) in guest/visitor as social capital increases and eating out with kins is (-) in lower and highest levels. This issue is explained in more detail in Figure 2 by the clouding/clusters that are formed by adding the other variables.

4.2.2. Analytical Construction of Cultural Capital

Factor analysis is conducted by differentiating the *objectified* and *institutionalized* state of cultural capitals.⁷³ While the objectified state is characterized by variables such as number of books and possession of original paintings and sculptures, the institutionalized state covers formal education, which is expressed as ‘years spent in school’.

As has been described, correlations are calculated and breakpoints are identified, resulting in a fourfold differentiation of different levels of cultural capital (*C1: Lower, C2: Middle, C3: Upper, C4: Highest*).

Missing values are excluded. N reaches 400 and the coefficients range between -1,81364 and 3,00229; the factor which explains 46 % of cultural capital.

⁷³ In Bourdieu’s framework, the account of cultural capital should be conducted by adding the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body. However, the embodied state refers to the long-lasting dispositions of individuals such as going to the cinema, concerts, visiting museum, etc. These practices, at the same time indicate everyday activities and practices of the individuals as observed in the studies of Bennett, Emmison & Frow (1999), Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal & Wright (2009), and Wynne (2000). For these reasons, the embodied cultural capital of the respondents was not included in the factor analysis as a filtered item. Instead of these, the respondents’ practices are taken into account as a part of their life-styles and everyday life practices which is one of the subjects of Chapter 5.

The *lower level of cultural capital* (C1) takes values between -1,81364 and -,92543 and represents % 19 of the respondents (75 respondents). Indeed, taking the years of schooling as the basis, C1 varies from having attended no school⁷⁴ to 11 years (high school). Some respondents have at most 100 books, but none of them have original paintings and sculptures. However, possessing books is not interlinked with having had a longer education. Clearly, those who do actually have high school education do not possess books, original sculptures or paintings while, as can be observed, those who have no formal schooling own books. As discussed earlier, certain products are not in the possession of individual respondents, but are possessed by other members of the household: most probably children of school age. The *middle level* (C2) varies between -0,87220 and -0,09519. It covers 44,5 % of the respondents (178 respondents). The respondents have, at least, graduated from primary school (5 years) and, at least, possess some books. There are several exceptional cases in which longer education can be observed. Moreover, they may have up to 500 books, but original sculptures and paintings are not possessed.

The *upper level of cultural capital* (C3) starts from 0,01601 and ends at 2,27851 (132 respondents, % 33). The respondents graduated from vocational high school or general high school (11 years), but they do not possess books although they may own original paintings or sculptures.

The *highest level of cultural capital* (C4) ranges between 2,41613 and 3,00229 (14 respondents, approximately 4 %). This group possesses books, at least a 100, but usually this number is much more, reaching up to over a 1000. They also possess original paintings and sculpture.

Again an overview of the affiliation of certain cultural capital characteristics is summarized in Table 4. To distinguish among the different levels of cultural capital, the following categorization has been used: the *lower level (C1)* covers a range starting from being able to read/write but not having attended school and goes up to formal schooling of 11-12 years

⁷⁴ Among the whole sample there is only one illiterate respondent. Because when this single case is included as a different variable to the analysis made by cultural capital or as a label it affected the results, it seemed more suitable to take it as a missing value.

(vocational high school⁷⁵/general high school); the *middle level* (C2) starts with primary education (minimum of 5 years) and reaches the most to university graduation, i.e. 15 years; the *upper level* (C3) shows a minimum of 8 years (primary school) up to 23 years (university/doctorate); *the highest level* (C4) covers at least 11 years (high school) up to 23 years (postgraduate).

As it can be observed from Table 4, lower cultural capital remains within the limits that range between no school attendance and high school graduation, and do not possess objects of cultural capital. Moreover, only a few of the respondents possess a limited number of books. Accordingly, when one of the respondents' comments: "There are not many books at home. We gave them away when our children got married."⁷⁶ is evaluated, it can be said that in this level, books that are possessed at home belong to children who attend school. In other words, the length of education does not necessarily correspond with the ownership of books, a situation which might have been expected prior to the interviews.

Table 4

Cultural Capital

| Cultural Capital (Used Variables) | Lower (C1) | Middle (C2) | Upper (C3) | Highest (C4) |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Able to read/write/no schooling | + | - | - | - |
| Primary school (5 Years) | + | + | + | - |
| Secondary School (8 Years) | + | + | + | - |
| Vocational High School (11-12 Years) | + | + | + | - |
| Middle/High School (11 Years) | + | + | + | + |
| Vocational School (13 Years) | - | + | + | - |
| Undergraduate/University (15-16 Years) | - | + | + | + |
| Postgraduate (17-23 ≥ Years) | - | + | + | + |
| No Books | + | + | + | - |
| 100 ≤ Books | + | + | + | - |
| 101-500 Books | - | + | + | + |
| 501-1000 Books | - | + | + | + |
| 1001 ≥ Books | - | - | + | - |
| Ownership of Original Painting | - | - | - + | + |
| Ownership of Original Sculpture | - | - | - + | + |

⁷⁵ Some vocational high schools are four-year, i.e. health, veterinary, laboratory, mechanics, etc., thus they are seen as formal schooling as 11-12 years.

⁷⁶ Field notes.

When we take a closer look at objectified and institutionalized cultural capital in higher levels, generally, a positive relationship between these two types of cultural capital can be observed. In other words, as the total amount of time spent in school increases, the number of books and original painting and sculpture possessed increases as well. In other words, the relationship between the two is directly proportional. Here, it is important to note an exception that several respondents compose in terms of taste, which will be dealt in further detail later. In fact, these several respondents who have a low level of formal education have a higher objectified cultural capital due to the fact that they possess original paintings and sculpture. As mentioned in the literature on cultural capital, the reason for this is related to the fact that respondents' capital attained through life experience increases in time. In this framework, it can be observed that children of respondents with a low level of formal education have a higher level of education, especially university education. It will not be wrong to interpret these children's education process as an enhancement of their parents' cultural capital. One respondent said that the original painting was painted by her daughter; and another said that an original sculpture was a gift from the son who is in fact an architect⁷⁷. In fact, one of the most important findings of this research is the fact that a respondent's level of cultural capital increases together with the ownership of an original painting or sculpture. This finding differs from the capitals literature and Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus. In fact, in the mentioned literature, the importances of the values that pass from one generation to the other are emphasized, especially in terms of life-styles and tastes. However, the values especially objectified cultural capitals and objects of tastes that pass from the younger generation to the older one is not mentioned; even overlooked. This finding is discussed further in Chapter 5 where the life-styles and tastes of the fractions are covered. In this framework, as discussed within the literature on cultural capital, it will not be wrong to claim that the elements of cultural capital of these respondents are affected by their life experiences and embodied, objectified and institutionalized state, altogether determine the volume of the cultural capital.

⁷⁷ Field notes.

4.2.3. Analytical Construction of Economic Capital

Economic capital, which is defined, and accepted as monthly household income, has been discussed in Chapter 2 referring to Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman, therefore there was no need to do a factor analysis. Although the author is aware of the fact, that income as declared by the respondents is a vague measure; still it is considered as crucial for determining the level of economic capital. While incomes were labelled that whenever the incomes were declared as a range, the upper level of declared range was taken as the basis for categorization.

The *lower level* of economic capital or *EC1* (228 respondents, 56.7 %) is less or equal to 2000 TL. *EC2* or the *middle economic level* (103 respondents, 25.6 %) ranges between 2001-4000 TL monthly income, *EC3* or the *upper level* (33 respondents, 8.2 %) covers 4001 to 6000 TL, and *EC4* or the *highest level* (38 respondents, 9.5 %) is 6001 and more TL.

After having identified the different levels and variables measuring social, cultural and economic capitals, we have to discuss the role of employment/occupations, as specified in earlier sections (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Field, 2008; Fine, 2010). Employment/occupations is one of the most important factors that define the income of a household. In fact, when we take a look at the basic income sources, and include that of the housewives as well, apart from few respondents, the basic income that all respondents declared individually or for the whole household and thus, the economic capital was composed of the income attained from employment/occupations. As a matter of fact, the importance of income is emphasized in social science literature as discussed in section 2.3. Income, especially in the form of money, is the most important instrument of exchange in modern times.⁷⁸ In consumption theory and studies, income is emphasized as the most important tool to have access for whatever ‘wanted’ or ‘desired’ consumption goods, material, symbols or services in the era of consumer society. In this study, employment/occupations is founded as the main source of income. In other words, while employment/occupations determine income levels, income also determines all kinds of acquaintances; indeed the capitals, like as emphasized in the related literature. Thereby, it is

⁷⁸ Simmel (1990) primarily and exclusively discusses the role and position of money with its philosophical and psychological dimensions as well as the economic and social ones in everyday life in modern times.

positively claimed that employment/occupations influence and also are influenced by the combinations and volumes of capitals of the Turkish middle classes.

The income levels and employment/occupations as economic capital are displayed by (+) and (-) symbols in Table 5. As can be explicitly observed from Table 5, although economic capital increases, the categories of employment/occupations are distributed among income or economic capital levels.

Table 5

Economic Capital and Employment/Occupations

| Variable: Income | | Lower (EC1) | Middle (EC2) | Upper (EC3) | Highest (EC4) |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Economic Capital | 2000 TL ≤ | + | - | - | - |
| | 2001-4000 TL | - | + | - | - |
| | 4001-6000 TL | - | - | + | - |
| | 6001 TL ≥ | - | - | - | + |
| Employment/ Occupations | House Wife | + | + | - | + |
| | Unqualified Service Worker | + | + | + | + |
| | Retiree | + | + | + | + |
| | Blue Collar | + | + | + | - |
| | White Collar | + | + | + | + |
| | Self-Employed | + | + | + | + |
| | High Qualified Professionals | + | + | + | + |
| | Small Employer | + | + | + | - |
| | Medium Employer | - | + | - | + |

It should be noticed that two-way contingency table and chi-square tests were also conducted between income and employment/occupations to examine the relation between them. However, the outcome of the tests does not display statistically significant association among them.

Within social strata literature, the approaches that determine social classes and strata according to occupations state that there is a (+) relationship between income and occupation and these

approaches support the existence of this relationship through empirical research. That is, in the occupations listing, higher occupations supply a higher income. Similar to the literature on social strata, the capitals literature emphasized the (+) relationship between employment/occupations and economic capital, as well. However, as can be observed from Table 5, the sample of this research does not support such a relationship and in fact, in all most all of the economic levels, the existence of each employment/occupations groups can be observed. Such distribution of economic capital levels in the categories o employment/occupations has displayed that the (+) relationship between economic capital and employment/occupations is nonexistent, not to mention that this study conducted in Ankara does not rest on a representative sample. In order to explain this relationship within the limitations of this study, a cross tab and two-way contingency table analysis was conducted between economic capital and employment/occupations. However, as can be observed both in Table 5 and in Table 6 two-way contingency table did not reveal a significant relationship. The crosstabulation of economic capital and employment/occupations is seen in Table 6.

Table 6

Crosstab of Economic Capital and Employment/Occupations

| Economic Capital Employment/Occupations (Count / %) | EC1 | EC2 | EC3 | EC4 | Total |
|--|------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| House Wife | 61 / 15.3 | 11 / 2.8 | 0 / 0.0 | 10 / 2.5 | 82 / 20.5 |
| Unqualified Worker | 21 / 5.3 | 5 / 1.3 | 1 / 0.3 | 1 / 0.3 | 28 / 7.0 |
| Retiree | 42 / 10.5 | 24 / 6.0 | 7 / 1.8 | 3 / 0.8 | 76 / 19.0 |
| Blue Collar | 11 / 2.8 | 2 / 0.5 | 1 / 0.3 | 0 / 0.0 | 14 / 3.5 |
| White Collar | 50 / 12.5 | 32 / 8.0 | 4 / 1.0 | 3 / 0.8 | 89 / 22.3 |
| Self-Employed | 33 / 8.3 | 10 / 2.5 | 6 / 1.5 | 2 / 0.5 | 51 / 12.8 |
| High Qualified Professionals | 8 / 2.0 | 15 / 3.8 | 12 / 3.0 | 16 / 4.0 | 51 / 12.8 |
| Small Employer | 1 / 0.3 | 1 / 0.3 | 2 / 0.5 | 0 / 0.0 | 4 / 1.0 |
| Medium Employer | 0 / 0.0 | 2 / 0.5 | 0 / 0.0 | 3 / 0.8 | 5 / 1.3 |
| Total | 227 / 56.8 | 102 / 25.5 | 33 / 8.3 | 38 / 9.5 | 400 / 100.0 |

If we take a close look at the invisible relationship in Table 5 by leaving out the housewife and the retiree categories and by taking into account occupational hierarchy, it can be observed in the

crosstabs of economic capital and employment/occupations. The crosstabs is seen in Table 6. The highest rates are marked in bold and lower occupational groups reach EC1 while higher occupational groups reach EC3 and EC4. In EC2, white collar and retiree categories form the rate following EC1. By looking at the dispersion here, it is found that the urban middle class in Ankara, in a certain sense, are moving towards attaining a higher income even in a sample that is not representative.

However, it is important to consider the fact that the (+) relationship between economic capital and employment/occupations was not observed and supported in this study. In other words, the lack of a positive relationship between the two is crucial to find out whether this is a contradiction within the literature or specific to the Ankara and Turkey case. These questions can be answered by taking into account the approaches on employment/occupations and empirical works. The answers of these questions are grouped in three ways: 1. the leading sources of the stratification literature in the world; 2. the urban class structure in Turkey; and 3. the eclectically definition of urban Turkish middle class in this study. Still, in studies where income is included in the analysis as a variable, it should be kept in mind that the respondent might have reservations about his/her income declaration and the declared income is assumed to be the real income of the respondent.

Firstly, when we take a look at the approaches that define the social structure according to occupation, we show that these approaches define the relationship between income or economic capital in this study and the occupations as (+). These are emphasized in studies centred in Britain and the US.⁷⁹ These studies focus on structural work, employment, unemployment status and income levels in advanced capitalist societies or they are empirical studies that focus on social, cultural and economic issues conducted in national statistical research. Moreover, studies of this type are generally conducted on a sample that consists of respondents that are actively involved in the workforce; that is, an employed population. In other words, it is based on the classification of occupations performed by the working population. For example, ILO's ISCO-08 classification was based on active work force. Thus, the (+) relationship between occupation

⁷⁹ In social strata literature, the occupation scales used and revised by Weberian Goldthorpe's (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 2003) grounded on England and Marxist Wright's (1976, 1978, 1985, 1989, 2002) grounded on US are the most commonly used.

and income is found in societies where the class difference in social structure is as dominant as occupational difference.

Secondly, when we take a look at the social structure in Turkey, as summarized in the section 3.8., a class structure that can be explained by ISCO-08 or based on occupation is not existent. Because still a high qualified person with a high educational degree can be a public worker or a housewife with a EC1 and/or EC2 income level. This characteristic is displayed and discussed in Figure 5 which depicts middle class fractions. In this framework, it has been mentioned that retirees who do not actively work are defined as a different category and involved as a label in Turkey's urban class structure

Thirdly, while the definition of the Turkish middle class is eclectically constructed inspiring from the occupational descriptions in stratification theories in the world and Boratav's (1995a) labels for urban social classes by including house wife as a different category. The fact that the two-way contingency table between income and employment/occupations does not provide us with statistical significance can be interpreted as a result of the eclectic construction of the definition of middle class where retiree and housewives are a part of the employment/occupations category. Thus, the (+) relation between occupation and income may not be occurred and founded in this study.

Even more important than all these explanation, it could be the fact that the sample is neither strict nor representative. However, it should be kept in mind that all these explanations are not precise but stand as possibilities. Here, it is added that there is no sufficient outcomes to make a more detailed interpretation. Because, the quality of this relation is not the main subject of this study. Beside these, it is proposed that the quality of the relationship between occupation and income and whether it is (+) or (-) can be studied by a different research on Turkey and/or Ankara. In fact, such a study could be crucial.

In short, the reason why the relationship between income and employment/occupations is so important is due to the importance of employment/occupations on social, cultural and economic capitals (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Field, 2010, Fine, 2010; Halpern, 2005; Bennett, et al., 2009) have been emphasized in recent social theory. In other words, more qualified occupations require generally higher education and provide better paid as well as social and cultural capitals

and milieu. For these reasons, the association between social, cultural and economic capitals and occupation are used together to analyse and construct the fractions of the Turkish middle class in using a multiple correspondence analysis. In next section, the capitals are analytically displayed on the Figures of correspondence analyses as social space.

4.3. Social, Cultural and Economic Capitals of the Turkish Middle Class in Social Space

What correspondence analysis is and why it is preferred in this study was explained in Chapter 2. So as to remember, the correspondence figures show two zero axes (horizontal/vertical); the location of each item of variables depends on whether it is positively or negatively (also seen in the tables in the section 4.2, where positive/negative relations are marked) related to the zero point. It also takes into consideration their internal relations. It should be noted that although X and Y coordinates appear as (+) and (-) values, the capitals and employment/occupations shouldn't be considered as (+) and (-) values because, as can be observed from the figures, both lower and higher levels of capitals and employment status are observed in the (-) areas of X and Y coordinates. Indeed, the axes and the quadratic bows were added so that the map can be interpreted easily with respect to the axes as well. The reason for this is that correspondence value depicts each value in relation to the others in a two-dimensional plane. In other words, the clouding in this area, due to the very nature of correspondence analysis, will be evaluated by taking into account the proximity of each to the others. Besides the axes, the quadratic bow is added to the figures. The bow takes the form of a horseshoe, the mount of which sometimes faces above, sometimes below. When the bow is followed from left to right or vice versa, it provides regularity from lower to the highest or vice versa.

These correspondence analyses were made as constitutive analysis to demonstrate the fragments of the Turkish middle class by showing the association of social, cultural as well as economic capital for each respondent, i.e. each respondent's level of social, cultural and economic capital is determined and can be interpreted from a graph as 'clouding'. In the following sections, the figures representing the correspondence analysis' results for each of the capitals are presented. As can be read from the figures, the variables and the abbreviations of the labels displayed under the figures are almost identical to the characteristics identified above, which are relying simply on a categorization according to (+) or (-). The correspondence figure signals that the distances

between the categories are shown as similarities; indeed, the closer the two categories are, the more similar they are. In other words, as explained in Chapter 2, the same respondents often mention the closer categories of the variables. Thus, closer categories conduct the characteristics of a group or a fraction, and the related categories and the distances between them are interpreted to examine and understand the characteristics of the respondents.

In addition to these explanations, the categories of the variables are symbolized as abbreviations in the analyses. The abbreviations of categories of used variables are summarized under each figure. The related variables were determined by referring to the literature on capitals and the habitus. It should be noticed that the variables that do not sum up to '0' variance were involved in the analyses.⁸⁰ In the correspondence figures, or the social spaces, as it is preferred to be named in this study, the characteristics of the main clusters formed by the clouding of the variables were defined. In addition to these, many used variables have been re-conducted to scrutinize the stratification in the Turkish middle class and the distinction of lifestyle and tastes through furniture, auxiliaries and embellishments in this research. Besides these, the position of each capital's lower, middle, upper and highest levels in the social space were defined according to the centre that X and Y coordinates 0 intersection point create and the position they take in the existent cell. While multiple correspondence analyses for the capitals were conducted, the distinctive variables were used as inputs of the analyses. For example, the assets such as house, car, plasma TV, notebook and digital camera were included in economic capital; and thus the association between economic capital and assets was displayed. Having briefly explained this, it should also be emphasized that some variables were not included in the correspondence analysis because of their 'zero' variances or statistically insignificant results of chi-square tests although they were defined as important variables within the literature and were investigated in the questionnaire via certain questions that were in the qualitative section of the study.⁸¹

After having recalled how to read off the correspondence figures, in this title, the second analytical step was realized utilizing multiple correspondence analyses, and thereby, the family

⁸⁰ As noted before, the variables with '0' variance are not involved in the correspondence analysis, because correspondence analysis displays the associations conducted with variances of used variables.

⁸¹ The questionnaire can be found in Appendices A (Turkish) and B (English).

backgrounds in Figure 2, and the social, cultural and economic capitals in Figure 3, 4 and 5 were displayed in social spaces.

Before the tripod of the capitals, the family background is restricted and displayed in social space to examine and explain the characteristics of the associations among the social, cultural and economic capitals, occupations and other complementary variables. While the individuals' habitus is defined as socially and culturally acquired attitudes and habits, it covers her/his social environment, which refers to their social origins, as well. Social or class origins is taken as family backgrounds in this study referring to Bourdieu. Beside these, length of living in a place influences the social and cultural profiles, or capitals, which are the preferred terms in this study. Indeed, the compositions and volumes of the individuals' social, cultural and economic capitals are determined by their social origins or family backgrounds. To display the clouding of the respondents' family backgrounds and length of living in Ankara and in the same district, a multiple correspondence analysis is conducted similar to the 'demographic, socio-cultural and economic profiles of the respondents' in Chapter 2. The inputs are the respondents' and their father's, mother's and grandfather's birthplace, education, as years spend in school, and employment/occupations; and the respondent's length of living in Ankara and in the same district.

The multiple correspondence analysis on the family backgrounds and length of living in Ankara and in the same district is conducted by fourteen variables, or inputs, and used in analyses; and then input information is summarized: the respondents', fathers', mothers' and grandfathers' birth places, each of which has three categories; the respondents', fathers', mothers' and grandfathers' education levels, each of which has eight categories; the respondents', fathers', mothers' and grandfathers' employment/occupations, each of which has nine categories. In addition, to avoid an overlap in the map, some abbreviations are used: "f" symbolizes the variables related to "father"; "m" to "mother"; and "g" to "grandfather". The length of living in Ankara and length of living in same district were involved with five categories. It should be noticed that the categories named by one (1) person are excluded from the analyses. The family backgrounds, the length of living in Ankara and the same district can be seen in social space on Figure 2.

Keeping in mind as to how to read the correspondence analysis, the birth places of the respondent, education and employment/education, the length of living in Ankara and in the same district and family background can be observed in the social space. The cells that were created by the intersection of X and Y axis in Figure 2, are named as Cell I, II, III and IV starting from the bottom left cell and moving clockwise.⁸² It is observed that the categories disperse as (1) and (-4) on the X axis and as (3) and (-1) on the Y axis. However, the categories form a dense clouding near the 0 point, in all of Cell IV, in the Y axis of Cell I and in the X axis of Cell III. The categories in Cell I and IV, are generally situated near the 0 point and near the X and Y axis. While the categories are scarce on the Y axis of Cell III and disperse upwards, in Cell II they are scarce mostly towards the left. Having briefly defined the position of the categories, having a closer look to the characteristics of each cell will be essential so as to relate it with the findings on capital in the previous section and the family backgrounds. If we define the cells in order:

The clustering of the categories situated in Cell I (edu15, wc, small, fedu13, fere, fewc, feemployer, medu13, gedu5-8, gere, gesmall, Ank2-, Ank6+, Dist2-, Dist6+) create a relatively scarce cluster. It is observed that respondents who are university graduates, white collar and small employer have mother's and father's who graduated from a vocational school and their grandfather's are primary school graduates. Small employers are shop or company owners that belong to the service class with one or two people working for them. Fathers and grandfathers are retired, white collar employers with small or semi scale company owners that provide employment for two to three people. It can be observed that the occupation of mothers compose of housewife, white collar or retired and none of these is situated in Cell I. If we take into consideration the fact that in social space, distances are as important as the clustering of categories, it can be observed that mothers are close to white collar in Cell II and the housewives in Cell IV. When we look at living in the same district and in Ankara, it is possible to observe that the length of living in the same district and in Ankara vary from less than 2 years to 6-10 years. When this is taken into consideration together with the education of the respondents and their working conditions, it can be said that this results from their being university graduate white collar, which makes them more mobile, and also their being high qualified professionals.

⁸² From onwards in all correspondence figures Cells are defined as such.

Next to this, when we look at the categories that are situated in the borders of Cell I and Cell II (hq, fedu11, fedu15, gedu11, gewc), it is observed that the education of fathers and grandfathers increase and that they are white collar. This also reflects that the respondents are high-qualified professionals. Moreover, when we take a look at their birthplaces, while the birth place of the respondents does not exist in Cell I as a category, they are close to metropolis as a birth place in Cell II and city as a birth place in Cell IV. Thus, it can be argued that, when the family background of the respondents in Cell I are taken into consideration and evaluated together with the findings in section 4.2, the compositions and volumes of capitals will be high, and in fact, is equal to upper or highest levels and for this reason, will be positioned within upper middle class fractions.

When compared with the other cells, it is observed that the categories in Cell II (birthmetropol, edu>17-23, employer, fbirthmetropol, fedu11, fedu11-12, fedu>17-23, fehq, fesmall, mbirthmetropol, medu11, medu11-12, mere, mewc, gbirthmetropol, gedu11-12, gedu15, gebc, gese) compose the scarcest positioning. The respondents in Cell II are middle sized employers who themselves as well as their fathers, mothers and grandfathers were born in a metropolis. That is, this group composes of people who have been metropolitan citizens for three generations. Next to this, while their own education is in the post-graduate level, the previous generations are either from a vocational high school, or even further educated than that. When we take a look at the employment/occupations of the previous generations, fathers are mostly high qualified professional or small employers; the mothers are white collar or retired and the grandfathers are from different categories varying from blue collar to high qualified professional.

The categories that are situated between Cell I and Cell II were explained above. However, the categories that are situated very close in Cell III (Ank21+, Dist2+), reflects that respondents who have been living in Ankara over a long period of time move to a new district in every 2-5 years. In other words, it is observed that middle class employers moved from their initial districts for different reasons, and among these, the most common reason is moving to their own house, coming from a different city or the bad qualities of the previous district.

When we take a closer look at the categories in Cell III, (birthtown, edu<5, edu11-12, edu13, hw, unq, fbirthtown, fedu<5, fefarmer, feduilliterate, feunq, fese, mbirthtown, medu<5,

gbirthtown, gedu<5, Ank2+, Dst21+) the clouding here is different than the ones in Cell I and Cell II. The respondents in this clouding have lived for a long time in same districts. It can be interpreted that some respondents were born and grown in the same district. They used to live in same district. For example, one of the respondents said that when they got married, they rented a house that was cheaper and not in the same neighbourhood as the one that her spouse was born and grew up in. However, since her spouse could not get used to living in this new neighbourhood, and did not like the neighbours there, they moved back to his neighbourhood, where they are still residing.⁸³ The categories situated here reflect that the three generations that have been analysed were born in a town/small city which means all of the respondents in this group have a migration experience from 'a town or a small city to the big city' regardless of whether they have lived in Ankara over a long or short period of time.⁸⁴ The respondents in Cell III either did not complete primary school or graduated from a vocational high school or college and thus, received formal occupational education. In fact, when we take a look at the education level and employment/occupations of the respondents in this group, the clouding here is composed of women who did not complete primary school or women who received education from a formal vocation school; and the men who work as cleaners or daily workers as unqualified 'service class' compose of those who left primary school. Similarly, when the education of the former generations is scrutinized closely, it is observed that illiterate fathers and mothers, fathers and grandfathers with an incomplete primary education are situated in this cell. Next to this, it can be said that farmer, unqualified worker and self employed fathers and farmer or unqualified worker grandfathers are situated in Cell III. Especially, the fact that respondents who have been in Ankara for 2-5 years or more than 21 years are positioned in this cell states that the ones who came to the city in the past have almost never been out of their own neighbourhood and the ones who are new in the city are in the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy. When all the categories are considered together, it can be said that Cell III is composed of respondents that are from a rural and working class origin.

⁸³ Field notes.

⁸⁴ Here, the fact that respondents especially positioned in the lower levels of occupations having a migration experience reflects the parallelism with the literature on classic urbanization. However, the variables here are not sufficient to make more comments on this finding. Moreover, the migration experience of the respondents is beyond the scope of this study. The migration of the middle class and its fractions is the research topic of another study.

When we take a look at the categories between Cell III and Cell IV (edu11, bc, re, mehw, geilliterate, gefarmer, geunq, Dist21+), it can be observed that high school graduate, blue collar and retired respondents fall close to self employed fathers who work in the bazaars or as grocers or bakers, and housewife mothers fall close to illiterate farmer or unqualified worker grandfathers, even positioned in the same cell. This shows that the respondents situated in Cell III, as they move closer to X axis from above, have increased their qualifications.

Lastly, when we take a look at the categories in Cell IV (birthcity, edu5-8, re, se, fbirthcity, febc, mbirthcity, meduilliterate, medu5-8, mehw, gbirthcity, Ank11+, Dist11+), because all three generations' birthplace is a town or a small city, they have a migration experience similar to the respondents in Cell III.⁸⁵ Respondents who are primary school graduates, retired (grocer, baker, trader in a bazaar etc), self-employed or blue collar have housewife mothers and fathers who are primary school graduates whereas mothers and grandfathers of these respondents are illiterate. Moreover, it is observed that the respondents in Cell IV have lived in the same neighbourhood in Ankara for over 10-20 years and this period is enough to get accustomed to the routines of the city that they live in (Kalaycıoğlu, et. al., 1998).

The positions in Cell IV and Cell III were explained above. Concerning the only category between Cell I, it can be said that the characteristics of the respondents have started to change.

In short, having completed the explanations concerning Figure 2, when the categories are considered together, the cloudings in Cell I and Cell II, indeed purple and demonstrate upper- and highest middle class reflected in the stratification and middle class literature and the cloudings in Cell III and Cell IV define the characteristics of lower- and middle class. In other words, the respondents that come from upper- or highest middle class families and that have a long education period and work in the high occupational groups, are positioned in upper middle class fractions due to both the social, cultural and economic resource transfer deriving from their families and the sources that they themselves attained as argued in the literature concerning 'middle class' and habitus and capitals.

⁸⁵ The explanations on 'immigration' in previous footnote should be remembered.

When the cloudings of family backgrounds in the social space can be considered together, the argument of the study which is that middle class itself has its own fractions is supported by the findings of Figure 2. Both the explanations above and the explanations that will follow make clear the analytically determined four levels as the lower, middle, upper and highest, in all analysis. In other words, it can be said that these findings display that the Turkish middle class is fragmented in four fractions. Above, it was mentioned that the orientation of the bow. Considering the orientation of the bow, it reflects on the family backgrounds of the middle class and its fractions. The characteristics of the Cells in Figure 2 can be coloured without taking into consideration the borders of the Cell that are defined in accord with the analytically formed fractions. These fractions are determined as yellow, blue, purple and magenta/pink from below to above.⁸⁶ The cloudings in Figure 2 are marked in the same colour following the quadric bow from left to right. In this way, the colours of the clouding in Figure 2 display the colours of fractions. In other words, the cloudings in Figure 2 can be interpreted as the pioneers of the positions of middle class fractions in social space displayed and discussed in next sections 4.3, and so on. Thus, in the clouding to be formed yellow is the lower fraction, blue is the middle fraction, purple is the upper fraction and magenta-pink is the highest fraction. Taking into account the positions of the clustering, while the blue cloud is the most tightly concentrated cloud, it gathers the middle qualifications of previous generations. The purple is less dense than the blue one, but it shows higher qualifications of previous generations. The magenta/pink is the slightest cloud, and it is positioning far and separated place in social space. It means that the parents of the respondents, who are definitely the middle or big size employers, have distinctive educational, or cultural, levels. It should be interpreted that the respondents in this clouding were growth up in the social environment, which refers higher social, cultural and economic capitals, and they also have the higher compositions and volumes of social, cultural and economic capitals. In other words, it can be said that they comes from the *eşraf* or the ‘traditional middle class’ families, which explained in title 4.1.2. The yellow cloud composes of the lowest parental qualifications as well as the respondents. It is not false to say that the yellow cloud indicates that the elder respondents with lower education and lower occupations come from the families like as themselves. Furthermore, the yellow, blue and purple clouds are closely positioning each other. These mean that these respondents are familiar with some characteristics, and they come across

⁸⁶ In following pages, the fractions of the Turkish middle class are represented with these colours in social spaces.

each other in some places such as districts, work places, or shopping centers, etc. However, the yellow takes too far position from the purple and the magenta/pink each other. As a matter of fact, the yellow and the magenta/pink locate in such far places; thereby, they never or rarely come across each other.

Shortly, as clearly seen in social space in Figure 2, there are two basic findings of this correspondence analysis: 1) The family background determines the class positions in social spaces: the lower social levels of the parents are, the lower middle class of the respondents. 2) The higher family background creates social cleavage between the lower and upper classes.

After the family backgrounds are displayed in social space, the capitals in the following analyses are conducted and displayed to draw the pictures of the fractions of the middle class in social spaces in following sections.

4.3.1. Social Capital in Social Space

Social capital is defined as social relations and resources in section 3.1.5.i., which are acquired through lifelong experiences. It should be added that it covers acquisition via family backgrounds, education and work occurrences as well. According to the output of factor analysis, four levels of social capital are accounted for in section 4.2.1. They were labelled as lower (S1), middle (S2), upper (S3) and highest (S4). Besides the variables included in factor analysis, social capital is basically composed of other relations and resources which bring out kinship, friendship and membership via these institutions.

Considering the relations among human beings, social world is composed of complex connections with people, and around the actors in Bourdieu's sense, as family members, kins, friends, colleagues and members of the same institutions. For these reasons, the associations in social world require more specification⁸⁷ in this study on social capital because social capital is

⁸⁷ Here, it should be noted that the author of the study thinks that the literature on social capital has positive emphasis on the associations among people as capital since she prefers to use 'relations' and 'resources' as descriptive words in defining social patterns, affairs or concerns. However, there are negative qualities of relations and resources, which do not positively support the actors' acquisitions. Although Fine (2010) seriously and ironically criticizes literature on social capital because of its

comprised of various relations, resources, connections and networks from various friendly and formal institutions such as neighbourliness, the *hemşehrilik* (townsmanship), friendship, acquaintanceship from schools, workplaces, beautification/ mutual-aid/ solidarity/ alumni associations, fraternity/cultural/sports/entertainment clubs, faith-based foundations/ communities, and first-rate connections or distant acquaintances (Anheier, Gerhards & Romo, 1995; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Field, 2008; Fine, 2010). For these reasons, to display social capital on social space, the social relations and resources asked for in the scope of the questionnaire were coded as categorical variables, and they were included in multiple correspondence analyses.

Although employment/occupations is defined as one of the main variables of economic capital, its involvement is related to its influences on social capital. Furthermore, such a detailed analyses of social capital provides powerful tools to understand and interpret the socialness of each social level. Recalling the main argument of this study, the Turkish middle class is not a homogeneous structure. On the contrary, it is fragmented in itself and social capital is one of the main determiners with cultural and economic capitals of the middle class fragments.

The cloudings in social space that compose the social capital as the determiner of fractions of the Turkish middle class are displayed in Figure 3.⁸⁸

justification of inequality, stratification and poverty in a positive sense, as mentioned in Chapter Three, his critique stays weak in this appeal literature. Nevertheless, this study does not simply focus on the critique of the literature on capitals. For this reason, the critique on the literature on capitals should be the subject of another study.

⁸⁸ Colours of capitals are symbolized using primary colours and black. The colours preferences for capitals are derived from Bourdieu's imagination about chips in gambling. He uses chips as metaphors to symbolize capitals such as black chips for economic capital, blue ones for cultural capital and red ones for social capital (Field, 2008, p. 16). The yellow framed with khaki for employment status/occupations is added on the fundamental colours of correspondence chart to define and complete all fundamental variables of the fractions. It should also be noticed that the colours for the cloudings are chosen according to the psychological meanings of colours. In common usage, yellow signs dreariness, sadness, gloominess, melancholy, etc; blue is the colour of pain, bitterness, string and distress, purple refers to vanity, flamboyance, ostentancy, glory, etc.; and magenta-pink implies cheeriness, safety, affluence and freedom from financial problems, relaxation, rest and leisure, dexterity or facility. (Retrieved from <http://www.mhilmieren.com/renkler.htm>; <http://www.renklerinanlamlari.com/renklerin-anlamlari.html>) Thus, these basic colours for both the symbols of the capitals and the emotional conditions of the cloudings are the same in all correspondence figures.

When the clouding in the social space is observed without taking into consideration the colours, it can be observed that bigger groupings are situated close to the 0 point and the other cloudings are scattered and rare in the cells. Next to this, the social capital levels which are labelled as S1, S2, S3 and S4 are not situated in a row from left to right in the quadratic bow, but as S1, S2, S4 and S3.

The main reason for this is related to the relations that are used in calculating social capitals that make up the factor analysis. According to the factor analysis output, the highest value of social capital S4 does not receive its degree from relations such as family members and voluntary membership to institutions (NGOs, clubs etc.) but from union membership which requires registered employment in an institution. For this reason, S4 is situated close to the retired and white-collar labels whereas S3 is situated close to the high qualified and employer labels. This sequence of social capital is reasoned the break points of plot of the outputs of the factor analysis.⁸⁹

Having made this explanation, the cloudings in Figure 3, where 19 different variables of social capital are used, it is possible to evaluate it together with the colours that define the levels. The yellow clouding displays at lower social capital and extends to Cell I from Cell II. In this clouding, only the relationship with family members and relatives defined in the factor analysis is at stake. The closest positionings to S1 are closefriend (closefr-) and housewife (hw) which also tag the non-existence of ‘meeting with a close friend in the last one week’.

That is, the social capitals of the respondents within the yellow clouding are composed completely of relations with family and close relatives. In S1, it is observed that the respondents do not go out to eat and are not in any kind of social network that requires a membership. Next to this, S2 level appears to be a clouding that is relatively close to relationships with relatives and service class members.

⁸⁹ The following variables are also not included in correspondence analysis, because they have zero variance: Guest from Fraternity/Alumni, etc. Clubs/Associations in/on the Week/Weekend, Guest from Political Party in/on the Week/Weekend, Guest for Dinner from Fraternity/Alumni, etc. Clubs/Associations in/on the Week/Weekend, and Guest for Dinner from Political Party in/on the Week/Weekend. Hereinafter, only the symbols of the labels of variables used in correspondence analyses are given in the Figures.

A respondent whose social capital is S1 has defined his/her social relations in spatial terms as limited to family and relatives by saying “I never go further than Dışkapı”⁹⁰ and another by saying “My daughter goes to the movie theatre but I don’t.”⁹¹

In S2 social capital level, which is represented in blue, the determining factor is still family and relations with close relatives. In the Blue clouding, it is observed that the respondents do not have any relations other than those with the family and friends met in the last one week. In other words, these people bear a social capital that is centred on the family and relatives as indicated by blue in S2 and yellow in S1. Apart from this, close positionings with S2/blue clouding and border positionings with S4/purple clouding and S3/magenta-pink clouding via relations with the neighbours, and meeting with friends can be observed. Encounters with neighbours and close friends cover simply getting together, does not cover activities such as eating out, house visits or dining together. Moreover, S2/blue clouding displays that there are no encounters at school, work, union, association, and club or with friends. However, when the labels in the clouding are taken into consideration, it is possible to say that this group has the habit of eating out, paying house visits and dining together with others but only their close relatives are included in this network. In this group, similar to S1/yellow clouding, it is observed that there are no social relations that require a membership. Moreover, when employment/occupations is examined closely, it becomes clear that self-employed and blue collar (bc) are situated in the centre of the S2/blue clouding.

Next to this, the respondents who are unqualified service workers (unq) situated in the periphery of the clouding, the middle rank employers and white collar workers in S3/magenta-pink clouding, and the retired people (re) are situated close to the S4/purple clouding.

The labels that are situated close to one another in the cloudings seem to display similar characteristics. Here, what specifically needs to be emphasized is that the social capital of the middle rank employer group remains in the S2/blue clouding.

⁹⁰ Dışkapı is a close neighbourhood to Keçiören.

⁹¹ Field notes.

The most important characteristic of the respondents in S3/magenta-pink clouding is that next to the strong relations with family members and relatives, they also possess strong relations with friends. These respondents, meet with their friends both in the week days and at the weekends, eat out, and pay house visits to one another. White collar workers (wc), high qualified professionals (hq) and small employers are situated in S3/magenta-pink clouding. However, S3/magenta-pink clouding is situated far from S4 level where membership to unions and associations requiring registered employment is existent.

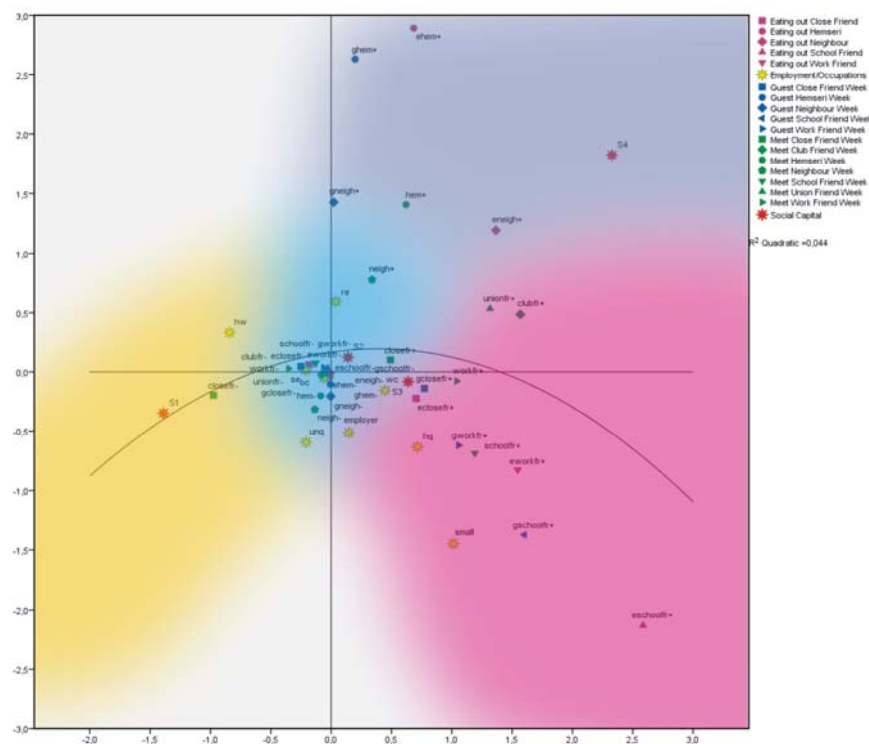


Figure 3. Social Capital in Social Space

Social Capital: S1 (Lower), S2 (Middle), S3 (Upper), S4 (Highest); Employment/Occupations: hw (House Wife), unq (Unqualified Worker), re (Retiree), bc (Blue Collar), wc (White Collar), se (Self-Employed), hq (High Qualified Professional), small (Small Employer), employer (Middle-Size Employer); Eating out with Close Friend: eclosetfr+ (Yes), eclosetfr- (No); Eating out with the Hemşehri (Townsmen): ehem+ (Yes), ehem- (No); Eating out with Neighbour: eneigh+ (Yes), eneigh- (No); Eating out with School Friend: eschoolfr+ (Yes), eschoolfr- (No); Eating out with Work Friend: eworkfr+ (Yes), eworkfr- (No); Guest Close Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: gclosetfr+ (Yes), gclosetfr- (No); Guest Hemşehri (Townsmen) in/on the Week/Weekend: ghem+ (Yes), ghem- (No); Guest Neighbour in/on the Week/Weekend: gneigh+ (Yes), gneigh- (No); Guest School Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: gschoolfr+ (Yes), gschoolfr- (No); Guest Work Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: gworkfr+ (Yes), gworkfr- (No); Meet Close Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: cclosefr+ (Yes), cclosefr- (No); Meet Club Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: clubfr+ (Yes), clubfr- (No); Meet Hemşehri (Townsmen) in/on the Week/Weekend: hem+ (Yes), hem- (No); Meet Neighbour in/on the Week/Weekend: neigh+ (Yes), neigh- (No); Meet School Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: schoolfr+ (Yes), schoolfr- (No); Meet Union Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: unionfr+ (Yes), unionfr- (No); Meet Work Friend in/on the Week/Weekend: workfr+ (Yes), workfr- (No)

The distinctive quality of S4 clouding is that it bears membership both to NGOs, alumni associations/clubs which demand voluntary membership and unions or guilds that require registered membership. Another feature is that relationships of neighbourliness and townsmen/fellowmen that can normally take place between family relations and formal memberships are situated in S4/purple clouding. In this level, a clouding that is looser than the other levels is observable. Although they meet with their friends within the week, all family relations, meeting with friends at the weekend and eating out does not display any clouding on this level. This is due to the relations that receive (+) and (-) values in Table 3. It is possible to say that encounters with friends and eating out are habitualised activities.

Having displayed social capital in the form of family, relatives, townsmen/fellowmen and friends via the cloudings in social space, it is possible to say that as the level of social capital increases the variety of social environments also expands. Moreover, in the capitals literature, it is stated that in relation to social capital, cultural and economic capitals are more fluid and observable. When the cloudings that social capital creates in social space are observed closely, it becomes clear that social capital is less fluid in S4 level although they bear institutionalised social networks. This can be explained by the limitations in friendship.

Primarily, if we take a close look at neighbourliness relations, all middle class segments and 34 % of the respondents declared that they are in contact with their neighbours at different time intervals and in varying manners. Because this research covers settled neighbourhoods in Ankara and that almost half of the respondents have been residing in the same neighbourhood for a long period of time. It designates that the neighbors know each others or are acquainted each other in their districts.

Next to this, most of the respondents who said that they were in contact with their neighbours actually signal at the fact that they are not having problems with their neighbours and to make this clear, they refer to the basic politeness of greeting and having small talk with their neighbours when they come across each other in front of their apartment building, within the floors of the building or within the neighbourhood itself. Weekend gatherings, having neighbours as dinner guests or eating out together; that is, activities that require more time and more detailed arrangement, although such arrangements are existent to some level, are much less common. Eating out with neighbours is not mentioned at all by the lower middle class

respondents. As a matter of fact, this group bears a rare, almost none existent habit of eating out. In contrast, the fieldwork has revealed that drop in visits are much more frequent, especially among lower and middle class women respondents. It is observed that as the class position gets higher, drop in visit frequency declines.

Trade union, political party and fraternity (university, college, graduates etc.) associations, sports-entertainment club membership and social relations that result from these memberships and institutional social relations that result from membership are less frequent compared to family, kinship, neighbour/townsmen relations. The main reason for this is that membership to cultural, sports and entertainment clubs and fraternity (alumni) associations composes slightly more than 10 % of the whole sample. Although lower and highest middle class groups have membership to such institutions, neither of the two groups have mentioned meeting with friends from these environments within the last one week of the interview.

Apart from this, relatives, neighbours or townsmen as well as friends from different environments gather for lunch/dinner within house visits and they all go out together to eat. However, friends from unions/political parties, cultural, sports and entertainment clubs and fraternity (alumni) associations do not visit each other's homes to dine together and also these people do not have lunch or dinner out together either.

4.3.2. Cultural Capital in Social Space

Cultural capital is explained in section 3.1.5.ii with reference to the related literature. Then, it is analytically constructed using factor analysis in section 4.2.2. and the fundamental variables used to constitute cultural capital are displayed in Table 4. In accord with the literature on cultural capital, *objectified* and *institutionalized* cultural capital is used in factor analyses in section 4.2.2. Thus, cultural capital is labeled in four levels as C1 (Lower), C2 (Middle), C3 (Upper) and C4 (Highest) referring to the output of the factor analysis. In this subsection, to recall, cultural capital and the other variables are displayed in social space using multiple correspondence analyses. The 27 variables are used to display *embodied* cultural capital in social space referring to the literature on cultural capital. Thereby, the cloudings of the cultural capital in Figure 4 jointly display the objectified, institutionalized and embodied cultural capitals of the

respondents in the plot of multiple correspondence analysis as social space similar to social capital.

The cloudings in cultural capital are displayed using the colours used in social space, which are C1/yellow, C2/blue, C3/purple and C4/pink. The increase in the cultural capital, as can be observed in Figure 4, is listed as C1, C2, C3 and C4 from left to right in the quadric bow. The sequent clouding of cultural capital, in this respect, is different from the flowery positioning of social capital. C2/blue and C3/purple cloudings which are relatively thinner are situated between C1/yellow and C4/pink cloudings, intercrossing Cell I and Cell III. This kind of clouding displays that different levels of cultural capital only have a relation with the one that is one level higher or one level lower than itself. That is, C1/yellow clouding has a relation with C3/purple and C4/pink cloudings, and C2/blue clouding and C4/pink clouding has no relation with one another. Having briefly evaluated Figure 4, it is now possible to give a description of the features of each clouding.

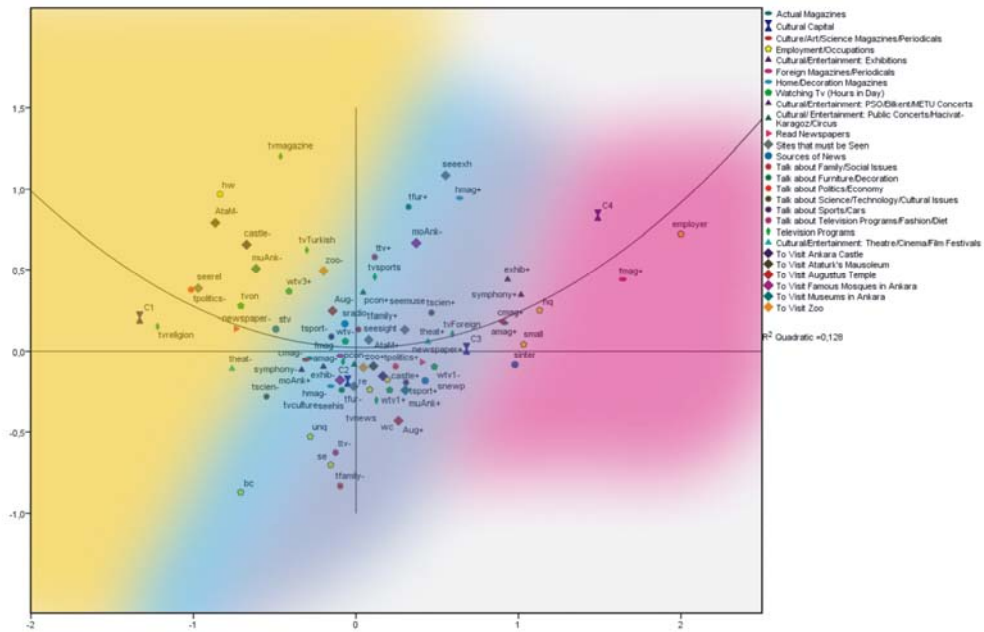


Figure 4. Cultural Capital in Social Space

CULTURAL CAPITAL: C1 (Lower), C2 (Middle), C3 (Upper), C4 (Highest); Employment/Occupations: hw (House Wife), unq (Unqualified Worker), re (Retiree), bc (Blue Collar), wc (White Collar), se (Self-Employed), hq (High Qualified Professional), small (Small Employer), employer (Middle-Size Employer); Actual Magazines: amag+ (Yes), amag- (No); Culture/Art/Science Magazines/Periodicals: cmag+ (Yes), cmag- (No); Foreign Magazines: fmag+ (Yes), fmag- (No); Home/Decoration Magazines: hmag+ (Yes), hmag- (No); Cultural Activities/Entertainment: Go to Exhibitions: exhib+ (Yes), exhib- (No); PSO/Bilkent/METU Concerts: symphony+ (Yes), symphony- (No); Public Concerts/Hacivat-Karagoz/Circus: pcon+ (Yes), pcon- (No); Watching Tv (Hours in Day): wtv- (not Watch tv), wtv1- (Less than 1 hour), wtv1+ (more than 1 Hour), wtv3+ (more than 3 Hours), wtvon (switch on Tv All Day); Read Newspapers: newspaper+ (Yes), newspaper- (No); Sites that Must Be Seen in A City: seemuse (museums), seeexh (exhibitions), seehis (historical places), seesight (sightseeings), seerel (religious/sacred places); Sources of News: snwep (newspaper), stv (television), radio (radio and people), sinter (internet); Talk about Family/Social Issues: tfamily+ (Yes), tfamiy- (No); Talk about Furniture/Decoration: tfur+ (Yes), tfur- (No); Talk about Politics/Economy tpol+ (Yes), tpol- (No); Talk about Science/Technology/Cultural Issues: tscien+ (Yes), tscien- (No); Talk about Sports/Cars: tspor+ (Yes), tspor- (No); Talk about Television Programs/Fashion/Food/Pastry/Diet: ttv+(Yes), ttv-(No) Television Programs Preferred to Watch: tvnews (news programs), tvspor (sports programs), tvculture (cultural programs), tvmagazine (magazine programs), tvreligion (programs on religion), tvTurkish (Turkish movies/serials/musics), tvForeign (Foreign movies/serials/musics), tvwomen (women/marriage programs); To visit Ankara Castle: castle+(Yes), castle-(No); To visit Ataturk's Mausoleum: AtaM+(Yes), AtaM-(No); To visit Augustus Temple: Aug+(Yes), Aug-(No); To visit Famous Mosques in Ankara: moAnk+(Yes), moAnk-(No); To visit Museums in Ankara: muAnk+(Yes), muAnk-(No); To visit Zoo: zoo+(Yes), zoo-(No)

C1/yellow clouding defines the group where housewives are included. This group is dependent to television; they dwell in the city and do not own much furniture. They watch television about 3-5 hours a day or their television is continuously switched on; they receive the daily news from TV, and mostly watch religious programs, magazine news and Turkish films. They are not mobile within the city and they neither participate in cinema/theatre, concerts such as PSO/Bilkent/METU nor in entertainment such as a public concert/Hacivat-Karagöz/circus. Moreover, respondents in this group have never been to the Ankara Castle, Anıtkabir (The Atatürk's mausoleum) or to any one of the museums within Ankara. In fact, they have not even been to the zoo or any one of the big mosques (Kocatepe and Hacı Bayram camii) in Ankara. Moreover, although a wide variety of questions from politics to economy, or from national to world issues were directed to them, they did not bring up any particular issue during the interviews. In short, C1/yellow clouding consists of people who do not take participate in work life, who do not leave their residential area unless there is a necessity and who are dependent to their homes and televisions. Put differently, the cultural repertoire of the group that is labelled as C1/yellow, in Bourdieu's sense, is the group that is defined as low-brow and this group does not have access to the popular repertoire such as cinema and concerts.

C2/blue clouding is the one where blue collars and unqualified service sector workers are positioned. The cultural repertoire and the participation in cultural activities within this group differ from C1/yellow clouding. These results both from the increase in cultural capitals and also from the fact that respondents who participate in work life are positioned in this group. In comparison to C1/yellow clouding the main difference becomes visible in the relatively special definition concerning the cultural repertoire and entertainment activities. This group is relatively mobile within this city. The arbitrary mobility within the city is in the form of going to Anıtkabir, the zoo, and public concert/Hacivat-Karagöz/circus. Beside these, some of the respondents visit the famous mosques in Ankara. That is, the daily talk of this group revolves around family, television and furniture. The daily source of information for this group is the radio and they do not watch television. If they ever do, they watch cultural programs. They read food and pastry magazines, home and decoration magazines, but do not read actual and cultural magazines. Due to the expansion in their cultural repertoire, they tend to visit the historical places, go sightseeing and see the exhibitions when they visit a city for the first time.

Moreover, C2/blue cloud and C3/purple cloud, at first glance, seem to exist together. However, at closer scrutiny, it becomes evident that while C2/blue cloud is made up of (-) labels, C3/purple cloud forms a cluster that is made up of (+) labels. Furthermore, the fact that the two cloudings are together and parallel reflects a long-term interaction. In fact, some of the respondents do signal at the resemblances with the features of C2/blue cloud. For this reason, in terms of visiting Ankara Castle, Augustus Temple and going to the museums and cinema/theatre in Ankara the two cloudings are situated close to one another. In brief, although the two cloudings bear distinctive features, they are positioned close to one another which in Bourdieu's sense reflects the Turkish middle class transition from middle-brow cultural repertoire to high-brow cultural repertoire.

C3/purple clouding is rather different than the two cloudings which have been explained above. This cloud is made up of respondents that are self-employed, retired and white collar. In fact, the fact that there is an increase in their cultural capital and the fact that they are positioned much higher in the employment/occupational hierarchy is reflected on their cultural capital. This group displays cultural distinction from the terms of both the participation in cultural and entertainment activities and the variety of the cultural repertoires they possess. The arbitrary mobility within the city increases in this group and they have also visited the Ankara Castle, the Augustus Temple, the museums in Ankara as well as the exhibitions. They participate in cultural and entertainment activities; they go to the theatre/cinema and PSO/Bilkent/METU concerts. Besides these, their cultural repertoires are highly distinctive; they read newspapers, actual, cultural and also scientific magazines. They take daily news from daily newspapers, and watch television for news as well as foreign programs, serials and movies. They talk about politics and economy, science and technology, and also sports. Taking into account the closeness with C2/blue cloud and C4/pink cloud, in Bourdieu's sense, it could be asserted that C3/purple cloud is closer to high-brow cultural repertoires. Next to this, C3/purple cloud does not have any cultural contact with C1/yellow cloud.

C4/pink cloud is the last clouding with the highest level of cultural capital. This cloud clearly differs from the previous cloudings. High-qualified professionals, small and middle-size employers are positioned in this clouding. This clouding includes several labels, but all of them designate higher cultural capital. The respondents positioned in this cloud read foreign magazines and use internet websites as news sources. Besides these, C4/pink cloud is closer to

higher cultural activities such as going to PSO/Bilkent/METU concerts and visiting museums and exhibitions in Ankara. Indeed, C4/pink clouding in social space is the most distinctive one, and it clearly reflects high-brow cultural repertoires in Bourdieu's sense.

To sum up, four levels of cultural capital involve different combinations of the labels of the related variables of cultural capital. Thus, the different combinations of the labels are clustered by the different characteristics of the respondents in social space, utilizing multiple correspondence analyses to construct the fractions of Turkish middle class.

4.3.3. Economic Capital in Social Space

As explained in section 3.1.5.iii, economic capital consists of cash and assets; and it is defined as the monetary values of economic assets (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Fine, 2010). Actually, as Bourdieu emphasizes, all capitals and also their combinations and volumes are determined by economic capital. This means that higher economic capital maintains easy access to goods and services. In this study, it was previously explained in section 4.2.3 that economic capital is treated as monthly salary and that within the whole sample, the monthly income consists of all income including the one that is attained outside of work. The economic capital categories were labelled as E1, E2, E3, E4 and the employment/occupations categories were displayed in Table 5 and Table 6. In addition, who composes the middle class has been discussed previously. In the most general sense, middle class consists of people who are positioned in the mid 60 % within the income slices. Apart from this, it should be remembered that the importance of possessed assets and things is emphasized for the middle classes within various ways. In fact, most of the authors such as Ayata, 1988, 1989, 2002, 2007, 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Bali, 2004; Bourdieu, 1984; Brooks, 2000; Şimşek, 2005, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, Wynne, 1998) state that the assets possessed by the middle classes is distinctive. Moreover, it is indicated that especially, ownership of car and house and also the expensive durables and electronics produced within new technologies is important for the middle classes.

For this reason, a lot of questions have been asked to the respondents in order to construct the economic capital categories. When the research on income was conducted in 2007, apart from the ownership of a house and a car, questions concerning other assets were directed. These

questions include concerning the number of rooms in the house, physical features of the house such as the existence of a balcony, refurbishments handled so as to make the home more beautiful, plasma television or the existence of a second television in the house, dishwasher, cable or private broadcasting, laptop computer, internet, and digital camera. However, all the questions in the questionnaire have not been included in the correspondence analysis. The association between income and variables that are included in the correspondence analyses have been tested by a 2-way contingency analysis,⁹² and the results of the Chi Square Tests that signal at a significant association were included in the correspondence analyses.

The analyses on economic capital, due to the emphasis on middle classes' house ownership, have been supported via the analyses made and by keeping in mind that the sample is not representative. In fact, in all economic capital levels house ownership⁹³ is very high: This is %65 for EC1, %68 for EC2, %70 for EC3 and %95 for EC4. The type of house and the features of its parts are as important as ownership itself. For this reason, the type of house, the number of rooms and living rooms/parlours/saloons, and the existence of a balcony, a terrace or roof, a garden and a garage have been asked and thus, analysed. Next to this, it should be noted that the only question at stake here is not ownership but also the relationship between refurbishment⁹⁴ and economic capital. Although refurbishment is observed in all economic capital levels, what necessitated it differs according to economic capital levels of the respondents. Refurbishment and repairment were done for necessity in low economic capital levels whereas they were done due to taste and out of necessity in high economic capital levels. %65 of the EC1 group did not make any alterations in their houses. %60 of EC4 respondents, on the other hand, made alterations for their own taste in the kitchen, bathroom, by modifying the toilet, adding the balcony to the interiors, or painting the house, which are all details that they did not previously like and felt the need to change. Although the respondents in the higher group acknowledge that the physical conditions in their houses are relatively better because the houses are new, they still had refurbishment done according to their own taste. One respondent, by saying, "The house

⁹² As noted before, a 2-way contingency analyses and Chi-Square Tests (X^2) didn't apply on social and cultural capitals, which are accounted by factor analyses using multiple variables. However, economic capital is categorised only monthly income. Thus, 2-way contingency analyses and Chi-Square Tests (X^2) are conducted between income and other variables. The results of these tests are given in footnotes.

⁹³ House ownership ($X^2= 16.78$; $df=6$; $p= 0.01$, Cramer's $V=0.144$).

⁹⁴ Refurbishment ($X^2= 53.85$; $df=6$ $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.259$)

was not a complete mess, but still one feels the need to alter it according to his/her own taste.” reflected the attitude towards refurbishment. This is also reflected in the generally used expression “new house, new furniture” definitive of refurbishment necessary for expressing taste. Another respondent justified refurbishment by saying that the house was second hand and it was necessary to clean up the mess left from the user before.⁹⁵ In Chapter 5.2 the purchasing of new furniture for a new home will be dealt with in more detail, especially concerning home decoration.

Car ownership⁹⁶ is similar to house ownership and refurbishment: It is more or less specified as for EC1 %50, for EC2 %70, for EC3 and EC4 %95. While the number of cars within the household increases as economic capital increases, the transition from local brands to mid-level foreign brands and the ownership of more than one luxury car can clearly be observed. As luxury cars BMW, Mercedes, Volvo, Audi and jeep can be listed. For lower economic capital levels, ownership of a car is perceived as something that would make ‘transportation easier’ while in upper economic capital levels it is perceived as ‘a vehicle that should be secure and with high dexterity’. That is, in upper economic capital levels there is a strong emphasis on the security of the car which would ensure the security of both the user and his/her family.⁹⁷

For economic capital, the equipment included in the correspondence analysis is relatively expensive durables and electronic devices. These are: more than 1 television,⁹⁸ plasma/LCD television,⁹⁹ notebook/laptop computer,¹⁰⁰ internet/DSL connection at homes,¹⁰¹ cable television,¹⁰² satellite dish,¹⁰³ satellite broadcasting,¹⁰⁴ DVD player,¹⁰⁵ digital camera,¹⁰⁶ dish

⁹⁵ Field notes.

⁹⁶ Car ownership ($X^2= 157.72$; $df=6$; $p= 0.00$, Cramer’s $V=0.443$)

⁹⁷ Field notes. It should be noticed that the issues of ‘safety’ and ‘security’ have different dimensions, i.e. neighbourhoods, houses, cars and other possessions, kindergardens, schools, parks for kids, shopping malls, in literature on the middle- and upper-classes. However, the dimensions of safety and security are not included in the frames of the study.

⁹⁸ More than 1 television ($X^2= 31.70$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer’s $V=0.281$)

⁹⁹ Plasma/LCD television ($X^2= 83.32$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer’s $V=0.456$),

¹⁰⁰ Notebook/Laptop Computer ($X^2= 106.35$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer’s $V=0.516$)

¹⁰¹ Internet/DSL connection at homes ($X^2= 59309$; $df=9$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer’s $V=0.384$)

¹⁰² Cable television ($X^2= 65.04$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer’s $V=0.404$)

¹⁰³ Satellite dish ($X^2= 1.79$; $df=3$; $p= 0.618$; Cramer’s $V=0.07$)

washer.¹⁰⁷ Besides these, number of credit cards,¹⁰⁸ types of savings,¹⁰⁹ private health insurance,¹¹⁰ private life insurance¹¹¹ and turning for help/support¹¹² are included in the correspondence analyses. Thus, economic capital is analysed via income, employment/occupations, house and car ownership and other valued durables and electronics in the houses. As a result, multiple correspondence analyses for economic capital is constructed using 28 related variables. Thereby, economic capital in social space is displayed in Figure 5.

Before colouring the cloudings formed by economic capital in the social space, from a general perspective, it is seen that the horseshoe appearance of the quadric bow is directed towards the bottom. The distributions of the labels in Cell VI, which start as a dense clouding, move forward by becoming rare in Cell III, Cell II and Cell I, and situated near the quadric bow. The cloudings in Figure 5 are coloured, similar to the figures coming before. When we take a look at the colourings, it can be observed that, similar to the one in cultural capital, the cloudings are from bottom upwards and they are ordered as EC1/yellow, EC2/blue, EC3/purple and EC4/ magenta-pink. Thereby, the clouds which are neighbour each other show similarity in their intersections; however, the clouds that are far from each other do not have similar traits. After these general explanations on the Figure 5, the cloudings should be detailed according to the characteristics of labels.

¹⁰⁴ Satellite broadcasting ($X^2= 53.45$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.366$)

¹⁰⁵ DVD player ($X^2= 58.75$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.383$)

¹⁰⁶ Digital camera ($X^2= 67.83$; $df=9$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.412$)

¹⁰⁷ Dish washer ($X^2= 44.05$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.332$)

¹⁰⁸ Numbers of credit cards ($X^2= 78.14$; $df=6$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.312$)

¹⁰⁹ There is not significant association. But it shows the capacity and ways of savings.

¹¹⁰ Private health insurance ($X^2= 58.06$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.380$)

¹¹¹ Private life insurance ($X^2= 44.05$; $df=3$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer's $V=0.332$)

¹¹² There is not significant association. But it shows the mechanisms of help/support.

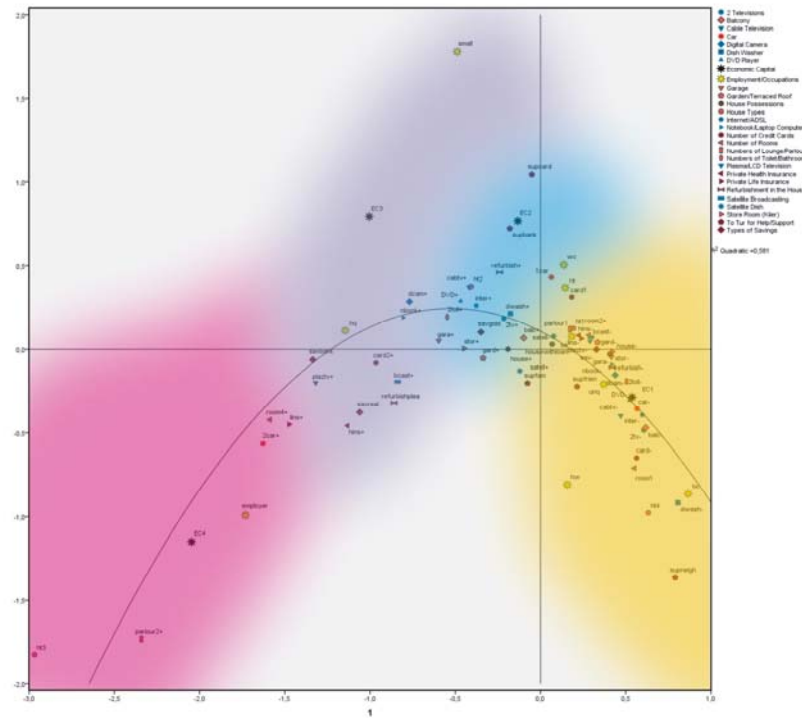


Figure 5. Economic Capital and Assets

ECONOMIC CAPITAL: Economic Capital: EC1, EC2, EC3, EC4; Employment/Occupations: hw (House Wife), unq (Unqualified Worker), re (Retiree), bc (Blue Collar), wc (White Collar), se (Self-Employed), hq (High Qualified Professional), small (Small Employer), employer (Middle-Size Employer); 2 Televisions: 2tv+ (Yes), 2tv- (No); Balcony: balc+ (Yes), balc- (No); Cabblo Television: cabtv+ (Yes), cabtv- (No); Car: car- (no car), 1car (Yes), 2car (Yes); Digital Camera: dcam+ (Yes), dcam- (No); Dish Washer: dwash+ (Yes), dwash- (No); DVD Player: DVD+ (Yes), DVD- (No); Garage: gara+ (Yes), gara- (No); Garden/Tarred Roof: gard+ (Yes), gard- (No); House Possessions: house- (No), housewithloan (Yes), house+ (Yes); House Types: ht1 (Apartment Building), ht2 (Dublex/Triplex), ht3 (Villa), ht4 (Detached House/One-floor House); Internet/ADSL: inter+ (Yes), inter- (No); Notebook/Laptop Computer: note+ (Yes), note- (No); Numbers of Credit Cards: card- (No Credit Cards), card1 (1 Credit Card), card2 (more than 2 Credit Cards); Numbers of Rooms: room1 (1 parlour & 1 room), room2+ (1 parlour & 2-3 rooms), room4+ (1 parlour & 4 and more Rooms); Numbers of Lounge/Parlour: parlour1 (1 Parlour), parlour2+ (2 & more Parlours); Numbers of Toilet/Bathroom: 2toil+ (Yes), 2toil- (No); Plasma/LCD Television: plaz+ (Yes), plaz- (No); Private Health Insurance: hins+ (Yes), hins- (No); Private Life Insurance: lins+ (Yes), lins- (No); Refurbishments in the Houses: refurbish+ (Yes), refurbishplea (refurbishment for Pleasure), refurbish- (No); Satellite Broadcasting: bcast+ (Yes), bcast- (No); Satellite Dish: satell+ (Yes), satell- (No); Store Room: stor+ (Yes), stor- (No); To Turn for Help/Support: supneigh (Neighbours), supbank (Bank Credits), supcard (Credit Cards), supfrien (Friends), supfam (Family); Types of Savings: sav- (No), savgold (Gold/Currency etc.), savbank (Bank Accounts/Stocks/Bonds), savreal (Land/Real Estate).

The EC1/yellow cloud represents the lowest level of economic capital. When all labels are taken into consideration, the densest clouding is in this group. However, the reason of this dense of clouding is that all of the variables about the possessions make up the economic capital are (-) within this group. Housewives, blue-collars and unqualified service class workers and self-employed respondents are in this cloud. The most important characteristic of the respondents within this group is that they live in a detached house/one-floor house or in houses with one room and a living room/parlour. That is, EC1/yellow cloud is made up of people who do not have a car, a house or any expensive durables or electronics. Moreover, they do not have any credit card, private insurance or health insurance. The respondents who would borrow from their friends or neighbours in case of an economic hardship belong to this group. However, what this group understands of economic hardship is not a major one. The economic hardship they refer to is being 'short of daily cash'. What they mean is more related to everyday shopping for necessities such as bread, milk, yoghurt and. This has been observed during the field study. Some of the interviewees responded to this question using an idiom and said that 'they do not spend more than they earn'. Moreover, they said that under unexpected circumstances such as an illness, they would turn to their family for help. This last feature is grouped close with the blue cloud which is grouped upper. Next to this, as this group moves closer to the one above the number of respondents who own a house are higher and more of them live in houses with two rooms and a living room, use a credit card and a satellite dish.

In EC2/blue cloud, compared to EC1/yellow cloud there is a slightly scarce cloud. When the values that the labels receive are taken into account, there are significant differences between the two. Retired and white-collar respondents are positioned between the two clouds. The respondents are owners of their houses and cars. While they live in houses with a garage, garden, cellar, two bathrooms and which are triplex or duplex, they do refurbishment in their houses for necessity, not for taste. In this cloud, the respondents use the brands that are not very expensive together with these more common durables and electronics. Such durables and electronics are labelled as 2 and more televisions, dishwasher, cable television and internet/DSL and as seen in Figure 4, they receive a (+) value. Moreover, the respondents who have a credit card either use their credit cards or take a bank loan if there is an economic hardship. They even have a chance to save with gold. Although they have an interaction with EC3/purple cloud, their common

features can be boiled down to the usage of camera and notebook/laptop. It could be said that the transition area between the two clouds is relatively empty.

EC3/purple cloud, on the other hand, shows even more vivid difference than the other two clouds. This grouping which is made up of small employers and high qualified professionals display a rather scarce and dispersed positioning. In fact, the possessions and activities of this group can easily be distinguished from the other two groups. This group owns expensive durables such as plasma/LCD televisions and did refurbishment in the house according to their taste. Their main difference lies in the fact that they own more than two credit cards, they have the savings as bank account/stocks/bonds, and they have aimed at real estate, a house/land/property.

The last cloud EC4/magenta-pink is the one that displays a scarce distribution. This group shows no resemblance with EC1/yellow or EC2/blue clouds as there is no intersection point between them. It is even rather different than EC3/blue cloud which is positioned just before EC4/magenta-pink. EC4/magenta-pink is made up of middle size employers who possess 2 or more luxurious cars, live in villas with 2 living rooms/parlours and 4 or more bedrooms. Moreover, they have private life insurance. When compared with the other three clouds, the respondents in EC4/magenta-pink cloud live in an isolated manner in segregated neighbourhoods together with people who share the same social, cultural and economic capitals with them.

Having explained the cloudings of economic capital in social space, the social, cultural and economic capitals that will be used in defining Turkish middle class fractions are completed. In the next subsection, the groupings that capitals compose in social space and the fractions of Turkish middle class will be defined.

4.4. Fractions of the Turkish Middle Class in Social Space

“I’ve got the money, I’ve got the chance!”¹¹³

(One of my close friends says ironically these words whenever we talk about her spending)

In this title, the fractions of the Turkish middle class are constructed and defined, on the basis of the cloudings of labels of employment/occupations, family background and the capitals in social space, and the explanations about them that were given in previous sections of this Chapter. It should be kept in mind that the sampling in this study is non-representative, and therefore the findings of the study are not generalized to the whole population in Ankara, or Turkey. The findings are, however, the analytical results of the quantitative research. As remembered, the dissertation is theoretically based on Bourdieu’s approach to social, cultural and economic capitals, habitus and the distinction of life-styles and tastes among the fractions of a given society. It also follows Bourdieu with regard to statistical analyses of the data, by conducting multiple correspondence analyses. In addition to these, the concept of middle class is derived from the literature on social stratification and social classes. Thus the middle class is, accordingly, described as an occupational and employment status, adopting the ‘service class’ definition as defined by the British sociological approach. On the basis of these preferences, the designed questionnaire was applied in two districts, Çankaya and Keçiören, in Ankara.

Before demonstrating the fractions of the middle class in social space, a short reminder is required about the analyses conducted and the colours representing the cloudings in the social space: The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents are shown in Figure 1, the family backgrounds in Figure 2, social capital in Figure 3, cultural capital in Figure 4, and, finally, economic capital in Figure 5. As will be recalled, same colours represent same levels in all figures, and the groupings coloured in similar colours of the levels of the capitals.

¹¹³ “Para var, imkan var!”

To conduct the fractions of the Turkish middle class, multiple correspondence analysis is conducted using social, cultural and economic capitals and employment/occupations, and the joint plot as Figure 6 displays the associations among them in social space. The outcome of this analysis also allowed the author to formulate different fractions of the middle class in a specific Turkish context. The data actually showed a differentiation into four distinct subcategories as cloudings. The clouds are labelled as *Lower/Bitter Middle Class*; *Middle/Resentful Middle Class*; *Upper/Contemptuous Middle Class*; and *Well-off/Happy Middle Class*. As the names given to these categories suggest, they have to be considered as combinations of structural and socio-psychological characteristics. In developing these labels, in-depth talks with producers, designers, architects, retailers, users, fair representatives etc., as well as insights collected from furniture/decoration magazines and newspaper supplements, were used in addition to the survey results, which basically cover the material conditions. The cloudings are coloured as yellow for the Lower/Bitter Middle Class; blue for the Middle/Resentful Middle Class; purple for the Upper/Contemptuous Middle Class; and magenta-pink for the Well-off/Happy Middle Class. The joint plot of correspondence analyses and the four clouds are displayed in social space in Figure 6. As aforementioned, the questions about life-styles and tastes were directed to the respondents, and these findings have been explained in previous sections. The horseshoe shape of the quadratic bow is directed towards the bottom, similar to the case of economic capital. The fractions from the lower to the highest are located from the left to the right of the Figure 6.

The Lower/Bitter Middle Class is the first cloud, and it is coloured in yellow. It can easily be observed that the lower/bitter middle class is rigorously composed of two parts. The first part consists of lower levels of social and cultural capitals (C1, S1), and lower occupational positions –such as housewives, and blue-collar workers. These labels clearly make up a separate and compact cloud. The second part is relatively closer to the blue cloud of the middle/resentful middle class. This part encompasses EC1 and unqualified service workers.

When the determinants of the capitals are considered, the concrete part of the bitter/lower middle class is a socially closed relationship, and generally spends time with their family, rarely with their first-step relatives, and drop-in visits to their neighbours. In general, they are not mobile in the city, and they did not visit the famous places of Ankara. Indeed, this part is the family- and television-stuck part of the bitter/lower middle class. Beside these, housewives are usually less

educated and are dependent on a single male breadwinner, their social activities remain restricted to family/kin and neighbours, these seem to be typical for the lower middle classes.

Considering the labels of cultural capital, only a portion of them had finished primary education. The yellow cloud in Cell I, where we observe dense clouding, is composed of housewives, who could not join working life, and those occupational groups that could work only as unqualified workers, and hence are at the lowest end of occupational hierarchy. Yet the economic capital of the yellow cloud, EC1, is located closer to the blue cloud. The reason for this is that the respondents clustered in the yellow cloud have relatively higher economic capital, while they have lower levels of social and cultural capitals. In short, the yellow cloud representing the lower/bitter middle class fraction is composed of S1, C1, and EC1 on the two-dimensional graphic of correspondence analysis. Housewives are usually less educated, and are dependent on a single male breadwinner, with their social activities restricted to family/ kin and neighbours, a situation that seems to be typical for the lower middle classes.

The Resentful Middle/Middle Class is the second cloud (left-upper quarter) coloured in blue, and is less concrete than the first one. The second levels of capitals (S2, C2 and EC2) construct the hub of the blue cloud. The centre is loosely surrounded with unqualified employees, self-employed, retired and white-collar respondents. While this cloud is distant from the bitter/lower middle class, it has closer proximity to the two higher-level categories. Specifically, it is closer to the Contemptuous/Upper Middle Class. This cluster can be supported by Veblen's (1954) interpretation that people will imitate those in higher positions. Lamont (1992), after studying French and American middle classes, labelled this process as 'moral inclusion and exclusion processes'. Hence, the form of the cloud with the position of capitals and employments designates the emulative capacity, especially taste and aesthetics of the resentful middle class, which is subject to the case study chapter.

The Upper/Contemptuous Middle Class is marked as the third cloud in purple. It is flimsier compared to the middle/resentful middle class. The most important point for the upper/contemptuous middle class is the unconstrained form which is built up with third levels of cultural and economic capitals and small employers. Besides these, the fourth level of social capital is clearly observed in this flimsy cloud, and the proximity of high-qualified professionals. The looseness originates from the level of social capital (S4). As can be remembered, social

capital includes the membership of the trade unions, interest and charity organizations. S4 is positioned closer to the registration of official employment, such as white-collar and retirees. The distinctive characteristic of S4 is based on the members of trade unions because of their occupations. In other words, the purple cloud is composed of S4, C3 and EC3. Although the upper/contemptuous middle class seems to have interconnections with the middle/resentful middle classes, it has visible distance with the lower/bitter middle class. It can be said that they have negative feelings for those in the lower social strata.

The Well-Off/Happy Middle Class is labelled as the fourth and magenta-pink cloud. They are high-qualified professions and medium size employers with the highest economic and cultural capitals, and third level of social capital. The most important point for them, especially those with the highest social capital, is their distance to all other fragments. Given that they possess highest levels of cultural and economic capitals, and employ highest two occupational status, they can be considered to enjoy a self-appointed qualification. They do not have any connection with other fragments, especially with the lower/bitter and middle/resentful fractions. However, they are comparatively interrelated with those who are highly qualified professionals and have higher levels of social capitals. The distances and interconnections of the well-off/happy fraction with other fractions can be explained by the fact that they live in isolated middle-class neighbourhoods, and work in isolated workplaces, and use their private automobiles to commute to work. The exceptions are their employees or the housekeepers they employ as domestic labourers. They just prefer to live without any everyday contacts with the others unless necessary. However, their unconnected lives should not be considered as disregardful and neglectful behaviour towards other lower fragments and class(es). Rather, the contact types are different from the relationships with family members, kins, friends, and also neighbours who have been positioning in more or less equal capitals. Mostly, they have information about the life and working conditions, social and cultural values of all other fractions, as well. In other words, they have not equal relations with them. They are positioned specifically far away from those with the highest social capital. It can be said that, as seen on the Figure, the well-off/happy middle class distances itself most obviously from the lower/bitter middle class and from those with the highest social capital. Shortly, they have distinctive life-styles, tastes, as seen in next

chapter. In point of fact, as one of the author's friends says, the economic condition of the well-off/happy middle class can be defined like as 'there is the money, there is the chance.'¹¹⁴

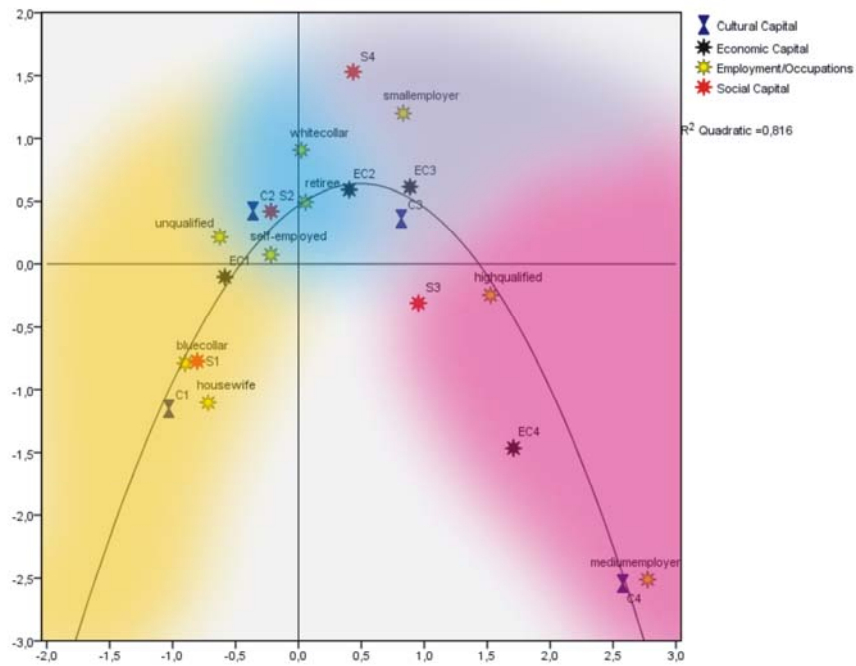


Figure 6. Fractions of Turkish Middle Class in Social Space

FRACTIONS OF THE TURKISH MIDDLE CLASS: Social Capital: S1 (Lower), S2 (Middle), S3 (Upper), S4 (Highest); Cultural Capital: C1 (Lower), C2 (Middle), C3 (Upper), C4 (Highest); Economic Capital: EC1 (Lower), EC2 (Middle), EC3 (Upper), EC4 (Highest); Employment/Occupations: housewife (House Wife), unqualified (Unqualified Service Workers), retiree (Retiree), bluecollar (Blue Collar Workers), whitecollar (White Collar Workers), self-employed (Self-Employed), highqualified (High Qualified Professionals), smallemployer (Small Employer), mediumemployer (Middle-Size Employer).

¹¹⁴ "Para var, imkân var."

After the definition of the fractions of the Turkish middle class in social space on Figure 6, the fractions should be specified within the relations with districts, social origins, age and sex, which have important influences on life-styles and tastes. As remembered, the study was conducted in two districts of Ankara, and although the spatial differentiation was not the focus of the study, there is significant difference between the two districts with respect to the distribution of fractions. Considering the distribution of the fractions, while the lower/bitter and the middle/resentful fractions live in Keçiören, the upper/contemptuous and the well-off/happy fractions live in Çankaya. Specifically, none of the members of the highest/well-off fraction live in Keçiören. If the respondents come from urban and the eşraf origins, they are placed in higher occupational status. Thereby, they mostly are the members of the upper/contemptuous and well-off/happy fractions and generally live in Çankaya. At the same time, they are generally the members of the 'new' middle class, indeed high-qualified service class or high-qualified entrepreneurs. On the other hand, if the respondents come from rural origins and lower occupational status, they take place in the lower/bitter, and sometimes middle/resentful fractions. Furthermore, they mostly live in Keçiören and they are the members of 'traditional' or 'old' middle class like as self-employed and shopkeepers, green grocers in shop or in market.

Considering the family backgrounds from rural or urban, and specifically the employment/occupation of the fathers, the lower/bitter and middle/resentful fractions come from rural or small city origins, the upper/contemptuous and well-off/happy fractions originate from urban, big or metropolitan city. Beside these, if the respondents come to Ankara in the process of migration from rural to urban, their district differs from the location of their hometowns. In other words, the migrant respondents in Keçiören are mostly from the inner, eastern, south-eastern and north-eastern parts of Anatolia, while those in Çankaya have mostly migrated from coastal areas such as Antalya, Denizli, Bursa, Mersin.¹¹⁵ Thereby, the social origins of the upper/contemptuous and well-off/happy fractions also support the works of Durakbaşı (2010)

¹¹⁵ The point made in footnote 20 should be consulted here. It is also possible to offer such an explanation: Given the theories on immigration from rural to urban, and the particular conditions of Turkey, those coming from the coastal areas can be assumed to arrive in the city in relatively better conditions, with higher levels of education, social, cultural, and economic capital, and therefore in a more advantageous position to access and benefit from the advantages of the city. Such a conclusion seems plausible, considering the social origins of the upper/contemptuous and highest/well-off middle class fractions, and other sources such as the narratives in the autobiographical novels of Karaosmanoğlu (2006a, 2006b). Further interpretation of the findings, however, would exceed the limits of this study, and could be recommended as a subject for further studies.

and Karadağ (2010) considering the social roots of the local notables defined as the ‘traditional middle class’. In other words, the respondents with rural background are mostly located in the lower/bitter fractions, with only a few of them seen in the middle/resentful, upper/contemptuous or well-of/happy fractions. The great majority located in the lower/bitter fraction are housewives, or employed in lower and middle occupational positions. As a result, if the respondents with rural backgrounds and located in the resentful, contemptuous or well-off middle classes, except the housewives, they are observed to gain access to the advantages of the city to a certain extent, and obtaining a place for themselves in the urban space.

It should be emphasized at this point that, both Bourdieu (1986) and the literature on stratification and capitals highlight the effect of the father’s occupation on the capital configuration and occupational status of the children. Bourdieu’s (1986) finding that attendance to higher education is significantly low among working class children is supported with the clouding in Figure 2 of the family background. The effects of family background on occupational structures and upward mobility, and thus on the middle class fractions, are widely emphasized by the American literature, too (Blau and Duncan, 1967). As a result, it can be said that the family backgrounds are positively affected of the fractions of the agents in Turkish case, as well. It is also among the findings of the study that the children of the lower/bitter middle class, the group that is closest to the working class, are mostly directed to occupational education.

Moreover, in literature, the compositions and volumes of capitals of the agents’ are accumulated over time. To compare this argument with the Turkish case, two-way contingency analyses of the associations were calculated between ages and accumulation of social, cultural and economic capitals (lower, middle, upper and highest). The results display that there was a significant association between age and social capital; between age and cultural capital; and between age and economic capital (monthly income).¹¹⁶ Table 7 shows crosstabs of the capitals and ages.

¹¹⁶ Significancies are between age and social capital ($X^2= 10.51$; $df=9$; $p= 0.31$, Cramer’s $V=0.092$); between age and cultural capital ($X^2= 30.9$; $df=9$; $p= 0.00$; Cramer’s $V=0.16$); and between age and economic capital ($X^2= 23.09$; $df=9$; $p= 0.06$; Cramer’s $V=0.138$).

Table 7

Capitals and Ages

| Capital /Age Number (% within Column) | | -35 | 35-46 | 46-55 | 56+ | Total |
|--|---------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Social | Lower | 16 (16,8) | 23 (23.2) | 31 (19.6) | 14 (22.2) | 84 (20.2) |
| | Middle | 58 (61.1) | 52 (52.5) | 72 (45.6) | 31 (49.2) | 213 (51.3) |
| | Upper | 20 (21.1) | 24 (24.2) | 52 (32.9) | 18 (28.6) | 114 (27.5) |
| | Highest | 1 (1.1) | 0 (0.0) | 3 (1.9) | 0 (0.0) | 4 (1.0) |
| Total | | 95 (100.0) | 99 (100.0) | 158 (100.0) | 63 (100.0) | 415 (100.0) |
| Cultural Capital | Lower | 8 (9.0) | 23 (23.5) | 29 (18.7) | 16 (27.6) | 76 (19.0) |
| | Middle | 50 (56.2) | 50 (51.0) | 57 (36.8) | 21 (36.2) | 178 (44.5) |
| | Upper | 31 (34.8) | 24 (24.5) | 57 (36.8) | 20 (34.5) | 132 (33.0) |
| | Highest | 0 (0.0) | 1 (1.0) | 12 (7.7) | 1 (1.7) | 14 (3.5) |
| Total | | 89 (100.0) | 98 (100.0) | 155 (100.0) | 58 (100.0) | 400 (100.0) |
| Economic Capital (Income) | Lower | 18 (19.6) | 33 (35.1) | 36 (23.4) | 18 (29.0) | 105 (26.1) |
| | Middle | 53 (57.6) | 47 (50.0) | 67 (43.5) | 26 (41.9) | 193 (48.0) |
| | Upper | 18 (19.6) | 10 (10.6) | 29 (18.8) | 9 (14.5) | 66 (16.4) |
| | Highest | 3 (3.3) | 4 (4.3) | 22 (14.3) | 9 (14.5) | 38 (9.5) |
| Total | | 92 (100.0) | 94 (100.0) | 154 (100.0) | 62 (100.0) | 402 (100.0) |

As can be observed from Table 7, the distribution of capitals is concentrated in the middle levels for each age group. For cultural capital, the respondents between 46 and 55 years old have the same rate as the middle and upper levels. Actually, by considering the literature, the expectation will be that the respondents over 56 years old have the highest composition and volume of the capitals. However, the findings on the compositions and volumes of capitals do not match with literature. It should be notice that the main reason is non-representative sampling. Moreover, the well-established urban facilities, such as education, occupations or transportation were not accessible for all new comers from rural to urban forty or fifty years ago.¹¹⁷ In other words, the elder respondents with rural origins did not capitalize themselves from urban facilities to improve themselves. As seen in Table 7, in spite of the significant association between ages and capitals, the condensation of capitals in the middle levels should be interpreted as becoming

¹¹⁷ Danielson & Keleş (1985). *The Politics of Rapid Urbanization*, New York and London: Holmes & Meier. pp. 27-49.

elder does not provide the accumulation of capitals. Rather, it is reasons of the accumulation of lived experiences in Turkish case. Beside these, age not only determines the combinations and volumes of the capital, but also influence life-styles and tastes because of the change the routines and daily activities in the houses. The roles of ages are explained in section 2.3.

Sex has similar effects on life-styles and tastes. However, it is not direct effect on the combinations and volumes of the respondents. When sex is carefully evaluated to understand and explain its effects on the fractions, it is not determine the class fractions. Rather, sex influences life-styles and tastes. Both Bourdieu (1984) and Ayata (2002) have found that gender is one of the social factors determining taste, and emphasized that, as the level of cultural capital increases, particularly in the upper/contemptuous and the well-off/happy categories, men are more interested in home furnishing and decorating. The male respondents to the questionnaire, on the other hand, considered the topic of the survey as "women's business", and directed the interviewers to their wives or other women in the household. What is observed here is that, rather than being a factor determining the fractions, gender is factor in the shaping of the interest in home furnishing and decoration.¹¹⁸ The role of gender in the study has been described in the section 2.3.

After all these explanation, the fractions are crosstabulated with districts and ages. These are seen in Table 8.

While the lower/bitter fraction mostly lives in Keçiören (70.6 %), a small group lives in Çankaya (29.4 %). The middle/resentful fraction is clearly higher in Çankaya (72.6 %) then Keçiören (27.4 %). The upper/contemptuous fraction is also higher in Çankaya (85.3 %) than Keçiören (14.7 %). If the elder respondents have higher combinations and volumes of the capitals, as seen in table, they prefer to live in Çankaya. Finally, none of members of the well-off/happy fraction live in Keçiören.

¹¹⁸ Particularly in some regions of Turkey, gender has a significant effect on the acquisition of social, cultural, and also economic capitals. This study was, however, conducted in the capital city of Turkey, where urban services are relatively accessible for both sexes. Consequently, this study is not focused on the gender issue in Ankara.

Table 8

Fractions, Districts and Ages

| Fragments/ Neighbourhood/ Age Frequency (% of Total) | | -35 | 36-45 | 46-55 | 56+ | Total |
|---|----------|------------|--------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| Bitter | Çankaya | 11 (5.0) | 17 (7.8) | 23 (10.6) | 13 (6.0) | 64 (29.4) |
| | Keçiören | 38 (17.4) | 45 (20.6) | 51 (23.4) | 20 (9.2) | 154 (70.6) |
| | Total | 49 (22.5) | 62 (28.4) | 74 (33.9) | 33 (15.1) | 218 (100.0) |
| Resentful | Çankaya | 18 (15.4) | 15 (12.8) | 37 (31.6) | 15 (12.8) | 85 (72.6) |
| | Keçiören | 11 (9.4) | 11 (9.4) | 8 (6.8) | 2 (1.7) | 32 (27.4) |
| | Total | 29 (24.8) | 26 (22.2) | 45 (38.5) | 17 (14.5) | 117 (100.0) |
| Contemptuous | Çankaya | 4 (11.8) | 3 (8.8) | 16 (47.1) | 6 (17.6) | 29 (85.3) |
| | Keçiören | 1 (2.9) | 1 (2.9) | 3 (8.8) | 0 (0.0) | 5 (14.7) |
| | Total | 5 (14.7) | 4 (11.8) | 19 (55.9) | 6 (17.6) | 34 (100.0) |
| Well-Off | Çankaya | - | 1 (9.1) | 10 (90.9) | - | 11 (100.0) |
| | Total | - | 1 (9.1) | 10 (90.9) | - | 11 (100.0) |

After the construction of the fractions of Turkish middle class, and explanation the relations between the fractions, districts, social origins, age and sex, the other important factor is mentioned in this context. This is related to education levels of the children of the respondents. The children's education levels differ in the two districts. The children of the respondents in Keçiören are observed to attend ordinary public secondary schools, and few of them attend universities outside Ankara. On the other hand, the view is significantly different in Çankaya. The children of the respondents in Çankaya are attending either successful high schools or the super or Anatolian high schools¹¹⁹ or private colleges, and they attend (or graduated from) universities in Ankara, i.e. Ankara, Hacettepe, Bilkent, Middle East Technical University or even continuing graduate education abroad.¹²⁰ Especially, the children with higher social,

¹¹⁹ They are well-established state high schools in Turkey.

¹²⁰ The value of children and their children, which are important for the middle class (Bourdieu 1984, 1986; Çelik, 2001; Harris, 2001), is beyond the subject of this study. The education of the children of the respondents has been mentioned, however, since the tastes of the children, particularly of the educated ones affect the decorations of the houses. This point will be discussed in Chapter 5, in relation with the life-styles and tastes.

cultural and also economic capitals reflect on the respondents' life-styles and tastes. For this reason, the children's education levels are shortly explained in this section.

4.5. Concluding Remarks: The Habitus of the Turkish Middle Class Fractions

In this chapter, the arguments of this dissertation about inner-stratification of the Turkish middle class are discussed and its fractions are constructed through statistical analyses. Before to do these, Ankara is historically overviewed, and the Turkish middle classes are defined through literature in Turkey about social structure, social classes, and also recent debates on middle class(es) and lifestyle. Then, the social, cultural and economic capitals, which are theoretically defined previous chapter, are accounted by utilizing factor analyses. Thus, each capital wıth employment/occupations are categorized in four levels as lower, middle, upper and highest according to the output of the factor analyses and monthly income levels. With respect to literature on the capitals, the supportive elements of each capital are accounted. Then, multiple correspondence analyses are constructed utilizing with related variables. Thereby, the constitutive elements of the fractions are displayed in social spaces of correspondence analyses plots, and the levels of capitals are coloured as yellow for lower, blue for middle, purple for upper and lastly magenta-pink for highest levels.

Thus, social, cultural and economic capitals as the fundamental elements of class fractions are analytically constructed step-by-step. As the results of all these steps, social cultural and economic characteristics of the Turkish middle classes are determined, and four fractions are labelled in final correspondence analyses. These four fractions of the Turkish middle class are called as lower/bitter middle class, the middle/resentful middle class, the upper/contemptuous middle class and finally the well-of/happy middle class.

Thereby, the author developed her theoretical and conceptual tools to shed light into the distinction among the fractions of Turkish middle class through life-styles and tastes. The author instrumentalized furniture, furnishing and decoration in the houses to examine and explain the distinction among the fractions. In the next chapter, firstly life-styles are scrutinized through some activities, i.e. daily routines, activities and habits on eating, entertainment, leisure and holidays. Secondly, tastes are investigated through home furniture, furnishing and decorative

objects in the houses. Thus, the distinction of the Turkish middle classes is defined following Bourdieu's theory and also methodology in Ankara case.

CHAPTER 5

LIFE-STYLES AND TASTES OF THE TURKISH MIDDLE CLASS FRACTIONS

5.1 Introductory Remarks

“No comments for colours and tastes!”¹²¹

(A common saying in Turkish, anonymous)

In previous chapters, the methodology of the study, the socio-demographical profiles of the respondents, the theoretical and conceptual framework, and the fractions of the Turkish middle class(es) were defined. The main argument of this dissertation, aforementioned in research questions and scope of the study, is grounded on the assumption that there is not a single middle class. Rather, the middle class is fragmented, and each fragment has its own life-styles and tastes. Thus, in this chapter, the arguments on the distinction of the fractioned Turkish middle class life-styles and tastes are statistically demonstrated through multiple correspondence analyses. The cloudings of the fractions on social spaces are painted in colours in parallel with the previous figures: yellow for the lower/bitter fraction, blue for the middle/resentful fraction, purple for the upper/contemptuous fraction, and magenta-pink for the well-off/happy fraction.

This chapter is composed of two subsections on the life-styles and tastes of the fractions of Turkish middle class. In the first section, life-styles are analysed through the respondents' daily practices and everyday activities inside and outside of the houses. These consist of practices and activities such as having a separate sitting room, using cleaners/maids for housework, taking off shoes inside the houses, utilizing urban cultural facilities, using and visiting urban spaces and historical/monumental places, holiday habits and preferences outside of the houses as well as ceremonies and celebrations for/with family members, hobbies and leisure activities. Two multiple correspondence analyses are conducted to display life-styles. While the variables are employed to analyse daily routines and everyday life in social space in Figure 7, the variables are employed to analyse the use of urban spaces and urban facilities in social space in Figure 8.

¹²¹ “Renkler ve zevkler tartışılmaz!”

Thus, the relations between the fractions of the Turkish middle class and their life-styles are displayed on figures of multiple correspondence analyses in social space.

In the second section, tastes are analysed through home furniture, and auxiliary and decorative items. Primarily, furnishing styles are defined according to the responses to questions about furniture, accessories and decoration in living spaces in the middle class houses. Each furnishing style is categorized according to the similarities and differences among forms, adornments, patterns, and materials of furniture, complementary and decorative items in living spaces. The descriptions of furnishing styles are outlined with respect to the respondents' answers to questions directed for the questionnaire, in informal small talks, structured interviews, personal conversations and observations, as well as by consulting the history of art, and magazines on interior design, decoration and furniture or home and decoration. Furnishing styles provided not only information, but also guided the research about the essential reference points of the tastes in the houses of Turkish middle class(es). Subsequently, the relations between different middle class levels and their furnishing styles in the living spaces, and their tastes are analysed with multiple correspondence analyses. Finally, the clouding of the fractions and their tastes are displayed on the correspondence figure.

Following the analytical demonstration and description of the life-styles and tastes of the fractions through multiple correspondence analyses, the characteristics of each fraction are summarized as final findings of this dissertation in the last section of this chapter. Thus, a Bourdieuan analysis of distinction among the Turkish middle class fractions are concluded with respect to their life-styles and tastes through their daily life and practices and home furniture and decoration in living spaces.

5.2. Life-Styles as Stylized Lives

The meaning and framework of life-styles are defined in title 3.1.3, with reference to the relevant literature in social theory, particularly Bourdieu (1984). In this section, life-styles of the fractions of the Turkish middle class are analysed within the framework drawn in title 3.1.3. In broadest terms, life-styles refer to the stylized daily routines and everyday habits. Life-styles are analysed by employing a total of forty-two (42) variables, without the labels of social, cultural and

economic capitals and employment/occupations. However, when multiple correspondence analyses are conducted with fifty variables with labels, the cloudings were not clearly displayed on the figures as social spaces. For this reason, the variables are divided into two categories. The first category includes variables most related to activities and routines in everyday life. This first category is named as ‘life-styles’ within multiple correspondence analyses employing twenty-nine variables. The output plot is shown in Figure 7. The second category consists of variables related more with mobility in urban spaces. In order to display the mobility of fractions within the city, respondents were questioned about their intentions related to the places they visit. This category, called as ‘use of urban spaces’, displays the places preferred for cultural activities such as cinemas, theatres, concert halls, and bookstores. Consequently, the aims of mobility in urban spaces are subjected to multiple correspondence analyses employing twenty-one variables. The variables employed for ‘life-styles’ and their labels are displayed under Figure 7, and those for ‘use of urban spaces’ are displayed under Figure 8. Life-styles are analysed and explained under the next section.

5.2.1. Life-Styles through Habits, Routines and Activities in Everyday Life

In this title, the regular activities and routines in everyday life are analysed and described the characteristics of each clouding in Figure 7. The cloudings have the identical colours with the fractions in Figure 6. In the description of the nature of the cloudings, however, characteristics related to family backgrounds, as shown in Figure 2, were also taken into consideration.

Considering the distribution of labels within the social space, leaving the colours aside, we observe a dense clouding at the intersection point of the X and Y axes, and less denser distributions around this clouding towards the lower left corner of Cell I and from Cell III to the lower right corner of Cell IV. Such a distribution, staying within the sample of this study, can be considering as demonstrating that the Turkish middle class possesses, in the broadest sense, a certain life-style including certain activities and routines. At a closer look, however, it can be detected that the dense clouding at the centre is a consequence of the composition and volumes of capitals of middle and upper levels, while the scattering at the left side is a consequence of the lower level, and the scattering at the right side that includes relatively more labels a consequence of the highest levels. Furthermore, the economic capital of each clouding is positioned in

proximity to the labels that constitute the life-style of the upper fraction. This, in turn, is in conformity with the relative liquidity of economic capital compared to the social and cultural capital components of habitus, as argued in the literature on capitals.

As seen on Figure 7, the quadric bow is faced downwards. When the colours of the fractions are added onto the cloudings in the Figure, the concentrations of the labels are coloured with blue and purple around the '0' point of X and Y axes. Following the quadric bow from right to left, magenta-pink is positioned on the right side, and yellow on the left of the Figure. This positioning of the clouds demonstrates the most important and primary finding on life-styles of the fractions: While the middle/resentful and upper/contemptuous fractions are familiar with each other, there is a clear distance between lower/bitter and well-off/happy fractions, and a visible distance between their neighbour fractions in the social space. After the expression of this primary finding, each cloud can be carefully investigated and the distinctive characteristics of the fractions life-styles in social space defined.

The first cloud is the yellow cloud, and it symbolizes the lower/bitter fractions with the combinations of C1 and S1, and EC1. It should be noticed that EC1 is positioned on the border with the yellow and blue clouds and touches with the middle/resentful middle class fractions. The main reasons are that the respondents with relatively higher levels of EC1 are positioned closer to the blue cloud in the social space, and that their economic capital is closer to the labels of the blue cloud. Recalling the respondents' social and cultural capitals, the most important characteristic of this fraction is a socially closed relationship. They prefer to live in close neighbourhoods with their relatives. Generally, their social relations are composed of relations with family members, first-step relatives and neighbours at home, and their social relations consist of the drop-in visits by kins and neighbours, and the boarding visitors coming from their hometowns. In other words, they spend their time with their family and their next-door neighbours at home. When the social origin, education and occupation/employment of their fathers, mothers and grandfathers are taken into consideration, this fraction originates from rural social origins.

The yellow clouding is composed of the labels of lower levels of employment/occupations, such as housewives and blue-collar workers of variables. Furthermore, the most *distinctive* characteristic of the lower/bitter fractions covers or locates closer the labels that symbolize the

‘lack’ of habits, routines and activities, which refer to life-style elements of everyday life in the relevant literature. The grouped labels are basically related to habits and routines about dinner tables, and frequencies and places of eating out, going on vacation, giving or receiving gifts in special days.

The first distinctive characteristic for this fraction is the lack of any habit of going out for dinner, as can be clearly seen in Figure 7. The respondents said that they had never eaten out, except when they did out of necessity such as going to hospital.¹²² Some respondents have justified the lack of habits to eat out by emphasizing the unknown and untrusted ingredients and materials used in foods sold and served outside.¹²³ They always prefer to cook their food themselves, at their houses. For the lower/bitter fraction, the time spent in the kitchen demonstrates their habits and routines in the houses. The labels “three hours or more a day spent in the kitchen” and “no time spent in the kitchen” are located very close to the yellow cloud.¹²⁴

The second distinctive characteristic is that this fraction does not have a habit of celebrating birthdays, St. Valentine’s Day, mother’s and father’s days, and giving and taking gifts among family members. Some respondents said that such celebrations were not a part of their everyday life.¹²⁵ Going on vacation is another activity they never perform. However, as seen in Figure 7, some respondents specified that they go to their hometown on holidays. It should be noticed that such holidays for the lower/bitter fraction refers to ‘hometown visits’ to see elder family members and relatives. To the question on holidays, their responses were that they didn’t go on vacations, or didn’t have such habits, and added that sometimes they visit their hometown to see and show respect to their elder relatives and to visit and pray for their ancestors in the graveyards.¹²⁶

¹²² Field notes. One respondent’s words: ‘I have never [eaten out]... My husband ordered pitta once when I was at hospital...’

¹²³ Field notes. In the words of some respondents: ‘We don’t have the habit of eating out.’ ‘We don’t know what they put [in them].’ ‘I don’t eat any food other than what I cook myself.’ ‘No food like what you cook yourself.’ ‘I don’t trust the food sold and served outside.’

¹²⁴ The amount of time spent in the kitchen differs significantly between women and men of the lower and working class. This difference is related to the gendered roles as emphasized in gender studies. These are common gender roles for lower social strata and working class.

¹²⁵ Field notes. ‘We don’t know such things...’ ‘We don’t celebrate ...’ ‘I have never done so.’

¹²⁶ Field notes. ‘We don’t go on vacation’, ‘We don’t have a habit of making holidays. We sometimes go to our hometown, in order to visit our elders and to pray at the graves of our deceased ones.’

The third distinctive characteristic is about hobbies. When the question on hobbies was directed to the respondents, they generally answered that they didn't have any hobby or didn't have such habits; but in some cases they added shopping as a hobby. However, taking into account their economic capital and their daily routines and activities, shopping does not refer to spending money in shopping activity. Rather, it designates the 'desire' to spend time and money in shopping and to buy whatever they want.¹²⁷ One of the respondents emphasized the importance of economic capital to have hobbies in the following way: 'Where is the money for a hobby... That is something for the rich'.¹²⁸

Respondents within this cloud were the only ones that expressed that they continued to eat their meals sitting on the floor, as they used to do in their childhood. Given the findings of Figure 1 and Figure 2, together with the age, education and social origins of the respondents in this group, the lower/bitter fraction clouded in Figure 7 is composed of blue-collar working men and middle-aged and older, unemployed women with primary school degree at most and with rural background. The habit of eating on the floor, which refers to a more rural habitus, is therefore located in the life-style of this fraction.

In previous works (i.e. Bourdieu, 1984; Chaney, 1996, 2002; Harris, 2001; Miles, 1998; Miller, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2002; Wynne, 2000), life-style is conceived as a set of practices and attitudes that make sense in particular contexts. Thus, eating habits, such celebrations with giving and taking gifts, and taking a break to work and going on a holiday are indicators of relatively higher integration with urban lifestyle as well as consumer culture and consumerism. In this context, these findings should be interpreted as demonstrating that celebrations of special days, and going on holiday are not habits and routines of daily life for the lower/bitter fraction.

The second cloud is the blue cloud, and it follows the yellow one on the quadric bow. The blue cloud symbolizes the middle/resentful middle class fraction within the social space, and it consists of the labels of idle levels of capitals S2, C2 and EC2, and second level occupations as unqualified workers, self-employed, retirees and white-collar employees in the occupational

¹²⁷ Field notes. 'I like shopping ... buying anything I want ... that is my hobby...'

¹²⁸ Field notes.

hierarchy. The labels located at the region where the blue cloud intersects with the yellow cloud or in proximity to this region are those labels with (-) signs that refer to 'lack' of habits, routines and activities in everyday life, similar to the lower/bitter fraction. The blue cloud, including also the (-) signed labels, demonstrates that the middle/resentful fraction possesses knowledge about the habits, routines, and activities of those fractions with higher levels of combinations and volumes of capital. Due mostly to reasons related to economic capital, however, this fraction could not adopt these habits, routines and activities in their daily lives, and thus make them a part of its own life-style. Questions related to relatively more expensive habits that signal the habits of those fractions with higher levels of economic capital are usually answered with a certain level of envy and slight jealousy towards higher classes. The respondents emphasized their limited economic capital as the most important reason for not having such habits, routines and activities. The home- and relatives-based social relations of the lower/bitter fraction, on the other hand, are slowly being replaced with out-of-house habits and activities such as meeting with close friends, dining outside and in shopping malls, going to picnics, or on vacations.

The groupings within the blue cloud of the labels signifying the life-style of the middle/resentful fraction differ in a range from those closer to the yellow cloud to those closer to the purple one. The area closer to the yellow cloud includes the 'lack' labels of the variables. That the negative (-) labels are located in this area signifies that the respondents are informed about those habits, routines and activities they do not possess. For instance, their economic capital may not be enough to own or rent a big house with additional rooms to furnish as guest bedrooms or to frequently eat out. While some of them don't have any hobbies, what others do as hobbies are such handworks like knitting, sewing, lacework and needlework/embroidery, or Ebro and wooden work, or cooking and pastry making. Economic hardships, above anything else, usually oblige them to limit their expenses for entertainment and clothing. They also don't regularly go to beauty parlours/hairdressers, spend time at steam rooms/saunas/SPAs, or use dry cleaning and employ cleaner/maid; they don't celebrate St. Valentine's Day or do sports in open air. While male respondents never spend time in kitchen, female respondents spend more than three hours a day in kitchen.

The area at the middle of the blue cloud includes mostly the ordinary habits, routines and activities. All three employment/occupations within this fraction are located in this middle area. The respondents rarely eat outside, and when they do, they prefer *pide* shops. They usually eat at

table, and serve local or traditional foods, and water and fizzy drinks for their guests. The frequency of going to picnic varies among the respondents; and the sites preferred for this purpose are the countryside or parks and gardens. They may not regularly go to brunches, or to steam rooms/saunas/SPAs but they are informed about these. Though not regularly, they sometimes employ cleaners/maids for housework.

The area located closer to the purple cloud, on the other hand, contains those labels considered as the indicators of the life-styles of the upper fractions defined, in the literature on life-style, as “stylized lives including, goods, services and activities”. This area, now the life-style of the middle/resentful fraction, approximates to the *distinctive* life-style of the upper-fraction. From this point onwards, the respondents are white-collar respondents. These respondents that generally dine at the kitchen table, sometimes go to the food courts of shopping malls; and for picnics, they prefer restaurants specially designed for picnics. Even if they are not regular members of sports complexes/centers, they go on sea, sun and nature vacations. The respondents celebrate St. Valentine’s Day, exchange gifts with their family members and entourage on special days. Some of them spend less than one hour in kitchen, the others spend more than one hour in a day, but none of them spends more than three hours in kitchen. Some expressed reading as a hobby. What should be emphasized here is that those having a separate living room and those who do not, and those regularly go to *hamam*, and those do not, are located in this area located close to the purple cloud. While it may seem contradictory for these groups to be located in the same area, that it is positioned in the middle of the densest clouding indicates how widespread the habits of having a living room or going to *hamam* are. In short, this transitory area bordering on the purple cloud displays the stylized habits, routines and activities in everyday life of the middle class fractions.

The distinctive characteristics of the middle/resentful fraction could not be defined by taking into account only the labels under the purple cloud in social space. The expressions of the respondents are more significant in defining their resentful emotions than the labels, such as when they respond to questions about guest bedroom, eating out, hobbies, holidays and regular habits such as going to beauty parlour/hairdresser and steam room/sauna/SPA, and using dry

cleaner and cleaner/maid for housework.¹²⁹ While women expressed their resentful emotions more clearly, men didn't express such reflections. Rather, they generally said they didn't go on holiday for a long time because of hardworking, or they exemplified their hobbies such as camping, playing cards or chess. One elder man, for instance, complained about women's resentful emotions, the way they talked about the furniture, houses, and children of others, calling these as gossip, whining or backbiting.

The distinctive characteristic of the blue cloud is the envy or jealousy towards the habits, routines, and activities of the upper fractions, those that they are informed about but could not adapt due to the limits of their economic capital. These feelings find expression, particularly in the responses of women with regard to the habits, routines and activities they do not (could not) perform or possess. Closer to the purple cloud, however, the importance of those goods and services associated with consumption and consumerism in the literature on life-style.

The third cloud is the purple cloud, and it symbolizes the upper/contemptuous fraction of the middle class. This purple cloud comprises S4, C3 and EC3, and small employers as employment/occupations. The social relations of this fraction, with the white-collar employment/occupations positioned at the upper left, close to S4 also taken into account, encompass memberships to schools, union, sports, entertainment, culture, and solidarity associations, and friendships gained by membership to associations such as alumni organisations. Additionally, this fraction has stylized lives with habits, routines and activities as well as goods and services which are emphasized as indicators of higher fractions' life-styles. The respondents usually eat outside, but do not picnic. They prefer eating at the coffee table when at home, and serve drinks such as beer and raki at dinner to their guests. The respondents regularly do sports in sport complexes/centres, go to beauty parlours/hairdressers, use dry cleaners and regularly employ cleaners/maids for housework. While they have bedroom for guests, in response to the question about the expenses they first limit in times of economic

¹²⁹ Field notes. For instance, after giving negative answers to related questions, a female respondent added: "it is all up to how much money you have ... who wouldn't want to go on vacation..." An elder woman expressed: "I would also like to wander around without doing anything ... but no chance". One adult woman said: "[Brunch] too much money ... I can cook the best [patisserie] ..." In another adult woman's words: "handiwork, lacework, pastry, these are my hobby..." Another woman responded to a question on hobbies by saying: "I attended the lacework and needlework/embroidery courses of the Ministry of Education, and I prepared the wedding treasure of my daughter on my own, all for free."

hardship, they generally answered that they didn't limit any expenses, and then they added if it was required, they cancelled expenses for the equipment for house.¹³⁰ Beside these, they have hobbies such as arts, listening to music and singing, playing musical instruments and painting, sports games, and home, garden and decoration. When they go to holiday, they prefer going with friends. As can be observed in the social space, all labels have positive (+) values, except going to picnic. Indeed, as aforementioned, this fraction has stylized lifestyles, as referred to in the literature on lifestyle.

¹³⁰ Field notes. ("I have never had to limit my expenses ... If I had to, I would stop spending for the house ... I wouldn't buy furniture.")

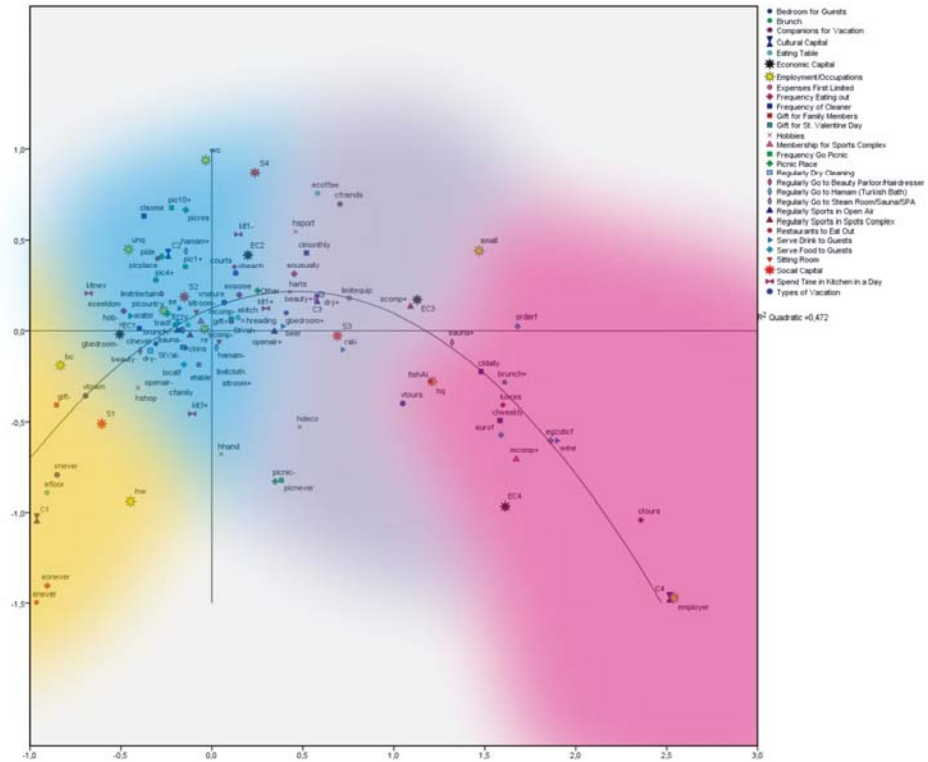


Figure 7. Life-Styles through Activities and Routines in Social Space

LIFE-STYLES: Social Capital S1, S2, S3, S4; Cultural Capital: C1, C2, C3, C4; Economic Capital: EC1, EC2, EC3, EC4; Employment/Occupations: hw (House Wife), unq (Unqualified Worker), re (Retiree), bc (Blue Collar), wc (White Collar), se (Self-Employed), hq (High Qualified Professional), small (Small Employer), employer (Middle-Size Employer); Bedroom for Guests: gbedroom+ (Yes), gbedroom- (No); Brunch: brunch+ (Yes), brunch- (No); Companians for Vacation: cfamily (family), cfriends (friends), ctours (tours), ckins (kins); Eating Table: efloor (floor table), etable (table), ekitch (kitchen table), ecoffeee (coffee table); Expenses First Limited: limitcloth (Clothing), limitntertain (entertainment), limitequip (equipment); Frequency Eating out: eously (more 10 times a month), eosome (3-9 times in a month), eoseldom (1-2 times in a month), eonever (not eat out); Frequency of Cleaner: clnever (never), cldaily (daily), clweekly (weekly), clmonthly (monthly), clsome (sometimes); Frequency to Go Picnic: picnever (never), pic1+ (1-3 times a year), pic4+ (4-9 times in a year), pic10+ (more than 10 times in a year); Gift for Family Members: gift+ (Yes), gift- (No); Gift for St. Valentine Day: StVal+ (Yes), StVal- (No); Hobbies: hob- (no hobbies), hreading (reading), harts (arts), hsport (sports), hdeco (home, garden & decoration), hhnad (handworks), hshop (shopping); Membership for Sports Complexes: mspor+ (Yes), mspor- (No); Picnic Places: picnic- (not go picnic), picres (restaurants for cook yourself), picplace (parks and gardens designed for picnic, recreation and other activities); Regularly Dry Cleaning: dry+ (Yes), dry- (No); Regularly Go to Beauty Parlor/Hairdresser: beauty+ (Yes), beauty- (No); Regularly Go to Hamam (Turkish Bath): hamam+ (Yes), hamam- (No); Regularly Go Steam Room/Sauna/SPA: sauna+ (Yes), sauna- (No); Regularly Sports in Open Air: openair+ (Yes), openair- (No); Regularly Sports in Sports Complexes: scomp+ (Yes), scomp- (No); Restaurant to Eat out: enever (never eat out), courts (food courts in shopping centres/malls), pide (pide/kebab restaurants not serve alcoholic), fishAl (restaurants serve alcoholic), luxres (luxurious restaurants); Serve Drink to Guests: water (water/mineral water), fizzy (fruit juice/fizzy drinks), beer (beer), wine (wine), raki (raki/vodka); Serve Food to Guests: tradf (traditional home cooking), localf (local food), orderf (I order food from a restaurant), eurof (various European food), egzotief (original and egzotic food); Sitting Room: sitroom+ (Yes), sitroom- (No); Spend Time in Kitchen in a Day: kitnev (never), kit1- (less than 1 hour), kit1+ (1-2 hours), kit3+ (3-4 Hours), kit5+ (more than 5 hours); Types of Vacation: vnnever (not go vacation), vbeach (beach), vtown (hometown), vtours (tours), vnature (camping, sailing, mountaineering, climbing, etc.)

The fourth cloud is the magenta-pink cloud, and it symbolizes the well-off/happy fraction of the middle class. It comprises S3, C4 and EC4, and high-qualified professions and middle-size employers as employment/occupations, which are the highest levels of the occupational hierarchy in the sampling of this study. The social origins of the respondents in this fraction are based on metropolitan city, and their parents and grandparents worked in higher employment/occupation status. They have more friendship-based social relations than family-based relations. This fraction does not only adopt the habits, routines and activities that are defined as the indicators of the life-styles of upper classes, but it also spends money and time for these kinds of goods and services. When they go out for dining, they prefer eating at fish and steak restaurants or at luxurious restaurants with alcoholic drinks served. Beside these, when they have guests for dinner, they order special food from restaurants, or cook and serve European style and exotic dishes. In addition, they regularly go to brunches and stream rooms/saunas/SPAs, and regularly employ daily or weekly cleaner/maid for housework. As can be observed in the social space, this fraction has all kind of goods and services asked to define the distinctive characteristics of the respondents according to the indicators of life-styles described in lifestyle literature.

The respondents in this fraction expressed their everyday routines emphasizing the importance of time for themselves and for their family. One elder male respondent expressed that coming home tired, he wanted spend his time for rest, spending quality time with his daughters, reading, listening to music, and doing things he liked if time left, and deal with nothing else, and that a trusted daily or weekly cleaner/maid provides for him the time for all these. Some respondents also expressed that they preferred going to brunch or eating out with friends, hence saving time for dialogue leaving the service to others. Furthermore, some of the respondents expressed their preference for joining tours, abroad or inside the country, with their friends, and hence going to different destinations each time, meeting different cultures, seeing different places and activities, instead of buying a summer house and spending holidays at the same location each year. In short, the well-off/happy fraction expresses its distinction from the other fractions by emphasizing the habits, routines and activities that give them pleasure.

Life-styles, together with the habits, routines and activities, are also associated with the use of urban spaces for various purposes. The 'use of urban spaces' combines with horizontal mobility within the city, due to work/business, participation in cultural activities, or cultural consumption,

shopping, meeting with family members and friends, and will be analysed in the next section. Thereby the definition of the life-styles of the Turkish middle class is completed.

5.2.2. Life-Styles through Use of Urban Spaces

The Figure 8 depicts the output of a multiple correspondence analysis employing a total of twenty-one variables, including the social, cultural, and economic capitals and employment/occupations, together with seventeen variables related to the “use of urban spaces”, which constitutes a determinant of life-styles, as mentioned in section 5.2.1. Each fraction is symbolised by the same colour pattern with the previous Figures. The selected places are the most common and famous places in the central city of Ankara and the well-known shopping malls. Kızılay, Tunalı Street and Ulus/Samanpazarı are chosen as districts representing the central city. The selected shopping centres are Migros/AnkaMall, Armada and Bilkent Centre as shopping malls, Arcadium, Optimum, Migros FTZ as shopping centres close to neighbourhoods, and Beğendik and Carrefour as two famous department stores. Kızılay, Tunalı Street and Ulus/Samanpazarı are the city centres most frequented for the mentioned activities. These sites have certain characteristics. Samanpazarı/Ulus is historically the first city centre of the period when Ankara was declared as the capital of the Republic; currently it is known as mostly a site of the working class, and is in close proximity to Keçiören. Kızılay is a site where public institutions are densely located since its first construction, and hence known as the site of the white-collar employees. Tunalı Hilmi, finally, is an avenue at the centre of Ankara, covered with the most famous and expensive stores. It is also famous for movie theatres, cafés, bars, pubs, and bookstores. These features make it a place for the upper strata. Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi are within the borders of Çankaya.

When selecting the urban places in order to demonstrate the ‘use of urban spaces’ in the social space, their uses for work-related reasons were excluded. What is considered is the use of these places for those purposes named as ‘cultural consumption’ in the literature on lifestyle and consumption. Cultural consumption is defined as attending cultural activities such as cinema, concerts, theatres and visiting bookstores in order to check for and buy books, magazines, and music or movie CDs/DVDs. The uses of these sites by the urban people for outside-of-house

activities, such as shopping, meeting with family members and friends, and walking around were also included in the analysis.

In recent times, the physical centres of shopping have become the new social and entertainment arenas, and spending time at shopping and purchasing things have become a leisure activity on its own (Akçaoğlu, 2008; Bocock, 1992; Martin, 1993; Tutalar, 2008). The shopping centres are now mostly used for eating, drinking, walking around, watching movies and purchasing a few things; hence they embody gazing, viewing, and watching as a major social activity. This looking at objects, places, events and other people has a wider meaning than consumption of goods and services (Bocock, 1992; Miller, 2000). For this reason, shopping centres were included in multiple correspondence analyses to detect the life-styles of the fractions of the Turkish middle class. The use of urban spaces in Ankara is displayed for each fraction in social space in Figure 8.

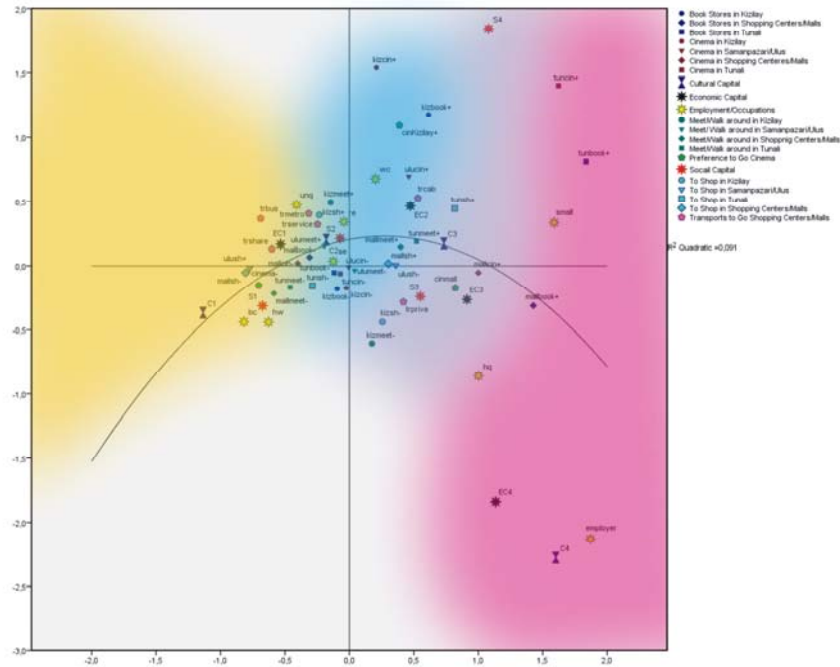


Figure 8.

Use of Urban Spaces in Social Space

USE OF URBAN SPACES: Social Capital S1, S2, S3, S4; Cultural Capital: C1, C2, C3, C4; Economic Capital: EC1, EC2, EC3, EC4; Employment/Occupations: hw (House Wife), unq (Unqualified Worker), re (Retiree), bc (Blue Collar), wc (White Collar), se (Self-Employed), hq (High Qualified Professional), small (Small Employer), employer (Middle-Size Employer); Book Stores in Kizilay: kizbook+ (Yes), kizbook- (No); Book Stores in Shopping Centers/Malls: mallbook+ (Yes), mallbook- (No); Book Stores in Tunalı: tunbook+ (Yes), tunbook- (No); Cinema in Kizilay: kizcin+ (Yes), kizcin- (No); Cinema in Samanpazari/Ulus: ulucin+ (Yes), ulucin- (No); Cinema in Shopping Centers/Malls: mallcin+ (Yes), mallcin- (No); Cinema in Tunalı: tuncin+ (Yes), tuncin- (No); Meet/Walk around in Kizilay: kizmeet+ (Yes), kizmeet- (No); Meet/Walk around in Samanpazari/Ulus: ulumeet+ (Yes), ulumeet- (No); Meet/Walk around in Shopping Centers/Malls: mallmeet+ (Yes), mallmeet- (No); Meet/Walk around in Tunalı: tunmeet+ (Yes), tunmeet- (No); Preference to Go Cinema: cinema- (not go cinema), cinKizilay+ (Kizilay), cinshopping+ (Shopping Centers/Malls); To Shop in Kizilay: kizsh+ (Yes), kizsh- (No); To Shop in Samanpazari/Ulus: ulush+ (Yes), ulush- (No); To Shop in Shopping Centers/Malls: mallsh+ (Yes), mallsh- (No); Meet/Walk around in Tunalı: tunmeet+ (Yes), tunmeet- (No); Transports to Go Shopping Centers/Malls: trservice (service cabs of shopping centers/malls), trmetro, (metro), trbus (bus of public transports), trshare (share private cars of family members/kins/friends), trecab (cab), trpriva (private cars themselves)

The use of urban spaces by the lower/bitter fraction in social space is symbolized with the yellow cloud. As can be recalled, the lower/bitter middle class has a house- and family-dependent habitus. The yellow cloud points out that, among the selected urban spaces, Samanpazarı/Ulus is the only one used by the lower/bitter middle class fraction, comprising housewives, blue-collar and unqualified workers, for purposes of shopping or meeting with friends, and walking around. They use public transportation, buses or dolmuş, for going to Samanpazarı/Ulus. It has already been mentioned that Samanpazarı/Ulus is very close to Keçiören and is preferred mostly by the working class, which, in turn, is in conformity with the combination and volume of capitals of the lower/bitter middle class.

The use of urban space by the middle/resentful middle class, comprising the self-employed, retiree and white-collar, is symbolised with the blue cloud. Among the members of the middle/resentful fraction symbolized with the blue cloud, some use Kızılay for all kinds of activities included in the analysis. Those who use Kızılay for the determined activities are positioned closer to the S4, which resides in the purple cloud. This fraction also uses the shopping malls/centres for purposes of shopping and meeting with others or walking around. While those at the lower levels of middle/resentful fraction prefer the subway and the service buses of the shopping malls/centres, this fraction is positioned closer to other forms of public transportation. Closer to the upper fraction, however, members of this fraction also use taxis. This finding is supported by the fact that Kızılay is the hub of subway networks, and that it is associated with the white-collar employees.

The upper/contemptuous middle class fraction, finally, is symbolized with the purple cloud in the social space. While not including a certain level of employment/occupations in this group, it is positioned closer to the ‘white-collar’ from the lower fraction and high-qualified professions and the self-employed from the upper fraction. Furthermore, the social capital of this fraction also includes S3 together with S4, which implies that the forms of social relations and mobility within the city differs from the other two fractions, as we get closer to the upper-middle class. The upper/contemptuous middle class prefers Tunalı Hilmi and shopping malls for cinemas and shopping, and never uses Samanpazarı/Ulus or Kızılay. It has proximity with only the label signifying the use of Kızılay for bookstores. The upper/contemptuous middle class does not use public transportation; private car is the only form of mobility within the city. This finding is in conformity with the combination and volume of classes of the upper/contemptuous middle class.

The well-off/happy middle class fraction, comprising high-qualified professions, and small and middle employers, is symbolized with the magenta-pink cloud in the social space. The clouding of this fraction is flimsier in comparison to the cloudings of other fractions, and is spread along the Cell III and Cell IV at the right side of Figure 8. This kind of a distribution evinces the differentiation of the well-off/happy middle class in terms of use of urban space, and combinations and volumes of capitals. That is to say, while those who prefer Tunalı Hilmi for cinemas and bookstores approximate to those respondents with social capital at the level of S4, those who prefer the shopping malls approximate to the respondents with social capital at the level of S3. The well-off/happy middle class fraction never uses public transportation, using private cars instead for mobility. They also do not Samanpazarı/Ulus and Kızılay for any of the activities mentioned. Their preference for Tunalı Hilmi can be explained with its proximity and the shopping malls for their easy access by car. In short, the urban mobility of the well-off/happy middle class, living exclusively in Çankaya, consists merely of Tunalı Hilmi and shopping malls.

Figure 8 demonstrates the positioning of the Turkish middle class fractions, analytically defined, in social space. The interrelationships and relative positions of the fraction are in parallel to the positions of life-styles in social space. As can be clearly observed in Figure 8, that is to say, fractions are in contact with only those fractions that are positioned adjacent to them. The ‘use of urban space’ and ‘life-style’ of fraction in social space, therefore, display quite similar characteristics. In other words, limited to the sample, with regard to life-styles, as well as urban spaces, the upper/contemptuous and well-off/happy middle class fractions do not have any contact in social space with the lower/bitter fraction, or the well-off/happy middle class fraction with the middle/resentful fraction.

Through the conduct of a multiple correspondence analysis, employing forty-six (46) variables together with the social, cultural, and economic capitals and employment/occupations, the life-styles of the fractions of the Turkish middle class have been constructed. In accordance with the results of the analysis, the cloudings produced by life-styles in social space are represented with the following colour pattern: the yellow cloud for the lower/bitter fraction; the blue cloud for the middle/resentful fraction; the purple cloud for the upper/contemptuous fraction; and the magenta-pink for the well-off/happy fraction. The outcome of these analyses allowed the author to formulate different fragmentations of the middle class in a specific Turkish context. As can be

read from these categories, they have to be considered as combinations of structural and social-psychological characteristics. In addition to the questionnaire results, which cover mostly the material conditions, in-depth talks with producers, designers, architects, retailers, users, fair representatives, and others were also used. Consumption of goods and services constitute a major criterion in identifying life-styles. In this analysis, consumption is considered as part of the three capitals, which construct the habitus in Bourdieu's theory. Lifestyle itself is a difficult concept to be defined. It depends strongly on society-specific characteristics. The author preferred to restrict the analysis of life-styles to everyday experiences/habits/activities and behaviors (praxis). The outcome of these analyses has been a differentiation into different lifestyles of different fragments of the middle class. As a result, the *distinctive* characteristics of life-styles of each fraction should be summarized:

The lower/bitter middle class has a life-style to be named as 'stuck to home, family and neighbours'. They never go out without being obliged to, such as going to close-by markets for shopping or visiting family members and kin. When they go out, they definitely use public transportation.

The middle/resentful class has a life-style dominated by 'emulation'. The middle/resentful fraction, though possessing the knowledge of them, cannot adopt the life-styles of upper fractions, basically due to limitations in economic capital. For this reason, it is usually in a state of envy/emulation. The 'family-stuck life-style' of the lower/bitter fraction is no longer valid for this fraction, they meet with close friends other than family and relatives, and using public transportation or free service buses, they go to shopping centres and wander around. They eat out, even if rarely. Therefore, the prevalent characteristic of the life-style of the middle/resentful fraction is 'emulation'.

The upper/contemptuous middle class has a life-style that can be characterized as 'prestigious shopping mall visitors'. This fraction is clearly differentiated from the previous two fractions with its friendship-based social relations, and horizontal mobility in the city with private cars. This fraction uses shopping malls for shopping, cultural consumption, meeting and walking around with friends. Indeed, the *distinctive* characteristic of the life-style for the respondents in this fraction is that they are 'prestigious shopping mall visitors'.

The well-off/happy middle class has a life-style entitled as ‘outgoing’. The members of this fraction spend time with friends outside their houses. They generally eat out in luxurious fish and steak restaurants that serve alcoholic drinks, go to brunches, travel and meet with family members and friends. In short, this fraction’s *distinctive* characteristic is an ‘outgoing’ life-style. To sum up, each middle class fraction has different life-style with distinctive characteristics or *distinction*. Besides, each fraction resembles in certain ways, and is in contact with, only the fraction(s) that is/are positioned next to themselves in social space, as seen in Figures 7 and 8.

5.3. Tastes in Living Spaces

In the first section of the case study, life-styles of the Turkish middle class fractions are analytically constructed, and the distinctive characteristics of each life-style are explained together with the differences among them. In this section, in turn, the tastes of each fraction of the middle class, with respect to the composition and volume of social, cultural, and economic capitals, are analytically constructed through furniture and decorative objects. A historical outline of the characteristics of Turkish houses and the evolution of the decoration of current houses precedes this analytical construction of the particular tastes constructed by the Turkish middle class fractions in living spaces. On the basis of the findings of the research, the statements of the interviewees, together with the literature on history of art, interior design, and decoration, and home and decoration magazines, the traditional, classic, modern and eclectic styles are explained, as they are observed in today’s urban house interiors. This is followed by an account of accessories, including floorings, curtains, and lighting elements, and decorative objects that accompany each particular style. The next part presents two multiple correspondence analyses, under two headings employing the variables related to the distinctive characteristics, that demonstrate the taste of each middle class fraction. In the first of these headings, the furnishing styles are demonstrated in social space, and the styles of decoration in the second. The final section of the chapter presents an account of the distinctions of the fractions of the Turkish middle class on the basis of their life-styles and tastes.

5.3.1. Historical Overview of Furniture and Furnishing in Turkish Houses

The argument of this dissertation is that the fractioned Turkish middle class(es)' taste differentiates in each fraction. For this reason, before the analytically construction of the Turkish middle class fraction, the improvement of contemporary furnishing should be historically overviewed in Turkish houses.

The European furniture items and styles entered the Turkish interiors by way of the furnishing of the Palaces, Kiosks (*Köşk*), and the Pavilions (*Konak*) in the second half of the nineteenth century, and their usage and consumption became commonplace in the Republican period.

Initially, the avant-garde of occidental furniture was exemplified in the interiors of the Dolmabahçe (1842–1856) and Beylerbeyi Palaces (1861–1865), as a complement to their eclectic architectural styles. While the Topkapı Palace was built during the rise of the Empire, Dolmabahçe was constructed during a process of political and institutional change following the reorganization reforms of 1839. As the former was designed and furnished in line with the traditional Ottoman interiors, the latter was more in line with the modern Western interiors. When the furniture in the Topkapı Palace and the indigenous Turkish houses are compared with Dolmabahçe and Beylerbeyi Palaces, the divergence is clear regarding the use of built-in furniture and freestanding Western furniture. In the palaces, built-in furniture was an integral part of the architectural structure, and also there were some freestanding furniture such as chests, cradles and stools (Eldem, 1968, 1982, 1987; Özkaraman, 2004; Gürel, 2009, pp. 48-51, Yerasimos, 1996).

The fundamental principles of the vernacular Turkish houses are simplicity, economy and a respect for human needs. These principles create a distinctive taste represented by the principle room (*başoda*), which is a large square space illuminated by two sets of windows under which the *sedir* runs, and other emptied walls were built-in with wardrobes (Yerasimos, 1996; Gürel, 2009).

By the late nineteenth century, the social and cultural life in Istanbul had started to transform under the influence of the Ottoman elite's experiences of living in Europe (Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997). The Western style pioneered in newly constructed detached houses and in the apartment

blocks belonging to the merchants, tradesmen, the Jewish and Greeks, the westernized Ottoman aristocrats, the bureaucrats and elites who had observed the European domestic interiors. The Western furniture became widespread in the houses of upper classes, who wanted to display their elite and westernized domestic spaces (Özkaraman, 2004; Yasa Yaman, 2009).

With the construction of apartment blocks, families with no bond of kinship started to live together in separate storeys of the new housing blocks. This marks a radical break with the traditional life, and is one of the most important characteristics of the new social and cultural urban life. As new lifestyles emerged in these new houses, furnishing styles and furniture items, from either the indigenous Turkish houses or the western styles, were adapted in interiors. Particularly, the built-in furniture in architectural structures was replaced with the mobile ones. The new furniture provided flexibility, allowing to move from one house to another, and to replace obsolete items with new ones. These items, then, became inevitable and inseparable elements of ordinary interiors and everyday practices in the apartment blocks. Eventually, the upper and the middle classes began to equip their apartment houses in the western style (Gürel, 2009; Uzunarslan, 2002). As a consequence of this process, the demand for modern furniture emerged and increased among the upper classes, first in İstanbul, and later in Ankara.

The use of western furniture in Turkish homes had further implications, as defined above. The western furnishing styles and its articles were also a sign of social status both in the Ottoman and the early Republican period. While the western furniture items were preferred by the wealthy and educated people, they also signified the adoption of a western life-style (Gürel, 2007, 2009) or a new way of life,¹³¹ specifically by the new Ankaralites, a counterpart to the indigenous people¹³² of Ankara (Cantek, 2003; Karaosmanoğlu, 2000a & 2000b). Ankara's new inhabitants,

¹³¹ Some authors argue that this new way of life was a consequence of the modernization and westernization project of the Republican ideology. The attempts to change and transform the traditional social and cultural life-style also involved architecture and interior designs. These ways of life were transmitted to urbanites through various media, including informative speeches, magazine articles, evening courses, etc. The daily life of family in modern houses and the home furnishing and decoration according to modern tastes and aesthetics constituted a significant subject for the progressive educational mobilization (Arat, 1997; Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997; Bozdoğan, 1997; Gürel, 2007 & 2009; Kasaba, 1997; Yasa Yaman, 2009). The arguments regarding the Turkish modernization and westernization processes will be discussed in the section on the emergence of the Turkish Middle Classes and their social and cultural life in the cities, in the context of domestic interiors and furniture.

¹³² The indigenous people of Ankara were more rural, conservative, religious, and uneducated. They called the new Ankaralites as "the Stranger" (*Yaban*) (Karaosmanoğlu, 2006a, 2006b).

the Ankaralites, carried a new way of urban life to Ankara. Initially, the new urban elites, who were generally the educated Istanbulites and the upper classes, later to be joined by the middle class, consisting mostly of civil servants and their families, started to live in the first samples of these apartments in Ankara.

The urban way of life was constructed as part of the progressive modernization project. The promotion of western items and styles of furniture was one of the dimensions of this project. Publications and broadcasting were used widely for this aim. In the early Republican period, weekly woman magazines such as *Hayat* (Life), *Resimli Hayat* (Life with Pictures), *7 Gün* (7 Days), and supplements of magazines or newspapers such as *Güzel Yuva* (Beautiful Home) informed women about current events, fashion, cultural activities (movies, theatres, and concerts), sports and also arts, as well as on home furnishing, interior design, decoration and the latest trends in Europe and America. Focusing on home furnishing and furniture, these publications were directly describing how a house is converted to a home with the help of furniture, and how a house could, and should, be furnished beautifully and tastefully (Gürel, 2009; Yasa Yaman, 2009).

Beside these popular magazines, architectural magazines such as *Mimar* (Architect), *Yeni Mimari* (New Architecture), *Arkitekt* (Architect) also provide information on the issue of home furnishing and furniture, in addition to housing issues. These publications were prepared not only for the professionals, i.e. architects and people concerned with architecture, design and interior design and construction, but also for the ordinary urbanites (Artun, 2009; Gürel, 2009; Yasa Yaman, 2009).

Starting with the 1950s, specifically home and decoration magazines were also added to this list. They offered valuable insight on how to establish a modern stylish home furnishing and decoration, by using the modern furniture items. They informed the readers about how they could accoutre their homes easily, without spending too much. These magazines today present samples of furniture design of the time, as well as of new items similar to those in the West, which were gaining popularity in Turkey. The furniture industry had also developed, and cheap, imitated furniture items and models were offered on the market, which in turn made furniture

items more affordable and accessible for people with limited incomes. In time, not only were new, mass produced items added to the combination of provincial items, but also the obsolete ones were replaced with new ones produced according to the latest fashion.

By the 1980s, Turkish versions of foreign home, decoration and garden magazines such as *House Beautiful*, *Home Beauty*, *Mansion Françoise*, *Home and Garden*, *Elle Decor* have begun to be published. As of 2000s, there are numerous home and decoration magazines for different social strata, taking into account age, income and also taste and aesthetical dispositions of their audiences. Ideal types of home furnishing and appropriate furniture items for various houses are stylized on their pages for houses of every size, shape, and structure. In addition to magazines, daily newspapers also publish supplements on home decoration and design, especially at times of seasonal transitions. They inform their readers on what the new trends are, and how they could be echoed in their houses with “small touches”.

In the past several decades, the visual media, first cinema and then television, have been particularly influential in shaping the taste and aesthetics of the classes. In TV serials, the houses of major characters, for instance, provide effective samples for well-furnished living rooms; home decoration programs exemplify harmonious and tasteful houses through the suggestions of popular figures, well-known architects, designers, interior designers or decorators. Some furniture brands, moreover, started to employ new marketing strategies, whereby products are exhibited in windows in various concepts, such as classical, modern, country, authentic, nostalgia, and so on. These brands are making suggestions to their customers on how to use given items in different ways, and how to decorate elegant and chic houses.

5.3.2. Furnishing Styles in Living Spaces

Entering a friend’s house or a furniture department, one takes a look around and notices the forms and styles of furniture; or while reading a book or magazine about home, decoration and furniture, or watching television serials, one is attracted to furniture and interior design and willingly or unwillingly thinks about styles. Sometimes, one is tempted to express an opinion, either approval or disapproval of the taste and aesthetics of the interiors that he/she is exposed to. In fact, the styles of interiors have some distinctive characteristics, and dominate and

determine the furnishing of the interiors and living spaces of the houses. When thinking or talking about the styles, one takes into account these chief features. Furnishing of a house constructs the materiality of people. As Bourdieu (1977; 1984), Appadurai (1986) and Miller (1987; 1995, 1998) pointed out, materiality around people constitutes the social worlds. Materiality throughout home furnishing, decoration and furniture, or in today's parlour, the *interior design* of a person's childhood house provides a point of reference for examine and explaining everyday routines and activities as well as taste and aesthetics in general. Besides, materiality displays the *distinctions* among people, and is also influenced by new trends and styles. As materiality changes over time, it has effects on tastes in living spaces. Furthermore, these objects are instruments for expressing the sociality, status and gentility, or social, cultural and economic capitals, inside the houses (Ayata, 2002, 38; Karadoğan, 2007, pp. 60-65; Martin, 1993, p. 154). The affordability, availability and desirability of the objects influence their acquisition (Martin, 1993, p. 156). Thus, the material construction of tastes in living spaces depends on the economic capitals of the individuals, groups or classes.

For a tasteful, elegant and harmonious house and beautiful interiors, of any style, various combinations and choices are proposed and illustrated as perfect examples in related media (Nieswander, 2008, pp.1-9; Pietro & Gallo, 2005). Books, journals, home and decoration magazines, newspapers and their supplements, websites and television programs, and professionals (e.g. Apik, 2008f; Öztürk, 2008c; Yaman, 2008a; Yaman, 2008c) give advice to people who want to furnish their homes themselves. These examples may exemplify either a pure style or an eclectically appropriate combination, employing supportive elements and details from different styles. In short, it is not only the furniture that defines the styles; they are accompanied with curtains, floorings, lighting and ornamental objects. Culturally and economically valued goods –such as the designed, qualified, handmade or imported furniture, lighting items, original sculptures and pictures, ethnic rugs, carpets, wooden and copper objects, and oriental corners- are widely used to create and imitate the elegant and classy houses, as they are seen in magazines, television serials or other media. Indeed, the visual and published media maintains both information about furniture, fashions in furnishing and decoration, and new models and trends, and displays the appropriate examples of each style of furnishing and decoration, for small and big, old and new houses. The designs or the houses of the well-known architects or designers, or celebrities are presented as well-established and decorated houses for the readers or audiences.

To analyse the *distinction* through tastes of the Turkish middle class fractions, home furniture and decorative items are instrumentalized in this study, with the aim of describing the furnishing styles in living spaces of the houses. Furnishing styles were categorized and identified through an intensive overview of the existing literature related to furniture and decoration styles, combined with the answers the respondents gave to questions about furniture, supportive elements, and decorative items in their living spaces. Thus, a detailed descriptive analysis of the responses to various questions in the questionnaire, the in-depth talks and conversations was conducted. In the case of furniture, information was gathered through questions on styles (forms and shapes), upholstery, patterns and colours of fabrics, materials, ornamentations, and wooden or metal accessories were asked. Information was also gathered through questions on supportive elements of furnishing –floorings, including carpets, rugs, laminate parquets, hand-woven carpets, and rugs/*kilims*; curtains, involving fabrics and sewing styles; lighting comprising direct or indirect light, chandeliers, appliques, designed lighting elements. For even further detail, questions were directed to the informants about decorative items –such as accessories and pictures on the walls, original sculptures, ethnic objects such as masks, totems, copper and wooden items as well as the ‘oriental corner’.

In order to categorize the styles, the frequencies were calculated employing the questions where the respondents were asked to categorize themselves using a list of predefined styles. With the frequencies taken, the typical characteristics of each style were investigated, using open-ended and closed questions. The results again were classified utilizing the results of frequencies, qualitative data, and other sources such as history of furniture, interior design and art, home and decoration magazines, and supplements of daily newspapers. Consequently, the chief features of furnishing styles are highlighted in four categories: traditional and transitory; classic; modern; and eclectic. Furnishing styles are composed of main furniture pieces, supportive and decorative items. After the descriptions of the furniture are provided, the distinctive characteristics of supportive and decorative elements are explained for each style. While the first two of these styles have their own characteristics in terms of their mode of production, materials, origins of inspiration, and also design approaches, the fourth one does not refer to a given style. Rather, it is a mixture of all other styles, not only in terms of the details of the furniture items, but also with regard to the arrangements of the items used for furnishing living spaces. Some respondents specified their interiors using different words, such as *demi-classic*, *rustic*, *provincial*, *ethnic*,

authentic, austere or simple and also as *typically or traditionally Turkish*. All of these identifications are evaluated by checking other complements and details of the interiors, and then, classified under the most relevant style. *Demi-classic* and *rustic, provincial* furniture, for instance, are categorized as *classic style* because of the forms, wooden material used and patterns and fabrics of upholstery. Specifically, due to the reasons explained below, *typically Turkish* refers to the classic style in the Turkish case. *Ethnic* and *authentic* are listed under the *combination of different styles* since they generally refer to complementary and decorative objects of this style. *Simple* and *austere* are considered to be part of the *modern style* because, both for the informants and in the literature on furniture and interior design, these terms are associated with modern furniture and interiors. *Traditionally Turkish* is a challenging description for contemporary houses for what it really refers to is ambiguous. This difficulty is overcome by checking how old the informants are, for how long they have been living in the city, and their responses to questions about complementary and decorative items in living spaces.

This categorization of styles is meant to provide a guide for the relations between the different levels of Turkish middle class, and their aesthetic preferences as reflected in their houses. These categories constitute not only a guide for the present condition of the living spaces of the Turkish middle classes, but also for their past and imagined future. The informants were asked to recall their habits in their childhood homes and to comment on how these habits are reflected in their current houses. They were also questioned on which styles they would prefer, which items they would definitely change, and which or what kind of items they would never acquire if they were to furnish a new living space. As emphasized by some authors (e.g. Auslander, 1996; Bourdieu, 1984; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Grawes-Brown, 2000a & 2000b; Lamont, 1992; Miller, 1995, 2001a, 2001b & 2005), tastes and aesthetics of people change over time, as a consequence of the accumulation of their experiences and the increase in volumes and changing compositions of capitals of individuals and households. When this takes place, the materiality around them also changes and is transformed. Thus, by asking about their childhood houses and the current ones, we aimed at obtaining information about the changes and transformations of taste and aesthetics in their lifetime. To put it briefly, this guide is also operational in terms of inferring the effects deriving from their past as well as their indications for the present. Without such a guide, it would be extremely difficult to systematically examine, understand or explain the tastes, or aesthetical dispositions in Bourdieu's sense, in living spaces in the houses of middle class fractions.

Before setting out for a detailed explanation of the styles, cross-cutting characteristics for all styles in contemporary furniture should be clarified. First of all, the terms *built-in* and *freestanding* should be delineated. Some authors (e.g. Denby, 1963; Gürel, 2007; Lucie-Smith, 1988; Massey, 2008; Pile, 2007; Uzunarslan, 2002) writing on furniture, interior design, home decoration and art history define built-in and freestanding furniture in order to make clear the fundamental distinctions in contemporary furniture. Therefore, defining these terms seems to be an appropriate starting point. In some cases these two terms are employed to distinguish traditional from contemporary furniture, even though built-in or *fixed* furniture also designates integral and immobile parts of the architectural structure. Couches, wardrobes, shelves and niches exemplify this kind of furniture. Freestanding or *mobile* furniture is placed without any supports, such as walls or panels. Freestanding items usually comprise contemporary classic and modern furniture. These terms can also be used to distinguish between oriental and occidental furniture and styles (Gürel, 2007; Lucie-Smith, 1988; Massey, 2008; Pile, 2007; Uzunarslan, 2002). While built-in furniture is often used to refer to oriental pleasure and friendly comfort, freestanding is used to express occidental customs and restless formality. Nowadays, however, they describe the standing positions of furniture and do not help to distinguish the traditional from the contemporary furniture and styles, or the oriental from the occidental ones. Above all, some items are recently designed and installed as built-in items such as fixed tables, cabinets and couches to create more space in houses. Nevertheless, these terms distinguish the structural characteristics of furniture and not styles. Thus, these terms cross-cut all styles in our times.

The other overlapping characteristics are technological improvements and innovations in furniture industry. Technological innovations affect both materials and furniture making processes involving design and production. On the one hand, new technologies maintain new materials to work on, and a vast variety of materials in furniture and related industries, such as textile and dye, can be counted as such. The primary forms and structures of most furniture are based on their materials, either used solely or in combination. Materials are based on three families and each family has its own constructional characteristics. The most widely used materials are wood, including solid wood, veneer, plywood and bentwood; metal, including steel, stainless-steel, rod, tubing and sheet; and plastics, involving plastic laminates, acrylic, moulded and foamed plastics (Pile, 2007, pp. 418-427). On the other hand, new technologies make use of new design approaches and production techniques by employing computer-based

and high-tech mass-production of items. New technologies also enable the combination of different materials such as metal, plastics and glass on a single furniture item. Thus, furniture and ornaments in all original and hand-made forms are produced, and also easily replicated, in a wide range of quality and price levels as well as in a vast variety of styles, by making use of technological innovations in the contemporary world. For example, an oak classic settee adorned with heavy carving or inlaying can be designed and produced with moulded plastics by utilizing new technologies. As a result, using new technologies maintains an increase in accessibility and affordability of furniture for different socio-economic groups.

While studying the material culture by focusing on the furniture and interiors, the researchers come across various objects, trends and styles as well as various studies and researches. In constructing the styles, the author attempted to avoid influence from expressing judgments on aesthetical dispositions and tastes, such as good or bad, high or low, ordinary or distinguished, quite or disgusting. The statement by Prieto and Dupuis (2008, p. 17) was the motto of the study: “All styles and trends are important and learning about them enriches us.”

In order to clarify how they are defined, the basic items, distinctive characteristics and components of each style are explained below. Although furniture is the main item in determining the style, supportive and decorative items are also crucial in the composition and presentation of distinctive aesthetics and tastes. Therefore, the distinctive characteristics for each style are highlighted with the description of styles and their complementary elements below, and are summarized in Table 9.

5.3.2.i. Traditional Style

The traditional style, the explanations to which are below, is composed of two categories: *pure traditional* and *transitory styles*.

Pure traditional style: This style has been constructed within traditional or vernacular architecture and is exemplified in the *traditional, vernacular, indigenous* or *local houses*. It originated from the Turkish customs as well as customary furniture and furnishing manners.

It is primarily composed of built-in and small mobile elements. While seating elements include the *sedirs* and coaches, storing elements consist of wardrobes, cupboards, niches and open shelves. They are also used as displaying elements. Mobile elements consist of stools, portable low café tables, round metal trays with unfixed legs and chests. Generally, there are no built-in eating elements. Meal is eaten sitting on the floor around round metal trays on tablecloths or low tables. Seating elements are covered with mats, pillows and cushions and locally weaved textiles in day time and they are converted to sleeping elements during the night by putting their coverings away and laying bedclothes instead. Besides these, various cushions and pillows are employed to maintain additional seating places on the floors standing to the walls. Local *kilims* and carpets accompany them on wooden floors and textiles as coverings and curtains that are traditionally weaved in local weaving-loom. These supplements are within traditionally stylized patterns and colours of madder and other traditional vegetables, rather than chemicals and dyes. Before electricity was brought into use, lighting was generally provided by oil-lamps. As electricity came to be commonly used in houses, lamps and chandeliers have been added. Although most items such as earthenware, copper, silver or brass ewers, mortars and pestles, pans, glasses or porcelain bowls, pitchers and plates were stored and exhibited as decorative items in cupboards, niches and shelves in living spaces, they were also used as main utensils in daily chores.

Pure traditional items, either furniture or others, are usually produced by the owners themselves, or crafted locally by carpenters, woodworkers or other craftsmen using basic techniques and local untreated woods and materials such as cotton, linen, silk or wool. The trademark of the pure traditional style, or in Turkish *alamet-i farikası*, is the intrinsic, spontaneous and functional aesthetics that is established by the items produced by the owners or local craftsmen.

Pure traditional items, especially well-handmade and ornamented built-in ones by skilled crafts, are reproduced, replicated and also redesigned for new functions. While some of them have been used in accord with their original functions, others have acquired new tasks as supportive and decorative aims, which will be explained below in the forth section, 5.3.2.iv. Eclectic Styles.

Transitory style: The items are neither built-in items as in traditional furniture nor free-standing items like classic or modern ones. They are movable but they do not stand by themselves, without any support from walls or panels. This style denotes a transitory form between traditional built-in and contemporary freestanding furniture, an in-between position among

handicraft, machinery and mass-production. Main items are bedspring (*somya*), *divan* (mobile sedir), convertible sofa (*çek-yat*) with attached shelves and chests, nickel-chrome, easy wood and formica chairs, tables and buffets, huge mass-produced sideboards within machinery ornament and shadowy shiny polish. Most of these items, as Producer Interviewee1¹³³ expressed, were made by craftsmen in small workshops in Akköprü, Ulus or Siteler¹³⁴ in Ankara. Bedsprings and convertible sofas were multifunctional, like pure traditional items, and used for seating and sleeping; chests for storing, seating and sleeping. Tables in most houses were not used for eating but displayed the treasures of the households. Owing to their forms and multifunctional usage like pure traditional items, I decided to call this style as *transitory style*. The usage of these items can be defined with reference to Piña's (2006) words: "a chair could be a lounge, a lounge a bed, a bed a wardrobe; a bedroom could be turned into a living room" (p. 155).

This style is accompanied by cheap machinery-weaved imitations of well-qualified rugs and carpets. Calicoes and chintz cotton textiles were produced and printed in state weaving factories, which are known as Public Economic Enterprises (PEE; *Kamu İktisadi Teşekkülleri*, or *KİT* in Turkish), and were utilized as upholstery and curtains. Convertible couches were upholstered with dark brown velvet with red, green, yellow or blue stripes; nickel-chrome chairs with synthetic leather. Additionally, plastic flowers and fruits in vases, glassy porcelain coffee cups and gilded water and tea glasses, family photographs on tables, in buffets or sideboards were commonly used. Machinery production increased the affordability and accessibility of all these objects for the new urbanites, and a peculiar aesthetics emerged in the living spaces of small and early apartments. In other words, the togetherness of these items and details are trademarks, *alamet-i farikası*, of the aesthetics of the transitory style.

¹³³ Producer Interviewee1 is a 70-year old man who worked for 55 years in furniture production in İstanbul and in Akköprü, Ulus and then Siteler in Ankara. He established and improved his own business. Now, his three sons work in the furniture industry in Siteler and Akyurt. They have a middle size workshop in Siteler and a big plantation in Akyurt. Although he retired several years ago, he has an office in Siteler and comes to his office everyday because he cannot give up working. He provided me significant information about the development of the furniture industry in general, and specifically in Ankara.

¹³⁴ The first two districts were early regions where furniture makers worked before they moved to Siteler in the 1960s (Tekeli, İ. Şenyapılı, T. & Güvenç, M. (1991). *Ankara'da Sanayi Üretiminin Tarihsel Gelişim Süreci*. Ankara: Milli Prodüktivite Merkezi Yayınları, 483; Producer Interviewee1).

The transitory style was common in small houses and newly constructed apartment flats in which rooms were not yet specialized. They were employed in the houses of crowded households of the new urbanites, especially new migrants from rural to urban areas. In an interview with İlhan Tekeli in 2005,¹³⁵ multifunctional or unspecialized rooms and their furniture were emphasized as a transitory process in the urban way of life in Ankara between the 1960s and 1980s. Transitory items were practical and functional, satisfying the basic necessities of households in multifunctional rooms. This refers to a process of change from traditional to modern furnishing styles in the habits of households. Some of my informants specified this style both in their childhood houses and also in neighbourhoods until the mid-1980s.

The items of this style are no longer produced and used in contemporary Turkish houses. The Producer Interviewee2¹³⁶ noted this process:

Once, there was formica. All furniture elements were made up with formica in those times... Now, it has totally disappeared. You can't find it anymore, not even to put in a museum. Maybe, you can find it in your grand-grandmother's house in the village... Then, there were tubular steel chairs with synthetic leather. They also disappeared... Then, there were the carved wooden chairs and tables, and also armchair textiles designed with central patterns, and huge china cabinets, made of machine-carved wood and received shadowy polish. Now, if you want this kind of furniture, you cannot get it because you can find neither these materials nor the master who knows how to work with these materials ... (Smiling) Maybe, you can find this kind of furniture at *İtfaiye Meydanı* (the Fire Brigade Square). Maybe, you can find it in the back streets of Beyoğlu in İstanbul... You know the film makers use them...¹³⁷

The most important priorities of the traditional manner are practicality, function and low cost. Indeed, rather than comfort or aesthetics, it is the satisfying the demand on the basic needs of

¹³⁵ Interview with Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli, by the author, 2005. Tekeli is a famous Turkish social scientist, known also with his works on urban issues.

¹³⁶ Field notes. A producer was a 33-year old man. He started to work as an apprentice, and then became a master in furniture making. He founded his own workshop. But, he went bankrupt and had to close his workshop. After the bankruptcy, he opened a new workshop to work for machine saws.

¹³⁷ Field notes. Bir zamanlar formika vardı. O zamanlar bütün mobilyalar formikadan yapıldı. Şimdi, tümüyle yok oldu. Şimdi müzeye koymak için arasan bulamazsın artık. Belki büyük büyük ninenin köydeki evinde bulursun... Sonra, çelik boru iskeletli sentetik deri kaplı sandalyeler vardı. Onlar da artık yok. Sonra, ahşap oyma sandalyeler, masalar vardı, göbekli kumaş kaplı ahşap koltuklar, kocaman makineyle oyulmuş, gölgeli cilalanmış vitrinler vardı. Şimdi, bu mobilyayı istesen, asla alamazsın. Çünkü ne o malzeme ne de o malzemeyle çalışan usta var artık... (Gülerek) Belki, İtfaiye Meydanı'nda bu mobilyayı bulursun. Belki, İstanbul'da Beyoğlu'nun arka sokaklarında bulursun. Biliyorsun, filimciler onları kullanıyor (Translated by author).

sitting, sleeping and storing that is crucial in possessing any kind of furniture. While pure traditional style produces an intrinsic, spontaneous and functional aesthetics that is based on and fed from local sources and customs in everyday life, transitory style designates an attempt for beautification in the houses. The most important difference between pure traditional and transitory styles is this effort to adorn living spaces.

To sum up, traditional style is no longer used to furnish newly constructed houses in our times. The informants while defining the furnishing styles of their childhood homes and neighbourhoods expressed this fact. While pure traditional style is partially employed to create an authentic and nostalgic atmosphere by utilizing the influences of its items and restoration of indigenous houses in recent times, the transitory style is totally obsolete and only remembered in despising ways by the informants.

5.3.2.ii. Classic Style

The second type of furnishing is *the classic style* that derives from the major forms, motifs and ornamentations of the royal families and aristocratic traditions of past societies. It is generally composed of freestanding or mobile items. Rarely, it includes built-in items such as shelves, niches, wood or glass wall panels and closets in Turkish contexts (Uzunarslan, 2002; Gürel, 2007). While it is generally called as *occidental* style in the world (Lucie-Smith, 1988; Massey, 2008; Piña, 2003), it is especially referred to as the *western* style in Turkish literature (e.g. Gürel, 2007; Karaosmanoğlu, 2000a, 2000b; Uzunarslan, 2002; Yiğit, 2004) because of its inspirations from European furniture items and western lifestyle starting with the last decades of the Ottoman era.

Classic furniture consists of seating groups, displaying and storing elements. If the living room or saloon is big enough, it includes eating sets. Furniture, complementary and decorative items are elucidated with respect to materials, ornaments, fabrics and upholstery, patterns and colours. Classic style is distinguished from the traditional and modern styles by its ornamentations on wooden parts and frames, and shiny, ostentatious and sumptuous complementary and decorative items.

Classic elements are explicitly reproduced, re-designed or modernized by deriving from ornamentations of the most well-known classic forms, figures and motifs of furniture items via historical references. Most common inspirations in the current classic style originate from Egyptian, Greek, Gothic, Baroque, Rococo styles and their revivals in France, England, Italy, as well as the Ottoman Empire. For many authors (e.g. Blakemore, 2006; de Haro & Fuentes, 2008; Lee, 2003; Miller, 2005; Muthesius, 2009; Parissien, 2009; Pile, 2007; Sparke, 2008), particular features designate certain influences in the interior design and decoration of houses. Previous classical appearances, figures and forms such as X-frames, cabriole, paw, carved and turned legs, cartouches of cherubs, caryatids, sphinx, flowers and fruits or falcons, are observed in various samples (e.g. Çimen, 2008a; Gürlek, 2008b, 2008c; Özcan & Şener, 2008b; Selçuk, 2006; Yaman, 2008b).

Classic furniture is frequently made-up of solid woods such as oak, walnut, cedar, rosewood, teak and ebony. Prior to technological innovations, masters of woodworkers, cabinetmakers and other crafts applied ornamentations on wooden parts of items. In modern furniture industry, new technologies and materials easily imitate these wooden materials or the ornamentations on wooden parts. In spite of the references for handcraft, historical embellishments of many related researchers (e.g. Denby, 1963; Emir, 2007a; Hope, 1970; Özcan, 2007a; Saville, 2006) and my own Producer Interviewees emphasize that in modern furniture industry ornamentations are applied on items with machine-based, and more recently, computer-based technologies and new materials: In fact, they are rarely hand-made. For classic furniture, basic ornaments are produced by woodworking techniques, polishing and finishing. Carving, turning and inlaying make up the fundamental woodwork. Gilding, plating, veneering, painting, glazing, ebonizing, marquetry, parquetry and lacquering and patina constitute the common vanishing and finishing techniques. Expensive and luxurious materials such as gold, ivory, silver, bronze, valued stones, tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl and ebony are the most popular materials used for inlaying. Additionally, construction and structure techniques such as dowel, mortise and tenon, tongue and groove, nail, leather strips and cords, strapping and glue are used as ornamentations. Thus, nowadays, classic furniture is produced using either real wood and their imitations or new synthetic materials. All items with various ornamentations and finishing are industrially produced in the contemporary world. Rarely, wood masters produce hand-made solid items with ornaments in the workshops or factories, and such items are highly valued and more desirable.

The classical style is a corroboration of various historical references and inspirations. Sometimes the items are reproduced in their original forms and sometimes one or more small characteristic detail is added onto the essential elements of interior designs. Thus, a specific effect such as Egyptian, Greek, (French) Imperial, Ostentatious (Ottoman) palace style (Apik, 2008a, pp. 240-249; Aytekin, 2007, pp. 115-119; Bariller, 2008; Maison Française, 2006/12, p. 303;) is created in living spaces. The best known classic influences are labelled as *Egyptian, Greek or Romanesque, Medieval or Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque, Rococo, English, French, American, Country and Italian* (Blakemore, 2006, pp. 247-82; Lucie-Smith, 1988, pp. 60-67; Piña, 2003, p. 121; Çoban & Ulusçu, 2006; Maison Française, 2008/05; Massey, 2008)

Egyptian Influence: Thrones, armchairs and sofas with animal-legs, curved arm and back supports, gilded or marqueted coffin forms, figures and bibelots such as scarabs, pyramids, sphinxes, pharaoh sculptures or busts, papyrus manuscripts and colours such as red, yellow and blue, especially Nile green or blue-green are exploited to introduce Egyptian influence in the interiors. Sometimes these figures are printed on fabrics and used for upholstery.

Greek or Romanesque Influence: Furniture items with lion legs and paws, sphinx arm-supports, and sideboards like a capital of columns, plinths, capitals frieze and pediment mostly produce a Greek or Romanesque influence. Furniture with concave back panels and legs, *klismos*, or backgrounds ornamented with mythological figures such as satyrs, lions, fulcra (head or footrests) and falcons, small sculptures, marble busts, columns and earthen vases are the most widely used decorative elements to support and create a Greek or Romanesque ambiance in the houses.

Medieval or Gothic Influence: Heavy carved oak or walnut back and side panels, solid boxlike seating and sleeping elements with exaggerated ornaments are lavishly accompanied with textiles, draperies, embroideries and canopies. In this way, a Medieval or Gothic sense emerges inside the houses.

Renaissance and Baroque Influence: While Renaissance influence is basically constructed as the rediscovery of ancient classicism and embellishments; Baroque influence is established with more remarkable, flamboyant and sculptural ornamentations. It includes bold models,

exaggerated scales and human figures such as caryatids and cherubs highlighted with ormolu inspired from Baroque (seen in Yaman, 2008c, p. 151).

Rococo Influence: Rococo indicates thin, slim and asymmetrical ornamentations frequently highlighted with classy ormolu details (Aksoy, 2007d). It is delineated with bouquets of flowers, pictorial scenes, figures of three-dimensional fruits and birds. The emphasis is concentrated on the asymmetrically carved fine points on the cresting of back, cabriole legs, ormolu stucco, vases, mirror and picture frames, pictorial central-patterned carpets and upholstery which are typical decorative details of Rococo effect.

These specialized five effects are constructive elements of contemporary classic style both as the sources of inspirations for embellishments and the revival of ancient and medieval periods. They can be observed in various usages in the details of furniture and other elements of furnishing. In the preparation process of the questionnaire, it has been observed that the most dominant influences on the classic style have been determined by English, French, American, Italian, Turkish and Country styles. The main contemporary classic style and influence are detailed below.

English Influence: This influence is observed in the large scale tendency towards embellishment which shifted from handmade heavy carved and turned more and more to machinery with few and easy ornamentations (Blakemore, 2006, pp. 247-282; Lucie-Smith, 1988, pp. 60-67; Piña, 2003, p. 121) and open armchairs and settees with a medallion-back which is covered with a central-pattern such as floral or pictorial upholstery originating from the influence of English regency (Çoban & Ulusçu, 2006; Maison Française, 2008/05). Seating groups consisting of two armchairs, one two-seater, one three-seater settees and several small coffee tables are inspired from the English Victorian middle class houses (Luice-Smith, 1988; Massey, 2008).

French Influence: Uncontrolled use of cartouches emphasizing ormolu, and sumptuous and brilliant textiles for upholstery and window treatment are characteristic of the French flamboyancy. Especially, drapes embellished with braids, trimmings, tassels, tie-backs, ribbons, swaged pull-up sheers and pleated, tied-back flashy fabrics as well as the use of embroidery, lace and sheers as both insertions and main drapes were influenced by the French imperial. Besides

these, daybeds, which are used as a lounge to sit and lay in daytime within jacquard and buttoned upholstery, are a French influence.

American Influence: It is characterized in two ways: Colonial and American influences. Former is known to have little ornaments, such as curvilinear holes with very simple carving and turning, and dark and reddish brown vanishing on back and side panels of seating groups and table tops. Heavy, plain, mute or self-patterned upholstery in dark tones of claret red, green, blue and brown, and carpets with floral, repeated and central-patterns are observed. Even though colonial style originates from America, the American style is distinguished from other styles with large and wide sofas and couches furnished with soft cushions and pillows (seen in Marie Claire Maison, 2007/12, pp. 124-138). Upholsteries including duck and canvas are patterned with chintz using overblown roses, natural and wild flowers, and branches with spring flowers.

Italian Influence: Italian effect includes all ancient details from Greek or Romanesque, Medieval, Renaissance or Baroque influences. However, in the Turkish case, these aspects are not as emphasized as the Italian classic furniture. The Italian influence is mostly observed and referred to in modern furniture, which will be explained in the section on modern style.

Ottoman (Palace) Influence should be separately defined because of the reference point of the informants as well as the study. Even though Ottoman influence is frequently described as the *ostentatious court* or *palace style* in the related literature (e.g. Gürel, 2007; Karaosmanoğlu, 2000a, 2000b; Orçan, 2004; Uzunarslan, 2002; Yerasimos, 2001; Yiğit, 2004), Uzunarslan (2002) defines it as an eclectic style inspired from all influences of western classics (p. 112). Ottoman (palace) style is similar to western classic styles and it is derived from western classics, regarding both ornamentations and luxurious shiny fabrics with classic patterns. Although European effects can be observed in both furniture and complements, American influence is not demarcated in the Ottoman style.

Distinctiveness of the Ottoman style is established by employing objects such as embellished table or chairs, by inlaying of mother-of-pearl, real or fake ruby and emerald, and decorative objects such as Ottoman painters' pictures or their reproductions with gilded and glazed frames, handcrafted stuffs such as blown-glasses and chinaware, copper work adorned by the application

of Ottoman figures such as tulips, carnations, crescents, sultan's signature, and ebro¹³⁸ in Turkish houses (see Selçuk, 2008). In other words, Ottoman or ostentatious palace influence can be defined as the reinterpretation of western classic furniture and interiors combined with accessories adorned with Ottoman figures. Although classic influence is eclectically derived from all western samples in domestic interiors, it is also called and expressed as Turkish classic or typical Turkish by most of the informants.

In addition to the inspirations from western history, Chinese, Japanese, Indian and other exotic themes also affect the classic style. Their influence is not directly expressed in furniture and decorations. However, during the conduct of the surveys with the informants in their own living spaces, exotic objects such as small ruby and emerald boxes, elephant, geisha and Buddha bibelots, bamboo woodworks and also colourful silky fabrics from Far East were observed. It should be noted, though, that exotic influence is limited to decorative items.

Classic style is specialized on constructive elements both as the sources of inspirations for embellishments and the revival of ancient and medieval periods. They can be observed in various ways in the details of furniture and other elements of furnishing. In the preparation process of the questionnaire, it was observed that the English, French, American, Italian, Turkish and Country styles have determined the most dominant influence in terms of the classic style. The main contemporary classic style and influence are detailed below.

As emphasized above, contemporary classical style is a combination and revival of various historical influences. For the classic style, as exemplified by Ünal (2007b), fundamental seating, storing and displaying and also eating elements are either flamboyantly or quietly embellished, and various sumptuous and ostentatious details, including upholstery, curtains, floor coverings and decorative objects, are not only significant instruments of extravagance but also constitutive elements of the classical taste and aesthetics (pp. 158-169). This type of house exemplifies the arrangement of ostentatious elements from different influences varying from American to Ottoman with the classic style. Massey's (2008) explanation concerning mass production and

¹³⁸ Ebro is a traditional eastern art that is marbling on special paper using water, special chemicals and madders.

purchase of furniture for home furnishing and decoration in Victorian taste and its diffusion in interiors in both America and Europe provides a useful summary about classic style:

Items of household decoration such as wallpaper, textiles and carpets were now being mass-produced and purchased for the first time by a bourgeoisie who emulated their social superiors with the furnishing of the formal drawing room. This was the room used to receive visitors, and usually had heavy curtains and thick lace at the windows, a patterned carpet, generously upholstered seating, ornate furniture and huge range of ornaments, pictures and surface decoration. The overall impression needed to be one of comfort, richness and formality. Furniture could be bought from the new department stores, (...) The seven-piece suite, manufactured and marketed (...) used rich fabrics with added details like buttoning, tufting, pleating and fringing to create a sumptuous effect. The chairs used internal springing, popularized in France in the 1840s and common to most drawing room seating by the 1850s, to provide a visual, rather than merely physical effect of comfort. The springs had the advantage of returning the seat to the desired smooth shape after use. The ordering of the Victorian drawing room was governed by the need to impress, a need felt by even the working-class homemaker (pp. 7-8).

Furniture in classic style can be produced in various ways with heavy or little ornamentations, employing new materials and technological innovations to adapt and design inherited forms, figures and motifs in recent times. As a consequence, while upper classes prefer and can afford well-made, well-qualified carved and ornate furniture in domestic furnishing or interior design, ordinary people or lower classes acquire cheap, simple and roughly ornamented ones. Both for upper and lower classes, the classic style designates an intrinsic ostentation and opulent taste and aesthetics through combinations of essential and supportive items which are all flamboyant (Apik, 2008b). Such profligate beautification, as Piña argues (2003), refers to a more ostentatious taste for the classic style (p. 35). To sum up, the trademarks, or *alamet-i farikası*, of the classic style is heavy turned and carved adornments on furniture and ostentatious and flamboyant textiles and draperies in living spaces.

5.3.2.iii. Modern Style

In contradiction to the luxury and ostentation in classic style, there is also a tendency towards austerity and simplicity in interior design. This indicates conspicuously underfurnished or *austere* houses and living spaces. These interiors are equipped with the most basic items to sit, eat, store and sleep, avoiding ostentation and cramped spaces (Lucie-Smith, 1988).

Modern style is fundamentally different from both the intrinsic, spontaneous and functional aesthetics of the traditional, and the flamboyant and sumptuous aesthetics of the classical style. It is distinguished from the others by its unadorned furniture designed as seating groups, displaying and storing items and eating groups as well as supportive elements including upholsteries, curtains in various colours and patterns, floor coverings, and decorative objects in living spaces. Modern furniture, as Pile (1990) suggests, is recently made or designed; less decorated with ornaments and adornments; and has smooth surfaces (pp. 1-3). Next to posing a challenge to the unnecessary ornamentation and ostentation of classic style, it refuses to be inspired by historical reference points. Each item is designed for a given function abstaining from needless embellishments. Both furniture and interiors are purified from superfluous details and unfunctional beautification objects. Furniture and interiors are designed for the users, considering their needs in living spaces and at the same time adhere to the principles of simplicity, austerity and functionality.

This approach has been appraised and thus, developed hand in hand with industrial and technological revolutions since the end of the nineteenth century (Massey, 2008; Pile, 2007). Furniture and interiors designed in the framework of this new approach are named as ‘modern style’. In fact, modern furniture and interiors cannot be considered outside the context of modern art and architecture. In this study, however, it will be studied independently from that context, and the study will be limited to the furniture and the furnishing of living spaces.

Modern style breaks off with all ancient and classic inspirations for forms, ornaments, motifs and patterns for the sake of austerity, simplicity and functionality in both big and small houses (e.g. Blakemore, 2006; Lucie-Smith, 1988; Miller, 2005; Pile, 2007; Piña, 2003). This new approach characterizing modern style has overlapped industrialization and urbanization and vice versa. Different tendencies have emerged and risen in the past hundred years of modern style. Some early samples have acquired the status of “modern classics”, and continued to be produced –adapting to new needs, demands and tastes, using materials and technologies of the time- (e.g. Downey, 1992; Fiell & Fiell, 1991; Pile 1990; Saville, 2006), while others lost their popularity. As widely documented by those interested in furniture, interior design, decoration and art history, early modern designs are rediscovered and applied again in modern revivals which is similar to the case with classic design and its revival at certain times. (e.g. Aksoy, 2007e; Apik, 2008a, 2008b & 2008d; Aytakin, 2007c; Gürlek & Şener, 2008; Kestanecioğlu, 2008a;

Onbaşıyan, 2008b; Özcan, 2008; Uğur, 2008b). Modern revivals share smooth lines, rectilinear forms, geometric and stylized motifs and patterns as well as glass and metals. It could be said that modern classics are the backbones of current modern designs. Despite the existence of various tendencies, the characteristics of furniture designed and produced under the effect of the modern style can be defined in terms of forms, materials, upholstery, patterns and colours, curtains, floorings, lighting elements and decorative objects.

As mentioned earlier, forms of seating groups, displaying and storing elements and also eating groups in modern designs differentiate from traditional and classic styles. Seating groups are mostly boxlike with unornamented plain surfaces and angular forms (as observed in Büyüksağış, 2007a, pp. 128-131; Evim, 2007/05, pp. 70-71). While cubical forms are widely applied to early modern items, more curvilinear forms with softened lines as well as organic forms have evolved in more recently designed furniture. While early seating pieces were designed with narrow or open arm supports and back panels, recent models have wide side and back parts so that they could be used as low tables. Displaying and storing items are frequently designed with open shelves, which are similar to library bookshelves, to exhibit people's possessions. Recently, they are designed partially or totally as enclosure cabinets with unornamented surfaces without veneering and in boxlike shapes combining veneered and lacquered wood and glass. In other words, they are produced in a wide range of forms, shapes and sizes, employing technological innovations in design and production and using new synthetic materials (Saville, 2006). Although wood is still the most widely used material in furniture making, it is mostly used in the inner structure as the constructive framework, and it is covered with veneer or upholstery in modern designs. Metal, plastics and glass are widely employed rather than wood in modern designs. Especially stainless steel, rod and nickel-chrome tubular materials are applied on external frames and legs of seating elements and tables, glass for table-tops and cabinets. Furthermore, unembellished smooth surfaces, metal, glass and new synthetic materials are distinctive features of this style.

Besides forms and materials, ready-made, modular and knockdown items are most common in modern style. Ready-made furniture illustrates availability whenever a buyer wants or needs new furniture. Modular furniture is designed to make use of units in different ways. Modularity makes it possible to reconfigure furniture when needs are changed, or owners move to a new location. Knock-down furniture is moved easily. After being bought in knocked-down packages

from the department store, the purchaser takes it to his/her own car and installs it easily at home. Once installed in a location, it can be demounted and re-installed at a new place or stored in a small storage area. Besides, knockdown furniture is relatively cheap compared to others. These characteristics of modern furniture offer possibilities for reorganization of units without any difficulty, and for the replacement of old and obsolete items with inexpensive new items (Pile, 2007, 401). The producer and consumer informants have frequently referred to IKEA¹³⁹ when exemplifying such items.

While Turkish houses are furnished using the present modern style, major influences derive from modern styles existent in western resources. The basic trends in modern style will be explained because of the reference point for the study.

The Influence of Bauhaus and International Style: Bauhaus, which emerged in the interwar era, is a style which unifies art and technology, creating appropriateness among materials, forms and function in an abstract visual expression (Pile, 2007; Piña, 2006). It designs austere, simple and unadorned functional furniture and Cubist geometrics and mathematical modular systems cooperating metal and glass structures and accessories with soft cushions. Seating pieces are upholstered with real or fake leather and plain fabrics in black, white, brown or neutral tones are used (Pile, 2007, p. 111). More adventurous and colourful drawings of the abstract painters are utilized both as sources of inspiration and objects of beautification throughout the aesthetics of engineering. The austere, simple and more functional taste and aesthetics both in art and in interiors is called *machinery art* and *machinery aesthetics*. It is also referred to as *International Style* in art and design history (Pile 2007, pp. 111-115; Piña, 2006). Recent applications of both strong primary, secondary and also solid tones on furniture are derived from the Bauhaus usage of colours (seen in Clavier, 2007; Downey, 1990; Fiell & Fiell, 1991; Pile, 2007). Besides fabrics, leather is also produced in various colours (Çalışkan, 2007b, pp. 80-82).

The impressions of Bauhaus or International style on furniture and interior designs since the early Republican period have been studied in different dimensions by various authors (e.g. Artun, 2009; Kezer, 1999; Köksal, 2009; Yaman, 2009; Özsezgin, 2009; Yorgancıoğlu, 2009),

¹³⁹ IKEA is a worldwide-known Swedish home furnishing company, whose branches in Turkey were opened in May 2005 in Ümraniye, İstanbul, in April 2006 in Bornova, İzmir, and in November, 2008 in Bayrampaşa, İstanbul and Osmangazi, Bursa.

and mentioned in the descriptions of interiors by novelists (e.g. Karaosmanoğlu, 2006a & 2006b; Yiğit, 2004). Furthermore, some people of this research with a higher education level also emphasized the influence in contemporary furniture and interior designs, specifically by those with degrees from related fields such as architecture, interior design and landscape architecture.

Scandinavian influence: Scandinavian design is a combination of the pure functionalism of Bauhaus and softer and less mechanistic quality of “organic” and “artistic” sculptural style which creates warmer and friendlier interiors as many specialists notice (e.g. Lee, 2003; Pile, 2007; Sembach, Leuthäuser & Gössel, 1991). Scandinavian furniture applies flowing curves on wooden parts, especially laminated plywood in furniture design and production. In the living spaces of Turkish houses, it is generally seen in modest, plain and functional seating groups with slim open arms and back supports displaying pastel colours, upholsteries and boxlike low coffee tables. Besides these, the laminated plywood pieces designed and produced by famous Scandinavian designers or under the pure Scandinavian influence with flowing curves arranged together with various items of modern design in recently furnished living rooms (seen in Clavier, 2007; Çırçır, 2007b; Kestanecioğlu, 2008a). Especially with the introduction of IKEA stores in İstanbul, İzmir and Bursa, Scandinavian display, storage and also dining units and decorative objects have begun to be frequently used in living spaces (Özkul, 2007a; 2007b).

Italian influence: Rather than the classic style, Italian effect is observed in modern style. Its seating groups are characterized with hugeness, largeness and depth. The surfaces are smooth and accompanied by huge low tables. Specifically, puffy cushions, side and back pillows support boxlike and angular forms. They are designed with larger arm supports that can be used as a coffee table. The legs are unadorned (Kestanecioğlu, 2007; Maison Française, 2008, May). Besides these, metal frames are used either as structural elements or as accessories (Onbaşıyan, 2008b). This influence is also seen in upholstery with woven, self-patterned, or plain fabrics in natural and pastel palettes (Apik, 2008a; Onbaşıyan, 2008d). Its display, storage and dining groups are not much different from other influences within modern style. Taking all these characteristics into account, Italian influence is the synthesis of all of the distinctive characteristics of modern style in the Turkish case. As a result of its widespread effects, some of my informants define modern style as the Italian style.

Apart from the major effects of the modern, zigzag forms, exaggerated details such as tall slender legs or back panels, pictorial painting on plain wood surfaces are combined with sumptuous materials such as natural or fake furs and horns, valued damasks, silk textiles and primitive objects such as earthenware, wooden jugs, bowls, masks and totems or their imitations. Such arrangements are generally referred to as the influence of *Art Deco*¹⁴⁰ (Lucie-Smith, 1988; Pile, 2007; Piña, 2006). Furthermore, organic forms, specifically floral and plant-inspired patterns as well as highly stylized curvilinear forms, amorphous rounded wooden frames, arm supports and legs with reddish brown finishing refer to the influence of *Art Nouveau*¹⁴¹ (Lucie-Smith, 1988). The multiple curved and eccentric forms are exemplified in new designs using new material in recent interiors (e.g. Onbaşyan, 2008e). Neither Art Deco nor Art Nouveau are defined in the responses to the questions of the questionnaire, but they are only expressed by few educated interviewees and seen as sources of inspiration in recent interior decoration approaches by some authors (e.g. Apik, 2008c; Bariller, 2008; Sordet, Dhellemmes, & Zenou, 2007).

Next to these major tendencies in modern style, some people who have higher education in related fields such as architect, interior design, city planning and landscape architecture have also mentioned post-modern and high-tech furniture. Post-modern design frequently refers to complexity, ambiguity and also unfunctionality in contrast to the emphasis on simplicity, austerity and functionality of the modern approach. Eccentric, disturbing and banal items and whimsical and colourful decorative elements are particularly used in interiors (Pile, 2007). High-tech design refers to the exploitation of elements of science, technology, especially the advanced technologies of computer-oriented, aerospace and automated industrial fields as main and decorative objects. While the relationship between modern approach and machine can be defined as quite a naïve and romantic view of mechanization, high-tech design, as Pile (2007, p.118)

¹⁴⁰ Art Deco emerged as a more commercial and fashion-oriented kind of Modernism while International style was improving in the interwar period. It originated from the primitive art and Cubist painting and sculpture, accompanied with modern motifs and technologies.

¹⁴¹ Art Nouveau was a popular movement in art and architecture, especially in interior design and in the design of furniture and small objects in the first decade of the twentieth century. Literally, it means ‘new art’. The most important principles were the abandonment of all historical references, the adventurous exploration of new forms, and the use of a rich and original vocabulary of decoration based on the curves and flowing lines of natural forms such as flowers, vines, birds and insects and eccentric appearances (e.g. Blakemore, 2006; Hinchman, 2009; Pile, 2007; Piña, 2006).

noted, “belongs to the post-Machine Age of electronics and space exploration, and creates a new aesthetics in its products”. It is mostly represented by metallic, golden and silver twinkles applied on furniture finishing, textiles and various objects to create and support high-tech influence in interiors (Çırçır, 2007c; Sordet, Dhellemmes & Zenou, 2007). Sometimes, it is combined with the forms inspired from spaceships and their details (Genç, 2008; Onbaşıyan, 2008c). Both these influences have been expressed in relation to audio-visual equipment and decorative objects by some of the informants. Appropriate curtains, floor coverings, lighting elements and colours of walls as well as also support living spaces furnished in the modern style by decorative objects. Upholstery for curtains is made of different materials such as cotton, linen and synthetic materials. Modern furnishings in living spaces are usually young, courageous, experimental, impersonal, and logical people who are interested in a style that is expressive of their own day (Rutt, 1955, p. 5).

To sum up, from the turn of the twentieth century to the twenty-first century, modern elements have been designed and produced in a vast range of forms, sizes and also prices, with design approaches that are significantly distinguished from the classic style. Style in a given interior or space is dominated by major furniture for seating, display, storage and eating units. Complementary details and decorative objects support the main style and create a particular sense. Modern style has been developed and established through technological innovations, mechanization and industrialization of furniture production, supported by industrial design and marketing, in the past hundred and fifty years. Austerity, simplicity, practicality and functionality, together with the elimination of ornamentation and ostentation are the most important characteristics of this style. In other words, the trademark, or *alamet-i farikası*, of the modern style is an unadorned quality and softened furniture together with the characteristics of austerity, simplicity and functionality. These are combined with decorative objects that are specifically designed for the living spaces.

5.3.2.iv. Eclectic Styles

Eclectic styles are the last category of the styles. The definition of these styles presents difficulty in two aspects. Firstly, it depends on eclectic designs, details and items inspired from previous styles and approaches. Secondly, it is a combination that emerges with the arrangement of

various items from different styles. Indeed, while eclectically combining items or details from traditional, classical and modern styles, this style applies many details on furniture, “borrowing from many sources” (Pile, 2007, p. 106). This style is seen in either on furniture or in interiors. Furniture, that is, any furniture item, unlike modern ones, is inspired, designed and produced by employing both historical and modern resources.

Eclectic designs are exemplified as Egyptian coffin cabinets in turquoise painting, modern glass-top table with cabriole legs, modern canapé within buttoned upholstery, boxlike cabinets with mahogany or ebony, seating elements with metal convex legs and backs, furniture with shiny fabrics or metal X-framed units, built-in cabinets, tables or couches. They are neither extravagantly ornamented like classic items nor disquietedly modest like the modern ones. Indeed, such items fluctuate between pure-classic and austere-modern. However, they are closer to modern style than the classic ones because of the opportunities for design and production resulting from technological innovations during production time. Actually, most furniture items in our times are designed under the effect of various references, both from the past cultures and from the modern approaches (seen in Aksoy, 2007b; Aksoy & Eckman, 2008; Aytekin, 2008a, 2008c, 2008f, 2008g; Cebecioğlu, 2008a; Çimen, 2008a, 2008c; Emir 2007a; Eser & Küçükerman, 2006; Haberberg, 2008; Onbaşıyan, 2008b, 2008c; Sordet, Dhellemmes & Zenou, 2007; Yaman, 2008a). It should be noted that the eclectic items positioned in this style are not the same as modernized traditional items or with the revivals of ancient, classic and imitations of the modern classics. Rather, these items are designed in new forms, re-interpreting all previous sources with respect to the new approaches and new technologies. Thus, each item created or designed in this style is eclectic because it borrows its details from previous styles including ornamentations, finishing, colours, upholsteries as well as accessories. Masion Française (2007, December) shows various applications on different furniture items (pp. 210-219). However, eclectic styles mainly designate not only the interiors, but also the details on furniture or design of furniture items. This point is clarified below with reference to the means of eclectic. Eclectic styles refer to a mixture of items and other auxiliary elements from previous styles and eclectic items in interiors. Eclectic styles in interiors can actually be viewed in two ways: *harmonically eclectic style* and *haphazardly eclectic style* that emerges as the result of the togetherness of all furniture and other supportive and decorative items.

In the *harmonically eclectic style*, furniture and other items are obviously and consciously selected from different styles in order to create a graceful, stylish, attractive and fashionable interior, in line with the owners' taste and aesthetical dispositions. To create a specific influence, ancient references to a historical influence, regional and ethnic sources to create an African or Indian effect, and japanned and lacquered panels and surfaces for a Chinese or Japanese taste are exploited and coordinated together in an interior (Bariller, 2008; Dalière & de Champris, 2008; de Haro & Fuentes, 2008; Lee, 2003). Alternatively newly designed and produced items with new materials and technologies are accompanied by built-in and handicraft elements or flamboyant, heavily ornamented classical items. Thus, traditional, highly classic, modern and also high-tech references and items are used together, and a style of combination is created by the owner (seen in Aksoy, 2007d; Apik, 2008f, 2008g, 2008h; Aras, 2007; Aytekin, 2007b; Kestanecioğlu, 2008b; Özcan & Şener, 2008; Özcan & Classens, 2008). Appropriateness and harmony among items and tendencies are taken into account to create a well-designed, sophisticated, classy, elegant, artistic or historical space.

The basic and simple principles of appropriate styles, furniture and decorative items, either within the framework of historical references or new trends and fashions are explained and thus, suggested to furnish a tasteful and beautiful house. For the harmonic interiors, the owners are interested in the creation of an aesthetically and eclectically accoutred and designed living space while taking into consideration suitability among furniture and complements. This indicates a conscious attempt to select correct items and bring them together within harmony. If someone wants to furnish her/his interiors by making use of historical references, as Bariller (2008) emphasizes, she/he should be cautious not to accoutre her/his living space like a museum, and gives some recent examples of eclectically stylized houses of fashion designers who work in different fields of fashion and design. Besides, this combination also suggests a mingle-mangle interior to identify the owner's personality (e.g. Dalière & de Champris, 2008; Gürlek, 2008d). Shortly, if a living space is furnished in harmonically combined styles, it is a selection of conscious choices in neither too careful nor completely mishmash togetherness.

Heavily ornamented classic or traditional furniture comes together with modern sculptures and high-tech lighting elements. The most common way of combining is bringing modern furniture together with primitive ethnic decorative objects (Bariller, 2008; de Haro & Fuentes, 2008; Lee, 2003; Yerasimos, 2001). Many professionals (e.g. Aksoy, 2007a, 2008; Apik, 2007, 2008a,

2008b, 2008c, 2008d, 2008e, 2008f; Aras, 2007; Dalière & Champris, 2008; Dos Santos, 2008; Emir, 2007; Emir & Yapar, 2008) provide examples as to how the combination is arranged by using ancient, traditional, classic, modern or high-tech items together in interiors. It is a style whereby both furniture pieces and other supportive items from different sources are utilized in the same space to create an attractive and chic interior. The combination is suited to the house and the taste of the owner, and is supported by historical and harmonic references as well as the needs of the household members. It aims at beautifying the interior by employing furniture, upholstery, curtains, lighting elements and floorings in accordance with the structure of the building and the preferences of the owner. It has become one of the most widely used terms for defining the use of various sources in a single house or space (e.g. Bariller, 2008; Pile, 2007; McKeller & Sparke, 2004; Neiswander, 2008; Yerasimos, 2001).

Harmonically combined style is exemplified by the togetherness of modern boxlike L-frame couches in beige grizzled with dark brown, mirrored glass-top low coffee tables on the sides, a painting by Kemal Güzel, the famous Turkish painter, in modern wooden frame, a mirror designed by Philippe Starck, the famous designer. The walls are washed in champagne and modern floor lamps sit in the corners next to couches. This constructs a specific and distinctive combination of different styles. Dark wooden eating group with a small bar cabinet, a circle wooden dining table, a boxlike side-table and simply adorned classic chairs are used together in this living space. While an ethnic puffy cushion, a handmade Turkish kilim and a handmade carpet with overblown repeated-floral pattern adorn the laminated floor, cream draperied curtains hanging on metal rods are utilized as window treatments. Furthermore, a piece of silver candlesticks on the dining table, a bouquet of fresh roses in a big vase adorned with small mirror pieces on a low table, dried wild branches in two African earth vases embellished with turquoise and small mirror pieces and pearls, and a carved wooden object ornamented with Far East motifs on another side-table are employed as decorative objects to beautify the living space. Besides these, another side table made of horn and an unframed picture with overblown roses on the wall are lit with a small wall-mounted sconce in the entrance of the house (Ünal, 2007a). Thus, a harmonically combined style is created using the collected objects from different styles according to the taste and aesthetics of the owner.

Haphazardly eclectic (mingle-mangle) style is different from the harmonically eclectic style. In this style, togetherness of different styles emerges from the usage of already possessed items and

newly acquired items together in the same living space. In other words, a given living space is already furnished and in time, new needs to sit, eat or store requires the purchase of new items. When the new items are acquired, the old ones are not replaced with these new ones, and both the new and the old are kept in use in the houses. While the old is in obsolete trends and the new is designed according to the trends of the new fashion in furniture and interior designs, their togetherness characterizes a haphazardly mixed style. Such a style is also observed in newly furnished houses as a consequence of the habits of furnishing a house and the economic circumstances of the household. It can be observed in the living spaces of newly married couples.¹⁴² While acquiring their furniture and other equipment, the newly married couples want to possess the seating, displaying, storing and dining groups in their living spaces. However, if they try to combine different styles by purchasing individual items, such a combination tends to cost much more than they can afford. As a result, they purchase these sets that include all pieces to create the without taking into consideration the appropriateness among them as well as the size of items and living spaces. The togetherness of all these sets creates crowded and even cramped living spaces as a result of haphazardly placing all items together.¹⁴³ Sometimes, all these sets may be designed and produced with same ornamentations and finishing, and upholstered with the same fabrics. Then, this mixture turns into sameness. In order to overcome this monotony, many decorative items in various sizes and different styles are haphazardly added with the aim of beautifying the living spaces. Thus, a haphazardly eclectic style emerges. To sum it up, either through the keeping of old and new furniture together or the purchasing of sets of furniture, haphazardly eclectic styles emerge as a category of the combination of different styles. As a matter of fact, miscellaneous items and objects in different styles fill in a living space in a rambling way to satisfy the needs and requirements of the households.

¹⁴² Field notes. He is a 33-year old man. Although an electrical technician by profession, he started to work in Siteler as a furniture maker in finishing. Recently, he and several furniture makers founded a shareholder and opened a showroom for their furniture.

¹⁴³ In the Turkish furniture market, there is a marriage set that includes seating, displaying, storing and eating sets and also bedroom sets. This study focuses on seating sets, consisted in two armchairs, one two-seater and one three-seater couches and one big and three small low tables, displaying and storing sets, composed of one big and one or two small china cabinets and drawers, and eating sets, comprised in a big dining table, eight or more chairs, side tables and consoles. These sets are presented together in the department stores for the customers. If someone purchases these items together, she/he bargains and has serious discount for each sets. In Siteler and also other department stores, bargaining is still utilized by the customers. However, if someone buys these items individually, she/he spends more money to acquire this combination.

Eclectic styles indicate that furniture and other supportive items designed with respect to all previous styles and also eclectic styles are used in the same living spaces. Many professionals (e.g. de Haro & Fuentes, 2008; Özkul, 2007a; Seyrekbasan, 2008d; Sparke, 2008; Ünal, 2007a & 2007b; Yaman, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c & 2008d) give advice on how to create attractive and elegant styles with a specific effect or how to eclectically combine and mix different styles in living spaces and interiors by using different items. They also offer details and small touches from ancient to high-tech influences to emerge into a specific style in houses. In short, traditional, classic, modern styles and the combination of different styles define the major categories of furniture and furnishing styles in Turkish houses. The trademarks, or *alamet-i farikası*, of the combination of different styles is used in the harmonious or haphazard arrangements from previous styles. Various original, ethnic, designed or imitated decorative objects are utilized to beautify the living spaces.

5.3.2.v. Accessories

Accessories compose of upholstery, curtain, lighting and floor coverings for each style.

Classic Style: Besides the ornamentations, upholstery is also characteristic for the classic style. Classic furniture is upholstered with fabrics as well as natural or fake leather in brown hues. Upholsteries and canopies are mostly made of brilliant and shiny fabrics such as damask, taffeta, satin, silk, chenille, velvet and leather with buttons or staplers. They are generally preferred in dark and gilded colours such as palettes of red, yellow, blue, green, purple and brown. Some classic items are not adorned with carving or other ornamentations. However, they are upholstered with shiny heavy textiles.

The patterns of fabrics and textiles used for upholstery and curtains, and also floorings and wallpapers are characteristics for the classic style. Scales of motifs and figures vary from plains to heavy patterns. Interwoven, self, mute, central, printed and overall patterns include geometric, floral and pictorial motifs and models as well as the three-dimensional versions. These motifs and patterns are applied on all kinds of fabrics employed by classical style (see Aksoy, 2006a; Apik, 20081; Apik & Seyrekbasan, 2007; İşcan, 2007a, 2007b; Maison Française, 2008/11; Seyrekbasan, 2008b; Ulusçu, 2006). While plain textiles are generally made of glossy or

jacquard materials, upholsteries are not only patterned with printed or chintzes but also embroidered with beads, silver and gold fibres and coloured by using new weaving and dying technologies (seen in Büyüksağış, 2007b, pp. 160-164; Çırçır 2007a; Marie Claire Maison, 2007/12). These sparkly and luminous textiles are widely embellished by affixing draperies, embroideries, lace and sheer, buttons, beads, tufts, fringes and tassels on skirts of couches, decorative cushions and pillows used as accessories. Thus, classic influence is created by means of patterned and glossy textiles and accessories.

Main curtains and under-curtains, tulles or insertions are made from sparkly and luminous textiles and are widely embellished similar to upholsteries that are coordinated with various tie-backs.

Floors are covered with wooden marquetry, parquetry, lacquer or laminated woods within various wooden tones and stylized geometrical figures. There are carpets in the center of space or wall-to-wall rugs in various patterns such as pictorial or overblown floral woven or chintzes, geometrical or repeated figures. Rarely regional or oriental rugs are used as well (seen in Marie Claire Maison, 2007/12: 78-79; Özcan, 2007c; Öztürk, 2007b).

Lighting elements consist of large chandeliers hung to the centres of ceilings, appliqués applied on the sidewalls and low or high lamp-shades and floor lamps placed on the floor. These elements are ornamented with metals such as brass, copper, bronze stainless steel as well as colourful, colourless transparent, crystallized, blown or edgy glass originating from ancient or late classic times-specifically masterpieces of Venetian and Murano glass chandeliers. Besides these, lamp-shades are made up of various forms and materials such as porcelain, glass, brass and used in order to maintain direct or indirect lighting from the ceiling, side walls or ground. These lighting items are in small and light or huge and heavy embodiments

Modern Style: Upholstery and fabrics are made of all natural and artificial materials. Although the fabric does not differ from traditional and classic styles in terms of the material used, the colours and patterns differ widely from the classic style. Primarily, all flamboyant, luxurious and lustrous textiles with heavy patterns are abandoned and newly designed items are upholstered in textiles or leather. Plain or light woven, self, mute or three-dimensional patterns are observed. While nickel-chrome chairs and armchairs are upholstered by using real or fake leather in natural

colours, couches or sofas are covered with fabrics. Their cushions, back and side supports are filled with soft materials such as feathers, foam rubber or synthetic fibres.

Colours and tones also differ in earlier and later types of modern furniture. White, black and brown tones, especially tobacco-coloured, off-white, natural, neutral, pastel palettes, are common for upholstery in early samples, or modern classics. Nowadays, despite the dominance of off-white, grey and brown tones, all colours including black, white, fresh red, orange, pink, green, and purple are applied on all furniture items (see Büyüksağış, 2007a, pp. 128-131).

Besides the colourfully upholstered items, finishing is widely applied on planes in recently designed modern elements. Particularly ebonized, glazed and black, white and red lacquered items for storage, display and dining sets are frequently employed to accoutre living spaces. As television has become an indispensable element in living spaces, ebonized, glazed or lacquered television units have been included as storage and display units in modern style. Although glossy finishing is frequently applied in the classic style, by means of using new technologies it is used much more than before in vanishing furniture.

Curtains are made of natural cotton or linen textiles in neutral tones to receive natural light from the windows. Recently, synthetic fabrics have also begun to be employed for usage in windows. Even though pleated drapes hung to curtain rods were common several years ago, new appropriate techniques such as roller blinds, pulled-up jalousie and Japanese ribbons or ropes are frequently used in window treatments within a vast range of new trends and materials in recently furnished living spaces. The most important principle is appropriateness among all main and complementary elements. Even though main curtains and insertions are selected with respect to simplicity, austerity and functionality, and should not be flamboyant or exaggerated, recent curtains may be a bit flashy in their various forms.

Lighting elements are also different from traditional and classic styles. Similar to furniture items, they consist of designed chandeliers, appliqués, scones, floor lamps and lamp-shades. They are designed in various forms: inspired from nature (such as eggs, flowers such as tulip, lily, rose, or fruits such as oranges, cones, pumpkins); geometrical figures such as globe, cylindrical, cubical figures, candle shapes, amorphous figures, sculptural and sculpture-cum-lamps which are used by combining different materials such as grey metal, glass, papers, porcelains, cloths and

synthetic materials. Even though most of these are used without any patterns, others, especially lampshades and floor lamps, can be decorated by making use of patterns, printed or painted images. Multiple light sources are coordinated to provide artificial direct and indirect light in modern interiors by using combinations of spotlights, halogens and fluorescent lamps. Lightings are applied at different points to highlight specific places and to maintain an effective distribution of light. In addition to the major lighting elements, units hanging above a dining table, spot lampshades next to bookshelves, adjustable floor lamps next to couches and mounted-scones on side walls are employed to produce effective distribution of light in living spaces (see Barandır, 2007; Gura, 2002; Pile, 2007). Lighting elements are employed in harmony with all furnishing units.

5.3.2.vi. Decorative Objects

Classic Style: Various gilded and bronze hardware, an ornament technique known as *ormolu*, and items such as mirror and picture frames, clocks, candlesticks, porcelain objects, glasses, vases and various bibelots, sculptures, pictures are employed for beautification of living spaces. In other words, a variety of gilded and glazed, or glossy items are utilized as decorative objects to support furniture and complementaries in contemporary living spaces in houses (seen in Apik, 2007a; Arpacı, 2008; Emir, 2007b; İşcan, 2007; Özcan & Davis, 2007; Synave, 2008). Various flamboyant objects as display pieces complement the classic ambiance in homes (Seen in Çalışkan, 2007, pp. 62-65; Çırçır, 2007a, pp. 66-70; Marie Claire Maison, 2007/12). Furthermore, walls are widely painted in neutral colours such as off-white, champagne, yellow, very light green, blue or pink. Recently, walls are washed in dark tones as well, especially red, green, brown and blue hues (Ünal, 2007b, pp. 158-169).

Modern Style: Decorative objects are rarely employed in early modern interior design because of the constructive principles of austerity, simplicity and functionality. Although abstaining from decoration, functional objects are embraced as if they were ornamental items. Designed lighting elements and huge bowls with fruits and also books on shelves are frequently used as decorative objects. In the early modern style, where these did not exist, the most widely used objects were live plants and flowers in vases. In contemporary modern style, however, decorative items are almost rediscovered to beautify the interiors. In contrast to austere and simple furniture and

supportive units, a vast variety of decorative objects are utilized to beautify the interiors. The most widely used ones are porcelain, glass, metal and wood vases in various sizes and shapes, original sculptures or reproduced ones, paintings and photographs by famous artists, framed photographs of family members, ethnic and authentic handmade wood, glass, copper, silver and earthen objects, natural objects such as amorphous stones, objects by famous designers, various collections such as souvenirs, postcards, bibelots, toys, needlework and boxes from different countries, and houseplants such as bonsai, orchids, cyclamens and cactuses. Such decorative objects are exhibited on shelves of display units, library shelves, on tables and low tables as well as by simply placing them on the floor (see Büyüksağış, 2007a, pp. 128-131). It may even seem as if recent modern style has lost its modesty by making use of such objects in interiors. However, when modern style is compared with the classic style, it still comprises of unornamented units and establishes an austere, simple and functional aesthetics based on industrial production.

Besides all these styles, the *oriental corner* can be defined as a cross-cutting manner of all the previous styles mentioned in the living spaces. As mentioned before, questions about the oriental corner were also directed to the informants since it could be used within all the categories, except the traditional one. The oriental corner refers to a decorated corner which comes into use by employing built-in *sedirs* with cushions and back pillows with hand-made coverings, easy stools, round metal trays used as low tables, curtains with original embroidery, local hand-weaved fabrics, kilims, copper, silver or wooden objects. In other words, oriental corner or, more rarely, separated oriental room is accoutred in an authentic or nostalgic way similar to the traditional Turkish houses in order to create a friendlier, calmer, more comfortable and restful space. At the same time, this corner is organized as a display area to exhibit the heirlooms and collections of authentic objects of the household (Dos Santo, 2008; Yerasimos, 2001). Oriental corner is decorated by using a wide range of objects from well-qualified, handcrafted and ornamented solid wooden and valued objects to cheaper and simpler samples. Some authors illustrate the samples of this kind of authentic furnishing style, which use both original and modernized or re-designed items in the houses (e.g. Aksoy, 2007a; Apik, 2008e & 2008f; Bariller, 2008; Dos Santo, 2008; Eser & Küçükerman, 2006; Koyuncu, 2008; Onbaşıyan, 2008f & 2008g; Yerasimos, 2001). Sometimes, the original architectural structure is protected to create a traditional effect (Aytekin, 2007a, 2007b). To sum up, the trademarks, or *alamet-i farikası*, of

oriental corner is defined as authentic and ethnic objects from Anatolia, the Balkans and the Middle East.

Consequently, these categories refer to specific arrangement of styles in the living spaces with respect to the taste and aesthetics of the owners, which is the subject of the next section. The definition of styles is considered as a guide for the reference points for taste and aesthetical dispositions of the different strata of the Turkish middle class. The major characteristics of each style are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9

Furnishing Styles

| Furnishing Styles Defining Aspects | TRADITIONAL & TRANSITORY | CLASSICAL | MODERN | ECLECTIC STYLES |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| Origins | Traditions & Customs | Western Classics & Ottoman Palaces | Design Approaches, Modern Classics & Designed Furniture | All Styles |
| Standing Position | Built-in | Free-standing | Free-standing & Rarely Built-in | Built-in & Free-standing |
| Furniture Items | <i>Sedir</i> , Bench, Wardrobe, Niches, Shelves, Chest, Stools, Divan, Bedspring (<i>Somya</i>), Convertible Couch (<i>Çek-Yat</i>) | Armchair, Couch, Sofa, Cabinet, Sideboard, Buffet, Console, Drawer, Table, Chair | Same with Classical Items | Same with Classical Items |
| Ways of Production | Made by Owners, Masters or Crafts | Craft-, Machine- or Mass-Production | Machine-, Mass- & Computer-Based Production | Depends on Original Style |
| Materials | Untreated Wood | Solid Wood (Oak, Walnut, Cherry, Rose, Mahogany) | Glass, Metal, Plastics & Technologic Materials | Depends on Original Style |
| Shape & Size | Depends on Size of Space | Classic, Oval, Kidney Form, Huge & Heavy | Boxlike, Cubic, Rectangular, Circular & Various Size | Depends on Original Style |
| Ornaments | Engraved, Carved, Joined with Martise & Tenon | Heavy Carving, Turning, Inlaying, Shiny Finishing, Marqueting, Parqueting, Laquering, Ebonizing | Smooth & Surfaces, Unadorned & Unornamented | Depends on Original Style & Owner's Taste |
| Upholstery Fabrics & Textile | Local Weaved Fabrics | Velvet, Chenille, Silk, Satin, Taffeta, Chintz, Damask with Tufts, Tassels, Fringes & Draperies, Leather | Velvet, Cotton, Duck, Canvas, Synthetic Fabrics & Leather | Depends on Original Style & Owner's Taste |
| Patterns | Plain, Striped, Checked | Plain, Self-, Mute-, Central-, 3-Dimensional, & Overall Floral, Plant, Pictorial Patterns | Plain, Self-, Mute-, & 3-Dimensional Geometric & Abstract Patterns | Depends on Original Style & Owner's Taste |
| Colours | Natural Colours | Dark, Gilded & Shiny Colours (Brown, Claret Red, Green, Blue, Yellow) | Neutral, Pale & Light Tones, White & Black | Depends on Owner's Taste |
| Flooring | Untreated Wooden Coverings, Hand-weaved Carpet, Rugs, Kilims | Central- & Repeated Patterned Carpets & Rarely Regional Rugs | Plain or Designed Carpets, Regional Rugs & Kilims | Depends on Owner's Taste |
| Curtains | Fabrics Weaved with Untreated Linen & Cotton | Same with Upholstery & Brocade & Embroidered Tulle | Same with Upholstery, Generally Plain in Neutral Colours | Depends on Owner's Taste |
| Lighting | Basic Candeliers and Appliqués | Various Shiny & Heavy Crystallized Glassy & Gilded Chandeliers & Appliqués, Lamp-shades, Floor Lamps | Designed (Metal) Chandeliers, Appliqués, Floor Lamps & Spots | Depends on Owner's Taste |
| Decorative Objects | Various Earthenware, Wooden, Copper, Silver & Brass Objects to Use | Flamboyantly Gilded Frames, Porcelain & Glass Bibelots, Vases & Various Objects Adorned with Classic Patterns | Various Designed Objects | Depends on Owner's Taste |
| Taste & Aesthetical Dispositions | Spontaneous Functionality Functional Aesthetics | Ostentation, Flamboyancy, Sumptuousness, Exaggeration, Luxury, Heavy Ornamentation | Austerity, Simplicity, Functionality & Practicality | Depends on Owner's Taste |

5.3.3. Furnishing Styles and Decoration in Social Space

This section includes the analytical construction of the tastes of the Turkish middle class fractions, based on the explanations provided in Chapter 4, and previous sections of Chapter 5. Apart from social, cultural, economic capitals and employment/occupations, thirty-nine variables in total, eighteen for tastes and seventeen for decoration, are employed in the multiple correspondence analyses. Explanations of the variables employed and their labels are given below the figures. The cloudings in social spaces of tastes and decoration are symbolized with the same colours referring to the middle class fractions.

This title includes two sections on tastes and decoration in the living spaces of the Turkish middle class fractions. The Figure 9 in the first section displays tastes in social space by employing multiple correspondence analyses, and decoration is displayed in Figure 10 in the second section below.

5.3.3.i. Furnishing Styles in Social Space

Several points can be observed on Figure 9 immediately, before going into detail about the colours of the clouds. First of all, the quadric bow faces upward. The variables for tastes are constructed and determined on the basis of the explanations about the furnishing styles, as outlined in the previous section. These styles include the furnishing styles in current and childhood houses, the advices offered by professionals, obsolete furniture items, various resources of information, initial preferences in choosing furniture, length of use their furniture, materials and patterns of their furniture upholstery, ways of purchasing, and the reasons for changing furniture. The furnishing styles described for current houses are limited to the classic, modern and eclectic furnishing styles, while traditional, squatter and village styles that are no longer seen in contemporary houses are also expressed with regard to childhood houses. These traditional, squatter and village styles are explained as pure and transitory styles, with some obsolete items such as mats, bedsteads, *çek-yats*, easy tables and chairs also described in transitory styles.

The labels are gathered around the intersection point of Axes X and Y, and they are scattered around this main cloud. What this dispersion immediately displays is that there are certain resemblances among the fractions in terms of tastes, as well as distinctions. At a closer look, however, we obtain a clearer view of the distinctions. A colouring pattern of the clouds in social space is employed in Figure 9, in order to make these distinctions more visible.

The characteristics of each cloud and the associated furnishing styles can be summarized as follows: The yellow cloud symbolizes the taste of the lower/bitter middle class fraction, which includes housewives and blue-collar workers with S1, C1 and EC1. When furnishing styles are taken into account, the label 'do not know styles' is positioned under the yellow cloud, and closer to the classic style. As can be recalled, the lower/bitter fraction is the only one among the fractions of the Turkish middle class that has rural social origins. When furnishing styles in childhood are taken into account, moreover, all styles that are rural and no longer seen in recent houses are again positioned under this cloud. This finding is in conformity with the rural origins of this fraction. The respondents in this fraction have never changed their furniture and have been using them for more than ten years. The furniture owned by this fraction generally includes mass-produced sets for seating and displaying, and sometimes eating and storing. Seating sets generally include one three-seater sofa, one two-seater canepe, and two armchairs; displaying items are chinacabinets. With regard to the fabrics and patterns of upholstery, the cheaper mass-produced textiles, i.e. satin, and machine-based patterns, stripped, geometric or other, are commonly seen on classic furniture. The fact that their neighbours are their primary source of information matches with their 'stuck to home, family and neighbours' life-style. Considering the labels under the yellow cloud, the label 'neighbours as information resources' is the sole 'point of contact' between the lower/bitter fraction and the well-off/happy fraction.¹⁴⁴ In short, the distinction of the lower/bitter middle class is constructed, in terms of home furnishing taste, through the use of cheaper mass-produced furniture items covered with textile patterned according to the trends of the time, bought when need arouse. This taste can also be interpreted as 'taste of necessity', with reference to Bourdieu; and can be seen, in this sense, as conforming to a label below the 'popular taste'.

¹⁴⁴ This should not be interpreted that these two fractions have similar neighbourhood relations. That is, for the lower/bitter fraction neighbourhood is the main reason for this relationship, while members of the well-off/happy fraction are neighbours with those people they are already familiar via school, work, or other reasons. The definition of neighbours as sources of information is, to an extent, a consequence of the social and spatial isolation of the upper fraction.

The second cloud is the blue cloud, representing the middle/resentful middle class fraction. This fraction is composed of unqualified workers, self-employed and retirees with S2, C2 and EC2. As can be recalled, the distinctive characteristic of this fraction's life-style is emulation. Members of this fraction are informed about the life-styles of higher fractions, but they cannot consume as many goods and services due to the limits of their economic capital. The respondents of this fraction prefer to accoutre their houses with classical furnishing style. They were grown up in eclectically furnished houses, displaying a haphazardly eclectic furnishing style. They generally purchase complete all sets for sitting, eating, displaying and storing, with their houses becoming loaded with numerous items, and their living spaces crammed with furniture and other decorative objects. They generally use ordinary fabrics with popular patterns of the time they are purchased. The furniture upholstered with cotton, satin, polyester, velvet or Gobelin fabrics have floral patterns. They no longer use bedsteads or *divans* in their current houses. They prefer durable furniture with strong structure, and change them only when they become obsolete; hence they have used some items for more than twenty years. Given the life-style of the middle/resentful middle class, they display a taste showing that they emulate the tastes of higher fractions, the knowledge of which they possess, but not the means. They attempt to employ in a single space all elements of sets of sitting, eating, displaying and storing units, composed of ostentatiously embellished and brilliantly finished items of classic style. In the end, they display their taste with crammed living space, furnished in the classic style. That the furnishing style of this fraction, composed of items sometimes twenty-years old, is defined with Bourdieu's concept of 'popular taste' is mostly due to the decorative objects rather than the furniture items. Decoration will be the subject of next section.

The third cloud is the purple one, representing the upper/contemptuous middle class fraction. This fraction consists of S4, C3, EC3 and includes only white-collars. They were grown up in houses furnished with modern style, and they prefer modern styles in their current houses. The respondents in this fraction no longer use old style, heavily-carved-turned ostentatious items or *çek-yats*. They prefer linen, silk and chenille for upholstery, with plain, self-patterned and motif patterns. They have been using their furniture for less than ten years. Both aesthetics and functionality are important in their preferences. They tend to create distinctive styles, challenging the monotony of popular furniture sets, in terms of forms, shapes, sizes, colours and fabrics and patterns, sometimes sold with serious discounts when purchased altogether, criticising them for regularity, banality and sameness. Despite chances of discount when bought

together, they prefer buying separate pieces from different sets. In Bourdieu's sense, their taste is in between the middle-brow and high-brow tastes. On the one hand, they clearly challenge such items; but on the other hand, they still stay in touch with them.

The final cloud is the magenta-pink for the well-off/happy fraction that consists of S3, C4, EC4, and high-qualified professionals, small and middle size employers. They definitely prefer harmonically eclectic styles in their living spaces. The resources they use most include neighbours, friends, advertisements, TV programs, webpages, catalogues, and home and decoration magazines. They utilize different methods of purchasing, such as placing orders with artisans or firms, or selecting from stores. They frequently use leather for upholstery, with natural colours and skins. In short, their harmonically eclectic styles, utilization of various sources of information, methods of purchasing together designate their high-brow/legitimate taste, in Bourdieu's words.

To sum, each fraction has distinction in the scale of tastes, in parallel to Bourdieu's definitions as popular, middle-brow and high-brow/legitimate tastes. While the lower/bitter fraction clearly uses cheaper mass-produced items as a result of 'taste of necessity'; the middle/resentful fraction emulates higher fractions, and tries to furnish similar living spaces, creating, in the end, 'crammed' living spaces loaded with numerous items under the effect of a 'popular' taste. The upper/contemptuous fraction, however, attempts to challenge the regularity, banality and sameness of middle-brow taste. The well-off/happy fraction, finally, creates its own taste using various items from different styles within harmonically eclectic styles. Still, the distinction is not designated with the furnishing style, rather, it is the selection and arrangement of the styles of furniture and decorative objects that constructs the distinction. The auxiliary and decorative objects are the subject of the next subsection.

5.3.3.ii. Decoration in Social Space

Taking into account the scattering of labels and the direction of the quadric bow in social space, the clouds provide several points for interpretation, clearly emerging from the Figure 10. First of all, the direction of the quadric bow is downwards. The characteristics of each furnishing style were clarified in a previous section 5.3.2. In this section, the variables of decoration are

constructed on the basis of responses related to the auxiliary items, including curtains, floorings, and lightings. Decoration also includes the oriental corners, hangings on the walls, ethnic and authentic copper/wooden/terra rosa objects, as well as the harmony among furniture, curtains and floorings. Seventeen variables in total are employed, without capitals and employment/occupations, in order to conduct multiple correspondence analyses. Consequently, distinctions among the Turkish middle class fractions are displayed in social space in Figure 10.

That the dispersion of labels is positioned around the quadratic bow, even though concentrated around the intersection point of Axes X and Y, can be observed at first glance. Beside the dispersion, the concentration of the labels becomes looser going from the left to the right of the graph. This dispersion displays that decoration among the fractions differ gradually from one fraction to other, and that each fraction has its own distinction from the others. Decoration preferences of each middle class fraction in social space are seen on Figure 10.

The first cloud is the yellow one, and it covers S1, C1, EC1 and housewives, blue-collar and unqualified workers. The respondents in this cloud are members of the lower/bitter middle class. Their responses were limited to the questions about basic auxiliary items, such as floorings, curtains, lightings/illustrations and religious symbols. They have neither specified floor coverings, such as parquets or laminated woods, or wall to wall fitted carpets, or hand woven carpets or kilims/rugs, nor patterned carpets and rugs. They express that machine-made carpets are the only items they use for covering on the floors. The harmony between curtains and furniture is also not a concern for them. As for the lighting, they use only direct illuminations in their living spaces. If they have chandeliers, these are classical crystal-glass chandeliers, mounted on the ceilings. With regard to hangings on the walls, they answer positively only to one question about the religious symbols, such as verses of the Koran, icons, etc. This fraction is unique among others in having a religious sense in its taste and decoration. In short, the lower/bitter middle class does not have many auxiliary and decorative objects in their living spaces. In other words, their living spaces are austere, basically due to the level of economic capital. When taking in to account their life-style, the use of urban spaces, tastes and decoration, their taste as a whole is determined and forged by necessity. Hence their taste is coined as 'taste of necessity', in line with Bourdieu.

The second cloud is the blue one, and it symbolizes the decoration patterns of the middle/resentful middle class fraction. It comprises S2, C2, EC2 and self-employed, retirees and white collars. The labels are interpreted according to their places of concentration in the social space: The first one is positioned closer to the yellow cloud; the second closer to the purple cloud, with the part next to the yellow cloud being more concentrated. The labels in this part are generally related to the ordinary and cheaper items, and the 'lack' of relatively expensive and distinctive details. In other words, the respondents cover their floor with ordinary machine-weaved carpets, and they don't own hand-woven carpets and rugs. Moreover, their curtains are made-up of cotton, polyester and satin, and they care about the harmony between floorings and furniture, and prefer to hang their curtains from classic rods. They use modern chandeliers as lighting elements, providing indirect lights. For decorative objects, they place family and landscape photographs on their walls. These respondents, on the other hand, don't have oriental corners, ethnic objects, religious symbols and the protectors of evil eyes, works of ebru/hat, artistic photographs, nor photographs of Atatürk or nature to beautify their living spaces.

On the other hand, the second part close to the purple cloud differs from both the first part of the blue cloud, and the yellow cloud. The respondents positioned in this part of the blue cloud have hand-woven carpets and rugs, and they care about the harmony between furniture and floorings as well as curtains. Their curtains are made-up of linen, silk or hand-woven authentic fabrics, hanging from classic and rustic rods with different styles, ranging from the kilted to flounced, creased or half forms. They prefer illuminating their living spaces with indirect lights within modern-designed bracket lamps. They also hang decorative photographs, such as Atatürk's photographs or artistic photographs, and other objects such as the protector from the evil eyes on the walls. Evaluating all these items and objects together, it can be concluded that members of the middle/resentful fraction attempt to create their own taste in their living spaces, using decorative details such as curtain styles, handmade fabrics and items. This can be observed in social space; as economic capital rises within the same fraction, auxiliary and decorative items become more detailed and expensive, with materials and styles such as silk and linen curtains with rustic rods, hand-woven carpets and designed illumination sources. Thus, their attempts to create and show their own taste match with the 'popular' taste. Their attempts become more visible as their positions get closer to the purple cloud in social space.

The third cloud in the social space is the purple cloud, and it symbolizes the upper/contemptuous middle class fraction's style of decoration in living spaces. It consists of S4, C3, EC3 and small employer and high qualified professionals. The labels are positioned far from the labels of the previous fractions. They are positioned close to those who care about floor coverings and own hand-woven carpets and rugs. They clearly express that they prefer chenille and taffeta for curtains together with half rustic bars and stores. They employ various light sources from multiple lights and equipment. They beautify their living spaces with reproductions of famous paintings, photographs, and also ethnic objects from different places and countries. As a result, the respondents in the upper/contemptuous middle class fraction decorate their living spaces with distinctive objects and distance themselves from other fractions. This can be concluded from their rejection to use auxiliaries and decorative objects that could be affordable for all fractions. They also express their dislike toward these ordinary details, which can be seen everywhere and in every house. Their taste is therefore named as 'challenge for middle-brow' taste. While they try to distance themselves from lower fractions, however, they also stay away from the upper fraction represented by the magenta-pink cloud.

The last cloud is the magenta-pink cloud symbolizing the well-off/happy middle class fraction, which comprises S3, C4, EC4 and middle-size employers. This fraction constructs its distinction with their velvet curtains in most expensive styles, such as creased and flounced styles with rustic bars. They use only single lighting in their living spaces. The basic auxiliary items are expressed as curtain and lightings, and the respondents also use works of ebru/hat as decorative objects in their living spaces. The well-off/happy fraction prefers to decorate their houses with expensive products and rare works of traditional arts.

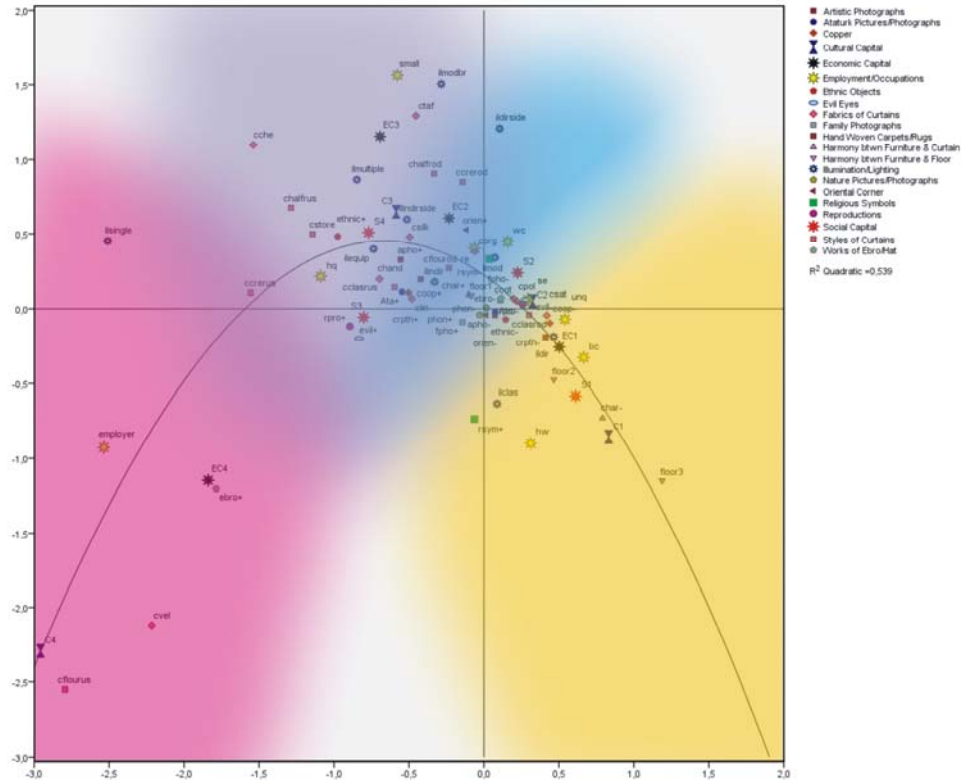


Figure 10. Decoration in Living Spaces in Houses of Middle Class Fractions in Social Space

DECORATION OF MIDDLE CLASS FRACTIONS: Social Capital: S1, S2, S3, S4; Cultural Capital: C1, C2, C3, C4; Economic Capital: EC1, EC2, EC3, EC4; Employment/Occupations: hw (House Wife), unq (Unqualified Worker), re (Retiree), bc (Blue Collar), wc (White Collar), se (Self-Employed), hq (High Qualified Professional), small (Small Employer), employer (Middle-Size Employer); Artistic Photographs: apho+ (Yes), apho- (No); Atatürk Photographs/Pictures: Ata+ (Yes), Ata- (No); Copper/Wood/Leather Decorative Objects: coop+ (Yes), coop- (No); Ethnic Objects such as Mask/Totem/Sacred Emblems: ethnic+ (Yes), ethnic- (No); Protectors from the Evil Eye: evil+ (Yes), evil- (No); Fabrics of Curtains: corg (Organdy), cpol (Polyster), clin (Linen), ccot (Cotton), chand (Handwoven Natural Fabrics), csik (Silk), csat (Satin), ctat (Taffetta), cvel (Velvet), cche (Chenile); Family Photographs: fpho+ (Yes), fpho- (No); Hand Woven Carpets/Rugs: crpth+ (Yes), crpth- (No); Harmony between Furniture and Curtains: char+ (Yes), char- (No); Harmony between Furniture and Floor tiles/Floor Coverings: floor1 (Yes), floor2 (No), floor3 (Not have Floor Coverings); Illumination/Lighting: ildir (Direct from the Ceiling), ilindir (Indirect from the Ceiling), ildirside (Direct from the Sides), ilindirside (Indirect from the Sides), ilclas (Classic Chandelier from the Ceiling), ilmod (Modern Chandelier from the Ceiling), ilclasbr (Classic Bracket Lamp), ilmodbr (Modern Bracket Lamp), ilsingl (Single Lamp Shade), ilmultple (Multiple Lamp Shades), ilequip (Different Light Equipment); Nature Pictures/Photographs: phon+ (Yes), phon- (No); Oriental Corner: orien+ (Yes), 2: orien- (No); Religious Symbols (Ayet, Masallah, Icons/Pictures, etc.): rsym (Yes), rsym- (No); Reproductions: rpro+ (Yes), rpro- (No); Styles of Curtains: cclasrod (Classic Kilted with Rod), cclasrus (Classic Kilted with Rustic), cfloured (Flounced with Rod), flourus (Flounced with Rustic), ccerod (Creased with Rod), ccerus (Creased with Rustic), chalfrod (Half Cutain with Rod), chalfrus (Half Curtain with Rustic), store (Store/Jalousie); Works of Ebro/Hat: ebro+ (Yes), ebro (No)

Given their harmonically eclectic style in furnishing, preference for combination of various furniture items and objects in harmony, their taste for decoration can be classified as ‘legitimate/highbrow’ taste, as defined by Bourdieu, since they are informed about all kinds of items, styles and objects, utilizing various sources from catalogues to internet pages, home and decoration magazines, as well as professionals for advices, and redesign their house whenever the need or the urge arises.

5.4. Tastes of the Turkish Middle Class Fractions

According to Bourdieu’s theory on tastes of class fractions, there are three basic sets of tastes: legitimate/high-brow for upper classes, middle-brow for middle classes, and popular tastes for lower or working classes. Beside these three scales, taste of necessity refers to the taste of the lower classes. Tastes in living spaces of the Turkish middle class fractions have been labelled in parallel with this classification. The Turkish middle class is fragmented into four fractions according to the combinations and volumes of social, cultural, and economic capitals they possess, and also on the basis of their employment/occupations. The subsequent analysis demonstrated that each fraction has a particular taste of its own.

Taste of Necessity: The lower/bitter middle class fraction has the taste of necessity. The respondents in this fraction have furnished their living spaces and beautified them with few decorative objects. The distinction of materiality of their taste is constructed with cheaper mass-produced folk-type items. They are not users of a specific style. Their ways of furnishing depend totally on their immediate needs and their budget at the time the needs emerge. They are labelled as the users of “folk-type furniture” by the producers in Siteler, Ankara.¹⁴⁵ They are hoarders of all items, both old and new. They never throw away their old stuff, their living spaces becoming, in the end, accoutred haphazardly and eclectically. They decorate their walls, moreover, with family photographs and religious symbols.

Popular Taste: The middle/resentful middle class fraction has the popular taste. They generally furnish their living spaces along ready-made styles, whereby complete sets of sitting, eating,

¹⁴⁵ Field notes.

displaying and storing units are used, designed in singular forms, materials, and upholstery. All furniture items are arranged in a classic or modern concept. Moreover, they usually aestheticize their living spaces with small decorative objects, such as bibelots, china, glass or copper objects and artificial flowers. They also use photographs of nature and landscapes for decoration.

Middle-Brow Taste: The upper/contemptuous middle class fraction is matched with middle-brow taste. The respondents in this study, however, are not merely users of the middle-brow taste, as they also challenge it. Although their taste is positioned in this label, they are placed in between the legitimate and middle-brow tastes. They always challenge ready-made styles and concepts, purchasing and using instead items from several different styles and concepts. They generally construct their distinction of materiality with a modern style. They decorate their living spaces with artistic photographs and reproductions of works of arts. They are ordinary members of the upper/contemptuous middle class fraction.

Legitimate/High-Brow Taste: The well-off/happy middle class fraction displays the legitimate/high-brow taste. They create their own elegancy, utilizing all forms of capitals. They generally combine different items from various styles. Whether they prefer a single style or a combination of different styles, their house interiors, in the end, are decorated in their own classy style, with well-made and rare items.

However, there are other users of ready-made styles and concepts from higher fractions. They have economical capital, but not the upper or highest cultural capital, and refined taste and aesthetics. They can afford more expensive and qualified ready-made styles of leading brands, “the users of Beymen style” as stated by Ayata (2002, p. 36). Such users are members of the upper/contemptuous and well-off/happy middle class fractions. However, these respondents with higher capitals have more expensive and qualified items.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, the inner-stratification of the Turkish middle class has been scrutinized employing Bourdieu's theory on social classes, capitals, habitus, life-styles and tastes. One of the aims of this study is to contribute to the academic discussions on middle class(es), or to be more precise, on the fragmentation of middle class(es). This in itself is an issue discussed widely in the international literature. However, these discussions have found only a limited reflection in the Turkish context. The definition of middle classes used in this work relies on Bourdieu's classification of social, cultural and economic capitals, and the defining characteristics of the middle class fragmentations. Taking such an understanding as its basis, social, cultural and economic capitals, which rely strongly on local characteristics and habitus, were identified and integrated into the study. Certain restrictions were required in the conduct of such a research, reflected in the sample selection, and the selection of Ankara as the locale for the field work. A further restriction was set by identifying the fragmentation of the middle classes and their associated lifestyles through the furnishing and decoration behaviours/activities of individuals/households. This was done with the help of a very detailed questionnaire application, although not representative in scale. Multiple correspondence analyses were applied and inner-stratification, distinction among fractions through life-styles and tastes were displayed in social spaces.

The outcome of this analysis allowed the author to formulate different fractions of the middle class in a specific Turkish context. The data actually showed a differentiation into four subcategories, which were then identified as: the lower/bitter middle class, the middle/resentful middle class, the upper/contemptuous middle class, and the well-off/happy middle class. As visible in the naming of these categories, they have to be considered as combinations of structural and social-psychological characteristics. In addition to the questionnaire results, which cover mainly the material conditions, in-depth talks with producers, designers, architects, retailers, users, fair representatives etc., as well as insights collected from furniture/decoration magazines and newspaper supplements, were used to develop these categories. This

categorization should be considered as an important step for further analyses. The originality can be seen in the attempt to identify different lifestyles of these different middle class fragmentations. In more general terms, consumption constitutes a major criterion for identifying lifestyles. In this analysis, consumption is considered as part of the three capitals. Lifestyle itself is a difficult concept to be defined. It depends strongly on society specific characteristics. The author preferred to restrict the analysis of lifestyles to every day experiences/habits/activities and behaviors (praxis). These were asked in the questionnaires and supported with questions related to taste and aesthetics (focusing on styles and trends). The outcome of this analysis has been a differentiation into different lifestyles of different fragments of the middle class.

The finding of the dissertation is that the middle class fractions have different lifestyles and tastes: the lower/bitter fraction has 'stuck to home, family and neighbours' lifestyle and 'taste of necessity'; the middle/resentful fraction has 'emulation-centred' lifestyle and 'popular taste'; the upper/contemptuous fraction has 'shopping mall-centred' lifestyle and 'challenged-middlebrow' taste; and the well-off/happy fraction has 'outgoing' lifestyle and 'legitimate/highbrow' taste. It was stated in the introduction that the author opposes the consideration of social and cultural characteristics, in the literature on the middle class, consumption, and lifestyle, as the major factors determining both the inner-stratification of the Turkish middle class, and the distinction of life-styles and tastes. Both the naming of the fractions and the distinctive characteristics of life-styles and tastes provide further support to this objection.

This finding, however, does not allow a generalization, since the sample of the study is not representative. The power of any quantitative research depends on the ability to generalize the results and findings, on the condition that the sample is selected as a representative sampling. In this context, the most important limitation of this study is that it is not constructed with data representative for the whole of Ankara. For this reason its results and findings cannot be generalized for Ankara, or for Turkey. Despite this limitation, however, the study provides crucial contributions, about the empirical and analytical construction of social, cultural and economic capitals, and about the inner-stratification or fragmentation of the Turkish middle class in Ankara. It also contributes on the distinction of lifestyles and tastes among the fractions of the Turkish middle class through home furniture, furnishing and decoration.

A further limitation should also be noted, in that, while the study was conducted in two districts in Ankara, spatial distinction and differentiation were not studied in this dissertation. Spatial dimension would have to be included into such a study as an additional dimension.

In addition to the primary findings of the study, the inner-stratification of the Turkish middle class and the distinction among the life-styles and tastes of the fractions, there are also secondary findings. First of all, there are two basic findings of this correspondence analysis with regard to the family backgrounds, as can be observed in the social space depicted in Figure 2: i) The family background determines the class positions in social spaces: the lower social levels of the parents are, the lower the middle class fraction of the respondents. ii) The higher family background creates clear social cleavages between the lower and upper classes. From the depictions of both categories of capitals and life-styles and tastes in social space, it is observed that there are no contacts between the lower and upper strata of the middle class.

This dissertation presents a meaningful contribution by offering a prototype that can be re-designed and re-conducted for representative studies and researches in Turkey. Moreover, the constructed fractions of the middle class contribute to the production of social knowledge, employing an empirical quantitative research. The findings of the research provide a modest contribution to the study of the fragmentations of the Turkish middle class, and their distinctive tastes and aesthetics as reflected in their houses. The findings of the research may also provide direction for further studies using regional or national representative samples in the future. Considering the findings, this study provides an important empirical contribution to the middle class(es) debates in Turkey.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire (Turkish)

Araştırma Yürütücüsü: Zerrin Arslan (Arş. Gör., ODTÜ Sosyoloji) GSM: 0555 703 45 44 Email: azerrin@metu.edu.tr

ANKET NO : ANKETİN VERİLDİĞİ YER
Tarih : 1. Mahalle :
Anketi Uygulayan : 2. Sokak :

I. SOSYO-DEMOGRAFIK ÖZELLİKLER

1. Cinsiyet: 01 Kadın 02 Erkek

2A. Doğum Yılı: 2B. Doğum Yeri:

3A. Lütfen bana nerede, ne iş yaptığınızı tam olarak söyley misiniz? (Sağlık Bakanlığı, Numune Hastanesinde Müstahdem, BİM Mağazaları, Keçiören, Şişli Etiler'de Kasiyer, Ankara Güven Hastanesi, Ortopedi servisi klinik şefi, Tokatlı Bilgişayar firmasında yazılım uzmanı, vb.)

3B. Yaptığınız iş, mesleğinizden farklıysa, mesleğinizi nedir?

3C Eğitimi*:

*Eğitim kodları:

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Okur-yazar değil | 15. Meslek lisesi mezun | 29. Üniversite terk |
| 2. Hiçbir okula gitmemiş, okuma yazması var | 16. İmam Hatip Lisesi öğrencisi | 30. Üniversite mezun |
| 3. İlkokul terk | 17. İmam Hatip Lisesi terk | 31. Lisansüstü eğitim öğrencisi |
| 4. İlkokul mezun | 18. İmam Hatip Lisesi mezun | 32. Lisansüstü eğitim terk |
| 5. Ortaokul terk | 19. Anadolu Lisesi öğrencisi | 33. Lisansüstü eğitim mezun |
| 6. Ortaokul mezunu | 20. Anadolu Lisesi terk | 34. Yurtdışı lise öğrencisi |
| 7. İlköğretim öğrencisi (8 yıllık) | 21. Anadolu Lisesi mezun | 35. Yurtdışı lise terk |
| 8. İlköğretim terk (8 yıllık) | 22. Yüksek okul (ön lisans) öğrencisi | 36. Yurtdışı lise mezunu |
| 9. İlköğretim mezunu (8 yıllık) | 23. Yüksek okul (ön lisans) terk | 37. Yurtdışı üniversite öğrencisi |
| 10. Lise öğrencisi | 24. Yüksek okul (ön lisans) mezunu | 38. Yurtdışı üniversite |
| 11. Lise terk | 25. Açık Öğretim Üniversitesi öğrencisi | 39. Yurtdışı üniversite mezunu terk |
| 12. Lise mezunu | 26. Açık Öğretim Üniversitesi terk | 40. Yurtdışı lisansüstü mezunu |
| 13. Meslek lisesi öğrencisi | 27. Açık Öğretim Üniversitesi mezun | 41. Diğer: |
| 14. Meslek lisesi terk | 28. Üniversite öğrencisi | 42. Cevap yok |

4. Medeni durumunuz?

01 Evli 02 Hiç evlenmedi 03 Boşanmış 04 Dul 05 Diğer:

5. Evlilik/beraberlik süresi (Toplam yıl yaşayacak): Yıl

6A. Eşinizin/partnerinizin nerede, ne iş yaptığını tam olarak söyley misiniz? (İşini 3A'daki gibi öğren)

6B. Eşinizin/partnerinizin yaptığı iş, mesleğinden farklı ise mesleğini söyley misiniz?

6C. Eşinizin/partnerinizin eğitimi*: (3C'deki kategorileri kullan)

7A. Evinizde hane reisi kim?

7B. Hane reisinin doğum yeri: İl: İlçe: Köy:

8A. Hanede yaşayan toplam kişi sayısı: Kişi

8B. Evinizi kiminle paylaşıyorsunuz? (1 Hane reisine göre)

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------|----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 01 Yalnız yaşıyor | 03 Eşiyle yaşıyor | 05 Partner | 07 Kızı | 09 Torun(lar) | 12 Akraba olmayanlar: |
| 02 Anne/baba yaşıyor | 04 Kayana/kayınpederle yaşıyor | 06 Oğlu | 08 Gelin/damat | 10 Diğer akrabalar: | |

9A. Çocuk sayısı: Tane (Çocuğu yoksa 10. soruya geç)

9B. Çocuklara dair bilgiler:

| | Yaş | Cinsiyet | Hanede yaşıyor | Evli (Kendi evi var) | Eğitim* (3 C'deki kategorileri kullan) | Çocukların devam ettiği/ mezun olduğu İlkokul/ilköğretim/ortaokul/lise |
|----------|-----|----------|----------------|-------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Çocuk | | | | | | |
| 2. Çocuk | | | | | | |
| 3. Çocuk | | | | | | |
| 4. Çocuk | | | | | | |
| 5. Çocuk | | | | | | |
| 6. Çocuk | | | | | | |

10. Aile büyüklerine dair aşağıdaki bilgileri söyley misiniz?

| | 10A. İş (İşini 3A'daki gibi öğren) | 10B. Eğitim* (3C'deki Kategorileri kullan) | 10C. Nerele | 10D. Doğum yeri (il/ilçe/köy) | 10E. En son yaşadığı yer (İlim al, yaşamadığına da sor) | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|---|-------------|----------------------------------|--|------|-----|
| | | | | | il | ilçe | köy |
| 01 Baba | | | | | | | |
| 02 Anne | | | | | | | |
| 03 Eşinizin Babası | | | | | | | |
| 04 Eşinizin Annesi | | | | | | | |
| 05 Babanızın Babası | | | | | | | |

11A. Babanızın dini/mezhebi nedir? (Sevnekleri okuyup işaretleyin)

| | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| 01 Sünni Hanefi Müslüman | 05 Nusayri Müslüman | 09 Katolik Hristiyan | 13 Diğer dinlerden | 17 Agnostik |
| 02 Sünni Şafi Müslüman | 06 Şii Müslüman (Caferi vd.) | 10 Protestan Hristiyan | 14 Dini yoks/Dinsiz | 18 Tanrıya inanıyorum, ama inancımı tanımlamak için bir ifade kullanmıyorum |
| 03 Sünni diğer mezhepten Müslüman (Maliki, Hanbeli, vd.) | 07 Diğer Müslüman | 12 Diğer mezhepten Hristiyan | 15 Fikri yok | |
| 04 Alevi Müslüman | 08 Ortodoks Hristiyan | 12 Yahudi-Musevi | 16 Cevap yok | |

11B. Annenizin dini/mezhebi nedir? (11A'daki kategorileri kullan)

11D. Eşinizin dini/mezhebi nedir? (11A'daki kategorileri kullan)

11C. Sizin dininiz/mezhebiniz nedir? (11A'daki kategorileri kullan)

II. GÖÇ / MAHALLE / SEMT

12. Neresisiniz?

13. Yaşadığınız yeri (ülke, kent, semt, mahalle) değiştirdiniz mi?

| | |
|---------|---------------------------|
| 01 Evet | 02 Hayır (15. Soruya geç) |
|---------|---------------------------|

14. Buradan önce en son oturduğunuz: Ülke: İl: İlçe: Semt/Mahalle: Köy:

15. Kaç yıldır Ankara'da yaşıyorsunuz? (Toplam yıl yazılacak): Yıl

16. Kaç yıldır bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz? (Toplam yıl yazılacak): Yıl

17. En son yaşadığınız yeri değiştirme nedenlerinizi belirtir misiniz? (Dikkat: Kullanıldığı sıfatlara göre işaretleyin)

| En son yaşadığınız yerin: | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|--|---------|----------|
| 01 Sementin alt yapısı yetersizdi | | |
| 02 Evlerin/apartmanların niteliği kötüydü | | |
| 03 Çocukların okuluna uzaktı | | |
| 04 Çocukların yaşına uygun alan/arkadaşları yoktu | | |
| 05 Çocukların mahalle arkadaşları kaba ve ejtimsizdi | | |
| 06 Çocukların hafta sonu/tatil etkinlikleri için uygun mekân yoktu | | |
| 07 Semt sakinlerinin niteliği kötüydü | | |
| 08 Trafik/ulaşım sorunu fazlaydı | | |
| 09 Araba park yeri sorunu vardı | | |
| 10 Hava kirliliği vardı | | |
| 11 Gürültü sorunu vardı | | |
| 12 Güvensizlik/suç olayları fazlaydı | | |
| 13 Sementin sosyal statüsü/prestiji düşüktü | | |
| 14 Kiralar çok yükseldi | | |
| 15 Lojmana taşındık | | |
| 16 Atama/taayin oldu | | |
| 17 Kendi evimize taşındık | | |
| 18 Diğer: | | |

III. OTURDUĞUNUZ EV

18. Kendinize ait eviniz var mı?

| | |
|---------|----------|
| 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|---------|----------|

19. Oturduğunuz evi aşağıdakilerden en iyi hangisi tanımlıyor?

| | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 01 Kendi evimiz (Herhangi bir borcu yok) | 03 Kira | 05 Lojman/göreve tahsis edilmiş konut/konukevi vb. (Kiranın muaf) | 06 Lojman (Kira ödeniyor) |
| 02 Kendi eviniz. (Kredi/borç ödeniyor) | 04 Akrabaların evi (kira ödeniyor) | | 07 Diğer: |

20. Oturduğunuz evin türü nedir?

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 01 Apartman dairesi | 03 Dublex/Triplex | 05 Site'de apartman | 07 Diğer: |
| 02 Müstakil/Tek katlı ev | 04 Villa | 06 Site'de villa | |

21. Oturduğunuz evin, mutfak, banyo/tuvalet(ler), hol, kiler ve (ev/home office) iş/çalışma alanı dışında kaç oda? Oda Salon

22. Oturduğunuz evde aşağıda belirtilen birimlerin hangileri var?

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|------------------------------|---------|----------|-----------------|---------|----------|
| 01 1'den fazla banyo/tuvalet | | | 06 Kiler | | |
| 02 Balkon | | | 07 Depo | | |
| 03 Garaj | | | 08 Oturma odası | | |
| 04 Balçık/ Teras | | | 09 Diğer:..... | | |
| 05 Misafir yatak odası | | | | | |

23. Oturduğunuz evde mecburiyet dışında, zevkiniz için tadilat yaptırdınız mı?

| | |
|---------|---------------------------|
| 01 Evet | 02 Hayır (25. Soruya geç) |
|---------|---------------------------|

24. Oturduğunuz evde tadilat olarak neler yaptınız?

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|------------------|---------|----------|---------------------------|---------|----------|
| 01 Tuvalet/Banyo | | | 03 Mutfak yenileme | | |
| 02 Dış Kaplama | | | 04 Balkon yapırma/kapatma | | |
| | | | 05 Garaj yapırma/yenileme | | |
| | | | 06 Diğer: | | |

IV. SOSYAL İLİŞKİLER

25. Son 1 hafta içinde, iş yeri ve/veya zorunluluk dışında, kimlerle görüştiniz? (Son hafta kimseyle görüşmediyse 1 önceki haftaya sorun ve yan tarafı not olarak belirtin)

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|------------------|---------|----------|--------------------------------|---------|----------|------------------|---------|----------|
| 01 Anne/baba | | | 06 İş yeri arkadaşı | | | 11 Komşu | | |
| 02 Evli çocuklar | | | 07 Okul arkadaşı | | | 12 Aile | | |
| 03 Hısın/akraba | | | 08 Parti/Sendika arkadaşı | | | 13 Hiç Kimse | | |
| 04 Hemşeri | | | 09 Dernek/Vakıf/Kulüp arkadaşı | | | 14 Diğer: | | |
| 05 Yakın arkadaş | | | 10 Dini vakit/cemaat arkadaşı | | | | | |

26. Geçen hafta sonu kiminle görüştiniz? (Son hafta kimseyle görüşmediyse 1 önceki haftaya sorun ve yan tarafı not olarak belirtin) (25. sorudaki kategorileri kullan)

01 Geçen hafta kimseyle görüşmedim 02 03 04

27. Geçen hafta evinize kim ziyaretçi/misafir olarak geldi? (Son hafta kimse gelmediyse 1 önceki haftaya sorun ve yan tarafı not olarak belirtin) (25. sorudaki kategorileri kullan)

01 Geçen hafta misafir gelmedi 02 03 04

28. Arkadaş buluşmalarınızda, sohbetlerinizde hangi konularda konuşursunuz? (Anabitar seçenekler: Kent/ Çevre/ Aile/ Toplumsal değerler/ Teknoloji/ Politika/ Araba/ Spor/ Din/ Televizyon programları/ Kadınlar çalışması, vb) (Seçeneği okumayın, üyeliğine işaret koyun)

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|---|---------|----------|---|---------|----------|
| 01 Çocuklar (kendisi çocukları ve genel olarak) | | | 17 Bilimsel çalışmalar | | |
| 02 Gençler (kendisi çocukları ve genel olarak) | | | 18 Teknolojik gelişmeler | | |
| 03 Aile Meseleleri/İlişkileri | | | 19 Bilgisayar/ Cep telefonu vb teknolojiler | | |
| 04 Kadın-Erkek ilişkileri | | | 20 Ekolojik sorunlar/Küresel ısınma vb | | |
| 05 Komşuluk | | | 21 Kitap/Dergi vb | | |
| 06 Yaşadığımız Semt/Mahalle | | | 22 Müzik/Konser vb | | |
| 07 Toplumsal Değerler/Ahlak/Yozlaşma | | | 23 Sanat/Sergi vb | | |
| 08 Dini Değerler/Dini Değerlerdeki Zayıflama | | | 24 Sinema/Tiyatro vb | | |
| 09 Politik Değerler ve Yozlaşma | | | 25 Televizyon Programları | | |
| 10 Yerel Yönetimin Uygulamaları | | | 26 Ev mobilyası/Dekorasyon vb | | |
| 11 Hükümetin Uygulamaları | | | 27 Yemek/Pasta/Diyet vb | | |
| 12 Ekonomi/Ekonomi-Politik | | | 28 Moda/Saç/Makyaj | | |
| 13 Özelleştirme | | | 29 Spor/Futbol | | |
| 14 Dış politika/Avrupa Birliği | | | 30 Araba | | |
| 15 İş/çalışma yaşamı | | | 31 Diğer: | | |
| 16 Kadının çalışması | | | | | |

29. Geçen hafta evinize yemeğe kim geldi? (Son hafta kimse gelmediyse 1 önceki haftaya sorun ve yan tarafı not olarak belirtin) (25. sorudaki kategorileri kullan)

01 Geçen hafta evimize yemeğe kimse gelmedi 02 03 04

30. Yemekli misafirlerinize en sık ne tür yemek ikram edersiniz? (Tek seçenek işaretleyin)

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 01 Geleneksel ev yemeği | 03 Dışardan yemek sipariş ederim | 05 Orjinal ve egzotik yemekler |
| 02 Yöremize uygun/yöresel yemekler | 04 Çeşatli alafranga yemekler | 06 Diğer: |

31A. Yemekli misafirlerinize yemekte en sık ne tür içecek/içki ikram edersiniz?

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| 01 Su/maden suyu | 03 Bira | 05 Rakı/Votka vb. |
| 02 Meyve suyu/soft içecekler | 04 Sarap | 06 Diğer: |

31B. Günde mutfakta ortalama kaç saat geçirirsiniz? Saat

32. Geçen hafta kiminle dışarıya yemeğe gittiniz? (Son hafta yemeğe gitmediyse 1 önceki haftaya sorun ve yan tarafı not olarak belirtin) (25. sorudaki kategorileri kullan)

01 Geçen hafta dışarıya yemeğe gitmedim. 02 03 04

33. Ailenizle (eşinizle/çocuklarınızla), ne sıklıkla dışarıya yemeğe gidersiniz? (Partneriyle ya da yalnız yapıyor, onunla ya da yalnız ne sıklıkla dışarıya yemeğe gittiğini sor)

.....

34. Ailenizle dışarıya yemeğe nereye gidersiniz?

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| 01 Alışveriş merkezi food courtlar (36. soruya geç) | 04 İçkili kebapçılar (Uludağ vb.) (36. soruya geç) | 07 Ankara'nın lüks restoranları (35. soruya yanıtla) |
| 02 Pideciler (36. soruya geç) | 05 İçkisiz restoranlar (36. soruya geç) | 08 Ankara'daki Çin/İtalyan vb. restoranları (35. soruya yanıtla) |
| 03 İçkisiz kebapçılar (Kebap 49/Uludağ vb.) (36. soruya geç) | 06 İçkili lüks et/balık restoranları (36. soruya geç) | 09 Diğer: |

35. Otuz dördüncü soruda 07 ve 08 seçeneklerini işaretlediyseniz, birkaç tane restoran isim söyler misiniz?

1. 2.

36. Pikniğe gider misiniz?

01 Hayır (38. soruya geç) 02 Sene 1-3 03 Sene 5-10 04 Sene 10'dan fazla 05 Diğer:

37. En sık nereye pikniğe gidersiniz?

| | | |
|--|---|---------------------|
| 01 "Kendin Piyir Kendin Ye" piknik alanları/Kır lokantası (Mogan, Eymir vb. yerlere) | 03 Ormanlık/su-göl kenarı piknik yerleri (Kızılcahamam, Beynam, Kurtboğazi vb.) | 05 Hayvanat Bahçesi |
| 02 Gökusu Parkı/Saklı Bahçe vb. yerler | 04 TIGEM/ Çiftlik vb. yerleri | 06 Diğer: |

38. Düzenli olarak hafta sonu brunchlarına gider misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır 03 "Brunch nedir?" bilmiyorum

39. Evinizde en son yatılı kim, ne zaman kaldı? (Or: arkadaşım/annem/iş arkadaşım vb. 1 hafta/10 gün/3 ay önce kaldı)

V. SOSYAL / MANEVİ DEĞERLER

40. Sizin çocukların yetişmesinde en çok desteklenmesi gereken 3 nitelik nedir? (Çocuğu yoksa da sorulacak) (Sevdiğiniz okumayan, söylediklerine işaret koyun)

1. 2. 3.

41. Aile üyeleri için özel olan günlerde hediye alır mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

42. Sevgililer gününde eşinize/partnerinize/sevgilinize hediye alır mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

43. Yetişkinler için hediye seçerken en çok neye dikkat edersiniz?

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 01 O kişinin zevkine | 04 Değişik/enteresan olmasına | 07 Dini vecibelere |
| 02 O kişinin ihtiyacına | 05 Bütçeme | 08 Hediyeinin kaliteli olmasına |
| 03 Kendi zevkime | 06 Geleneklerimize | 09 Diğer: |

44. Dini bayramlarda ne yaparsınız?

01 Aile büyükleri/memleket ziyareti 02 Tatil 03 Diğer:

45. Cenaze ve sünnet dışında mevlitlere gider misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

46. Kandilleri kutlar mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

47. Aşure ayını kutluyor musunuz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

48. "Dedelik" kurumunu biliyor musunuz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

49. Etnik kökeni (Laz, Çerkez, Kürt, vb) sizinkinden farklı kişilerle görüşür müsünüz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

50. Dini görüşleri sizinkinden farklı kişilerle görüşür müsünüz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

51. Çocuğunuzun etnik kökeni (Laz, Çerkez, Kürt, vb) sizinkinden farklı bir kişi ile evlenmesine itiraz eder misiniz? (Çocuğu yoksa da sor)

01 Evet 02 Hayır

52. Çocuğunuzun dini görüşleri sizinkinden farklı bir kişi ile evlenmesine itiraz eder misiniz? (Çocuğu yoksa da sor)

01 Evet 02 Hayır

53. Çocuğunuzun evlilik törenini nasıl yaparsınız? (Çocuğu yoksa da sor) (Sevdiğinizlerde ifade edilen dışında bir şey söylerse mutlaka yaz. Ör: köy düğünü, Hilton Oteli'nde, vb.)

01 Sadece nikâh salonu 02 Nikâh ve içkili kokteyl 03 Nikâh ve mevlit 04 Nikâh ve müzikli düğün salonu 05 Diğer:

54. Çocuğunuzun imam nikâhı yaptırmasını ister misiniz? (Çocuğu yoksa da sor)

01 Evet 02 Hayır 03 Kendileri bilir

55. Sorunlarınızı çözemediğinizde medyuma gider misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

56. Fal baktırır mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

57. Kurşun döktürür müsünüz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

58. Muska yazdırır mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

59. Dünya görüşünüzü en iyi tanımlayan 3 sıfatı öncelik sırasına göre belirtir misiniz?

| | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem | | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 01 Atatürkçü/Kemalist | | | | 12 Sosyalist | | | |
| 02 Laik | | | | 13 Feminist | | | |
| 03 Milliyetçi | | | | 14 Liberal | | | |
| 04 İslamcı | | | | 15 Komünist | | | |
| 05 Sağcı | | | | 16 Anarist | | | |
| 06 Muhafazakâr | | | | 17 Solcu | | | |
| 07 Ülkücü | | | | 18 Çevreci | | | |
| 08 Devrimci | | | | 19 Özgürlükçü | | | |
| 09 Demokrat | | | | 20 Yurtsever/vatansever | | | |
| 10 Sosyal demokrat | | | | 21 Diğer: ... | | | |
| 11 Muhafazakâr demokrat | | | | | | | |

60. Şu an herhangi bir dernek, vakıf ya da kuruluşun üyesi misiniz? Lütfen hangilerine üye olduğunuzu söyley misiniz?

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|---|---------|----------|---|---------|----------|
| 01 Sendika | | | 08 Kültürel (Tiyatro, müzik vb.) bir dernek/vakıf | | |
| 02 Siyasi parti | | | 09 ADD, ÇYDD, TEGV vb. sivil toplum kuruluşları | | |
| 03 Oturduğunuz muhite ilgili bir dernek/vakıf | | | 10 Spor/çilenme amaçlı bir dernek/vakıf/Kulüp | | |
| 04 Çevre ile ilgili bir dernek veya vakıf | | | 11 Hemşeri dayanışma derneği/vakfı | | |
| 05 Yardım Derneği veya vakfı | | | 12 Kurum dayanışma/yardımlaşma sandıkları | | |
| 06 Dini bir dernek veya vakıf | | | 13 Kolej/üniversite mezun dernekler | | |
| 07 Dini cemaat/topluluk | | | 14 Diğer: ... | | |

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VI. TÜKETİM

61A. Binek otomobili olarak kullandığınız arabanız var mı?

61B. Arabanızın sayısı: Tane

61C. Modeli:

01 Evet 02 Hayır (62. soruya geç)

62. Evinizde aşağıdakilerden hangileri var? (Her seçeneği okuyup işaret koyun)

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|---------------------------|---------|----------|---------------------------------|---------|----------|
| 01 1'den fazla televizyon | | | 07 Uydu yayınları (Dijital vb.) | | |
| 02 Plazma/LCD televizyon | | | 08 DVD oynatıcı | | |
| 03 Dizüstü bilgisayar | | | 09 Dijital kamera | | |
| 04 İnternet/ADSL | | | 10 Bulaşık makinesi | | |
| 05 Kablolu televizyon | | | 11 Diğer: ... | | |
| 06 Uydu Anteni | | | | | |

63. Ev/mutfak işleriniz için evde düzenli temizlikçi kadın ve/veya yardımcınız var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır (67. soruya geç)

64. Eve düzenli temizlikçi kadın ve/veya yardımcı geliyorsa, ne sıklıkta geliyor?

01 Her gün 02 Haftada bir 03 15 günde 1 04 Aylık bir 05 Bayram zamanlarında yılda 1-2 06 Diğer: ...

65. Evde düzenli temizlikçi kadın ve/veya yardımcınız varsa, yatılı mı, gündüzlü mü?

01 Yatılı 02 Gündüzlü

66. Evde yatılı temizlikçi kadın ve/veya yardımcınız varsa, yerli mi, yabancı mı?

01 Yerli 02 Yabancı

67. Evinize girerken ayakkabılarınızı çıkarır mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

68. Giysilerinizi düzenli olarak kuru temizlemeye veriyor musunuz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

69. Satın aldığınız temizlik ürünlerinin ekolojik ve organik olmasına dikkat eder misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

70. Satın aldığınız besin ve içeceklerin ekolojik ve organik olmasına dikkat eder misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

71. Satın aldığınız besin ve içeceklerin hijyenik koşullarda üretilmiş/hazırlanmış olmasına dikkat eder misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

VII. GEÇİM/TASARRUF

72. Kredi kartınız var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır (75. soruya geç)

73. Gold, Platinum, Bonus Plus, Bonus Premium vb. kredi kartınız var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

74. Gold, Platinum, Bonus Plus, Bonus Premium vb. kredi kartınız varsa, sayısı: Tane

75. Gelirinizden düzenli tasarruf yapıyor musunuz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır (77. soruya geç)

76. Düzenli tasarruf yapıbiliyorsanız, ne tür tasarrufu tercih ediyorsunuz? (1'den fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir)

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|--|---------|----------|----------------|---------|----------|
| 01 Banka hesabı (Vadeli, yatırım hesabı vb.) | | | 05 Arsa/arazi | | |
| 02 Döviz | | | 06 Emlak | | |
| 03 Altın | | | 07 Diğer: | | |
| 04 Hisse senedi/bono | | | | | |

77. Özel sağlık sigortanız var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

78. Özel hayat sigortanız var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

79. Geçim sıkıntınız olsa, öncelikle hangi harcamanızı kısarsınız? (Tek seçenek işaretlenebilir)

| | | | |
|--------------------|--|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 01 Eğitim masrafı | 04 Giyim | 07 Dayanıklı tüketim malları | 10 Kitap/gazete |
| 02 Sağlık masrafı | 05 Eğlence (Sinema, tiyatro, konser vb.) | 08 Çeşitli ev eşyaları alımı | 11 Hıçbir kıyısı yapmam |
| 03 Mutfak/beslenme | 06 Boya/badana/restorasyon | 09 Mobilya | 12 Diğer: |

80. Geçim sıkıntınız olsa, öncelikle yardım/destek için kime/neye başvurmayı tercih edersiniz?

| | | | | | |
|----------|------------------|------------|---------|----------------|----------------|
| 01 Komşu | 02 Banka kredisi | 03 Arkadaş | 04 Aile | 05 Kredi Kartı | 06 Diğer: |
|----------|------------------|------------|---------|----------------|----------------|

VIII. MOBİLYA

81. Mobilya deyince Ankara'da aklınıza neresi gelir?

82. Şu anda kullanmakta olduğunuz mobilyaların tarzı nedir? (1'den fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir) (Seçeneklere uygun bir ifade kullanmazsa ya da "içerik bakım, hangiye işaretleyin" gibi bir ifade kullanırsa bonus not olarak kaydedilir)

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|--------------------|---------|----------|--|---------|----------|
| 01 İngiliz klasik | | | 08 Amerikan modern | | |
| 02 Amerikan klasik | | | 09 İtalyan modern | | |
| 03 İtalyan klasik | | | 10 Country tarzı | | |
| 04 Fransız klasik | | | 11 Farklı tarzlardan kombinasyon | | |
| 05 Türk klasik | | | 12 Mobilya tarzlarını bilmiyorum | | |
| 06 Modern | | | 13 Mobilyaları gösterip bana işaretletti | | |
| 07 İngiliz modern | | | 14 Diğer: | | |

83. Mobilyalarınızı, niçin değiştirdiniz/değiştirttiniz?

84. Şimdi mobilyalarınızı değiştirmek isterseniz hangi tarz mobilyayı tercih edersiniz? (82. Sorudaki kategorileri kullan)

1. 2. 3.

85. Kesinlikle kullanmayacağımız mobilya tarzı nedir?

86. Mobilyalarınızı seçerken aşağıda belirtilen kaynaklardan yararlandınız mı?

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|--------------------------------------|---------|----------|---|---------|----------|
| 01 Mobilya mağazaları | | | 06 Komşu mobilyaları | | |
| 02 Mobilya katalogları | | | 07 Arkadaş mobilyaları | | |
| 03 Ev, dekorasyon dergileri | | | 08 İç mimar/ mimar/dekoratör vb. görüşü | | |
| 04 Televizyon dekorasyon programları | | | 09 Reklamlar | | |
| 05 İnternet siteleri | | | 10 Diğer: | | |

87. Mobilyalarınızı seçerken en çok dikkat ettiğiniz 3 özelliği belirtir misiniz?

1. 2. 3.

88. Mobilyalarınızı edinme şeklinizi belirtir misiniz?

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|--------------------------------------|---------|----------|-------------------------------------|---------|----------|
| 01 Mobilya mağazalarından satın alma | | | 06 Outlet mağazalarından satın alma | | |
| 02 Sipariş usulü satın alma | | | 07 İkinci el pazarından satın alma | | |
| 03 Yurt dışından satın alma | | | 08 Aileden kalma | | |
| 04 Antikacıdan satın alma | | | 09 Arkadaşlar verdi | | |
| 05 Müzayededen satın alma | | | 10 Diğer: | | |

89. Mobilyalarınızı nereden ve hangi mağazadan aldınız? (Seydiköy mağaza, outlet satış mağazası ve yer adlarını al. Ör: siteler, Sedit Mobilya, Casa, Tıpe, Koleksiyon, İstikbal, vb.) (Bilmiyorsa ya da hatırlamıyorsa belirt)

1. 2. 3.

90. Eğer mobilyalarınızı siparişle yaptırdıysanız nereden, kime yaptırdınız? (Ankara, Siteler'de Gürkani Mobilya, İçmimar Karahatun'da Beşeriyen Mobilya, Köksayın Evi Mobilya vb.)

1. 2. 3.

91. Mobilyalarınızı alırken ödemelerini nasıl yaptınız?

01 Peşin 02 Taksit 03 Senet karşılığı taksit 04 Kredi kartına taksit 05 Diğer: ...

92. Arkadaşlarınızın mobilyalarında en çok dikkatinizi çeken özelliği belirtir misiniz?

93A. Mobilyalarınızı alırken garantisine dikkat ettiniz mi?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

93B. Neden?

94A. Mobilyalarınızı alırken içmimar/ mimar/ dekoratör vb. uzman görüşüne başvurduğunuz mu?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

94B. Neden?

95. Mobilyalarınızın kılıfları çıkarılıp yıkanabiliyor mu?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

96A. Kullanmakta olduğunuz mobilyanızın döşemelik kumaşı nedir?

96B. Neden?

97A. Mobilyanızın döşemesinin rengi nedir?

97B. Neden?

98A. Mobilyanızın döşemesinin deseni nedir?

98B. Neden?

99A. Mobilyalarınızın kombinasyonunda metal aksesuar var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

99B. Neden?

100A. Mobilyalarınızın kombinasyonunda ahşap aksesuar var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

100B. Neden?

101. Mobilyalarınızı ortalama kaç yıldır kullanıyorsunuz? Yıl

102. Hangi mobilyayı alacağınıza evde kim karar verir?

01 Kendisi 02 Eşi 03 Çocuklar 04 Büyüklük 05 Hep birlikte 06 Diğer: ...

103. Çocukluğunuzdaki evinizin salonun ve oturma odasının eşyalarını tarif eder misiniz? (Koltuk takımı, masa-sandalye, divan, sedir, sompa, yer minderleri vb.)

104. Çocukluğunuzdaki evinizin salonun ve oturma odasının eşyalarını/ mobilyaları tarzı neydi? (Geleneksel Türk evi, köy evi, sedir, divan vb. ise belirt)

105. Çocukluğunuzdaki evinizde olup da şimdiki evinizde olmayanları/ mobilyaları belirtir misiniz? (Koltuk takımı, masa-sandalye, divan, sedir, sompa, yer minderleri vb.)

IX. ZEVK/ BEĞENİ

106. Mobilyalar ile yer döşemesinin/ kaplamasının (halı, kilim, parke, laminat, vb.) uyumuna dikkat eder misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır 03 Yer döşemem yok (109. soruya geç)

107. Evinizde el dokuması halınız/ kiliminiz var mı?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

108. Evinizde el dokuması halınız/ kiliminiz varsa, yöresini/ bölgesini belirtir misiniz?

109. Mobilyalar ile perdelerin uyumuna dikkat eder misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır 03 Perdem yok (112. soruya geç)

110. Perdelerinizin kumaşı nedir?

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| 01 Organize | 03 Keten tarzı | 05 Pamuklu el dokuma | 07 Saten | 09 Kadife | 11 Soft |
| 02 Polyester | 04 Pamuklu | 06 (Monti) Ipek | 08 Tafta | 10 Şonil | 12 Diğer: ... |

| | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--|
| 111. Perdelerinizin dikim tarzı nedir? (Bu kategorilerin dışında söylenenlerin hepsini diğer olarak yazın) | | | | | |
| 01 Klasik püslü (kornis) | 03 Volanlı (kornis) | 05 Katlamalı (kornis) | 07 Yarım perde (kornis) | 09 Store | |
| 02 Klasik püslü (rustik) | 04 Volanlı (rustik) | 06 Katlamalı (rustik) | 08 Yarım perde (rustik) | 10 Diğer: | |

| | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|
| 112. Evinizde kullandığınız aydınlatma şeklini belirtir misiniz? | | | | | |
| 01 Tüpeden direkt aydınlatma | 04 Yandan endirekt aydınlatma | 07 Geleneksel aplık aydınlatma | 10 Abajur çoklu aydınlatma | | |
| 02 Tüpeden endirekt aydınlatma | 05 Tüpeden geleneksel avize | 08 Modern aplık aydınlatma | 11 Farklı aydınlatma elemanları | | |
| 03 Yandan direkt aydınlatma | 06 Tüpeden modern avize | 09 Abajur tekli aydınlatma | 12 Diğer: | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|---------|----------|---|---------|----------|
| 113. Evinizin duvarlarında ne asılı? (1'den fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir) | | | | | |
| 01 Ayet/masallah vb dini semboller | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | 07 Sanatsal fotoğraf reproduksiyonları | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
| 02 Farklı doğa fotoğrafları | | | 08 Resim reproduksiyonları | | |
| 03 Ebru/hat eserleri | | | 09 Atatürk resmi | | |
| 04 Sanatsal fotoğraflar | | | 10 Hz. Ali resmi vb temsiller | | |
| 05 Orjinal resimler (Resim kim yapmış) | | | 11 Nazardan koruyucu semboller (üçerik, narçar bonuşu, değişik etnik semboller) | | |
| 06 Aile fotoğrafları | | | 12 Diğer: | | |

114. Evinizde orijinal heykel var mı?
01 Evet 02 Hayır

115. Evinizde maske, totem vb. etnik objeler var mı?
01 Evet 02 Hayır

116. Evinizde bakır, ağaç işleme vb. etnik objeler var mı?
01 Evet 02 Hayır

117. Evinizde şark köşesi var mı?
01 Evet 02 Hayır

| | | | | | |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------------------|--|
| 118. Aşağıdakilerden evinizin içini tanımlamaya uygun 3 sıfatı önem sırasına göre belirtir misiniz? | | | | | |
| | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem | | |
| 01 Temiz/düzenli | | | | 08 Kolayca döşenmiş | |
| 02 Sıcak/samimi | | | | 09 Modern | |
| 03 Rahat | | | | 10 Basit | |
| 04 Ciddi | | | | 11 Orjinal/farklı | |
| 05 Dekore ettirilmiş | | | | 12 Fantastik | |
| 06 Dağınık | | | | 13 Otantik | |
| 07 Kirli-Pasaklı | | | | 14 Diğer: | |

| | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|------------|---------------------|------------------|--|
| 119. Günlük yemeğinizi nerede yersiniz? | | | | | |
| 01 Yer sofrasında | 02 Salonda masada | 03 Şehpada | 04 Mutfak masasında | 05 Diğer: | |

| | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|------------|---------------------|------------------|--|
| 120. Çocukken günlük yemeğinizi nerede yerdiniz? | | | | | |
| 01 Yer sofrasında | 02 Salonda masada | 03 Şehpada | 04 Mutfak masasında | 05 Diğer: | |

121. Günlük yemeğinizi yerde yemeyi tercih eder misiniz?
01 Evet 02 Hayır

| | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|------------------|--|
| 122. Giysilerinizi en çok nereden alırsınız, belirtir misiniz? (Tek seçenek işaretleyin) | | | | | |
| 01 Evde dikilmiş/hazırlanmış | 04 Sıradan giyim mağazalarından alınmış | 07 Polo Garaj, Vakkı gibi mağazalardan alınmış | | | |
| 02 Küçük terzilerde diktirilmiş | 05 Söyete Pazarından alınmış | | | | |
| 03 Moda evlerinde diktirilmiş | 06 Outlet satış mağazalarından alınmış | | | | |
| | | | | 08 Diğer: | |

| | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|----------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 123. Aşağıdakilerden giyim tarzınızı en çok yansıtan üç tanesini belirtir misiniz? | | | | | |
| 01 Klasik kesim | 03 Olçülü | 05 Rahat | 07 Sak | 09 Pahalı/markalı | 11 Geleneksel (başlı açık) |
| 02 Modayı yansıtan | 04 Sıra dışı/çalgın | 06 Spor | 08 Tarzı olan | 10 Dini vecibelere uygun | 12 Geleneksel (başörtülü) |
| | | | | 13 Tesettür | |
| | | | | 14 Diğer: | |

124. Evinizde ders kitapları, sözlük ve ansiklopedi dışında yaklaşık olarak kaç kitabınız vardır? tane

| | | | | | |
|---|---------|----------|---------|----------|------------------|
| 125. Hangi tür haftalık/aylık aktüel magazin dergilerini düzenli takip edersiniz? (1'den fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir) | | | | | |
| 01 Aktüalite | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | 01 Evet |
| 02 Ekonomi | | | | | 02 Hayır |
| 03 Siyaset | | | | | 15 Bahçe |
| 04 Edebiyat | | | | | 16 Moda/güzellik |
| 05 Sanat | | | | | 17 El işi/örgü |
| 06 Tarih | | | | | 18 Yemek |
| 07 Belgesel | | | | | 19 Diğer: |
| | | | | | |

126. İzlediğiniz dergilerin içinde yabancı dilde dergi var mı?
01 Evet 02 Hayır (128. soruya geç)

127. İzlediğiniz yabancı dergilerin ismini belirtiniz.

1.

2.

3.

X. SPOR/BOŞ ZAMAN/ HOBI/ TATİL

128. Düzenli olarak açık havada spor yapar mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır (77. soruya geç)

129. Açık havada yapıyorsanız, yaptığınız sporu belirtir misiniz?

1.

2.

3.

130. Düzenli olarak salonda spor yapar mısınız?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

131. Spor salonunda spor yapıyorsanız, nerede yapıyorsunuz?

1.

2.

3.

132. RenewaClub/SporMed/Sports International vb. bir spor kompleksine üye/abone misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

133. Düzenli olarak kuaför/güzellik salonu/güzellik merkezine gider misiniz? (Senede 1-2 kere de olsa iltiyaj hissedip, gitme bir alışkanlığı var mı?)

01 Evet 02 Hayır

134. Düzenli olarak saunaya gider misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

135. Düzenli olarak hamama gider misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

136. Hobileriniz nelerdir? (Antikarılık (hangi tür antika), koleksiyonculuk (ne koleksiyonu), çirai hat sanatı, bıkırlı dikiş, bahçecilik, tüpü dalmak)

01 Hobim yok

02

03.

04.

137. Memleketi aile ziyareti dışında, en sık yaptığınız yurtiçi/yurtdışı tatil tercihinizi belirtir misiniz?

138. Senelik izin ve/veya tatilinizi kimlerle geçirmeyi tercih edersiniz?

01 Ailece 02 Arkadaşlarla 03 Turlarla 04 Akrabalarla 05 Diğer:

139. Çocuklarınızın dersane dışında devam ettiği etkinlikler nelerdir? "

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|----------------------------------|---------|----------|------------------------|---------|----------|
| 01 Bale | | | 07 Tekvando/aikido vb. | | |
| 02 Tiyatro/Drama | | | 08 Folklor | | |
| 03 Gitar/Piyano vb. | | | 09 Buz pateni | | |
| 04 Yüzme | | | 10 Tenis | | |
| 05 Jimnastik | | | 11 Diğer: | | |
| 06 Basketbol/Voleybol/Futbol vb. | | | | | |

140. Çocuklarınızı yaz tatillerinde Kuran kursuna gönderir misiniz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

XI. MEDYA

141. Günlük haberlerinizi en sık nereden alırsınız? Öncelik sırasına göre 3 tanesini belirtir misiniz?

| | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem | | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 01 Gazete | | | | 05 Dergi | | | |
| 02 Televizyon | | | | 06 Çevresindeki insanlar | | | |
| 03 Radyo | | | | 07 Diğer: | | | |
| 04 İnternet | | | | | | | |

142. Düzenli günlük gazete takip ediyor musunuz?

01 Evet 02 Hayır

143. Düzenli günlük gazete takip ediyorsanız, hangi gazete(ler)? (İnternetten okuma dâhil)

1. 2. 3.

144. En çok okuduğunuz 3 köşe yazarını sırayla belirtir misiniz?

1. 2. 3.

145. Televizyon kanallarından en çok hangisine güvenirsiniz? (BBC, TRT, CNN, TGRT, Show TV, gbi)

146. Günde kaç saat televizyon seyreder misiniz? Saat

147. En çok izlediğiniz 3 televizyon program türü öncelik sırasına göre belirtir misiniz?

| | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem | | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem |
|--|---------|---------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 01 Açık oturum ve tartışma programları | | | | 13 Türk filmleri | | | |
| 02 Belgeseller | | | | 14 Moda programları | | | |
| 03 Dini programlar | | | | 15 Türk Halk/Pop/Sanat Müziği | | | |
| 04 Ekonomi programları | | | | 16 Yabancı diziler | | | |
| 05 Eğlence/güldürü | | | | 17 Yabancı müzik | | | |
| 06 Talk-showlar | | | | 18 Yabancı sinemalar | | | |
| 07 Haber programları | | | | 19 Yarışma programları | | | |
| 08 Sır programları | | | | 20 Yerli diziler | | | |
| 09 Kültür-sanat programları | | | | 21 Çocuk programları | | | |
| 10 Magazin programları | | | | 22 Kadın programları | | | |
| 11 Evlilik yarışmaları | | | | 23 Müzik programlarıdır | | | |
| 12 Spor programları | | | | 24 Diğer: | | | |

XII. KENT- ÇEVRE

148. Düzenli olarak, aşağıdaki kültürel ve eğlence etkinliklerin hangilerini takip edersiniz? (Gittense de "mahumatına sahip mi?")

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|---|---------|----------|
| 01 Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrası (CSO) konserleri | | |
| 02 Bilkent Odeon'daki konserler | | |
| 03 Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ) Kongre merkezindeki konserler | | |
| 04 Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ) açık hava konserleri | | |
| 05 Belediyelerin düzenlediği halk konserleri | | |
| 06 Sinema | | |
| 07 Film festivalleri/özel film gösterileri | | |
| 08 Devlet Tiyatroları'nda sahnelenen oyunlar | | |
| 09 Ankara'ya gelen özel tiyatro oyunları | | |
| 10 Ankara'ya gelen Karagöz oyunları | | |
| 11 Ankara'ya gelen Sürkler | | |
| 12 Ankara'da açılan resim sergileri | | |
| 13 Diğer: | | |

149. Düzenli olarak sinema gidiyorsanız, hangi sinema salonlarını tercih ediyorsunuz? 1. 2. 3.

150. İlk kez gittiğiniz yerde (ilke, kent) görmek istediğiniz/gördüğünüz ilk 3 yeri belirtir misiniz?

| | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem | | 1. Önem | 2. Önem | 3. Önem |
|-------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 01 Müzeler | | | | 08 Camiler/türbeler vb. | | | |
| 02 Sanat galerileri | | | | 09 Medreseler/lüliyeler vb. | | | |
| 03 Kitap/ müzik mağazaları | | | | 10 Kilseler/sapeller vb. | | | |
| 04 Tarihi yerler | | | | 11 Manastırlar/katedraller vb. | | | |
| 05 Önemli kent merkezleri | | | | 12 Doğal alanlar/parklar | | | |
| 06 Alışveriş merkezleri | | | | 13 Tematik parklar | | | |
| 07 Kentin Solukları/caddeleri | | | | 14 Diğer: | | | |

151. (Okul gezisi/kurum organizasyonu, cenaze dışında) Gezip görmek aşağıdakilerden hangisine gittiniz?

| | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır | | 01 Evet | 02 Hayır |
|--|---------|----------|-----------------------------|---------|----------|
| 01 Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi | | | 06 Ankara Kocatepe Camisi | | |
| 02 Ankara Etnografya Müzesi | | | 07 Ankara Hacı Bayram Camii | | |
| 03 Ankara Kalesi | | | 08 Ankara Roma kalıntıları | | |
| 04 Anıtkabir | | | 09 Diğer: | | |
| 05 Ankara Hayvanat Bahçesi | | | | | |

152. Aşağıdaki kent merkezlerini en çok ne iş için kullanırız?

| | 152A Kızılay | 152B Ulus/ Samanpazarı | 152C Tunalı Hilmi Cd. | 152D Migros Ankamall, Armada, Bilkent Center | 152E Arcadium, Optimum, Migros FTZ, vb. | 152F Beğendik, Carrefour, vb. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| 01 İş yerim orada/iş yerime yakın | | | | | | |
| 02 Giyim alışverişi yapmak | | | | | | |
| 03 Market alışverişi yapmak | | | | | | |
| 04 Vitrin bakmak | | | | | | |
| 05 Arkadaşlarla buluşmak | | | | | | |
| 06 Aile ile vakit geçirmek | | | | | | |
| 07 Fast food ve restoranlar | | | | | | |
| 08 Sinema/ Tiyatro | | | | | | |
| 09 Kitap/ CD vb. bakmak | | | | | | |
| 10Gezinti yapmak/Vakit geçirmek | | | | | | |
| 11 Hiç gitmiyorum | | | | | | |
| 12 Diğer: | | | | | | |

153. Alışveriş merkezlerine gitmek için en sık hangi ulaşım aracını kullanıyorsunuz?

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|------------------|
| 01 Market servisi | 02 Metro | 03 Otobüs | 04 Dolmuş | 05 Taksi | 06 Kendi arabamız | 07 Diğer: |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|------------------|

154. Bütün gelirleriniz (kira geliri, faiz vb., ücretler) düşünüldüğünde hanenizin aylık ortalama geliri ne kadar? YTL.

Appendix B: Questionnaire (English)

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QUESTIONNAIRE NO:

Date :

Interviewer :

PLACE CONDUCTED

1. Neighbourhood :

2. Name of the Street/Road :

I. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

1. Gender: 01 Female 02 Male

2A. Year of Birth:

2B. Place of Birth:

3A. Could you please tell me where you work and exactly what job you do? (Ministry of Health, Servant in the Numune Hospital, B M Stores, Kağıtören, Cashier in use Stores, Ankara Güven Hospital, Clinic Chief in Orthopaedy Department, Software Developer in a Software Firm, etc.)

3B If your job and profession is different, please define:

3C Education* (The total number of years in schooling will be recorded):

* Education Codes:

- | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Illiterate | 13. Student in a Vocational School | 28. University Student |
| 2. Never enrolled in a school, but knows how to read & write | 14. Left Vocational School | 29. Left University |
| 3. Left Primary School | 15. Graduate of Vocational School | 30. University Graduate |
| 4. Primary School Graduate | 16. Student in mam Hatip High School | 31. Student of Higher Education |
| 5. Left Secondary School | 17. Left mam Hatip High School | 32. Left Higher Education |
| 6. Secondary School Graduate | 18. Graduate of mam Hatip High School | 33. Higher Education Graduate |
| 7. Student of Elementary Education (8 years) | 19. Student in an Anatolian High School | 34. Foreign High School Student |
| 8. Left Elementary Education (8 years) | 20. Left Anatolian High School | 35. Left Foreign High School |
| 9. Graduate of Elementary Education (8 years) | 21. Graduate of an Anatolian High School | 36. Foreign High School Graduate |
| 10. High School Student | 22. College Student | 37. Student in a Foreign University |
| 11. Left High School Education | 23. Left College | 38. Left Foreign University |
| 12. High School Graduate | 24. College Graduate | 39. Graduate of a Foreign University |
| | 25. Student in Open University | 40. Graduate of Higher Education |
| | 26. Left Open University | 41. Other: |
| | 27. Open University Graduate | 42. No comment |

4. Marital Status:

| | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| 01 Married | 02 Single | 03 Divorced | 04 Widowed | 05 Other: |
|------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------------|

5. Marriage/relationship duration (The total number of years will be recorded)year(s)

6A. Could you please specify your spouse's/partner's occupation and place of work? (Learn about the job as in 3A)

6B. If your spouses/partner's job is different from her/his actual profession could you please specify her/his job?

6C. Your spouse's/partner's education: (Use the categories in 3C)

7A. Who is the head of the family in your household?

7B. Place of birth of the head of the family: City..... Town Village

8A. Household Size: person

8B. Who do you share your house with? (According to the head of the family)

| | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 01 Lives alone | 03 Lives with Spouse | 05 Partner | 07 Daughter(s) | 09 Grandchild(ren) | 12 Non-Kin(s) |
| 02 Mother/Father | 04 Father in law/Mother in law | 06 Son(s) | 08 Daughter in law/Son in law | 10 Other Kin(s) | |

9A. Number of Children: (If there are no children move on to question number 10)

9B. Information about the children:

| | Age | Gender | Lives in the household | Married (Has her/his own house) | Education* (Use the categories in 3C) | The primary/elementary/secondary/high school that children are attending or graduated from |
|-----------------------|-----|--------|------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 st Child | | | | | | |
| 2 nd Child | | | | | | |
| 3 rd Child | | | | | | |
| 4 th Child | | | | | | |
| 5 th Child | | | | | | |
| 6 th Child | | | | | | |

10. Could you give information on the following items concerning the elder people in the family?

| | 10A. Occupation (As in 3A) | 10B. Education* (Use the categories in 3C) | 10C. Origin | 10D. Place of Birth (City/Town/Village) | 10E. Current residence <i>Ask for name and ask even if dead</i> | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|-------------|--|--|------|---------|
| | | | | | City | Town | Village |
| 01 Father | | | | | | | |
| 02 Mother | | | | | | | |
| 03 Spouse's Father | | | | | | | |
| 04 Spouse's Mother | | | | | | | |
| 05 Grandfather (father of the father) | | | | | | | |

11A. What is your father's religion/sect? (Please read the choices and mark)

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|--------------------|---|
| 01 Sunni Hanafi Muslim | 05 Nusairis Muslim | 09 Catholic Christian | 13 Other Religions | 17 Gnostic |
| 02 Sunni Shafi Muslim | 06 Shia Muslim | 10 Protestant Christian | 14 Atheist | 18 I believe in God but do not use any specific expression to define by faith/Deist |
| 03 Sunni Muslim from other sects (Maliki, Hanbali etc.) | 07 Muslim, other | 12 Christian belonging to another sect | 15 No idea | |
| 04 Alawite Muslim | 08 Orthodox Christian | 12 Jewish | 16 No answer | |

11B. What is your mother's religion/sect? (Use the categories in 11A)

11D. What is your spouse's religion/sect? (Use the categories in 11A)

11C. What is your religion/sect? (Use the categories in 11A)

II. MIGRATION/DISTRICT/NEIGHBOURHOOD

12. Where are you from?

13. Have you changed the place you live? (Country, city, district, neighbourhood)

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No (Move on to question 15) |
|--------|--------------------------------|

14. The place you have resided before moving here: Country..... City..... Town..... District/Neighbourhood..... Village.....

15. How long have you been living in Ankara? (Write down the total number of years)year(s)

16. How long have you been living in this district? (Write down the total number of years)year(s)

17. Could you please specify the reasons why you have changed the residential area that you have previously lived at? (Please choose according to the adjectives that you use)

| The place that you last lived at: | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|---|--------|-------|
| 01 The infrastructure of the district was inadequate | | |
| 02 The quality of the houses/apartment buildings were bad. | | |
| 03 It was far away from the children's schools | | |
| 04 My children did not have peers/friends there | | |
| 05 My children's friends in the neighbourhood were rude and uneducated | | |
| 06 There were no appropriate places to perform weekend/vacation facilities together with the children | | |
| 07 The quality of the neighbours were bad | | |
| 08 There were too many traffic and commuting problems | | |
| 09 There was a parking lot problem | | |
| 10 There was air pollution | | |
| 11 There was a noise problem | | |
| 12 Insecurity/criminal acts existed | | |
| 13 The social status/prestige of the district was low | | |
| 14 The rents were too high | | |
| 15 We moved to a council house | | |
| 16 There has been an ascription/designation | | |
| 17 We moved to our own house | | |
| 18 Other: | | |

III. THE HOUSE YOU LIVE IN

18. Do you possess your own house?

01 Yes 02 No

19. Which of the below define the house you live in the best?

| | | | |
|--|--|---|-----------------|
| 01 The house belongs to us (and there is no loan) | 03 Rent | 05 Counsel House/Guest House (No rent is paid) | 07 Other: |
| 02 The house belongs to us (and we are paying a loan) | 04 A Kin's house (and we are not paying a rent) | 06 Counsel house (Rent is paid) | |

20. What kind of a house do you live in?

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| 01 Apartment building | 03 Dublex/Triplex | 05 Apartment building in a site | 07 Other: |
| 02 Detached house/one-floor house | 04 Villa | 06 Villa in a site | |

21. How many rooms does your house contain other than the kitchen, bathroom/toilets, hall, cellar, (home/office) workers? Room Living Room

22. Which of the below units are existent in the house that you reside in?

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------------------------------|--------|-------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| 01 More than 1 bathroom/toilet | | | 06 Cellar | | |
| 02 Balcony | | | 07 Storage Room | | |
| 03 Garage | | | 08 Living Room | | |
| 04 Garden/Deck | | | 09 Other: | | |
| 05 Guest Bedroom | | | | | |

23. Have you made any refurbishments in the house than those of necessity; that is for your own taste?

01 Yes 02 No (Move to Question 25)

24. What refurbishments have you made in the house that you reside in?

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------------------|--------|-------|---------------------------------|--------|-------|----------------------------------|--------|-------|
| 01 Toilet/Bathroom | | | 03 Refurbishment in the Kitchen | | | 05 Constructing a Garage/Renewal | | |
| 02 Siding | | | 04 Balcony Construction/Closing | | | 06 Other: | | |

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

25. In the last one week have you seen any one other than the people in your workplace or other than reasons of necessity? If so, who did you see? (If the respondent has not seen any one in the last one week, please ask about the previous week and make a note of it on the margin)

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|-----------------------|--------|-------|---|--------|-------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| 01 Mother/Father | | | 06 Friend(s) from Work | | | 11 Neighbour(s) | | |
| 02 Married Child(ren) | | | 07 Friend(s) from School | | | 12 Family | | |
| 03 Kin(s) | | | 08 Friend(s) from Political Party/Union | | | 13 No one | | |
| 04 Townsman | | | 09 Friend(s) from Association/Foundation/Club | | | 14 Other: | | |
| 05 Close Friend(s) | | | 10 Friend(s) from Religious Foundation/Congregation | | | | | |

26. Who did you see last weekend? (If the respondent didn't see anyone last weekend please ask about the week before and note it down on the margin) (Use the categories in question 25)

01 I did not see anyone last weekend 02 03 04

27. Who visited your house last week as a visitor/guest? (If no one visited last week please ask about the week before and note it down on the margin) (Use the categories in question 25)

01 No guests visited my house last week. 02 03 04

28. When you meet with friend what do you talk about? (Key words: City/Environment/Family/Social Values/Technology/ Politics/ Cars/ Sports/ Religion/ Television Programs/Women's Employment/ etc.) (Read the alternatives and mark the ones that the respondent mentions)

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|---|--------|-------|--|--------|-------|
| 01 Children (Respondent's children and children in general) | | | 17 Scientific Studies | | |
| 02 Youngsters (Respondent's children and youngsters in general) | | | 18 Technological Developments | | |
| 03 Family issues/Relations | | | 19 Technologies such as Computer/Mobile phone etc. | | |
| 04 Man-Woman Relationships | | | 20 Ecological Issues/Global Warming etc. | | |
| 05 Neighbourliness | | | 21 Books/Magazines etc. | | |
| 06 Residential area/District where they live | | | 22 Music/Concerts | | |
| 07 Social Values/Morality/Corruption | | | 23 Art/Exhibitions etc. | | |
| 08 Religious values/Weakening of religious values | | | 24 Cinema/Theatre etc. | | |
| 09 Political values/Morality/Corruption | | | 25 Television Programs | | |
| 10 The implementations of Municipalities | | | 26 Home Furniture/Decoration etc. | | |
| 11 The implementations of the Government | | | 27 Food/Desserts/Diet etc. | | |
| 12 Economy/Politics of economy | | | 28 Fashion/ Hair/Makeup | | |
| 13 Privatization | | | 29 Sports/Football | | |
| 14 Foreign Policy/European Union | | | 30 Cars | | |
| 15 Work/ Work life | | | 31 Other: | | |
| 16 Women's Employment | | | | | |

29. Who came to your house for lunch/dinner last week? (If nobody did please ask the respondent the week before and make a note on the margin) (Use the categories in question 25)
 01 No guests visited my house last week 02 03 04

30. What types of food do you serve to lunch/dinner guests? (Please mark one alternative)

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 01 Traditional Home cooking | 03 I order food from a restaurant | 05 Original and egzotic food |
| 02 Local food | 04 Various European food | 06 Other: |

31A. What types of drinks do you serve to lunch/dinner guests?

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 01 Water/mineral water | 03 Beer | 05 Raki/Vodka etc. |
| 02 Fruit juice/fizzy drinks | 04 Wine | 06 Other: |

31B. Approximately how many hours a day do you spend in the kitchen?Hour(s)

32. With whom did you eat out last week? (If the respondent did not perform this act please refer to the week before and make a note of it on the margin) (Use the categories in question 25)
 01 I did not eat out last week. 02 03 04

33. How often do you have your meals out with the family members? (Spouse/children) (If the couple has no children or if the respondent is living alone please ask them as well)

34. Where do you have your meals out with your family?

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| 01 Food courts in shopping malls (move to question 36) | 04 Kebap restaurants with alcoholic beverages (move to question 36) | 07 Luxurious restaurants in Ankara (answer the question 35) |
| 02 Pide restaurants (move to question 36) | 05 Restaurants with no alcoholic beverages (move to question 36) | 08 Chinese/Italian food etc. restaurants in Ankara (answer the question 35) |
| 03 Kebap restaurants that do not sell alcoholic beverages (move to question 36) | 06 Luxurious beef/fish restaurants with alcoholic beverages (move to question 36) | 09 Other: |

35. If you have marked the alternatives 07 and 08 in question 34, could you please name a few of these restaurants?

1. 2.

36. Do you ever go to a picnic?

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 01 No (move to question 38) | 02 1-3 times a year | 03 5-10 times a year | 04 More than 10 times a year | 05 Other: |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|

37. Where do you frequently go for a picnic?

| | | |
|---|--|-----------------|
| 01 Self service picnic areas/rural restaurants Places such as Mogan/Yymir etc) | 03 Forest areas/picnic places near a lake or other waters (Kızılcahamam/Beynam/Kurtbo azı etc.) | 05 Zoo |
| 02 Göksu Park/Saklı Bahçe etc. | 04 T. GEM/Çiftlik etc. | 06 Other: |

38. Do you regularly go to a brunch at the weekends?

| | | |
|--------|-------|------------------------------------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No | 03 I do not know what a brunch is. |
|--------|-------|------------------------------------|

39. When did you last have a night over guest? Who was it? (E.g. Friend/mother/a friend from work etc. 1 week/10 days/three months ago)

V. SOCIAL/SPIRITUAL VALUES

40. According to you what are the three qualities that should be supported in children? (Ask even if the respondent does not have children) (Do not read the alternatives, just mark the ones that the respondent mentions)

1. 2. 3.

41. Do you buy gifts to family members on special days?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

42. Do you buy a present to your spouse/partner/boy-girl friend on Valentine's Day?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

43. What do you pay the most importance to when you choose a gift for an adult?

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 01 The taste of that person | 04 That the gift is different/interesting | 07 Religious determiners |
| 02 The need of that person | 05 My budget | 08 That the gift is high quality |
| 03 My own taste | 06 Tradition | 09 Other: |

44. What do you do on religious holidays?

| | | |
|--|--------------------|-----------------|
| 01 Visit the elderly in the family/visit my hometown | 02 Take a vacation | 03 Other: |
|--|--------------------|-----------------|

45. Do you attend mevlud other than funerals and circumcision?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

46. Do you celebrate Kandil?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

47. Do you celebrate the month of Noah's Pudding?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

48. Do you have any information about the institution of "Dedelik"?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

49. Do you have any relationship with people from other ethnic origins such as Laz, Circassian, Kurdish?

01 Yes 02 No

50. Do you have any relationship with people whose religious view is different than yours?

01 Yes 02 No

51. Would you object to your child if she/he wanted to marry someone from a different ethnic origin such as Laz, Circassian, Kurdish? (Ask the respondent even if she/he does not have children)

01 Yes 02 No

52. Would you object to your child if she/he wanted to marry someone whose religious views are different than yours? (Ask the respondent even if she/he does not have children)

01 Yes 02 No

53. How would you hold your child's wedding ceremony? (Ask even if the respondent does not have children) (If the respondent mentions any alternative that is not mentioned in the choices please make a note of it, i.e., a rural wedding, a wedding at the Hilton Hotel)

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|---|-----------------|
| 01 Just at the wedding hall | 02 Wedding and a cocktail with alcoholic beverages | 03 Wedding and mevlud | 04 Wedding and a feast at a wedding saloon with music | 05 Other: |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|---|-----------------|

54. Would you want your child to have an Imam wedding? (Ask even if the respondent does not have children)

01 Yes 02 No 03 It is for the couple to decide

55. Do you visit a medium when you cannot solve your problems?

01 Yes 02 No

56. Do you let people tell your fortune?

01 Yes 02 No

57. Do you have yourself cast lead?

01 Yes 02 No

58. Do you have a charm prepared?

01 Yes 02 No

59. Could you please select the three adjectives that best define your worldview according to their order of importance?

| | 1 st importance | 2 nd importance | 3 rd importance | | 1 st importance | 2 nd importance | 3 rd importance |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 01 Kemalist | | | | 12 Socialist | | | |
| 02 Secular | | | | 13 Feminist | | | |
| 03 Nationalist | | | | 14 Liberal | | | |
| 04 Islamic | | | | 15 Communist | | | |
| 05 Right wing | | | | 16 Anarchist | | | |
| 06 Conservative | | | | 17 Leftist | | | |
| 07 Idealist | | | | 18 Environmentalist | | | |
| 08 Revolutionist | | | | 19 Liberal | | | |
| 09 Democratic | | | | 20 Patriot | | | |
| 10 Social Democrat | | | | 21 Other: | | | |
| 11 Conservative democrat | | | | | | | |

60. At the moment are you a member of any foundation or other institution? Please tell us which ones you are a member of.

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--|--------|-------|--|--------|-------|
| 01 Union | | | 08 Cultural Organization/Association (Theatre, Music etc.) | | |
| 02 Political Party | | | 09 An NGO such as ADD, CYDD, TEGV, etc.* | | |
| 03 A Foundation/Association that is concerned with the district we live in | | | 10 Organization on Sports/Entertainment | | |
| 04 A Foundation/Association about Environment | | | 11 Association for Townsmen | | |
| 05 Charity Organization/Foundation | | | 12 Association for Institutional Support/Help | | |
| 06 Religious Foundation/Association | | | 13 College/University Alumni Association | | |
| 07 Religious Congregation/Society | | | 14 Other: | | |

*Society of Atatürk Followers, Association for Supporting Modern Life, Turkish Education Volunteers Foundation

VI. CONSUMPTION

61A. Do you have a car that you use for commuting?

01 Yes 02 No (Move to question 62)

61B. Number of cars:

61C. Brand:

62. Which of the following do you have in your house? (Read each choice and mark)

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------|--|--------|-------|
| 01 More than 1 TV | | | 07 Satellite Broadcast (Digiturk etc.) | | |
| 02 Plasma/LCD TV | | | 08 DVD Player | | |
| 03 Notebook/Laptop Computer | | | 09 Digital Camera | | |
| 04 Internet/ADSL | | | 10 Dish Washer | | |
| 05 Cable TV | | | 11 Other: | | |
| 06 Satellite Dish | | | | | |

63. Do you have a regular cleaner for the house/kitchen chores?

01 Yes 02 No (Move to question 67)

64. If you have a regular cleaner, how often does she help you with the housework?

01 Everyday 02 Once a week 03 Every fortnight 04 Once a month 05 Once or twice a year, around the holidays 06 Other:

65. If you have a regular cleaning lady, does she stay over or work during day time?

01 Stay over 02 Day time

66. If you have a regular cleaning lady, is she from a foreign country or a local?

01 Local 02 Foreigner

67. Do you take off your shoes when you come home?

01 Yes 02 No

68. Do you take your clothes to the dry cleaner's regularly?

01 Yes 02 No

69. Do you pay importance to whether the cleaning products you buy are organic and environment friendly?

01 Yes 02 No

70. Do you pay importance to whether the food and drinks that you buy are organic and environment friendly?

01 Yes 02 No

71. Do you pay importance to whether the food and drinks that you buy are produced/prepared under hygienic conditions?

01 Yes 02 No

VII. LIVELIHOOD/SAVINGS

72. Do you have a credit card?

01 Yes 02 No (Move to question 75)

73. Do you have a Gold, Platinum, Bonus Plus, Bonus Premium etc. credit card?

01 Yes 02 No

74. If you have a Gold, Platinum, Bonus Plus, Bonus Premium etc. credit card how many do you have?

75. Do you make a regular saving from your income?

01 Yes 02 No (Move to question 77)

76. If you can make a saving regularly from your income, what type of saving do you prefer? (More than 1 choice can be marked)

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|---------------------|--------|-------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| 01 Bank account | | | 05 Land | | |
| 02 Foreign currency | | | 06 Real estate | | |
| 03 Gold | | | 07 Other: | | |
| 04 Stocks and bonds | | | | | |

77. Do you have a private health insurance?

01 Yes 02 No

78. Do you have a private life insurance?

01 Yes 02 No

79. If you had difficulty in making ends meet, which expenses would you initially limit? (Mark one option)

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 01 Education expenses | 04 Clothing | 07 Durable consumption products | 10 Books/Newspaper |
| 02 Health expenses | 05 Entertainment (Cinema, theatre, concert etc.) | 08 Numerous house equipment | 11 I wouldn't limit anything |
| 03 Kitchen/Food expenses | 06 House restoration | 09 Furniture | 12 Other: |

80. If you had difficulty making ends meet, who would you initially turn to for help?

01 Neighbour 02 Bank loan 03 Friend 04 Family 05 Credit card 06 Other:

81. Which word comes to your mind first when you think about furniture?

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|---------------------|--------|-------|---|--------|-------|
| 01 Classic English | | | 08 Modern American | | |
| 02 Classic American | | | 09 Modern Italian | | |
| 03 Classic Italian | | | 10 Country Style | | |
| 04 Classic French | | | 11 A combination of different styles | | |
| 05 Classic Turkish | | | 12 The respondent does not know furniture styles | | |
| 06 Modern | | | 13 The respondent has shown the furniture and asked the interviewer to mark | | |
| 07 Modern English | | | 14 Other: | | |

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---|--------|-------|
| 01 Furniture show rooms | | | 06 Furniture of the neighbours | | |
| 02 Furniture catalogues | | | 07 Furniture of friends | | |
| 03 Home and decoration magazines | | | 08 Views of interior architects/architects/decorators | | |
| 04 Decoration programs on TV | | | 09 Advertisements | | |
| 05 Internet websites | | | 10 Other: | | |

1.  2.  3. 

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|
| 01 Purchase from furniture shops | | | 06 Purchase from an outlet store | | |
| 02 Purchase by order | | | 07 Purchase from a secondhand market | | |
| 03 Purchase from a foreign country | | | 08 Inherited from the family | | |
| 04 Purchase from an antique shop | | | 09 A friend gave it | | |
| 05 Purchase from an auction | | | 10 Other: | | |

[illegible][illegible]

| | | | | |
|---------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 01 Cash | 02 Installment | 03 Installment via bonds | 04 Installment on the credit card | 05 Other: |
|---------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|

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| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

96A. What is the upholstery of the furniture that you have been using?

96B. Why?

97A. What colour is the upholstery of your furniture?

97B. Why?

98A. What is the pattern of your upholstery?

98B. Why?

99A. Are there any metal accessories in the combination of your furniture?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

99B. Why?

100A. Are there any wooden accessories in the combination of your furnitures?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

100B. Why?

101. How long have you been using your furniture?Years

102. Who in the house decides on which furniture to buy?

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 01 Myself | 02 Spouse | 03 Children | 04 The elderly | 05 Altogether | 06 Other: |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|

103. Could you please define the furniture in your living and family rooms in your childhood? (*Armchairs and sofas, tables and coffee tables, divan, sedir, bedspring, cushions etc.*)

104. What was the style of the living room and family room furniture in your childhood? (*A traditional Turkish house, note down sedir, divan etc, if so*)

105. Could you please define the furniture that you had in your childhood home but that you do not possess in your current house? (*Sofas and armchairs, tables and coffee tables, divan, sedir, cushions etc.*)

IX. TASTE/LIKES

106. Do you pay attention to the harmony between furniture and the floor tiles/floor coverings? (*Carpet, rug, and parquet laminate*)

| | | |
|--------|-------|---|
| 01 Yes | 02 No | 03 I do not have floor covering (<i>move to question 109</i>) |
|--------|-------|---|

107. Do you have any hand woven carpet/rug in your home?

| | |
|--------|-------|
| 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--------|-------|

108. If you have a hand woven carpet or rug in your home, could you please define which region it is from?

1. 2. 3.

109. Do you pay attention to the harmony between the furniture and the curtains?

| | | |
|--------|-------|--|
| 01 Yes | 02 No | 03 I don't have curtains (<i>move to question 112</i>) |
|--------|-------|--|

110. What is the fabric of your curtains?

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------------------------|------------|-------------|------------------|
| 01 Organdy | 03 Linen | 05 Handwoven Natural Fabrics | 07 Satin | 09 Velvet | 11 Woolen Fabric |
| 02 Polyester | 04 Cotton | 06 Silk | 08 Taffeta | 10 Chenille | 12 Other: |

111. What is the sewing style of your curtains? (*Mark all the other that are not mentioned here as other*)

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 01 Classic kilted (<i>rud</i>) | 03 Plounced (<i>rud</i>) | 05 Creased (<i>rud</i>) | 07 Half curtain (<i>rud</i>) | 09 Store/Jalousie |
| 02 Classic kilted (<i>rudic</i>) | 04 Plounced (<i>rudic</i>) | 06 Creased (<i>rudic</i>) | 08 Half curtain (<i>rudic</i>) | 10 Other: |

112. Could you specify the kind of illumination that you use in your house?

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 01 Direct from the ceiling | 04 Indirect from the sides | 07 Classic bracket lamp | 10 Multiple lamp shades |
| 02 Indirect from the ceiling | 05 Classic chandelier from the ceiling | 08 Modern bracket lamp | 11 Different light equipment |
| 03 Direct from the sides | 06 Modern chandelier from the ceiling | 09 Single lamp shade | 12 Other: |

113. What do you hang in your walls? (More than 1 choice can be marked)

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--|--------|-------|--|--------|-------|
| 01 Religion symbols such as ayet/ma. allah | | | 07 Reproductions of artistic photos | | |
| 02 Nature photos | | | 08 Reproduction of paintings | | |
| 03 Works of ebri/hat | | | 09 Photograph of Atatürk | | |
| 04 Artistic photographs | | | 10 Representations such as Hz. Ali | | |
| 05 Original paintings (who did the painting) | | | 11 Symbols that protect from the evil eye (I larmal, evil eye beads, different ethnic symbols) | | |
| 06 Family photos | | | 12 Other: | | |

114. Do you have original sculpture in your house?

01 Yes 02 No

115. Do you have ethnic objects in your house such as masks, totems etc?

01 Yes 02 No

116. Do you have ethnic objects in your house such as copper, wooden etc?

01 Yes 02 No

117. Do you have an oriental corner in your house?

01 Yes 02 No

118. Could you please select three of the below in order of importance to define your home?

| | 1 st importance | 2 nd importance | 3 rd importance | | 1 st importance | 2 nd importance | 3 rd importance |
|------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 01 Clean/Orderly | | | | 08 Furnished with ease | | | |
| 02 Warm/Cosy | | | | 09 Modern | | | |
| 03 Comfortable | | | | 10 Simple | | | |
| 04 Serious | | | | 11 Original/Different | | | |
| 05 Decorated | | | | 12 Fantastic | | | |
| 06 Untidy | | | | 13 Authentic | | | |
| 07 Dirty/Messy | | | | 14 Other: | | | |

119. Where do you eat everyday?

01 Floor table 02 Dining table in the living room 03 On the Coffee table 04 On the kitchen table 05 Other:

120. Where did you eat everyday when you were a child?

01 Floor table 02 Dining table in the living room 03 On the Coffee table 04 On the kitchen table 05 Other:

121. Do you prefer eating on the floor?

01 Yes 02 No

122. Where do you mostly buy your clothes from? (Mark one choice)

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| 01 Prepared or sewn at home | 04 Bought from ordinary ready made stores | 07 Stores such as Polo Garaj, Vakko etc. |
| 02 Sewn at small tailors | 05 Bought from the bazaar | |
| 03 Sewn at fashion houses | 06 Bought from outlet stores | 08 Other: |

123. Which of the three below define your clothing taste the best?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 01 Classic cut | 03 Moderate | 05 Comfortable | 07 Chic | 09 Expensive/brand | 11 Traditional (no head covering) | 13 Veiled |
| 02 Reflecting fashion | 04 Extraordinary/Wild | 06 Sports | 08 With a sense of style | 10 In accord with the religious demands | 12 Traditional (with head covering) | 14 Other: |

124. How many books do you have in your house other than course books, dictionaries or encyclopedias?

125. What kind of periodicals or journals (weekly/monthly) do you follow? (More than 1 choice can be marked)

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|----------------|--------|-------|-------------------------|--------|-------|---------------------------|--------|-------|
| 01 Actual news | | | 08 Nature | | | 15 Garden | | |
| 02 Economy | | | 09 Science & technology | | | 16 Fashion and beauty | | |
| 03 Politics | | | 10 Computers | | | 17 Handcrafts/knittinging | | |
| 04 Literature | | | 11 Cars | | | 18 Cooking | | |
| 05 Art | | | 12 Sports | | | 19 Other: | | |
| 06 History | | | 13 Decoration | | | | | |
| 07 Documentary | | | 14 Home | | | | | |

126. Among the periodicals that you follow, are there any that are published in a foreign language?

01 Yes 02 No (Move to question 128)

127. Please specify the foreign periodicals that you follow?

1. 2. 3.

X. SPORTS/FREE TIME/HOBBY/HOLIDAY

128. Do you regularly do sports in open air?

01 Yes 02 No (move to question 77)

129. If you do sports in open air, please specify the type of sports that you do

1. 2. 3.

130. Do you regularly do sports in a sports complex?

01 Yes 02 No

131. If you do sports in a sports complex, what kind of sports do you do?

1. 2. 3.

132. Are you a member of a sports complex such as Renewaclub/SportMed/Sports International?

01 Yes 02 No

133. Do you regularly go to a hairdresser or beauty parlor? (Even if once or twice a year, does the respondent feel obliged to go?)

01 Yes 02 No

134. Do you regularly go to a steam room/Sauna/SPA?

01 Yes 02 No

135. Do you regularly go to a Hamam (Turkish bath)?

01 Yes 02 No

136. What are your hobbies? (Antiques (the type of antique), collections (the type of collection), chess/bat, sewing, fishing, scuba diving)

01. I don't have hobbies 02. 03. 04.

137. Other than travelling to your hometown to visit your family, could you please define other domestic or international travels?

.....

138. Who do you prefer to spend your summer vacation or annual leave with?

01 Family 02 Friend(s) 03 Tours 04 Kin(s) 05 Other:

139. What do your children do other than attending a training centre?

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--|--------|-------|--------------------------|--------|-------|
| 01 Ballet | | | 07 Taekwondo/Aikido etc. | | |
| 02 Theatre/Drama | | | 08 Folklore | | |
| 03 Guitar/Piano etc. | | | 09 Ice Skating | | |
| 04 Swimming | | | 10 Tennis | | |
| 05 Gymnastics | | | 11 Other: | | |
| 06 Basketball/Volleyball/Football etc. | | | | | |

140. Do you send your children to a Quran course during the summer vacations?

01 Yes 02 No

XI. MEDIA

141. Which one of the below is your frequent source of news? Could you specify three according to priority?

| | 1 st priority | 2 nd priority | 3 rd priority | | 1 st priority | 2 nd priority | 3 rd priority |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 01 Newspaper | | | | 05 Magazine | | | |
| 02 Television | | | | 06 People in the immediate surrounding | | | |
| 03 Radio | | | | 07 Other: | | | |
| 04 Internet | | | | | | | |

142. Do you follow a regular newspaper?

01 Yes 02 No

143. If so, which one/ones do you follow? (Including the Internet)

1. 2. 3.

144. Can you name three columnists that you read the most?

1. 2. 3.

145. Which television channel do you Foundation the most? (BBC, TRT, CNN, TGRT, Show TV etc.)

146. How many hours a day do you watch television?Hours

147. Could you tell the three TV shows that you watch the most according to their priority?

| | 1 st priority | 2 nd priority | 3 rd priority | | 1 st priority | 2 nd priority | 3 rd priority |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 01 Panel discussions | | | | 13 Turkish films | | | |
| 02 Documentaries | | | | 14 Fashion programmes | | | |
| 03 Religious programs | | | | 15 Turkish Folk/Pop/Art music | | | |
| 04 Economy programs | | | | 16 Foreign TV series | | | |
| 05 Entertainment | | | | 17 Foreign music | | | |
| 06 Talk shows | | | | 18 Foreign cinema | | | |
| 07 News programmes | | | | 19 Quiz shows | | | |
| 08 Mystic programs | | | | 20 Domestic TV series | | | |
| 09 Culture & art programs | | | | 21 Children's programs | | | |
| 10 Magazine programs | | | | 22 Shows for women | | | |
| 11 Marriage programs | | | | 23 Music programs | | | |
| 12 Sports programs | | | | 24 Other: | | | |

XII. URBAN – PERIPHERY

148. Which of the following cultural and entertainment activities do you follow regularly? (Even if the respondent does not follow these, does she/he have any information about them?)

| | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|---|--------|-------|
| 01 PSO concerts (T. R. Presidential Symphony Orchestra) | | |
| 02 Concerts in Bilkent Odeon | | |
| 03 Concerts in Middle East Technical University Convention Centre | | |
| 04 Open Air concerts in Middle East Technical University | | |
| 05 Public concerts organized by the municipalities | | |
| 06 Cinema | | |
| 07 Film festivals/Special features | | |
| 08 Plays in the state theatre | | |
| 09 Private theatre companies that visit Ankara | | |
| 10 Karagöz plays that visit Ankara | | |
| 11 Circuses that visit Ankara | | |
| 12 Art exhibitions in Ankara | | |
| 13 Other: | | |

149. Do you go to the cinema regularly? Which cinema saloons do you prefer?

1. 2. 3.

150. When you visit a place for the first time (town/city) which are the first three places that you visit?

| | 1 st priority | 2 nd priority | 3 rd priority | | 1 st priority | 2 nd priority | 3 rd priority |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 01 Museums | | | | 08 Mosques and tombs etc. | | | |
| 02 Art galleries | | | | 09 Madrasah and other Religious complexes | | | |
| 03 Book & Music stores | | | | 10 Churches/Chapels etc. | | | |
| 04 Historical sites | | | | 11 Monasteries/Cathedrals etc. | | | |
| 05 Important city centers | | | | 12 Natural areas/Parks | | | |
| 06 Shopping malls | | | | 13 Theme Parks | | | |
| 07 Streets and avenues | | | | 14 Other: | | | |

151. Which of the below have you visited other than a school visit, institutional organization or funeral?

| | 01 Yes | 02 No | | 01 Yes | 02 No |
|--|--------|-------|------------------------------|--------|-------|
| 01 Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum | | | 06 Ankara Kocatepe Mosque | | |
| 02 Ankara Ethnography Museum | | | 07 Ankara hacı bayram Mosque | | |
| 03 Ankara Castle | | | 08 Ankara Roman ruins | | |
| 04 Antikabir | | | 09 Other: | | |
| 05 Ankara Zoo | | | | | |

| | 152A Kızılay | 152B Ulus/ Samanpazarı | 152C Tunalı Hilmi Str. | 152D Migros Ankamall, Armada, Bilkent Center | 152E Arcadium, Optimum, Migros FTZ, vb. etc. | 152F Beğendik, Carrefour, etc. |
|---|-----------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 01 My work place is there or it is very close | | | | | | |
| 02 To shop for clothes | | | | | | |
| 03 To shop for food | | | | | | |
| 04 For window shopping | | | | | | |
| 05 Meeting with friends | | | | | | |
| 06 Spend time with the family | | | | | | |
| 07 Fast food and restaurants | | | | | | |
| 08 Cinema/Theatre | | | | | | |
| 09 To shop for books/CDs etc. | | | | | | |
| 10 To walk around/spend time | | | | | | |
| 11 I never go there | | | | | | |
| 12 Other: | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|--------|----------------|--------|----------------|-----------------|
| 01 The service of the supermarket | 02 Metro | 03 Bus | 04 Shared taxi | 05 Cab | 06 Private car | 07 Other: |
|-----------------------------------|----------|--------|----------------|--------|----------------|-----------------|

Appendix C: Furniture User Interview Form (Turkish)

MOBİLYA KULLANICISI GÖRÜŞME FORMU

Bu soru formu, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Sosyoloji Bölümünde hazırlanan “Ankara Keçiören ve Çankaya’da Kentli Orta Sınıf, Yaşam Tarzı ve Beğeni: Mobilya, Ev Döşemesi ve Dekorasyon aracılığıyla Farklılık/Ayrım” başlıklı doktora tez çalışmamın saha araştırması için mobilya kullanıcılarıyla yapılan görüşmelerde kullanılmaktadır. Bu formdaki sorulara verilen cevaplar ve görüşme sırasındaki ifadeleriniz tez çalışmamda tümüyle bilimsel amaçla değerlendirilecek ve kullanılacaktır.

Zerrin Arslan

Araştırma Görevlisi, ODTÜ Sosyoloji

MAHALLE/SEMT/OTURDUĞUNUZ EV

- Mülkiyet, evin tipi, oda sayısı/eklentileri, yapılan tadilat, ısınma?
- Eviniz kendinize aitse: Evinizi yaparken/alırken kimler yardım etti?
- İlçe, semt, mahalle, özellikleri? Başka bir semtte oturmak ister misiniz?

GELİR/GEÇİM/İŞ

- Sizin ve eşinizin işi nedir? Başka bir işte çalışmak ister misiniz?

ÇALIŞMA/KADIN/ÇOCUK(LUK)

- Kadının çalışması, kadına uygun işler, kadının televizyonda görülmesi, gelirin olması hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir?
- Çocuklarınızın tatillerde çalışması hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir?
- Çocuklarınız için gelecek beklentiniz nelerdir?
- Çocuğunuzun ileride nasıl bir eş seçmesini istersiniz?

GÜNLÜK YAŞAM/SOSYAL İLİŞKİLER/KOMŞULUK

- Kimlerle, ne sıklıkta görüşürsünüz? Kimlere ev ziyaretine gidersiniz?
- Ekonomik açıdan sıkıştığınızda ne yaparsınız?
- Aile ilişkileriniz nasıldır, ailedeki sorunlar nasıl çözülür?

- Komşuluk sizce önemli mi?
- Bu mahallede iş dışında kalan zamanlarda neler yaparsınız?

MOBİLYA

- Mobilya deyince aklınıza ne geliyor?
- Mobilyalarınızı nereden aldınız?
- Mobilyanın size göre anlamı ve önemi nedir?
- Mobilya size göre bir ihtiyaç mıdır, hangi durumda bir ihtiyaç olabilir?
- Mobilyanın-ev eşyasının günlük yaşamınızdaki yeri nedir?
- Evinizi döşerken nelere dikkat ettiniz?
- Mobilyalarınızı seçerken nelere dikkat ettiniz?
- Mobilyanızın tarzı, rengi ve deseni nedir?
- Koltuk örtüsü kullanır mısınız?
- Mobilyanızda ahşap ya da metal detay var mı?
- Mobilyalarınızı kaç yıldır kullanıyorsunuz, değiştirdiniz mi ya da değiştirmeyi düşünüyor musunuz? Değiştirdiyseniz/değiştirmeyi düşünüyorsanız, neden? Hangi tarzı tercih edersiniz?
- Önce mobilyanızı mı, halı, perde gibi eşyaları mı aldınız?
- Ne tür süs eşyalarını seversiniz?
- Orijinal resim, heykel, etnik objeleri dekoratif olarak kullanır mısınız?
- Geleneksel el işi ve dokuma, bakır, ahşap nesneler kullanır mısınız?
- Evinizin duvarlarına neler asarsınız? (Fotoğraf, manzara resmi, orijinal resim, aile resimleri, duvar süsleri, nazarlık, vs.)
- Siz göre, “zevklî” bir evi tanımlar mısınız?
- Hangi tarz mobilyayı evinizde kullanmazsınız?
- Komşularınızın mobilyalarında en çok ne dikkatinizi çeker? Hoşunuza giden ya da gitmeyen detayları tanımlar mısınız?
- Sizce, zevkleri belirleyen etkenler nelerdir?

FARKLILAŞMA/SOSYAL HAREKETLİLİK/SİYASET-DEVLET

- Bu toplumda yaşayan insanlar arasında sizce ne gibi farklılıklar var?
- Hükümetlerin karar alırlarken toplumun bazı kesimlerini kayırdığını düşünür müsünüz?

MEDYA/KÜLTÜR-KÜLTÜREL ETKİNLİK/EĞİTİM

- Haber kaynaklarınız nelerdir? Gazete okur musunuz, hangisi?
- Televizyon seyredersiniz?
- Televizyonda hangi programları tercih edersiniz?
- Hangi kültürel faaliyetlerde bulunursunuz?
- 8 yıllık zorunlu eğitim hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- Ne tür müzik dinlersiniz?
- Kitap okur musunuz? Ne tür kitapları tercih edersiniz?

GÜNLÜK YAŞAM, BOŞ ZAMAN/ HOBİ/ TATİL

- Ankara’da nerelere hangi amaçla gidersiniz?
- Kızılay/Tunalı Hilmi/Ulus-Samanpazarı’na gider misiniz? Giderseniz ne amaçla gidersiniz?
- Alışveriş merkezlerine gider misiniz? Giderseniz en sık hangisine, ne amaçla gidersiniz?
- Anıtkabir’e gittiniz mi?
- Ankara’daki müzelerden hangilerine gittiniz?
- Boş zamanlarınızda neler yaparsınız, boş zamanlarınızı nasıl ve kimlerle geçirirsiniz?
- Hobileriniz var mı, varsa, hobilerinize ne sıklıkta vakit ayırırsınız?
- Tatillerinizde ne yaparsınız, nerede kimlerle geçirmeyi tercih edersiniz?
- Spor yapar mısınız? Yaparsanız, nerede yaparsınız?

GIYİM-KUŞAM

- Giyim-kuşam sizce önemli mi? Şehirli insanın giyimi nasıl olmalı?

KENTLEŞME VE GÖÇ, TARIMLA/KÖYLE İLİŞKİSİ

- Ankaralı mısınız?
- Çevrenizde birçok yeni apartmanlar yapılıyor. Bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- Sizce şehirli kime denir?
- (Kendisinin) Tarımla/Köyle ilişkiniz var mı? Varsa anlatır mısınız?

TÜKETİM EĞİLİMLERİ

- Gelirinizi nerelere harcarsınız?
- Alışverişinizi nerelerden yaparsınız? Ne gibi ürünleri tercih edersiniz? Neden?

- Arabanız var mı? Varsa markası ve modeli nedir?
- Kredi kartı kullanır mısınız?
- Tasarruf yapar mısınız/yapabiliyor musunuz? Nasıl?

Appendix D: Furniture User Interview Form (English)

FURNITURE USER INTERVIEW FORM

This questionnaire is used while directing the interviews with the furniture users for the field research conducted for the doctorate dissertation titled “Urban Middle Class, Lifestyle and Taste in Keçiören and Çankaya, Ankara: Distinction through Home Furniture, Furnishing and Decoration”. All of the responses given to the questions and all of the expressions used throughout the interviews will be evaluated and used thoroughly on a scientific base in the dissertation.

Zerrin Arslan

Research Assistant, METU Sociology

DISTRICT/NEIGHBOURHOOD/HOUSE OF RESIDENCE

- Property, type of house, number of rooms, annexes, restoration, heating?
- If the house belongs to you: Who helped while you were purchasing/constructing the house?
- The features of the district and the neighbourhood? Would you like to reside in another neighbourhood?

INCOME/SUBSISTENCE/EMPLOYMENT

- What is your and your spouse’s occupation? Would you like to do another job or work somewhere else?

WORK/WOMAN/CHILDHOOD

- What is your opinion on the following issues? Employment of woman, jobs suitable for a woman, appearance of women on television broadcast and women’s attainment of income.
- What is your opinion about your children’s taking summer jobs?
- What are your future expectations for your children?
- What type of a spouse would you want your child to choose for her/himself in the future?

DAILY LIFE/SOCIAL RELATIONS/NEIGHBOURLINESS

- Who do you socialize with and with what frequency? Whose houses do you pay a visit to?
- What do you do when you are economically in a difficult position?
- How are your family relations? How are the problems emerging within the family resolved?
- Is neighbourliness important for you?
- How do you spend your time in the neighbourhood when you are not working?

FURNITURE

- What does the word furniture bring to your mind?
- Where did you buy your furniture from?
- According to you, what is the importance and meaning of furniture?
- Is furniture a necessity for you and/or under which conditions does it become a necessity?
- What is the place of furniture or other house equipment in your daily life?
- What did you pay importance to while decorating your house?
- What did you pay importance to while you were choosing your furniture?
- What are the style, colour and pattern of your furniture?
- Do you use a sofa and/or armchair cover?
- Are there any wooden or metal details on your furniture?
- For how long have you been using your furniture? Have you ever changed it or are you considering changing it? If you have changed it or if you are considering changing it, what is the reason? Which style would you prefer?
- Did you purchase your furniture or items such as carpet and curtains first?
- What kind of decorative objects do you like?
- Do you use authentic paintings, sculpture, ethnic objects in a decorative sense in your house?
- Do you use traditional handcrafts, hand woven textiles, copper and wooden objects?
- What do you hang to your walls? (Photographs, scenery paintings, authentic paintings, family photographs, wall ornamentation, evil eye beads)
- Could you define the type of house that you would call 'tasteful'?
- What kind of furniture wouldn't you use at home?

- What attracts your attention the most in your neighbours furniture? Could you describe the details that you like and dislike?
- According to you, what are the factors that affect taste?

DIFFERENTIATION/SOCIAL MOBILITY/POLITICS-THE STATE

- According to you what kind of differences is there among the people who live in this society?
- Do you think that while governments are making decisions they tend to favour certain segments of society and avoid others?

MEDIA/CULTURE-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES/EDUCATION

- Where do you receive news from? Do you read a newspaper? And if so, which one do you read?
- Do you watch television?
- Which programs do you prefer to watch on television?
- Which cultural activities do you participate in?
- What is your opinion about 8-year compulsory education?
- What kind of music do you listen to?
- Do you read books and what kind of books do you read?

DAILY LIFE/LEISURE TIME/HOBBIES/VACATIONS

- Where do you go in Ankara and for what purpose?
- Do you go to Kızılay/Tunalı Hilmi/Ulus-Samanpazarı? If you do, for what purpose?
- Do you go to shopping malls? If you do, which one do you go to most frequently and generally, what is your purpose?
- Have you ever been to Anıtkabir (the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who is the founder of Turkey)?
- Which of the museums have you visited in Ankara?
- What do you do in your spare time? Who and how do you spend your spare time?
- Do you have hobbies and if you do how frequently can you allocate time to your hobbies?
- What do you do on your vacations? Where and with who do you prefer to spend your vacations?

- Do you do sports? If so, where do you do sports?

CLOTHING

- Is clothing important for you? How should an urban person be dressed?

URBANIZATION AND MIGRATION, AND ITS RELATION TO AGRICULTURE AND VILLAGE

- Are you from Ankara?
- Many new apartment buildings are being constructed around you? What is your opinion about this?
- According to you, who do we refer to as an urbanite?
- Do you have any relation to agriculture or the village? If yes, could you tell us about it?

CONSUMPTION MODES

- Where do you spend your income?
- Where do you shop from? What kind of products do you prefer? Why?
- Do you have a car? If yes, what brand and make is it?
- Do you use a credit card?
- Do/Can you make a saving? How?

**Appendix E: Form for Interviews Conducted with People Working in the Field of
Furniture Production and Home Decoration (Turkish)**

**MOBİLYA ÜRETİMİ VE EV DÖŞEMESİ ALANINDA ÇALIŞANLARLA GÖRÜŞME
FORMU**

Bu soru formu, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Sosyoloji Bölümünde hazırlanan “Ankara Keçiören ve Çankaya’da Kentli Orta Sınıf, Yaşam Tarzı ve Beğeni: Mobilya, Ev Döşemesi ve Dekorasyon aracılığıyla Farklılık/Ayrım” başlıklı doktora tez çalışmamın saha araştırması için Ankara Siteler’de mobilya üreticisi, mobilya mağaza sahipleri, satış elemanları, tasarımcı, mimar, iç mimar, dekoratör ve ev döşemesi ile bağlantılı döşemeci, kumaşçı, camcı, avizeci, perdeci, halıci vb. alanlarda çalışan kişiler ile yapılan görüşmelerde kullanılmaktadır. Bu formdaki sorulara verilen cevaplar ve görüşme sırasındaki ifadeleriniz tez çalışmamda tümüyle bilimsel amaçla değerlendirilecek ve kullanılacaktır.

Zerrin Arslan

Araştırma Görevlisi, ODTÜ Sosyoloji

- Üretim Organizasyonu: Makine, hammadde vb. ve bunlardaki değişim, eleman ve eleman niteliği vb, tasarım, planlama, üretim ve pazarlama süreçlerini anlatabilir misiniz?
- Sermaye birikimi: başlangıç, yatırım kararları, iş genişletme/daraltma süreçlerinizi anlatabilir misiniz?
- Mobilya üretimi ve tüketim bağlantısını anlatabilir misiniz?
- Tüketim-pazarlama ilişkisi
- Mobilya sanayinin mekânsal açılımı hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz?
- Sizce, mobilya sanayi kenti nasıl etkiliyor ve dönüştürüyor?
- Sizce, mobilya tüketimi yaşam tarzlarını nasıl etkiliyor ve dönüştürüyor?
- Günlük yaşamda mobilyanın yeri
- Sizce, mobilya tüketimi/tercihlerinde kategorileştirme mümkün mü? (gelir, semt, eğitim, yaş, vb.)

- Sizce, mobilya üzerinden sosyo-mekânsal ilişkilerin tanımlanması mümkün mü? (Komşuluk, semt, meslek/iş, vb.)
- Kentle olan ilişkileri, kentli/şehirli olmaktan ne anlaşıldığı, kentli/şehirli kimdir? Tanımlayabilir misiniz?
- Mobilya sektörü (üretim ve tüketim bağlamında) ile kent/şehir/kentlilik arasında bir ilişki var mı ya da bir ilişki tanımlanabilir misiniz?
- Mobilya tercihleri üzerinden bir toplumsal sınıflama/kategorileştirme yapılabilir misiniz?
- Mobilya tercihi ve tüketimi bir sosyal statü göstergesi olabilir mi?
- Mobilya talebinin ve tüketiminin tarihsel gelişimi ve günümüzdeki eğilimler/yönelimler nelerdir? Ev-Mobilya ilişkisi?

GÖRÜŞMECİ FORMU

1. Demografik Bilgi

Yaş: Cinsiyet: Medeni durum: Çocuk Sayısı:

2. Eğitim ve Mesleki Eğitim

İŞ DENEYİMİ

3. Çalışma Alanları

- Mobilya sektörüne girmeye nasıl karar verdiniz?
- Yaptığınız işi tanımlayabilir misiniz?
- Mobilya sektöründe işe başlama yılınız ve pozisyonunuzu söyler misiniz?
- Siteler’de mobilya sektöründe işe başlama yılınız ve pozisyonunuzu söyler misiniz?

4. İşinizde Kullanılan Araç-Gereç, Makine ve Teknikler

- Kullanılan araç-gereç, makine ve teçhizattan bahsedebilir misiniz?
- Mobilya üretimi teknolojisi ve tekniklerinin bilgisini nasıl ediniyorsunuz?
- Kullanılan makine ve diğer malzemelerdeki değişimi nasıl izliyorsunuz?

5. Sermaye/Yatırım/Mülkiyet

- İşe başlarken başlangıç sermayenizi nasıl sağladınız? (Kendi birikimi, aile desteği, arkadaş yardımı, borç, kredi?)
- Alet/araç-gereç/ makine alımı (1./2. el, peşin/kredili, leasing/factoring)
- Kazançları değerlendirme araçları
- Mülk edinme (Ev, araba, iş yeri, atölye, kiraya verme amaçlı emlak alımı vs.)

6. Eleman/Ortak Bulma

- Kimlerle çalışmak/ortak olmak istersiniz?
- İşçi, teknik eleman, tasarımcı vb. için aile ya da akrabalık ilişkisi gözetir misiniz?
- Elemanın niteliği/dini/siyasi görüşü birlikte çalışmanıza yansır mı?
- Çalıştığınız pozisyon mesleki eğitim gerektiriyor mu?
- Birlikte çalıştığınız kişilerin mesleki becerileri ve pozisyonlarından bahsedebilir misiniz?

7. Siteler’de Çalışıyor Olmak

- Siteler’de çalışmayı tanımlayabilir misiniz?
- Siteler’i ve Siteler esnafını tanımlar mısınız?
- Siteler müşterileri tanımlar mısınız?
- Sizin ailenizin (anneniz/babanız, eşiniz, çocuklarınız vs.) ve komşularınızın Siteler’de çalışma konusunda düşüncelerinden bahseder misiniz?
- Farklı semtlerde (Çayyolu, Çankaya, Mamak, Keçiören, Sincan vs.) yaşayan insanların Siteler’i nasıl gördüğünü konusunda fikriniz var mı? Anlatabilir misiniz?

8. Siteler’in Dünyü/Bugünü/Geleceği

- Siteler’in ve mobilya sektörünün geçmişini bildiğiniz kadarıyla anlatabilir misiniz?
- Geçmişle bugünü karşılaştırabilir misiniz?
- Geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?
- Siteler’de çalışan yakınınız var mı?
- Çocuklarınızın Siteler’de çalışmasını ister misiniz?

9. Siteler’de Mobilya Üretimi ve Tasarımı

- Siteler’de mobilya üretiminin temel özelliklerini belirtebilir misiniz?

- Siteler’de, el yapımı ve masif mobilya üretimi var mı?
- Siteler’de mobilya tasarımı gelişimini anlatabilir misiniz?
- Siteler’de tasarım eğilimleri nasıl belirlenir?
- Siteler’de malzeme, üretim ve tasarım alanlarındaki yenikler, anlatır mısınız?
- Birlikte çalıştığınız kişilerle tasarım yapıyor musunuz?

10. Büyük Mobilya Firmaları ve Uluslararası Şirketler

- Siteler’e büyük mobilya firmaları ve uluslararası şirketlerin etkisi oldu mu? Olduysa, Siteler nasıl etkilendi?
- Gelecekte nasıl olur?

11. Yardımlaşma/Dayanışma ve Saygı

- Diğer işverenlerle, işçilerle ve işçiler arasındaki yardımlaşma ve dayanışmadan bahsedebilir misiniz?

12. Mobilyanın Anlamı

- Mobilya denince aklınıza neler gelir? Anlatır mısınız?
- Sizce, üretici ve kullanıcı için mobilyanın anlamını anlatır mısınız?
- Sizce, farklı insanlar için mobilyanın anlamı değişir mi?

13. Mobilya ve Ev Döşemesi

- Ev döşemesi için mobilyanın yeri ve önemini belirtir misiniz?
- Mobilyayla birlikte, ev döşerken, başka hangi elemanlar önemlidir?
- Sizce ev döşerken neye dikkat edilmelidir?

14. Beğeni ve Estetik

- İyi ev döşemesinin ilkeleri var mıdır?
- Güzel/zevkli bir ev kurmak için önerileriniz nelerdir?
- Mobilya döşemesinin renk ve deseni önemli midir?
- Halı, perde, aydınlatma birimleri önemli midir?
- Ev döşemek ile dekorasyon farklı mıdır?
- Zevkli bir ev döşemek için önerileriniz nelerdir?
- Zevkli bir ev dekorasyonu için önerileriniz nelerdir?

**Appendix F: Form for Interviews Conducted with People Working in the Field of
Furniture Production and Home Decoration (English)**

**FORM FOR INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH PEOPLE WORKING IN THE FIELD
OF FURNITURE PRODUCTION AND HOME DECORATION**

This questionnaire is used while directing the interviews conducted with people working in the field of furniture production and home decoration for the field research conducted for the doctorate dissertation titled “Urban Middle Class, Lifestyle and Taste in Keçiören and Çankaya, Ankara: Distinction through Home Furniture, Furnishing and Decoration”. All of the responses given to the questions and all of the expressions used throughout the interviews will be evaluated and used thoroughly on a scientific base in the dissertation.

Zerrin Arslan

Research Assistant, METU Sociology

- Organization of Production: Can you give information concerning machinery, raw material and the like, and the changes that have taken place in this framework as well as the processes related to workers, qualifications of workers, design, planning and production?
- Capital Accumulation: Can you inform us about the processes that you have gone through concerning foundation, investment decisions and enlarging/narrowing your business?
- Can you tell us about the relationship between furniture production and consumption?
- The relationship between consumption and marketing
- What can you say about the spatial unfolding of furniture industry?
- According to you, how does furniture industry affect the city and how does it transform the city?
- According to you, how does furniture consumption affect and transform lifestyles?
- According to you, what is the place of furniture in everyday life?
- According to you, is a categorization possible in furniture consumption/preferences? (Income, neighbourhood, education, age and the like)

- According to you, is it possible to define socio-spatial relations with reference to furniture? (neighbourliness, neighbourhood, profession/work and the like)
- Can you please define your relationship with the city, what you understand from being an urbanite and the term urbanite itself?
- Is there a relationship between the furniture sector (in terms of production and consumption) and being urbanite and if so, can you define it?
- With reference to furniture choices, can you make a social classification or categorization?
- Can furniture preferences and consumption be a sign of social status?
- What is the historical development of furniture demand and consumption and what are the current tendencies in these two respects?
- According to you, what is relationship between home and furniture?

INTERVIEWER FORM

1. Demographic Information:

Age: Sex: Marital Status: Number of Children:

2. Education and Vocational Education

WORK EXPERIENCE

3. Field of Work

- When did you decide to work in the furniture sector?
- Can you define the kind of work that you do?
- Can you tell us at what age you started working in furniture sector and your position at the time?
- Can you tell us in which year you started working in Siteler and your position at the time?

4. The Tools, Machines and Techniques Used In Your Job

- Can you tell us about the tools, machines and techniques that are used in your job?

- How do you get information about technology of furniture production and other technical knowledge?
- How do you follow the changes that take place in terms of the machines and other material used in your profession?

5. Capital/Investment/Property

- When you were first founding the business, how did you provide the initial capital? (Personal savings, family support, help from a friend, loan, and credit?)
- Tools/machinery (First/second hand, cash/instalment, leasing/factoring)
- Tools for the assessment of income
- Purchasing property (House, car, work place, buying real estate for rental purposes and such)

6. Finding Employee/Partner

- Who would you like to work with or become partners with?
- Do you take blood relation into consideration in the recruitment of workers, technical staff, designer and such?
- Does the worker's qualification/religion/political view reflect on working together?
- Is vocational education necessary in the position that you are working?
- Can you tell us about the professional skills and positions of the people that you are working together with?

7. Working in Siteler

- Can you define working in Siteler?
- Can you define Siteler and the tradesmen in Siteler?
- Can you define the customers in Siteler?
- Can you tell us about your family's (mother/father, spouse, and children) and neighbours opinions about working in Siteler?
- Do you have an idea about how people living in different neighbourhoods (Çayyolu, Çankaya, Mamak, Keçiören, Sincan etc.) view Siteler? Can you tell us about it?

8. The Past/Present/Future of Siteler

- Can you tell us about the history of Siteler and furniture sector as much as possible?

- Can you compare the past and today?
- What are your projections about the future?
- Do you have any relatives or people from your close circle that work in Siteler?
- Would you want your children to work at Siteler?

9. Furniture Production and Design in Siteler

- Can you tell us about the basic characteristics of furniture production in Siteler?
- Is there handmade and massive furniture production in Siteler?
- Can you tell us about the development of furniture design in Siteler?
- How is the furniture design trends determined in Siteler?
- Can you tell us about the innovations in the fields of material, production and design in Siteler?
- Do you design with people that you work together with?

10. Big Furniture Firms and International Companies

- Did the big furniture firms and international companies have any effect on Siteler? If yes, how was Siteler affected?
- What will it be like in the future?

11. Cooperation and Respect

- Can you tell us about the cooperation among employers, employees and workers, and workers and other workers?

12. The Meaning of Furniture

- What comes to your mind when you hear the word furniture? Can you tell us about it?
- According to you, what is the meaning of furniture for the producer and the user?
- Do you think the meaning of furniture changes from person to person?

13. Furniture and Home Decoration

- Can you tell us about the importance of furniture in the framework of house furnishing?
- Together with furniture, what other elements are important while furnishing a house?
- According to you, what should be taken into consideration while furnishing a house?

14. Taste and Aesthetics

- Are there any principles of furnishing a house properly?
- What are your suggestions for furnishing a beautiful/tasteful house?
- Are colour and pattern important in furniture upholstery?
- Are the items of carpet, curtain and lighting important while furnishing a house?
- Are home furnishing and decoration different things?
- What are your suggestions for furnishing a tasteful house?
- What are your suggestions for a tasteful house decoration?

Appendix G: Photographs



Photograph 1: Traditional Village House



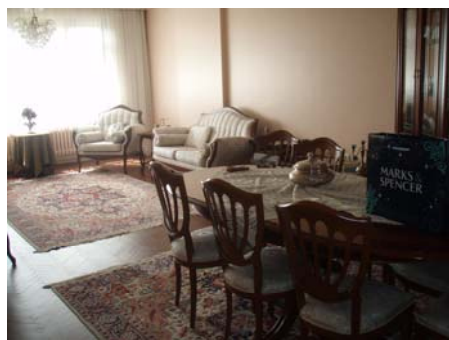
Photograph 3: Classic Style



Photograph 4: Classic Style



Photograph 2: Traditional Transitory House



Photograph 5: Classic Style



Photograph 6: Classic Style



Photograph 9: Classic Style Console



Photograph 7: Classic Style



Photograph 10: Classic Style



Photograph 8: Classic Style



Photograph 11: Classic Style Eating Set



Photograph 13: Classic Style Console



Photograph 12: Classic Style China Cabinet



Photograph 14: Classic Style



Photograph 15: Modern Style



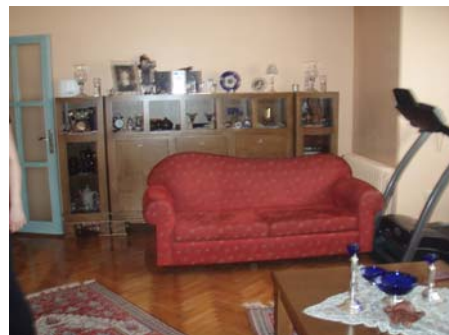
Photograph 16: Modern Style



Photograph 17: Eclectic Style



Photograph 18: Harmonically Eclectic Style



Photograph 19: Harmonically Eclectic Style



Photograph 20: Haphazardly Eclectic Style



Photograph 21: Eclectic Style Sitting Room



Photograph 22: Modern Style with Ethnic Objects



Photograph 23: Mass-Produced Sitting Set



Photograph 24: Mass-Produced Sitting Set



Photograph 25: Classic Style Curtains & Family Photographs



Photograph 26: Various Decorative Objects in/on Modern China Cabinet



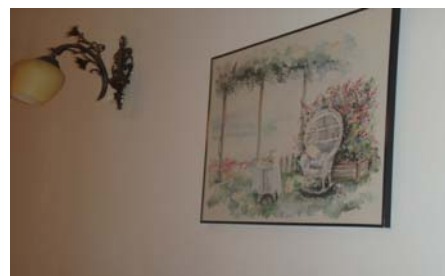
Photograph 27: Decorative Objects in/on Modern China Cabinet



Photograph 28: Gilded Decorative Objects



Photograph 29: Haphazardly Put Decorative Objects in/on Classic Side Board



Photograph 30: Picture and Classic Appliqué



Photograph 31: Decorative Artificial Roses



Photograph 32: Classic Style with Low Tables



Photograph 35: Classic Style with Copper Staff



Photograph 33: Handcraft Mirrored Decorative Objects



Photograph 36: Mass-Produced Wing-Chairs



Photograph 34: Eclectic Style within Traditional Effect

Appendix H: Curriculum Vitae

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name : Arslan, Zerrin
Date of Birth : 04.12.1967
Date of Place : Ortaca-Muğla/TÜRKİYE
Nationality : Turkish (T.C.)
Marital Status : Single
Position : Research Assistant, METU, Department of Sociology
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EDUCATION

2002-2011 Middle East Technical University. Ankara/Turkey
PhD in Sociology, Graduate School of Social Sciences
Title of Thesis: Urban Middle Class, Lifestyle and Taste in Keçiören and Çankaya, Ankara: Distinction through Home Furniture, Furnishing and Decoration.
Advisor: Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata (Sociology, METU)
Co-Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç (Sociology, METU)

2-20 August 2004 Helsinki Summer School, 2004. Helsinki/Finland.
Department of Social Policy at the University of Helsinki and the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Technology.

1998-2001 Ankara University. Ankara/Turkey
M.A. in Political Sciences, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Department of Public Administration and Political Sciences
Title of Master Thesis: Discourse of Crime on Television: Relationship among Ideology, Hegemony and Power
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serpil Sancar Üşür

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 1990-1997 | Ankara University. Ankara/Turkey B.A. in Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, Faculty of Political Sciences |
| 1992-1995 | Anadolu University. Eskişehir/Turkey Faculty of Open Education, Associate Degree in Department of Midwife. |
| 1987-1990 | Hacettepe University, Faculty of Education, Department of Educational Sciences. Ankara/Turkey Freshman in the Division of Psychological Counselling and Guidance. |
| 1982-1986 | Antalya Vocational School of Health, Department of Nurse and Midwife. Antalya/Turkey. |

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English

WORK EXPERIENCE

| | |
|--------------|---|
| 2002 - | Research Assistant, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology. Ankara |
| Mar 2006 | The Evaluation Concerning the Pilot Application towards People with Disabilities, Final Report of the Project of “Collaboration of Social Actors of Turkish Society for Protection of Human Rights and the Enhancement of Democracy” (Supported by EU). Coordinator: Assoc. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu Reporters: Assoc. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç, Dr. Kezban Çelik, Zerrin Arslan. |
| Feb 2006 | İstanbul Kadıköy Municipality, “Humane Life Project”, Final Evaluation Report, “Handicapped Survey” (Supported by EU). Assoc. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu (Chair), Assoc. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç, Kezban Çelik, Dr. Sarp Üner, Zerrin Arslan. |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Feb 2005 | The World Bank, Turkey Development Marketplace 2005. Social Progress and Inclusion on the Way to Europe, Evaluation Commission. |
| Nov 2004 | Social Research of the Natural Protection Project of “Sultan Sazlığı” (Sultan Marshy Place) Kayseri, the Ministry of Environment of Turkey and World Bank. |
| Jul-Sept 2002 | Social Research of Anatolia Watershed Rehabilitation Project, Turkey. Advisor: Akın Atauz. |
| 1999-2002 | Research Assistant, Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences, Ankara, Turkey. |
| 1998-1999 | Research Assistant, Mustafa Kemal University, Faculty of Political Sciences, Antakya, Turkey. |
| Jul 1995 | Internship at KRİSTAL-İŞ TRADE UNION (Glass, Cement, Ceramic and Soil Industries Workers' Union of Turkey), Istanbul, Turkey. |
| Nov 1994-Feb 1995 | Internship at the Union Defence and Allied Industry Workers Union of Turkey (Türk Harb-İş), Ankara, Turkey |
| 1986 – 1998 | Nurse and Midwife in Various Institutions of Ministry of Health of Turkey. |

HOBIES

Swimming, SCUBA and Free Diving, Tracking, Inline Skating, Cycling, Do-It-Yourself, Cinema, Reading, Design.

ACADEMIC INTERESTS

Industrial Relations, Political Science, Discourse and Discourse Analysis, Crime and Criminal Discourse, Television, Economic and Political Sociology, Political and Social Movements, Class Studies, Class Culture and Analysis, Class Taste and Aesthetics, Taste, Home and Decoration, Design, Sociology of Work, Urbanization, Urban Culture, Cultural Sociology, Material Culture, Consumption Studies, Sociology of Everyday Life, Lifestyle and Leisure Studies.

CONFERENCE PAPERS

1. 25-26 May 2011: “Ayla Kutlu Öykü ve Romanlarında ‘Mekân’ Söylemi” [‘Discourse of ‘Space’ in Ayla Kutlu’s Stories and Novels’]. **İstanbul Yeni Yüzyıl Üniversitesi, 1. Çağdaş Kadın Yazarlar Sempozyumu: Ayla Kutlu Edebiyatı** [1. Contemporary Women Author Symposium: Literature of Ayla Kutlu]. Yeni Yüzyıl University. Büyükdada, İstanbul, Turkey. (Full-text published in conference proceedings)
2. 27-30 August 2008: “Distinction via Household Furniture in the Turkish Middle Class: A Case of Ankara, Turkey”. **Materiality, Meaning, Power, ESA (The European Sociological Association), Interim Meeting 2008, Network of the Sociology of Consumption**. Vilsandinkuja, Helsinki, Finland.
3. 17-27 April 2008: “Aesthetical Dispositions and Their Presentation via Home Decoration in the Turkish Middle Class”. **Rethinking Labour: Labour, Affect and Material Culture, UCD (Urban College of Dublin) Clinton Institute of American Studies**. Dublin, Ireland.
4. 3-7 July 2005: “An Analysis of the Discourse of “Space” In Literature: A Case Study in Ayla Kutlu’s Novels and Stories Related to Hatay Region” (Paper Presentation), **the UIA 2005 ISTANBUL, XXII World Congress of Architecture: Cities: Grand Bazaar of Architectures**. İstanbul, Turkey. (Abstract published in conference proceedings)
5. 21-23 November 2001: “Discourse of Crime on Television: Relationship among Ideology, Hegemony and Power”. **VII. Congress of National Social Sciences**, Ankara, Turkey. (Abstract published in conference proceedings)

Appendix I: Turkish Summary

Bu doktora tez çalışmasında, Ankara’da toplumsal farklılık/tabakalaşma esas alınarak, orta sınıf tabakalarının, yaşam tarzları ve beğenilerindeki farklılıkların, ev mobilyası ve salon/yaşam alanı (*saloon-parlor/living room*) döşemesi aracılığıyla tanımlanması ve açıklanması hedeflemektedir.

Modern toplumlarda, sosyal sınıf ve/veya tabakalar, Marx’ın, üretim araçları sahipliği ve artı değere el konulması temelinde tanımladığı, ‘kapitalist/burjuvazi’, ‘proletarya/işçi sınıfı’ ve ‘(geleneksel) küçük burjuvazi/orta sınıf’, ya da Weber’in pazar ilişkileri ve günlük faaliyetler içinde tanımladığı ‘sınıf’ ve ‘statü’ terimlerinden farklı kavramlarla açıklanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Weber de, Marx gibi, ‘sınıf’ı, bireylerin ekonomik konumları ve güçlerine bağlı nesnel ölçütlerle kurulan aidiyetle toplumsal gruplar olarak tanımlarken, ‘mülk sahibi, ticari sosyal sınıflar’, ve bu sınıflar arasındakileri ‘orta sınıflar’ olarak ayırır. Statü’yü ise, ekonomik bir konumu değil, toplumsal saygınlık (*prestige*) gibi öznel algıyla ilişkilendirerek tanımlar. Bu ayrıma dayanarak, Weber’e göre, aynı sınıfa ait bireyler zayıf bir sınıfsal kimliği paylaşıırken, aynı statüye sahip bireyler, belli bir topluluğa ait bireyler gibi aynı yaşam tarzlarını (*lifestyle*) ve tüketim alışkanlıklarını (*consumption patterns*) paylaşırlar.

Ancak, Marx ve Weber’in zamanından günümüze, pek çok alanda ortaya çıkan önemli teknolojik gelişmeler sonucunda endüstriyel alanlarda çalışma biçimleri değişirken, günlük yaşamda değişmiş ve dönüşmüştür. Bu dönüşüm, çok yönlü bir süreçten oluşmaktadır. Bir taraftan, teknolojik gelişmeler, dünyanın başka yerlerinde olanı izleme ve bilgilenme olanağı sağlarken, toplumsal ve kültürel etkileşimi ve dönüşümü de beraberinde getirmektedir. Diğer taraftan, özellikle, kitlesel üretime bağlı olarak, tüketicilerin gündelik yaşamlarında kullanacakları ürünlere/eşyalara ulaşabilme ve edinebilme olanakları da artmaktadır. Bu tez çalışmasının konusu bağlamında, söz konusu olan ürünler, kullanıcıların evler(in)deki günlük yaşamlarının önemli bir parçası olan salon mobilyası, aksesuarlar ve dekoratif eşyalarından oluşmaktadır. Çalışmada, salon oturma ve yemek grupları, sergileme ve depolama elemanları, halı, kilim, perde ve aydınlatma birimlerini içeren aksesuarlar, ahşap, bakır, gümüş, porselen süs eşyaları, resim, heykel, fotoğraf, nazarlık, dini semboller gibi dekoratif eşyalardan oluşmaktadır.

Söz konusu ev olunca, sözü edilen eşyalar ve elemanlar, basitçe yan yana getirilen, yığılan şeyler değil, belli bir yaşam tarzı, beğeni ve estetik eğilimlerin bir arada oluşturdukları bir seçkinin sonucudur. Oluşturulan seçki, bireylerin sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik özelliklerinden bağımsız değildir. Bu seçki, birleşim ve düzenleme kişilerin, toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik özellikleriyle belli bir beğeni ve estetik eğilimlere göre oluşturulur. Hatta, Bourdieu'nun (1984, 1986) ifadesiyle, ev, toplumsal sınıfların, 'eğilimler sistemi'nce *-habitus-* ve toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik sermayelerinin birleşimi ve oylumunca belirlenen beğeni ve estetik eğilimlerin muhakemelerinin etkisiyle döşenir. Bu bağlamda, salon mobilyası ve döşemesi, bireylerin beğenilerince ve estetik eğilimlerince belirlenen bir seçki olarak günlük yaşam tercihlerince oluşturulur.

Bu tezde, orta sınıfların beğeni ve estetik muhakemesi, ev içinde gündelik yaşamın sürdürüldüğü mekan olarak ele alınan salonun, mobilya ve diğer eşyaların gündelik yaşam için oluşturulan seçki ve birleşimlerle 'güzelleştirilmesi'ni anlatmaktadır. Bu da, felsefi anlamda günlük yaşamda kullanılan maddi kültürden uzaklığı ifade eden Kantçı estetik olarak değil, 'popüler' estetik olarak da tanımlanan "gündelik seçimler'in uyumlu şekilde bir aradalığıyla tanımlanan beğeni ve estetik. Yani, bu tezde kullanılan beğeni ve estetik, kitlesel ve endüstriyel üretime dayalı, ulaşılması ve alınabilmesi kolay, piyasada kolaylıkla bulunabilen, vitrinlerde sergilenen, moda ve demode olan tüketim ürünleri ve orijinal tasarım ve sanat eserlerinin taklitlerinin tercih edilmesiyle kurulabilen bir beğeni ve estetiği ifade etmektedir. Yani, gündelik tercihlerle belirlenen ulaşılabilirliği ve elde edilebilirliği olan elemanlarla oluşturulmuş bir beğeni tanımı kullanılmaktadır. Bu anlamıyla, beğeni ve estetik, felsefi anlamda değil, sosyolojik ve antropolojik anlamda günlük yaşamda kullanılan elemanların bir seçkisi ve bir aradalığı anlamını ifade etmektedir.

Bununla birlikte, bu elemanların piyasada ulaşılabilirlikleri değişmektedir. Bir yanda, kitlesel üretim bantlarında, kalitesiz malzemeye üretilmiş ucuz ve taklit elemanlar ve süsler vardır. Diğer yanda, el yapımı ya da tasarlanmış, az sayıda üretilmiş nadir mobilya ve dekoratif elemanlar, sanat eserleri, resim ve heykeller, ünlü sanatçıların yapıtlarının reproduksiyonları, el dokuması halı ve kilimler, dünyanın farklı yerlerinden değişik etnik kültürleri temsil eden ağaç, bakır ya da toprak el işleri gibi eşyalar vardır. Böylece, farklı bir yelpazeyi oluşturan nesneler aracılığıyla gündelik beğeni ve estetik oluşturulur. Ve bu çalışmanın konusu, bu şekilde tanımlanmış bir estetik.

Bu tezde amaçlanan, Ankara’da orta sınıfların yaşam tarzları, beğeni ve estetik eğilimleri, salon mobilyası ve döşemesi aracılığıyla araştırılmasıdır. Bu amaçla, Ankara’nın toplumsal olarak farklı nitelikteki iki ilçesinde en gelişmiş ve yerleşik dörder semt belirlenmiştir. Çankaya, modern orta sınıfların, Keçiören ise geleneksel orta sınıfların ikamet ettiği ilçeler olarak seçilmiş ve iki ilçede farklı orta sınıf(lar)ın yaşam tarzı, beğenileri ve estetik eğilimlerini tespit etmek üzere, temsili olmayan bir örnekleme uygulanan toplam 421 anket ile elde edilen veri kodlanarak, SPSS programında veri girişi yapılmış ve istatistiksel analizlere tabi tutulmuştur.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında, tüm dünyada yaşanan sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik gelişmelerin etkisiyle ortaya çıkan toplumsal değişim ve dönüşümler, sosyal bilimlerde klasik sınıf tanımlamalarıyla çözümlenmeye ve açıklanmaya çalışılmakla birlikte, özellikle 1970’lerden sonra farklı kavramlar önerilmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, hem teknolojik gelişmeler hem de küreselleşmenin çok yönlü etkisiyle, iş ve istihdam biçimleri de değişmektedir. Tüm bu değişim ve dönüşümler dikkate alındığında, günümüzde toplumsal sınıfların ve tabakalaşmanın farklı kavramlarla tanımlanması, bazı yazarlarca (örneğin, Crompton, 1996; Crompton, 2005; Crompton & Scott, 2005; Goldthorpe, 1983, 1984, 1995; Polantzas, 1975, 1977; Savage, 1995; Savage & Butler, 1995; Wright, 1989, 2002) önerilmekte ve tartışılmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, geliri belirleyen meslek ya da istihdam biçimlerine dayanarak, kapitalist ve işçi sınıfı tanımları sabit kalarak ki onların kapsamları dar ya da geniş anlamıyla alınarak, hem Marx’ın hem de Weber’in kabul ettiği ‘orta sınıf’ tanımlaması ‘geleneksel’ orta sınıf olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Özellikle yeni iş ve istihdam biçimleriyle ortaya çıkan hizmet sektöründe çalışanların sınıf konumlarını, kişilerin ve işin niteliğiyle birleştirerek toplumsal sınıfları belirtilmekte/belirlenmektedir. Bu bağlamda, yeni sınıf ve toplumsal tabakaları tanımlamada, Marx’ın üretim araçları sahipliği ve artı değer üretimi ile tanımladığı sınıf konumları da önemini korumakla birlikte, Weber’in statü ve yaşam tarzı kavramlaştırması, günümüzün kültürel vurgusu ağır basan toplumsal tabakalaşma çalışmalarının, farklı yöntem ve kavramlarla yapılmasına olanak sağlamaktadır. ‘Geleneksel-yeni küçük burjuvazi’ (Poulantzas, 1975, 1977), ‘beyaz yakalı-mavi yakalı’ (Mills, 1954), ‘geleneksel (eski)-yeni orta sınıf’ (Carhedi, 1975a, 1975b, 1989), ‘çelişkili sınıf konumu’ (Wright, 1976, 1978, 1985 1989, 2002), ‘profesyonel-yönetici sınıf’ (Barbara & John Ehrenreich, 1977), ‘servis sınıfı’ (Goldthorpe, 1983, 1984, 1985, 2003; Butler & Savage, 2003) kavramları, yeni ortaya çıkan toplumsal grupları tanımlamak için kullanılan kavramlardır. Bunlara ek olarak, Blau & Duncan, (1967), Bourdieu

(1984), Crompton & Scott (2005), Devine (2005), Devine & Savage (2005) ve Savage (2005) hem toplumsal tabakaları ve mesleki yapıyı hem de kültürel farklılığı ortaya çıkaran araştırmalar yapmışlardır.

Toplumsal tabakalaşma ve sınıf çalışan yazarlar, kendi tanımlarını yaparken, tanımladıkları ya da kullanmayı tercih ettikleri kavramlar için farklı ölçütler belirlemektedirler. Bu ölçütler, işveren adına karar alıp, alamama, diğer çalışanlar üzerindeki denetim/gözetleme yetkisine sahip olup olmama, üretim sürecine işveren adına müdahale edip edememe gibi çalışanın yetkisine bağlı olabilir. Ya da çalışanın, işin gereği çıraklık gibi meslekten yetişme deneyimi ve/veya meslek edindirme kursları, meslek okulları ya da üniversite gibi resmi diploma derecesi gerekliliğine bağlı olarak iş/meslek tanımı dolayısıyla toplumsal sınıflama/gruplama yapmaktadırlar. Bütün bunlar birlikte düşünüldüğünde, iş/meslek ya da istihdam biçimi, yeni yaklaşımlarda, farklı sosyal ve kültürel özellikler gerektirdiği ve kendi içinde oluşmuş değer ve normları yeni gelene de aktardığı ve çalışmaya bağlı olarak elde edilen gelirin de büyük oranda iş/meslek tarafından belirlendiği vurgulanmaktadır.

Kısaca söylemek gerekirse, son 50-60 yılda hiyerarşik bir şekilde ortaya çıkan iş/meslek gruplarını kapsayacak bir tanım/kavram olarak ‘orta sınıf’ kullanılmaktadır. Bu tanım en geniş anlamıyla, toprak sahibi, ticari ve endüstriyel kapitalistler ve imalat sürecinde atölye ve endüstriyel fabrikada çalışan ve genel olarak mavi yakalı işçi kabul edilen çalışanlar dışında kalan grupları kapsamaktadır. Bu bağlamda yeni orta sınıf, eskiden farklı bir iş/meslek hiyerarşisinde en üstte ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Yeni orta sınıf ayrımı, kapitalist adına karar veren ve iş süreçlerine müdahale eden, yüksek gelir ve prestije sahip eğitimli profesyonel yöneticiler, ortada, farklı seviyelerdeki alt düzey yöneticiler, sosyal çalışmacılar, borsa brokırıları, reklamcılar, iletişim ve bilgisayar mühendisleri gibi yükseköğrenim/üniversite mezuniyeti gerektiren çalışanlardan oluşmaktadır. Yani, yeni orta sınıf, günümüz iş ve istihdam koşullarına bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan yeni toplumsal grupları kapsamaktadır. Bu tanımdan yola çıkarak, günümüzün ‘orta sınıf’ı, geleneksel-eski ve ‘yeni’ orta sınıfın toplamından oluşur. Geleneksel orta sınıf, terzi, berber, marangoz gibi zanaatçılar, dükkân ve lokanta sahipleri, avukat, hekim doktor, mühendis, gazeteci gibi kendi hesabına çalışanlar ve bürokratlar, öğretmen, hemşire, polis, asker gibi devlet memurlarını, tezgâhtar, banka çalışanı, vergi deneticileri, muhasebeci, kâtip, garson, kargo elemanı gibi ‘servis sektörü’ çalışanlarını, akademisyen, entelektüel ve sanatçıları kapsar. Bunlarla birlikte, özellikle yaşam tarzıyla bütünleşen güzellik ve kişisel bakım

alanı, perakende satış ve ürün tanıtıcıları, işyerlerinde denetim sorumluları, cep telefonu satıcıları ya da pizza dağıtıcıları, temizlik firması çalışanları gibi servis sektörü çalışanlarını da kapsamaktadır.

Bu nedenle, son yıllarda toplumsal sınıf ve tabakalar, iş/meslek, gelir, eğitim gibi nesnel ölçütlere, farklı günlük yaşam pratikleri ve alışkanlıklarıyla bütünleşen yaşam tarzları, boş zaman, tüketim ve kültürel tüketim alışkanlıkları, aidiyet/kimlik ve beğeniler gibi öznel özellikler de eklenerek belirlenmeye çalışılmaktadır (örneğin, Crompton, 2003; Savage, 2000; Butler & Savage, 2003; Warde & Tomlinson, 2003; Wynne, 2000). Crompton, Goldthorpe, Savage ve Warde gibi bilim insanları, sosyal sınıf ve tabakalaşma konusuna odaklanırken, Bourdieu, Brooks, DiMaggio, Wynne gibi yazarların asıl odak noktaları doğrudan doğruya bir tabaka tanımlamak değildir. İkinci türden çalışmaları yapan yazarlarca, yaşam tarzı ve boş zaman, tüketim ve beğeni, hem öznel (*subjective*) hem de nesnel (*objective*) araçlar kullanılarak, niteliksel (*qualitative*) ya da niceliksel (*quantitative*) olarak araştırılmaktadır. Bourdieu (1984) Fransa’da beğeni ve estetik yargıyı niceliksel olarak araştırırken, Bourdieu’nun kavramlarından yararlanarak Wynne etnografik bir çalışmayla boş zaman ve yaşam tarzına odaklanır. Brooks ise yeni üst orta sınıfın günlük yaşam, tüketim ve kültürel tüketim alışkanlıklarını gözlem ve istatistiksel çalışmaların ikincil yorumuyla yapar. Böylesi çalışmalar, toplumsal değişim ve dönüşümü, toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik boyutlarıyla farklı araştırma ve kavramsal araçlar kullanarak açıklamaktadır.

Yaklaşık son altmış yıldır dünyada ortaya çıkan toplumsal değişim ve dönüşümler, benzer biçimde Türkiye’de de, özellikle 1980 askeri darbesi sonrasında uygulanmaya başlayan neoliberal, dışa açık ve ithal ikameci ekonomi politikalarının etkisiyle yaşanmaktadır. Türk toplumunda yaşanan toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik değişim ve gelişmeler de, tıpkı dünyanın başka yerlerindeki bilim insanlarınca gözleme dayalı olarak değerlendirildiği gibi, niceliksel ve niteliksel olarak da araştırılmaktadır. Bali (2004), Gürbilek (2009), Kozanoğlu (2001) gibi yazarlar gözlemlerine dayanarak toplumsal değişimi yaşam tarzları, tüketim ve kültürel değişime vurgu yaparak açıklamışlardır. Boratav (1995), Kalaycıoğlu, Kardam, Rittersberger-Tılıç, Çelik & Türkyılmaz, (2008) gibi yazarlar, temsili örnekleme toplumsal sınıf ve tabakalaşma konusunu araştırmışlardır. Boratav, İstanbul ve Anadolu’da yapılan araştırmada, kentsel ve kırsal sınıfların tanımlanmasına odaklanırken, Kalaycıoğlu ve diğerlerinin çalışması, Ankara’daki ailelerin sosyoekonomik statü indeksi, bireysel düzeyde ve nesiller arası sosyal hareketlilik örüntüleri ve

sosyoekonomik statü kategorilerine göre yaşam tarzı tercihlerine odaklanır. Ayata (2002, 2007, 2010), yeni orta sınıfların politik tercihlerine ve yaşam tarzlarına vurgu yaparken, modern yaşamın getirilerini, kentlilik, kent kültürü, orta sınıf mahallelerinin ortaya çıkışı ve buralardaki günlük yaşam pratiklerine ve sosyal ilişkilere odaklanır. Özellikle yeni orta sınıfın eğitim gerektiren, görece iş/meslek hiyerarşisinde ortanın üstündeki mesleklere ve daha iyi gelire sahip profesyonellerden oluştuğunu, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik olanaklarını gösterebilecekleri mahallelerde kiralık ya da kendilerine ait evlerde, kendileri gibi insanlarla bir arada yaşamayı seçtiklerini belirtir. Bununla birlikte, yeni orta sınıfın, göstermeyi sevdiği bir ev döşeme ve donatma pratiğini de gözlemlerine ve bulgularına ekler. Şimşek (2005, 2010), yeni orta sınıfı en genel anlamıyla, iyi eğitilmiş ve iyi gelirli, çoğunlukla hizmet sektörünün beyaz yakalı mühendisten, yöneticilere, avukatlara, doktorlara ve reklamcılara, medya çalışanlarına, bankacılara geniş bir profesyonel kesimi kapsadığını belirtir. Ve bu bağlamda, yeni orta sınıfın, geleneksel orta sınıftaki servis sektörüne bağlı genişlemenin sonucu ortaya çıkan toplumsal kesimi anlattığını ifade eder.

Hem dünyadaki hem de Türkiye'deki toplumsal sınıf ve tabakalaşma çalışmaları, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik değişim ve gelişmeleri olduğu kadar, yaşam tarzlarındaki ve beğenilerindeki değişimi de dikkate almaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu tez çalışması ile, Ankara'da orta sınıfların yaşam tarzları, beğeni ve estetik eğilimlerinde ayırım olup olmadığı, Bourdieu'nun sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik kapitallerin birleşim ve oylumu dikkate alınarak analitik olarak oluşturulan Türk orta sınıf tabakalarının, salon mobilyası ve döşemesi aracılığıyla, ampirik olarak araştırılmış ve literatüre ampirik verilerle desteklenmiş bir katkı sağlamıştır. Bununla birlikte, bu çalışma daha sonrasında geliştirilecek çalışmalara örnek oluşturacak bir ön çalışma olarak da katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Araştırmanın kapsamı, Ankara'nın iki ilçesinin Çankaya ve Keçiören ilçelerinin en yerleşik ve gelişmiş dörder semtinde yaşayan, farklı orta sınıf mesleklerde çalışan kişilerden oluşmaktadır. Orta sınıf içinde yaşam tarzları ve beğenilerindeki farklılaşmayı görebilmek amacıyla, iki farklı ilçe seçilmiştir. Çankaya'da, Ayrancı, Gazi Osman Paşa, Bahçeli-Emek ve Çayyolu semtleri, Keçiören'de ise, Etlik, Asfalt, Basınevleri ve Kavacık Subayevleri semtleri, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, ilçe Kaymakamlıkları ve Belediyelerine danışılarak belirlenmiştir.

Belirtilen ilçelere dair hane halkı sayısı Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2007 nüfus sayımı sonuçları alınmış ve semtlerde uygulanacak anket sayıları hesaplanmış ve her semtte, yapılacak olan istatistiksel analizlerin uygulanabileceği en az 30 anket uygulanmıştır. Uygulanan toplam anket sayısı 421'dir. Bu sayı, sosyal bilimlerde nüfusu 500.000'in üzerinde olan yerleşimlerde en az 384 olması gerekliliğine dayanarak belirlenmiştir (Lin, 1976).

Araştırma alanı olarak semtler ve anketin uygulanacağı sayı belirlendikten sonra, kimlere anket uygulandığının da ifade edilmesi gerekmektedir. Anketler kişilere, eğer ilgili yazında belirtilen meslek gruplarında çalışıyorlarsa ve araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılacaklarına dair onayları varsa uygulanmıştır. Mesleğin yanı sıra, evlilik durumları ve yaşları da bir ölçüt olarak belirlenmiştir. Evlilik durumu, araştırmanın konusu gereği, bir ev kurma deneyimi açısından önemlidir. Anket uygulanacak kişilerin yaş aralığı 25-65 olarak belirlenmiştir. Meslek grupları, ev hanımları ve emeklileri kapsayacak şekilde genişletilmiş, bekâr ya da tek başına yaşayan bireyler ve 25 yaş altındakiler, ev kurma/döşeme deneyimine sahiplerse araştırmaya dâhil edilmişlerdir. Anketler hem kadın hem de erkeklere uygulanmıştır. Anketler, konu ve anketin uygulama ölçütleri hakkında eğitim yapılmış anketörlerce, belirtilen semtlerde kapı çalınarak uygulanmıştır. Kapıyı açan kişiye, araştırma tanıtılmış, ölçütler uygunsa ve katılımcı rıza gösterirse, cinsiyet farkı gözetilmeksizin her iki cinsiyete de anket uygulanmıştır.

Ankette, sosyo-demografik profile dair (yaş, cinsiyet, meslek, eğitim, hane halkı sayısı, vb.) soruların ardından, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sermayeleri, günlük yaşam pratikleri ve alışkanlıkları kentsel mekân kullanımları, boş zaman uğraşları, tatil tercihleri, tüketim ve kültürel tüketim tercihleri ve salon mobilyası, döşemesi ve dekorasyon elemanlarını kapsayan detaylı bir mobilya kullanıcısı anketi uygulanmıştır.

Bu tezde, Çankaya ve Keçiören'de, temsili olmayan 421 mobilya kullanıcısına uygulanmış olan anketin veri girişinden sora, istatistiksel olarak frekans, ANAVO, MANOVA, faktör analizi, çoklu uygunluk (*multiple correspondence*) analizleri yapılmıştır. Böylece, bu tezde, Çankaya ve Keçiören ilçelerinin en gelişmiş dörder semtinde yaşayan kentli orta sınıfın kendi içindeki farklılıkları, hem de bu orta sınıf tabakalarının yaşam tarzı, beğenileri ve estetik eğilimleri, ev mobilyası ve dekorasyon aracılığıyla istatistiksel çözümlemelerle desteklenerek tespit edilmiş ve tanımlanmıştır.

Bu tez çalışması, Ankara’da Keçiören ve Çankaya ilçelerinde meslek dikkate alınarak seçilen orta sınıfın, her tabakanın kendine özgü sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sermayelerinin bileşimi ve oylumu ile inşa olan ve inşa eden, yapılanan ve yapılandıran, deneyimlerini de kazanımlarını da ifade eden habitusların kendi içinde dört tabaka oluşturduğu bulgulanmıştır.

Böylece, detaylı bir anketin uygulandığı niceliksel bir alan araştırmasıyla, Türkiye’nin başkenti Ankara’nın Keçiören ve Çankaya ilçelerinde temsili olmayan bir örneklemden toplanan veri, SPSS kullanarak analiz edildi. Analiz sonuçlarına göre Türkiye’ye özgü dört orta sınıf tabakası oluşturuldu: Dar gelirli/Buruk, Orta/Tamahkâr, Üst/Kibirli ve Müreffeh/Mutlu tabakalar. Oluşturulan tabakalar, görüşmecilerin yapısal ve maddi koşulları, analiz sonuçları, hem onların hem de görüşülen/konuşulan diğer kişilerin sosyo-psikolojik ifadeleri ve taranan ev/dekorasyon dergilerinde satır aralarına nüfuz etmiş yaklaşımlar dikkate alınarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu kategorileştirme daha sonraki orta sınıf tabakalarının yaşam tarzları ve beğenilerini anlamak için yapılan analizlerin sonuçlarını yorumlamak için bir aşamadır. Yaşam tarzları, günlük yaşam alışkanlıkları, rutinleri ve eylemleri olarak; beğeniler ise evdeki mobilya ve süs eşyalarının seçimi ve düzenlenmesi olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu tezde, örneklemiyle sınırlı kalarak, Ankara’da orta sınıfın kendi içinde tabakalaştığı ve her tabakanın farklı yaşam tarzına ve beğeniye sahip olduğu bulgulanmıştır: Dar gelirli/buruk orta sınıf, ‘ev, aile ve komşu arasında sıkışmış’ yaşam tarzı ve ‘ihtiyaçlarına bağlı’ beğeni ile; Orta/tamahkar orta sınıf, ‘imrenme-merkezli’ yaşam tarzı ve ‘popüler’ beğeni ile; Üst/kibirli orta sınıf, ‘alışveriş merkezi odaklı’ yaşam tarzı ve ‘ortalama/sıradan olanı reddeden’ beğeni ile; ve Müreffeh/mutlu orta sınıf ise, ‘dışa açık’ yaşam tarzı ve ‘münhasır/seçkin’ beğeni ile diğer tabakalardan ayrılmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak bu tez, Bourdieu’nun kuram ve kavramlaştırması kullanılarak Türkiye’de kentli orta sınıf tabakalarının *ayrımının*, ev döşemesi aracılığıyla araştırılmasının bir uygulamasıdır.

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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YAZARIN

Soyadı : Arslan

Adı : Zerrin

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce): Urban Middle Class, Lifestyle and Taste in Keçiören and Çankaya, Ankara: Distinction through Home Furniture, Furnishing and Decoraton

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