THE DYNAMICS OF DISTINCTION AND CULTURAL OMNIVOROUSNESS
IN THE CULINARY FIELD OF TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCES

OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

NİHAL SİMAY YALVAÇ

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

SEPTEMBER 2016

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

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

_____

Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu
Head of Department

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

_____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Irmak Karademir Hazır
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar   (METU, SOC)   _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Irmak Karademir Hazır (METU, SOC)   _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Yelda Özen   (YBU, SOC)   _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Nihal Simay Yalvaç

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

THE DYNAMICS OF DISTINCTION AND CULTURAL OMNIVOROUSNESS IN THE CULINARY FIELD OF TURKEY

Yalvaç, Nihal Simay

Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assit. Prof. Dr. Irmak Karademir Hazır

September 2016, 149 pages

Over the last decades, many studies adopting a Bourdieusian perspective point out how consumption practices and tastes are influential in constructing, differentiating and reproducing class identities. However, after 1990s, much attention has been centered upon the cultural omnivore debate. Ultimately, as many empirical studies in this growing literature indicate, the emergence of eclectic tastes engendered a tension between distinction and cultural omnivorousness. This thesis offers an analysis of this tension by focusing on food consumption practices in Ankara/Turkey. The research draws on interviews and small group discussions with upper middle class' regular customers of, 'low-key', 'authentic' but 'trendy' locations. Seizing these seemingly omnivorous consumers' dispositions, tastes and judgment schemas regarding their food habits is crucial; in terms of comprehending to what extent they display similar omnivore patterns in their other eating practices. The findings of this qualitative research suggest that crossing the boundaries and stepping out of the comfort zone depends on certain dynamics such as the timing of the meal, occasion and particular ways of consuming. It also shows that western/traditional hierarchy continues to apply in general eating dispositions of upper middle class whilst crossing this boundary, is considered authentic in some

limited omnivorous consumption moments. Within the scope of this study, it appears that 'distinction' can be still marked either in doings or sayings of individuals. Hence, this thesis contributes to the studies on local consumption fields and class cultural processes in Turkey by, at the same time, engaging with the discussions amid distinction and omnivorousness.

Keywords: Taste, Habitus, Cultural Omnivorousness, Food Practices, Turkey

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE YEME-İÇME ALANINDA AYRIM VE KÜLTÜREL HEPÇİLLİĞİN DİNAMİKLERİ

Yalvaç, Nihal Simay

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Irmak Karademir Hazır

Eylül 2016, 149 sayfa

Geç modern dönemde, Bourdieu'nün kavramsal alet edevatlarından faydalanan birçok çalışma, tüketim pratiklerinin ve beğeninin, nasıl sınıfsal pozisyona dayalı bir farklılaşma aracı olarak kullanıldığını göstermiştir. Ancak 1990 sonrası, beğeni hiyerarşisindeki dinamiklerin değiştiği yönünde ortaya atılan tartışmalar; özellikle 'kültürel hepçillik' kavramına işaret etmektedir. Nihayetinde, beğenilerdeki eklektikleşme süreci ayrım ve kültürel hepçillik arasında bir gerilime yol açmış ve bu büyüyen literatürde, ayrım ve hepçillik arasındaki gerilimin parametrelerini ve kesişen noktalarını tartışan önemli sayıda ampirik araştırma yapılmıştır. Bu tez, bu eksende görece daha az tartışılan bir alan olan Ankara'daki yemek tüketim pratiklerine odaklanarak, bu gerilim üzerinden bir analiz sunmaktadır. Beğenideki eklektikleşme sürecini daha net anlayabilmek için Ankara'da, gündelik kategorileştirmelerde alt sınıf olarak görünen 'salaş', 'otantik' yeme-içme mekânlarının üst orta sınıf müdavimleriyle küçük çaplı grup tartışmaları ile derinlemesine görüşmeler düzenlenmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı, örneklemin yeme-içme alışkanlıklarını, yönelimlerini, beğenilerini ve değerlendirme şemalarını geniş bir perspektiften inceleyerek, bu görünen eklektikliğin sınırlarını, işlerliğini tartışmaktır. Yapılan nitel araştırmanın bulgularına göre, üst orta sınıfın hepçillik nosyonu altında

kesişen sınırları, öğün saati, yemeğin konsepti ve tüketim şekilleri gibi dinamiklere bağlı olarak değişkenlik göstermiştir. Ek olarak, modern/geleneksel ikileminden doğan kültürel hiyerarşinin, üst orta sınıfın yeme-içme alışkanlıkları ve beğenilerindeki etkisini henüz yitirmediği ortaya çıkmıştır. Sonuç olarak, bu tez kapsamında, hem Türkiye'deki yerel tüketim alanları ve sınıf-kültürel süreçler ile ilgili çalışmalara eklemlenilmiş, hem de ayrım ve hepçillik arasındaki dinamiklerin yeme-içme örüntülerindeki tezahürleri ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Beğeni, Habitus, Kültürel Hepçillik, Yemek Pratikleri, Türkiye

To all my heroines/heroes who have turned this
crazy world into a lot more meaningful journey…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to begin with my profound gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Irmak Karademir Hazır without whom this thesis would have never taken its final form. I feel very lucky to have a chance to work with her, as she always supported me with great patience even in my desperate times. Her tremendous guidance and intellectual notes kept me from losing my way during the writing process of this thesis. I am deeply grateful to know such a great mentor.

Four years of study in Sociology provided great contributions and inspirations. This is why; I am genuinely indebted to all my teachers at Middle East Technical University, especially to Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu who has introduced us with 'sociological imagination' from the first year which has later on assisted us in our sociological journeys. I am also thankful to Assist. Prof. Çağatay Topal, Assoc. Prof. Mustafa Şen and Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ecevit who have listened whenever I asked for.

I would like to express my gratitude to the examining committee, namely, Assoc. Prof. Fatma Umut Beşpınar and Assist. Prof. Dr. Yelda Özen who have provided insightful notes in a friendly attitude regarding my thesis. I sincerely appreciate their valuable guidance and critical comments, while broadening my research approach for the further improvement of my study.

I would also like to thank to Assoc. Prof. Zafer Yenal and Assist. Prof. Dr. Erhan Akarçay, as they have pointed out substantive issues regarding my research topic. Their invaluable comments and recommendations have contributed to the early organization of my thesis.

I have met wonderful people through my college years. Though it is quite difficult to mention all the names, I would like to thank to my dear friends that I met through a

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents an empirical research on food consumption practices in Ankara/Turkey. It aims to uncover whether or not taste hierarchies are still effective in the culinary field. On the one hand, I analyze the ways in which food tastes matter as an important apparatus for the reproduction of class boundaries. On the other hand, I scrutinize to what extent these established boundaries are crossed by displaying inclusive repertoires rather than engendering distinction in the culinary domain. Therefore, drawing on food practices, this thesis aims to shed light onto the ways taste repertoires (inclusive vs. distinction) are shaped by changing dynamics in the class cultural contexts of Turkey.

In modern era, daily activities, preferences and objectives of individuals have gone beyond being plain ordinary acts. But rather, they carry particular meanings for certain groups and classes. In that sense, the contemporary life settings have generated new routines in everyday interactions through which consumption has operated as an expression of social identity and status. As characterized by these distinct life styles, status groups, ultimately, came to be stratified depending on the consumption of goods (Peterson, 1997:75). Allied with this cultural shift, scrutinizing daily activities is significant in terms of revealing the relation amid culture and power. Correspondingly, the sociological curiosity towards the rise of consumer culture and changing life habits were initial driving forces of this research. More particularly, understanding different consumption patterns have been a crucial subject from the very beginning of my undergraduate years in Sociology. Especially, when realized that the established social inequalities in our society have cultural basis besides the material features of class, my curiosity towards embodied dispositions have accelerated. In other words, revealing the class embodiments in

consumption practices was become one of my major concerns. Developing on the embodied forms of cultural practices, I intend to scrutinize the realm of taste within the domain of cultural consumption. In this respect, analyzing Bourdieusian perspective was very beneficial to capture the relationality within taste and distinction. In this manner, my focus point of analysis comprises patterns of food consumption and their relations with class cultural issues in Turkey. That is to say, though it seems as a subjective phenomenon, I aim to reflect on the ways in which 'taste' is affected by external dynamics within food consumption.

Especially over the last two decades, the social values and beliefs attributed to food has been regarded with a growing attention (Bourdieu, 1984; Douglas 1966; Goody, 1982; Levi-Strauss, 1968; Mennell, 1985; Murcott, 1988; Warde, 1999). As realized by several social scientists, food has been extensively used as a symbol of status. For instance, dining practices have long been associated with social status across various cultures (Johnston & Bauman, 2007:166). Similarly, Bourdieu argues (1984) on the multiple meanings of food which also functions as a form of cultural capital. In fact the concept of cultural capital is argued to be an important instrument for clarifying the embodied dispositions in the reproduction of cultural inequalities since it gains shape starting from the early socialization. Accordingly, it is also an important concept for the objective of my thesis since I aim to untie whether habitus is yet powerful or lost its explanatory power in terms of constructing taste judgments of individuals. The realm of distinction actually requires a comprehensive study as its dynamics are rooted in cultural practices as well. And hence, new model of class analysis has occurred since focusing merely on economic aspects found inadequate by several consumption and inequality studies. By this way cultural dynamics are included in the scrutiny of class related issues. Following the conceptual tools of Bourdieu, I will also enter into dialogue with 'cultural class analysis' (Bottero, 2008; Lawler, 2005; Savage, 2000) as it will offer a broader perspective for the hierarchical genre boundaries in Turkey.

Claims on the diminished role of class, on the other hand, have gained increased attention among many contemporary studies (Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo, 1992). Along similar lines, the discussions around de-classification of cultural genres gave rise to the concept of 'cultural omnivorousness' by contrasting Bourdieu's accounts on the legitimate tastes that draws boundaries in between classes. Basically, omnivore thesis opposes to strict taste hierarchies within highbrow and lowbrow culture (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2007). In this regard, another purpose of this thesis is to track down the existence of omnivorous repertoires within food consumption practices in Turkey in order to show how this boundary crossing ensues. Thus, the major aim is to demonstrate whether or not there is a transformation in food dispositions and tastes altogether.

Moreover, one of the driving forces of thesis stems from the curiosity towards exploring how these class cultural debates have been approached in the Turkish context. Having a complex social organization, Turkey contains various conflictual relations in its cultural context. There is a growing literature in Turkey that focuses heavily on the relationship amid class and consumption. These relations are more specifically examined under cultural consumption fields in order to understand distinct class fractions which are differentiated on the basis of cultural habits and dispositions other than economic dimensions. In fact, there are significant empirical researches that analyze the boundaries in between these different class fractions that contribute to the systematic reproduction of class hierarchies (Akarçay, 2014; Arslan, 2011; Arun, 2013; Karademir Hazır, 2013; Rankin et al., 2014; Yenal, 1996). In this regard, as a part of cultural consumption domain, my thesis subject is important since there is a gap in the literature focusing on the dynamics of food consumption practices.

Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, another motivation of this research was developed out of the discussions on cultural omnivorousness. As it challenges to classification of cultural genres, I aim to examine whether this trend is also relevant

within Turkish context. In this manner, I put food consumption to center of my analysis in order to reveal to what extent individuals are willing to cross boundaries. Therefore, my thesis aims to target these particular gaps in the literature, which lack sufficient number of qualitative researches, in order to evaluate on how these new trends operate specifically in Turkish national context.

To summarize, my research problem comprises set of questions that will hopefully be enlightened at the end of this thesis. Accounting on Bourdieu's theory of distinction, the main research question of this thesis investigates *"Do taste hierarchies in food consumption practices in Turkey still exist?"* Further, on the basis of new cultural trends I aim to examine; *"Are there omnivorous repertoires in food consumption practices in the Turkish context? "If so, then, how do culinary consumers perform omnivorousness in their eating habits?"* More specifically, *"What are the conditions for fostering the act of boundary crossing?* And; *"To what extend this boundary crossing occurs?"* In accordance, the last question asks in general; *"In what ways do these seemingly omnivorous consumers act in their general food attitudes? Do they display similar inclusive repertoires in other food consumption practices as well?* That is to say, *"Is there a complete transformation in overall food dispositions and tastes towards cultural omnivorousness (other than consuming 'salaş' foods)?"*

Drawing upon these contentious trends in cultural consumption, my research focuses on a specific consumer fraction which comprises of frequenters of popular and low-key (*salaş*) restaurants in Ankara. In this context, I adopt a qualitative approach while investigating the daily routines in food consumption such as eating manners, food habits, taste preferences, judgment schemes etc. As a matter of fact, the initial point of the thesis comes from the question of how stereotypical middle class consumer's tastes reflect unexpected dispositions such as eating at a low-key restaurant in a lower class district in Ankara. This was actually a personal curiosity that had occurred early before my thesis process. By consuming traditional, authentic and *salaş* items they seem to have eclectic tastes; yet the extent of this

eclecticism has attracted my attention so that I decided to explore the existing dynamics within a broader frame. In order to reach out to the general tendencies in their food attitudes, I conducted in-depth interviews, small group discussions with regular customers — who are also high in both economic and cultural capital— of the designated *salaş* restaurants. Field notes were also beneficial in terms of outlining the general profile of the eating places and the sample. The qualitative research technique, hence, was useful since it revealed the hidden structures and tendencies of distinction and omnivorousness in detail through the lived-experiences of individuals.

In the light of these discussions, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks employed in this study will be presented in the second and third chapter. In particular, chapter 2 examines the international literature with regard to cultural class analysis in various contexts, the matter of food and its relation with cultural omnivorousness. The same pattern is adopted by chapter 3 which, this time, elaborates on how food has been approached with respect to interaction of class and culture and the process of eclecticism within Turkish academic literature. As a different point, Turkey chapter also covers a section on the appearances of new middle class in Turkey which has emerged especially after 1980s and reshaped the cultural agenda in significant terms. Yet, articulating on Turkish middle class is not the primary concern of this thesis. Moreover, chapter 4 comprises of data and methods part where I will explain my qualitative research process in detail. General profile of the sample and research sites will be defined to provide a better picture to show how the research was conducted. I will also mention about the difficulties and limitations faced during fieldwork.

As the initial section of data analysis, in chapter 5, I will describe the frequenters of *salaş* restaurants drawing on their eating habits. This chapter majorly focuses on the general experiences of the respondents in low-key eating places. Moving on the data analysis part, chapter 6 consists of two sections by clarifying the themes revealed during data gathering. In the first part I will give place to the examples through which established class hierarchies are crossed, and in the second part I will explain

certain conditions that foster and limit the act of boundary crossing. Chapter 7, on the contrary, will hint at hierarchical boundaries established within food consumption practices. And finally, the last chapter will summarize the major conclusions of this thesis.

This research is an attempt to examine food consumption practices in terms of revealing the acts of boundary crossing *(inclusive repertoires)* and boundary making processes *(taste distinctions)* in the culinary domain of Turkey. Though it is a small scale analysis, it is conducted to demonstrate the ways in which food tastes and eating habits operate as means of social inclusion or exclusion. In addition, as a contemporary trend, cultural omnivorousness needs more empirical analysis in further researches in Turkey. For that matter, filling this gap by articulating on omnivorous debates within the Turkish context is an important angle of this thesis. And similarly, since food is a relatively less explored area, I aim to contribute to cultural consumption literature in the sociological field of Turkey. In its totality, this thesis is designated to provide a wider ground for the local consumption fields as well as to unravel dynamics of distinction and omnivorousness in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section provides a theoretical ground with regard to the thesis's main topic on food consumption practices and their relation with class cultural processes. Considering the specific approach of this study, engaging with different theoretical frameworks is beneficial to associate these theoretical concepts with the insights derived from my empirical research so as to enlighten how these processes operate in the Turkish context.

2.1. The Rise of Consumer Culture

Many scholars of the contemporary social thought have posited a significant attention away from modes of production towards consumption, while analyzing class related issues (Sassatelli, 2007; Smart, 2010). Ultimately, the growing impact of consumption, and its relation with social, cultural and economic inequalities, leads to an increased interest in the emergence of consumer culture. In particular, after 1980s new types of groups came into light, which are identified by their consuming activities. In addition to dimensions such as age, gender, occupation or career schedules; daily life activities –such as eating, clothing, shopping and doing sports etc. turned out to be a major part of a collective group membership (Bocock, 1993:27). Today consumption implies something more than purchasing goods. It is also a social and cultural process, which plays a key role in constructing both the consuming subject and collective identity; as well as explaining historical transitions from work-based producer society to a consumer one. Accordingly, being transformed into an institutional field, consumption defines economic, social and cultural institutions, macro changes in social structure, and discourses about the self (Zukin & Maguire, 2004:173). Even the sense of integration or isolation is partially determined by whether one is participating in consumption activities or not. Hence,

the sociology of consumption inevitably became concerned with such problematic issues as a result of this social change.

Although the shift to a consumption based society has created magnificent impact, the industrial revolution in the late 18th and 19th centuries had accelerated this process through the restructuring of economy based on the manufacturing of goods. In other words, the role of industrialization is a significant angle of the modernization process that enabled the mass production of consumer goods. Moving towards a capitalist economy in the late 19th century, patterns of consumption had altered in such a way that formed new genres of living. In particular, newly emerged rich middle class in North America is named as the 'new leisure class' by Veblen, who is accepted as one of the influential sociologists in the field of consumption. In his critique, Veblen assumes that this new middle class emulates the life styles of European upper class; yet, in contrast to European model, they tend to be involved in — what Veblen coined — *conspicuous consumption* (Bocock, 2008:15). Not only Veblen but also Simmel conceptualizes changing patterns of consumption by theorizing modern metropolis. Drawing his thesis on Berlin, Simmel draws attention to the new habits of city life that involves the spread of mass markets, department stores, improvements in transportation and leisure utilities, all of which constitute great sources for consumption. Despite the increased facilities, metropolis, according to Simmel, has some drawbacks that cause anxiety among individuals. Since life styles establish particular individual identities, it had increased the necessity to consume within a repertoire that is both unique to a specific group and an indicative of a social status (Bocock, 2008:17). Both Veblen and Simmel's thought- provoking propositions of that time imply how modernity has operated in the progress of patterns of consumption.

More particularly, the symbolic and affective dimensions of consuming became clear as the establishment of this new cultural pattern has spread more widely. For instance, Smart (2010) states that after globalism and neo-liberal discourses, consumption practices have begun to be associated with freedom, wealth, virtue and popularity, in which feelings of self-worth and satisfaction are shaped through

consumer acts and life styles. Along similar lines, Campbell (2005) discusses the rise of consumer culture and says that high amount of consumption is treated as a symbol of personal happiness and success, which locates consumption at the heart of individuals lives. Baudrillard, for example, examines the post-modern societies and argues that what individuals consume is actually the signs that are attached to the commodities. He stresses the symbolic meanings relies beneath the goods that force people to consume even more. Buying a specific product or eating at a particular restaurant transforms certain messages about one's social status to the other. Yet, though consumption has a long history, consumerism is a more recent phenomenon that created some critical changes in daily agenda as well. Therefore, in an effort to understand where our contemporary social world is evolving through, scrutinizing the process of consumption is essential.

2.2. Cultural Class Analysis

As practices of consumption gained a central role in defining life styles, distinct consumption patterns have become a major part of daily life activities so that the construction of certain concepts such as identity, social status and class position came to be identified within these consumption moments (Bourdieu, 1984; Sassatelli, 2007). What individuals prefer to consume gives an impression of their life styles, judgment schemas and tastes, which is used as a differentiating tool for determining one's position in society. Especially these sociological ties are examined under a new model of class analysis that has arisen as an opposition for the critique of demise of class. In other words, approaching to the established social inequalities by both including economic and cultural dimensions found crucial in understanding classed natures. Particularly, Bottero (2004:988) mentions about the 'culturalist class analysis' which was mainly introduced by particular scholars like Devine and Savage who proposes an alternative for the conventional class theory that centers the economic aspect as main source for class identities:

> What establishes the relationship between class and culture (i.e., what establishes the classed nature of cultural dispositions) is not existence of class consciousness, or the coherence or uniformity of a distinct set of cultural dispositions. Rather, the relationship is to be found in the way in

which cultural outlooks are implicated in modes of exclusion and/or domination.

What is offered by this new generation of class model is the necessity of examining cultural identities, as "class cultures can be usefully viewed as modes of differentiation rather than types of collectivity, where class processes operate through individualized distinction rather than in social groupings" (Savage, 2000:102). Therefore, important amount of scholars have argued about a renewal in class analysis and put everyday relations such as cultural consumption in the center of their empirical inquiries. Similar to these arguments, while questioning class, it is discussed that some social and cultural acts are defined within a particular class position that produces distinctions among different class fractions. Culture by definition itself differentiates groups by means of particular values, beliefs, social norms and meanings that are both written and unwritten. Hence, class-cultural analysis enlightens these constructions and reproductions of systematic distinctions and inequalities which, in the end, become a basis for a polarized society.

One of the prominent scholars that studied class cultural processes is Pierre Bourdieu. He is mainly concerned with the contentious structure in which agents both construct and constrained by social conditions of life; thereby, social class remains as one of his main issues while analyzing cultural processes. Bourdieu views social class as particular groups experiencing similar dispositions and life opportunities. In other words, being located in their own social field, each group struggles for power (Swartz, 1997:215). Furthermore, Bourdieu (1984) examines how consumption practices lead discrimination among social groups that vary depending on their socio-economic resources. In this context, habitus, which is 'the cultural, social and physical environment that individuals inhabit and through which they are identified', is one of the key concepts, in terms of understanding different class dynamics (Cregan, 2006:66). According to him, daily life practices such as clothing, speaking, eating, etc. are mutually shaped by individual's preferences and class positions. That is, modes of tastes are built upon distinct patterns of social class. Therefore, similar genres of action can be found in different social fields by displaying the unity of habitus (Cvetičanin, 2012:28).

Moreover, Bourdieu (1984) formulates on his concept of habitus in *Distinction* as:

> 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. (p.170)

To put it more simply, as a sort of system of diverse signals, habitus explains how class differences shape individual's personal matters such as dispositions, aesthetic values, tastes and life styles; and shows how certain ways of livings are embodied within class position that accordingly produces social practices.

Not just consumption practices but also the phenomenon of taste— by operating as a social orientation— stands as an important marker. At one point, taste appears in the heart of the social class since it expresses the scope of habitus. As Bourdieu puts it, it is a classificatory system in which class identities are signified. Besides, being a "source of system of distinctive features", taste hinge on the economic resources of individuals that set certain boundaries to one's practices (Bourdieu, 1984:175). In other words, together with consumption practices, individual tastes lead to certain categorizations in daily life that ultimately creates hierarchical forms. In a similar vein, in his study of the features of the new middle class-ness, Lawler states that it reflects a differentiation from other classes via its engagement with culture. She describes this classificatory action by saying; "it is a class struggle about who has the power to name taste dispositions and manners as right ones" (Lawler, 2008:257). Here, again, it is explained how taste engenders class, and consequently, reproduces the patterns of inequalities. What Lawler points, is similar to Bourdieu's idea that practices usually perform as indicants of tastes of individuals, who are in contention to differentiate themselves from the others (Best, 2003:204).

Perhaps more importantly cultural differences are central to the construction of class boundaries and reproduction of systems of inequalities and social stratification. For Bourdieu, individuals have tendencies to display their cultural consumption habits and tastes in order to set boundaries of their own class position. As he discusses in

Distinction, Bourdieu sees a homology between class position and cultural consumption. His study on 1960s of France reveals that lower classes tend to consume popular tastes, whereas, life schemas and/or tastes of upper class construct highbrow culture. As argued by Bourdieu, the high valuation of this cultural form occurs as a result of the refined consumption patterns of upper groups. More particularly, Bourdieu elaborates on Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption—in which social status/honor is attributed to those who have economic power to have luxurious possessions — and he underlines the key role of cultural capital (other than economic) in the claim of a dominant position in social hierarchy. Different than Veblen, by means of habitus Bourdieu focuses on different life styles and draws attention to the accumulation of knowledge which is also a source for social upbringing and, thus, privileged status. In this analytical line, possessing high cultural capital becomes a remark of distinction that constitutes aesthetic tastes of upper classes, and for the very same reason we identify their life styles with highbrow culture. Hence, rather than an innate thing, habitus principally proceeds from class specific experiences of socialization that starts within family which also points at the deeper structures of habitus (Cvetičanin, 2012:27). Taste boundaries are, then, significant in relation to the reproduction of class identities since individuals use both consumption and modes of appreciation as a distinguishing apparatus. This distinction stems from the fact that individuals of specific class fractions behave in almost similar manners and possess similar dispositions across social fields that their practices in daily life are structured according to their habitus.

To put it more simply, taste and cultural practices are patterned not solely in relation to economic resources but also in relation to one's cultural resources. Bourdieu uses the concept of 'capital' to understand the elements that are related with one's habitus and life conditions. Basically, he mentions about four capital forms as: *economic capital* which signifies, generally, the financial resources; *social capital* mostly refers to the social or institutionalized networks and relationships; *cultural capital* stresses is the aggregate of symbolic components that reflects the class position; and

finally the *symbolic capital* indicates the social position and status that are linked with prestige and honour.

Principally, the concept of cultural capital is more crucial to recognize, since it is a powerful classificatory element. It has three facets, which are known as; objectified, embodied and institutionalized forms of cultural capital. The most salient form is the embodied cultural capital due to its relationship between one's dispositions and values with the class position. That is, the class identity is internalized in our bodies so that what makes up our habitus is embodied in our social and physical being (Cregan, 2006:67). Additionally, Cregan (2006) explains the power of cultural capital with those words; "the more expert one is on a field of practice, the greater is one's cultural capital in that field and the more cultural capital one has, the greater one's room to manipulate that field". After all, drawing the line in what to consume and how to practice it, is shaped by one's habitus. For instance, according to Bourdieu, working class consume and like what they can afford, such as purchasing cheap and substantial foods, — whereas, the upper class is free of any economic restrictions so that they can develop aesthetic tastes on expensive and exotic foods. Thereby, social class is one of the main elements that effect judgment schemas which lead to the formation of social and cultural hierarchies.

Although she criticizes Bourdieu for majorly focusing on cultural aspects while examining social class, Lamont (1992) also studies social inequalities and makes an emphasis on the distinction between the "I" and the "other" by referring to symbolic and social boundaries, and finally, looks how these boundary making processes influence the impression of the other. Briefly, different than Bourdieu, Lamont categorizes three types of boundaries, namely, cultural, socio-economic and moral, which also impact the judgment schemas of individuals.

In her study, she analyses the cultural differences between classes by making comparison amid the American and French context (Lamont, 1992:4). What she finds out is that the higher classes are not limited with higher cultural genres nor

they use high culture for exclusion, as Bourdieusian theory suggests the contrary. Yet, the study points out that "individuals borrow from the general cultural repertoires supplied to them by the society in which they live, relying on general definitions of valued traits that take on a rule-like status."(p.7).

Hence, this statement of Lamont draws attention to the differences in cultural habits among nations. Further, she believes that these constructed boundaries have a role in the production and maintenance of social and cultural inequalities. Particularly, her study on American context demonstrates that moral boundaries are important in terms of grasping class differences. To put it simply, cultural and social boundaries can act either as an inclusionary or exclusionary tool. Thus, consumption practices along with judgments of taste produce cultural hierarchies by creating the sense of "I" and the "other". Correspondingly, how we place or categorize the other, immediately serves to the reproduction of social distinctions.

What can be inferred in the light of these studies is that class cannot be understood by merely examining economic factors. As Lawler (2005) declares, the reason why lower classes are seen as deficient in society is not because they are poor but it is because they are assumed to be insufficient in knowledge and appreciation of taste. Symbolic and cultural distinctions are equally powerful with class position that all lead to the construction of taste hierarchies within daily practices of individuals. Similarly, Warde (2010), regarding Bourdieusian perspective, asserts that since dominant classes taste accepted as the superior quality or as the legitimate culture; 'taste', therefore, becomes an outcome of the social divisions. Symbolic power of the dominant groups on subordinate fractions, directly, generates not just the formation of cultural hierarchies but also it leads to the persistence of unequal life conditions for disadvantaged groups. In short, the interrelationship between power and culture shapes the practice of consuming and causes cultural reproduction of inequalities, mostly, due to the dominance of ruling class.

2.3. Why Food Matters?

As the social organization is set around consumption in modern societies, sociologists have studied these contemporary social and cultural advancements by focusing on various fields. More clearly, both researchers of consumption and cultural inequalities give importance to food studies due to the fact that they provide analytical accounts for distinct tastes cultures. Accordingly, though the literature concerned with the relationality amid food and class is crucial, food is also used as an analytical object in terms of understanding social issues. For instance, it had significant influences on the process of civilization, reproduction of inequalities, in other words, food has a major role in social changes in various contexts. Hence, after mentioning briefly on how these social and cultural processes are linked; this section will mainly cover in what ways food is related with studies of class.

The sociology of food has become popular as studies on cultural consumption gained momentum in contemporary analyses. Examining food and eating patterns are crucial because food itself is not only a nutritional nor a physiological necessity but it is the breadth of economic, political social, cultural, psychological factors as well (Bourdieu, 1984; Fischler, 1988; Murcott, 1992; Warde, 2007; Yenal, 2010). Most of the studies related to food and eating practices highlight a relationship between choice of food and class distinction. To illustrate, Beardsworth and Keil (2012) believe that food carries strong symbolic meanings that makes it a form of social differentiation. They also argue that the practices, preferences, intentions and prejudices of the consumers play a central role in forming cultural, structural and ideological frameworks. This brings the discussions around cultural inequalities as well, while investigating the systematic process of food.

To start with, some scholars used food studies as an account for the historical transformation of nations' developments. For example, Sydney Mintz studies the way food habits have been altered by making a historical and anthropological analysis. Mintz focuses on 'sugar' in quest for comprehending the power relations between the 'old' and 'new' world, in order to show the changes in food systems.

Previously, sugar was an expensive drug which was most frequently sold in pharmacies and herbalists. In addition, sugar, especially, due to the British control among its colonies, signified a slave work in which the working conditions were heavy. Yet, later on, as a result of the colonial trade economy, sugar has become available in wide range (Beardsworth & Keil, 2012:409). Briefly, before sugar became cheap and available in the 19th century particularly to lower class fractions; it was a luxury to which only the dominant groups could have access. The increase in sugar consumption through a historical frame, thus, reveals how it is also related with the economic, political and social dynamics. Therefore, Mintz's study is beneficial in terms of acknowledging the different historical processes that food and eating patterns have gone through.

Gabaccia (1999) also searches the history of food from colonial times to present, through an anthropological perspective. By examination of American food, drink and eating habits, she concludes that food is a segment of the grammar of everyday life. Another important point that she mentions is that the way exotic foods of a local place becomes popular in big cities, like America, is significant for the spread of ethnic cuisines all over the world. Gabaccia clarifies this shift in changing food habits by stating that:

> as eaters, we are not a multiethnic nation—that is, a nation of defined ethnic groups who stick to their treasured traditional cuisines— but rather a nation of multiethnic who pick and choose from a range of options guided by both cultural conservatism and a taste for novelty" (p.436).

What she is trying to point is the fact that it is not what Americans eat defines who they are but rather it is how they eat, because it is the mixture of various ethnic and cultural foods; instead of a specific national cuisine of America. Here, similar to the other studies regarding food and eating patterns, Gabaccia stresses the cultural aspect in analyzing culinary field.

Using the intellectual tools of structuralist framework, Lévi-Strauss conceptualizes his theories by searching the underlying facts concerning social issues, and thereby,

uses food to understand cultural differences. He believes that in order to understand the social organization of societies, it is noteworthy to reveal what is beneath the surface so that we can make sense of the entire human thought as well as the rules and norms of the social world. Further, Lévi-Strauss (1963) makes a comparative analysis regarding British and French cuisine. He uses the word *gusteme* in order to describe the fundamental elements of a particular culture's cuisine. While analyzing *gustemes* or the taste units of British and French cuisine, he refers to certain contradictions as: *endogenous-exogenous (that is, national vs. exotic ingredients)*; *central-peripheral (staple food vs. its accompaniments)* and as *marked- not marked (that is, savory and bland)*. By means of this categorization, Lévi-Strauss makes an analysis of the cultural differences in two divergent cooking as it follows:

> In English cuisine the main dishes of a meal are made from endogenous ingredients, prepared in a relatively bland fashion, and surrounded with more exotic accompaniments, in which all the differential values are strongly marked (for example, fruitcake, orange marmalade, port wine). Conversely, in French cuisine the opposition *endogenous-exogenous* becomes very weak or disappears, and equally marked gustemes are combined together in a central as well as in a peripheral position (p.86)

Thus, his structure of binary oppositions helps him to analyze different culinary cultures. However, his approach is found problematic in certain ways. Especially, making a universal conceptualization about the operation of culinary cultures is not very convenient in studying practices of diverse cultures and their habits. To illustrate, his famous 'The Culinary Triangle', in which the separation between raw and cooked food is related with the opposition amid nature and culture, is criticized by Mennell (1985) who finds the triangle unpractical in analyzing European food cultures. Moving towards the structural perspective, Roland Barthes gives important hints on the influence of food dynamics. He majorly relates food with knowledge. Regarding the idea that food can be viewed as a symbol in communication, Barthes claims that food advertisements demonstrate a particular theme about the persistency of certain foods with their tradition and past (Barthes, 1979:171). For instance, according to him, via modernization, individuals had gained knowledge and

developed a certain kind of consciousness so that many behaviors came to be defined across food and eating habits.

Constructing a broad analysis on issues like social space, consumption habits, culture and social class; many scholars have realized the eating practices as an important element for distinction. More specifically, studies on the relationship between food and class have arisen as a result of a sociological curiosity on how eating patterns shape life styles and reproduce inequalities. To illustrate, Bourdieu believes that the connection between socio-economic, cultural differences and class based social groupings are significant in terms of understanding eating patterns and so his conceptualization offers a differentiation in modes of appreciation. Analyzing class-cultural elements, besides economic inequalities, then sets a better ground for food and taste studies. What is more, Bourdieu (1984) interprets food preferences as integral to habitus and class embodiment. It is not surprising to see food consumption as a class driven act since he suggests that preferences in food, clothing, and sports activities are patterned in a way to create classed bodies. This patterning is, as discussed earlier, is directly related to the volume and composition of capital that one possess. What he underscores is that, food cannot be thought separate from an individual's life style. For example, basing on his study on France, Bourdieu finds out that working class purchases cheap substance foods that make them strong; whereas, bourgeoisie prefers healthy and not fattening foods since body shape and beauty stand as a primary concern for upper class fractions. Bourdieu explains this finding by including body aspects to consumption and tells that: "taste, a class culture turned into nature, that is, embodied, helps to shape the class body" (Bourdieu, 1984:190). With respect to his arguments, taste is once again became to the center of the analysis due to its power to classify aesthetic consumption and forced choice in between the ruling and poor.

Drawing upon the literature concerning class cultural analysis it is clear that Bourdieu has influenced lots of scholars working on cultural patterns, through his

ability in conceptualizing the ongoing problematic issues in a well framed account. For instance, by means of Bourdieu's cultural field concept, Ferguson (1998) looks at the development of gastronomy in France by suggesting 'gastronomy' as a new form of food consumption. He identifies several structural factors that shape the construction of gastronomy. Ferguson exerts that the democratization process together with the social and cultural shifts resulted in an increased interest in elegant culinary preparations of middle-class. Another important point he offers is that gastronomy as a new form of consumption represents a social prestige, which emphasizes its impact on the consumers of food.

Claude Fischler also makes use of structural tools, while developing his analysis. In *Food, Self and Identity*, Fischler (1988) affirms that food is central in building the sense of identity. Furthermore, he adds that "the way any given human group eats helps it asserts its diversity, hierarchy and organization, but also, at the same time, both its oneness and the otherness of whoever eats differently." Thus, he makes an emphasis on symbolic dimensions of food that also constructs the individual identity. Beardsworth and Keil promotes to Fischler's analysis by clarifying that preferring to eat a particular food may show that the consumer belongs to a certain group of people who are acquainted with a specific culinary culture. As a result, in the construction of identity, our socialization process is significant in terms of determining how we behave in our social environment that more or less represents similar values and norms (Beardsworth & Keil, 2012:94).

Some scholars interested in general tendencies in food consumption, while others focus more on the specific dimensions of food practices. Alan Warde (1997) for instance, deals with sociology of food generally by focusing on the representation and purchase of food, while analyzing contemporary trends in consumption processes. He also believes that it is now difficult to capture the signs of social and aesthetic classification, especially, when there are multiple cultural items on display. Additionally, in contrast to the other contemporary scholars, he discusses that the differences among classes can be still marked. That is, similar to Bourdieu's thesis,

Warde views consumption practices as reflections of class status where rich can develop extravagant tastes, whilst, tastes of poor are limited to things that they can afford (Warde, 1997:109). Also, Miele agrees on the idea that food preferences and eating habits represent a specific social position and status in general. Miele (2006) discusses the increase in the 'sophistication of food tastes' by mostly referring to the Western studies. She gives place to Warde and Marten's arguments on the effect of class differences, while discussing food consumption patterns. As it is argued in most studies, her discussions also confirm that food has more than a few meanings other than being a survival need.

Furthermore, a very recent study empirically demonstrates that, despite all the growing literature on the decline of class, class patterns still continue to be marked by food choices. Atkinson and Deeming (2015), who identify the distinction by highlighting the separation between working class and professionals as similar to Bourdieu's arguments, stress the symbolic differences of food belongs to,: professionals – oriented toward health, taste, experiment and vegetarianism and

> plumping for pasta, rice, fresh fruit and vegetables, whole meal bread and wines and spirits – and the working class – focused on eating 'proper meals' and more likely to eat potatoes, chips and tinned food, that is, heavy, substantial carbohydrates and convenient foods (p.4).

It is clear that food is still perceived as a signifier of a class identity and a life style that goes along with the process of classification in any given society.

As many scholars realized, there is a strong relationship between civilization process and food. The evolution of eating practices has been shaped by the civilizing attempts of humanity in general. Stephen Mennell is one of the crucial scholars who made great contributions to food sociology. He has a developmental approach in conceptualizing the social relations and cultural genres. Mennell (1985) is mostly influenced by Elias's civilization process thesis. That is, he gives meaning to food patterns through analyzing the social change, which alter the manners of how people eat, by particularly referring to the 'civilizing of appetite'. Mennell's analysis

provides an overlook to how changes in societies affect different cultures as well as culinary fields.

Moreover, Mennell (2005:22) mainly conceptualizes taste and its historical meaning by making a definition as it follows: "in this sense taste is a part of what is now fashionably called habitus – that is, it is learned, not innate, but deeply habituated so that it seems to us like 'second nature". By saying second nature, he actually makes an emphasis on the individual's ability to distinct what is qualified food and what is not. Further, taste is not a static phenomenon but rather it transforms itself through social changes. Fundamentally, in consumer societies this change occurs even more rapidly since the consumption practices now performed in global scale. To illustrate, Mennell gives the example of Indian food in order to show how it has been replaced by roast beef which was once one of the popular meals of British national cuisine. Yet, he addresses to the recent assumption that discriminatory effect of food consumption and taste hierarchies are now decreased.

Collaterally, likewise Mennell, through a developmental analysis, Jack Goody (1982), presents contrasting data from two ethnic groups of Africa (Ghana vs. LoDagaa) and also makes a comparative enquiry amid Asian (Chinese, Indian and Arab) and western European cuisines (largely, British and French cuisines). He argues that it is important to examine the issue of cooking by involving production, preparation and consumption procedures as well. Goody, by developing an intense social anthropological analysis, explores how patterns of different cuisine cultures are affected by the changes in the global scale. For instance, Goody (1982) indicates that African people are tied to their traditional cuisine, whereas, as a consequence of colonial forces, their cooking habits involve some of the British techniques and 0traditions. Therefore, as Goody puts it, discovering the dynamics of cultural cuisines within a global network is crucial. In addition, he also finds a relation between class structures and food, which is mostly generated in the highly stratified societies. In brief, taste is a crucial figure in reproducing cultural hegemony by

determining class-based distinctions, and patterns of food consumption appears to be an important angle of this systematic reproduction.

2.4. Has Class Eradicated? : Cultural omnivorousness as a rising debate

Although a substantial amount of studies draw upon the relationship amid food and class, there is also a growing literature on how the effect of class began to disappear in many cultural consumption domains, including food. Especially after 1990s, it has been argued that the dynamics in taste hierarchies have seriously altered. That is, in spite of the arguments that support the Bourdieusian understanding— the distinction among classes still exists — there is also an increasing debate over the concept of cultural omnivorousness, which opposes to these clear cut divisions (Mennell, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). Omnivore thesis refers to a recent cultural model, signifying "openness to appreciating everything"; yet this act does not mean indiscriminately liking everything (Peterson & Kern, 1996:904). Thus, it is also considered to be a model of cultural tolerance. This certainly had influenced how food taste and class issues are understood. In this section I will briefly introduce the omnivore literature, before specifically discussing how this specific literature has shaped the recent empirical and theoretical studies on food taste. Though distinction is an older sociological phenomenon, the eclecticism among tastes has begun to shift the discussions by making it primary concern in most analysis.

Initially, Bourdieu's certain concepts such as habitus, homology and class distinctions, are regarded as problematic by several scholars and criticized of being not applicable to enlighten recent social events. Some of them argue that explaining habitus and field as dominant forces, which constantly produce hierarchies, is itself controversial. Also, opposed to Bourdieu's cultural hierarchy thesis, Peterson and Simkus (1992) are two influential scholars, who introduce the concept of

'omnivore'. They draw their inquiry among music tastes in the United States. What they reach at is:

> Elite taste is no longer defined as an expressed appreciation of the high art forms (and a moral disdain or bemused tolerance for all other aesthetic expressions). Now it is being redefined as an appreciation of the aesthetics of every distinctive form along with an appreciation of high arts. Because status gained from knowing about and participating in (that is to say by consuming) all forms, the term omnivore seems appropriate (p.169).

Omnivore thesis brings a whole new perspective to the debates of cultural consumption and class structures. Hierarchical nature of taste seems to be replaced by the advanced cultural tolerance in modes of appreciation.

In a further analysis on eclectic tastes, Peterson and Kern (1996) talk about the cultural shift from snobbish to omnivorous patterns by defining omnivorous consumers as the new upper class those who " show a positive reaction to two types of musical genres: highbrow (e.g., classical music and opera) and lowbrow (popular) genres." For that matter, lowbrow cultural forms are no longer specifically associated with lower groups so that they can be named as 'popular', which appeals almost to everybody's taste (Garcia-Álvarez, Katz-Gerro, & López-Sintas, 2007:420).

In fact, the initial study concerning omnivorous debate is conducted by DiMaggio (1987) who finds out that the rate upper class appears in lowbrow performances is much higher than lower class individuals' participation. Moreover, one of the reasons why omnivorousness thesis has created a tremendous impact among sociological studies is that it challenges to the certain assumptions that are commonly accepted for a long time period, such as the link between socio-economic position and cultural competency (Warde et al., 2000:5).

In a much broader sense, Coulangeon and Lemel, in their article of *Is Distinction Really Outdated?* give place to Peterson's definition of omnivorousness as it follows:

> Omnivorousness is the shift from intellectual snobbism, (. . .), based on the glorification of arts and the contempt of popular entertainment, (. . .) to a cultural capital that appears increasingly as a willingness to appreciate the aesthetic of a wide variety of cultural forms, including not only the arts, but also a wide range of folk and popular forms of expression (p.96).

As Peterson and Kern (1996) addresses, omnivorousness refers to the 'openness to appreciating everything' instead of 'liking everything discriminately'. Therefore, it can be inferred that the apparent divisions and hierarchies between highbrow and lowbrow tastes have become ambiguous since upper classes are more engaged with the popular culture by eliminating the biased perception against the high social status groups. Correspondingly, rather than a matter of highbrow or lowbrow discussion, the major social distinction today is regarded as an issue of cultural diversity (Coulangeon & Lemel, 2007:95).

Furthermore, another study that stands against the cultural stratification thesis is the one in which Peterson (1992) mentions about a shift from elite to mass status hierarchy. He reports that upper class both attend to elite and non-elite activities, whereas, the lower occupational groups are limited in their participation and preferences. Through his challenging study, Peterson shows that the stereotypical snobbish acts that are attributed to upper class are in fact not that valid since it contrasts to widely accepted images of the elites.

Moreover, Warde and his colleagues (2007) question the omnivore repertoire by basing their analysis on cultural appreciation dynamics in United Kingdom. By means of well conducted mixture of researches, they find that the term omnivorousness is neither singular nor distinct; as some studies offer. To put it another way, although Peterson perceived omnivorousness as 'tastes that crossed class, gender, ethnic, religious, age and similar boundaries', what they conclude at the end of their research is that those who are defined as omnivore may not have similar interests in all components of popular culture. The distinction against what is good/bad taste signifies the boundaries of cultural tolerance which, ultimately,

emphasizes the exclusionary side of the cultural omnivorousness that makes it found solely in specific fractions of middle class.

2.5. Omnivorousness and Culinary Field

Cultural omnivore thesis has begun to be discussed more widely as contemporary cultural approaches have an intellectual urge to examine the relation amid culture and power. Other than music, which is the starting point of the omnivore thesis, food and eating domain constitute a major part of recent sociological debates on cultural omnivorousness.

Most of the studies regarding cultural omnivorousness focus on cultural consumption in terms of expressing the increased breadth of taste repertoires (Savage et al., 2011; Warde et al., 1999). Some of the contemporary writers draw their analysis upon the sphere of bodily consumption to provide an example for the cultural practices in which individuals cross established boundaries. For example, Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann make an intriguing case study on gourmet food writing in order to see what is defined as the good quality food. Johnston and Baumann (2007) argue that there is a strong relation between dining practices and social status across various cultures. They examine how some foods are legitimated as high-status cultural indicators by asserting that:

> Major role of gourmet food writing is to spot culinary trends and to identify particular dishes and foods as being worthy food choices. This selection function of food writing defines a repertoire of desirable food choices, while excluding the majority of available foods (p.170)

Further, the authors, by using the concept of cultural omnivorousness, declare that through the democratic impulses, the separation between high and low culture has swept away. According to their analysis, the culinary omnivore deals with a range of cooking forms picked from ethnic and class cultures around the world (Johnston & Baumann, 2007:166). What is striking in their article, they allege that food is now valued for its authenticity, which indicates common, simple fashion and traditional food; that at the same time points out a more democratic food. In other words, they

25

show how certain low status foods now gain a higher status by referring to the omnivore debate. Basing on their assumptions, the power of hierarchy is not completely disappeared but preserves its existence within the compass of cultural forms.

While examining the features of omnivorousness, Conner's inquiry on culinary omnivores is crucial to take into account since it presents significant findings on different omnivore practices with regard to eating practices. Conner (2008) makes a research on the aim of observing the relationality between patterns of food consumption and social class. In other words, she questions whether different class fractions display similar or divergent omnivorous patterns in their food consumption practices; so she examined her research question under three classes as; highbrow snobs, highbrow omnivores and lowbrows. What is interesting in her analysis is that highbrow omnivores consume foods in more omnivorous manners, when it is compared to elite snobs and lowbrows. To illustrate, as it is also stressed by Johnston and Bauman, the highbrow participants state that they prefer to eat hamburger- that is counted as a lowbrow cuisine- when it involves particular ingredients such as smoked Gouda cheese, which indicates an elite style of cooking. Additionally, Conner reports that:

> The reason why highbrow omnivores consume more types of foods than snobs and lowbrows is not altogether clear but one reason may be highbrow omnivores may attempt to identify themselves as "cultured" consumers, making statements about both their taste in culture and membership in a class. Similarly, snobs may claim membership in an elite group by developing a taste for rare and expensive foods (p.41).

Another possible reason why snobs' are less attached with culinary omnivorousness may be the fact that they are more likely to differentiate themselves via their distinct and expensive habits in tastes of food. Thus, the appreciation of taste creates a binary structure in which both social class and taste are determined.

Similar to what omnivore thesis proposes, a number of scholars studying food processes argue about a decrease in the power of class. In other words, the

traditional understanding of class distinction is rejected as the crossings in existing hierarchical cultural genres become more striking in cultural analyses. Mennell (2005), as mentioned earlier, questions the meaning of taste with regard to the practices of cooking and eating, and argues that the contrasts are diminishing in food consumption, while, varieties are increasing in individual's tastes. He accounts this moderation in taste hierarchies with this example:

> In the culinary history of Western Europe we tend to point to the proliferation of restaurants in Paris after the French Revolution as a decisive step in the process. How culinary innovation and fashion spread from the high-class restaurants to the less prestigious establishments and then into the domestic kitchen can broadly be described as the 'trickle down' model (p.27).

It is important to realize there are some controversial perspectives regarding omnivorous agenda. Some of them, like Mennell, put emphasis on the diminished effect of class, whilst the others argue class is still an expressive of taste and identity. In addition, there is also a literature that views the omnivorous patterns as new forms of distinction since consuming authentic and regional foods are equated with possessing a broad cultural knowledge on food. Thus, the sociological concern on displaying eclectic tastes and the position of class in those analyses are construed by multiple perspectives that examination of these processes requires a more comprehensive analysis.

2.6. Concluding Notes

The differences between highbrow and lowbrow tastes have a considerable role in reproducing class cultural boundaries, while, the ever-growing literature on cultural omnivorousness offers a model in which cultural tolerance has become more resilient to class distinctions as a result of eclectic tastes in food. As the examined literature demonstrates, tastes in consumption are central to comprehend class expression and reproduction since taste is the major indicative of distinction. Food is also studied with respect to many larger social processes, and considered as a key domain to unpack class processes. Yet, omnivorousness raises some questions about the existence of class boundaries in culinary tastes in many academic discussions.

Especially, considering that a fraction of researchers regard omnivorousness as a new form of distinction rather than a tolerant repertoire, it is even more important to explore how and under what conditions culinary taste boundaries are crossed. Building on this theoretical framework, my thesis' question will fill the gap by exploring the limits of distinction within food patterns, at the same time by grasping the renewed class discussions within the Turkish context.

CHAPTER 3

DISTINCTION AND CULTURAL OMNIVOROUSNESS IN TURKEY

3.1. A Shift in the Class-Cultural Agenda: Consumption as the rising trend

As an ever-developing country, Turkish history has experienced critical challenges over decades, starting from the establishment of Republic. Along with the imposed reforms in order to accelerate the late modernization process, mapping the structural organization of Turkey became more intriguing for many intellectual scholars. In this chapter, my main objective is to scrutinize; initially the relationship amidst class and consumption within a cultural frame, and discuss the role of middle class among the debates of cultural consumption and distinction. Later on, I will move on to the growing literature that has shifted attention from the established hierarchies to a cultural tolerance theory that challenges the biased imaging of high status groups. Finally, I will conclude with giving place to the literature on food studies in Turkey, having the aim of analyzing the practices and tastes of individuals' in the cultural domain of food.

The process of modernization is conceivably one of the defining moments in Turkish history. To begin with, Turkey has gone through serious rapid changes, after the downfall of Ottoman Empire. Needless to say, the rise of Republican era has generated substantial transformations in many levels that restructured the relations within Turkish society and the state. Moreover, as a part of the renewal process, Westernization process has generated significant challenging discourses that are still centered at the heart of the class cultural issues in Turkey. More particularly, during the establishment of modern Turkey, the bureaucratic dynamics gave rise to the emergence of a progressive bourgeoisie that reshaped the social organization of Turkish society (Ahmad, 2012:249). The contentious atmosphere— that has occurred as a result of modernization — has created symbolic boundaries in terms of

cultural divisions that also re-identified the power mechanisms among classes. Arguably, the dual nature between the East (Alaturka) and West (Alafranga) is the most visible distinction (Göle, 1997; Kandiyoti, 1997). To illustrate, through a historical perspective in Southeastern Turkey, Karadağ (2009) analyzes the construction of diverse class identities that arise as a result of the cultural hierarchies within western and non-western life styles by making an emphasis on the cultural struggles. It shows that in Turkey, Western culture is placed at a privileged position in the social hierarchy, whereas, traditional forms are seen as specific to unmodern and lowbrow genres.

Besides the conceptual divisions, these established cultural hierarchies have eventually shaped the preferences, tastes and life styles of individuals by widening the gap and forming even more unequal social relations. Furthermore, the distinction amid local and global practices converted into powerful instruments by also separating the class fractions. In particular, after the introduction of neoliberal politics, the cultural hierarchies have become more relentless as consumption practices have turned into strong figures in daily life. To put it simply, consuming popular tastes are not deemed as refined forms of culture, but rather they are attributed to ones who lack to appreciate a qualified or a western taste. Hence, the changing cultural field of Turkey ensued with a more emphasis around the issues of class and culture in which consumption becomes the new symbol of power dynamics.

More particularly, after 1980s due to the changes in the economy and the entrance of multinational companies, foreign products have begun to be increasingly consumed by those who desire to own more modern credentials. Sandıkçı and Ger (2002) draw attention to the rivalry in identity formations, by stating that "the struggle to distinguish and legitimize identity for each of different groups finds its symbolic expression in the consumption domain". In this point of view, consumption practices gain more importance while investigating social and cultural distinctions.

Along with similar lines, as it has attracted the attention of contemporary sociology, investigating consumption patterns provide significant grounds for class analyses in Turkish case. As people's needs and lifestyles altered through the evolution of cultures, also the consumption practices have subjected to change. Therefore, in terms of reaching a comprehensive enquiry, examining the changing patterns in consumption is essential. Further, there is an extensive literature which emphasizes the role of taste preferences, life styles and leisure activities as central to cultural distinctions (Bennett et al., 2009; Bourdieu, 1984; Katz-Gerro & Yossi, 1998). In addition, there are important empirical studies regarding the relationships among social status and cultural consumption that also offer theoretical insights for Turkish context. These researches largely inform us about the processes of identity formation and social stratification of the fragmented class structures in Turkey (Ayata & Ayata, 2006; Aydın, 2006, Rankin et al., 2014).

Furthermore, though the content may differ, it has long been argued that relationship between class and stratification are strong determinants of one's social status (Mills, 1963; Weber, 1978). In addition to these elements, later on, many intellectuals agreed on the power of culture in the reproduction of social inequalities which also plays a crucial role in social positioning of individuals in any given society. In Turkish case the picture is not that much different. That is, the consumption activities as well as taste preferences of individuals came to form their position in social hierarchy by causing unequal conditions for low status groups. Holt and Üstüner's (2010) work on upper middle classes in Ankara confers a significant study by showing how possessing a western life style is in fact powerful on class- cultural processes. Hereby, the authors take the cultural capital resources as their measure in conceptualizing the cultural distinctions among two groups as those; high and low in cultural capital. What is interesting in their analysis is let alone lower groups, even upper middle class, in relation to consumption practices; develop certain strategies to claim a higher position in society. To put it simply, the authors emphasize the way different consumption strategies operate in order to build a particular social identity even in different fractions of middle class. Holt and Üstüner, therefore,

demonstrate the local/global distinction basing on the consuming acts of different cultural groups, through which the reproduction of taste hierarchies become more apparent. These studies are actually influential so as to provide theoretical and empirical grounds for capturing the distinct cultural repertoires in Turkish history that have been shifted during the modernization process.

Moreover, particular studies examine the issues of cultural consumption and social class by majorly referring to the daily life practices of individuals in Turkey. For instance, Aydın (2009) mainly focuses on leisure activities in order to examine how cultural consumption patterns are shaped and stratified within Turkish context. Utilizing the research data, his analysis reveal that the level of education/income create a stratified structure in Turkish society with respect to spending habits on particular cultural activities such as reading journals, books or going to theaters and cinemas. Generally, Aydın's research on cultural consumption provides an overview on the ways in which the differentiation amid highbrow and lowbrow cultural forms in Turkey operates as a classificatory system which also fosters the modern/traditional distinction.

Massive amount of sociological enquiries demonstrate that individuals are characterized according to the ways in which they perform particular consumption acts. The taste habits are powerful markers that distinguish the aesthetic and refined forms from popular taste genres. Accordingly, though remains limited, this distinction among highbrow and lowbrow culture has studied within Turkish context as well. General opinion, concerning the social organization in Turkey besides socio-economic imbalances, points out certain cultural inequalities due to the unequal distribution of cultural capital. In other words, lower segments are expected to have limited taste repertoires and knowledge on the ideal ways of living, whereas, upper fractions possess sophisticated tastes and life styles. What is more, this differentiation cannot be merely explained by the level of education. It is also related with the process of socialization gained through childhood within a particular class habitus. In this manner, the accumulation of cultural capital that cannot be acquired

solely by education becomes an important element in the creation and preservation of existing cultural inequalities. To illustrate, Arun (2013) examines the consumption patterns with respect to the cultural field of television in Turkey. He argues that practice of watching television in fact legitimizes the cultural inequalities by causing the aspect of 'distinction' to be maintained through generations. In doing so, Arun marks the cultural oppositions in between refined tastes and ordinary enjoyments, which foster the superior position of upper fractions by at the same time setting boundaries for the lower segments that are seen far beyond the sophisticated cultural forms.

Other than the illustration of television, Arslan (2011) utilizes home furnishing styles as a cultural field in order to observe the different life styles of urban middle class in Turkey. Her analysis relies on four segments of middle class, categorized as, well-off/ happy, upper/contemptuous, middle/resentful and lower/bitter— each presents distinct daily routines and taste preferences in their furniture choices. During her quantitative research, Arslan encounters with particular classifications, for example, highbrow taste is attributed to well-off/happy middle class, while middle/resentful segment defined more with popular tastes and imitating life styles. As outlined researches demonstrate, most of the cultural studies place middle class in the center of their conceptualizations due to the stratified nature of Turkish society. Examining middle class, hence, becomes crucial in order to perceive the complicated cultural shape of Turkey.

3.2. Reflections of Changing Life Styles: Appearances of new middle class in Turkey

The existing literature on the relationships between culture and class in Turkey, particularly, pays more attention to the consumption habits of middle class, since it reflects a ground for cultural struggles within its own distinct fractions. Gathering the discussions around middle class is found beneficial for several scholars, since the availability in their socio-economic resources escalates the act of consuming by also generating wider scales of taste repertoires. Although the major concern of the

thesis is not directly related with 'middle class culture', the research question itself reveals the class distinction among middle classes. Hence, it is important to articulate on the discussions on different middle class fractions in Turkey as the literature on consumption also points out its essentiality.

Correspondingly, with respect to the historical transformations and social developments regarding Westernization and neo-liberal policies, it is argued that a new middle class has emerged in Turkey, for whom cultural consumption become the major source in the claim of superior status. Besides separating itself from other class fractions, new middle class in Turkey is divided into distinct segments in its own depending on socio-economic conditions. For example, the upper segments of middle class have gained advantage from the global economic strategies and improve their life chances together with a large access to highbrow cultural forms that also legitimize their dominant position in social strata. As a consequence, individuals have entered into a cultural arena where their consumption habits came to define who they are (Kandiyoti & Saktanber, 2002).

However, there is no single definition of the new middle class in general, since its dynamics are still contentious. For instance, Keyder (2013) describes the features of new middle classes as irrevocable; due to their qualification, which requires certain skills and education. Similarly, according to Rukiye Karadoğan (2010) the new middle class in Turkey, which obtained its position, mostly, through education, tend to be distinguished from the traditional knowledge of middle class, with respect to the differences in cultural relations, consumption habits, fashionable life styles and modes of appreciation and so on. Thus, due to this new heterogeneous middle class, the social inequalities have a more cultural base than economic.

Moreover, in contrast to general framing of western literature, a considerable amount of studies in social sciences in relation to class-cultural consumption in Turkey, give place to the consumption patterns of religious fractions. This need occurs due to the fragmented structure of the new middle class, which covers both

secular and pious segments. Ayata (2002: 30) addresses to this tension referring to the tendencies of wide fragment of middle class in Turkey to distinguish itself from other classes via their culturalized life styles that also highlights the secular values and identities oppose to Islamist middle classes.

Fundamentally, Islamic life style was principally assumed as a part of lower class culture which represents the traditional local life styles in Turkey. Nevertheless, as acknowledged by several scholars, after 1980s the reorganization of economic and social structures of Turkey empowered both conservative segments and medium-sized enterprisers to accumulate capital by, at the same time, redefining the bourgeoisie and middle classes as two distinct class fractions (Buğra, 1998; Özcan & Turunç, 2011). The partial character of middle class in Turkey has ultimately led to the emergence of new consumption patterns which also reflect the *Islamic* ways of living by provoking tensions between secular and religious fractions in the reproduction of cultural divisions.

Additionally, the pious fraction of the middle class has gained even more solid position in Turkish society with the rise of Justice and Development Party that has been elected as the ruling party in 2002, and preserved their position in the consecutive elections. Different than secular groups, religious segments of the new middle classes seem to be diversified according to religious motivations in their consumption habits in public spheres. In other words, the ascending visibility of religious patterns in daily life lead to class cultural conflicts, especially, when the debates amid politics and Islam became more vivid. The new Islamic middle class is then assumed as the hybrid merging of the modern and traditional Islamic religiosity (Rankin et al., 2014). Although, considering the impact of Islamic religion clears the picture in respect to the distinctions constructed within this cultural framework, the main objective of this research is not to elaborate specifically on such divisions between secular and religious group's consumption patterns.

Further, as mentioned briefly before, exploring class structures and different dynamics of new middle classes in Turkey offers a linkage with social stratification dimension as well. To put it more simply, the discussions regarding this research benefits from the effects of social stratification, since there is no single consumption pattern, even individuals who perform these patterns are from the same class position or social status. For instance, during the first entrance of McDonald's in Turkey, initially it was seen as an eating domain that was pertained to upper middle class, while, in time it has become a place for the lower segments of middle class (Kıray, 2005). This actually exemplifies how social stratification is embodied in particular moments of consumption and can alter according to changing trends. As a result, analyzing the characteristics of new middle classes in Turkey provides an insight to realize how different fractions show varieties in daily routines, tastes and life styles.

3.3. Posing a Challenge to Rigid Class Hierarchies: The debut of a cultural appreciation model after 1990s

As argued earlier, the cultural turn in Turkish history has drawn specific boundaries between different class fractions by making categorizations relying on certain dimensions such as economic, social and cultural competencies. In addition, ways of consuming as well as the taste preferences within distinct groups are operated in the construction class hierarchies. The strict classed nature of livings, however, began to alter after 1990s, when the concept of cultural omnivorousness has first coined (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). This new cultural appreciation model offers a challenge to the long-existed taste hierarchies by claiming a decrease in the rigid role of class. In Turkish context, nevertheless, the applicability of omnivore thesis still needs to be considered by means of further researches. Yet, as the limited amount of inquiry demonstrates, boundary crossings, regarding the local and global tastes, are began to be more visible in the cultural domain of Turkey, especially for the last years. In the light of these arguments, this part will elaborate on the

discussions over omnivorousness for a better comprehension of the current status of related cultural debates in the Turkish context.

Cultural omnivorousness is relatively less scouted cultural trend in Turkey. Most of the analyses, regarding omnivorousness, have more or less adverted to the class structures in Turkey by also pointing the duality amid modern and traditional. In addition, by criticizing its uniform nature, also the classic definition of habitus is questioned. Budak (2015), for instance, argues on a new social type, which has occurred as a result of the cultural struggles and adopting strategies within middle class that brings the discussions around the hybridization of habitus. His article is important in terms of presenting the new cultural appreciation profiles of individuals that reject the strict taste hierarchies within the class habitus.

Moreover, Budak emphasizes the role of white collar workers in service sector, while analyzing the omnivore thesis in Turkish context. To put it simply, the career strategies of this new social type involve not only extent social networks but also wide scope of cultural elements in order to cope with the uncertainty in economic conditions. Also rather than a form of cultural capital; Budak refers to the omnivorousness as a cultural image of social positioning in which the partial structure of middle class and the eclecticism in tastes are stressed. Therefore, along with Budak's statements, the arguments of cultural omnivorous model indicate a cultural shift towards a more flexible environment in taste and moral judgments of individuals in Turkey.

Further, the increased interest in omnivorous repertoire of tastes resulted with a wide range of studies among distinct nations. Drawing the researches upon various cultural fields, scholars have generated influential studies on how new trends in cultural participation operate in different national contexts (Roose et al., 2012; Warde et al., 2008). In Turkish context, on the other hand, the omnivore studies are newly began to be involved in the structural positioning of the cultural spheres. The existing empirical researches on the related issues present the cultural patterns of

Turkey that majorly point to the contentious structure between traditional and modern. Additionally, the duality amid western and traditional culture represents a distinction between local and global tastes, which has formed the different appreciation models within highbrow and lowbrow genres. This, as a consequence, has constructed the symbolic and cultural boundaries among cultural groups which regard the ones who embrace western cultural practices, as superior, while, placing the others, who reflect popular and traditional tastes, to the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Murat Ergin and his colleagues' (2013) research offers a representative sample of Turkey which focuses on cultural consumption and social stratification by drawing a general outlook of the symbolic boundaries in the Turkish context. While examining the cultural distinctions which result from the hierarchies between tastes and life styles, they focus on many variables such as different type of restaurants, groceries etc. in purpose of analyzing their links between consumption practices. What is crucial in their study is that they view cultural omnivorousness as the new form of cultural capital of Turkey's secular elite— named as engaged cosmopolitans— where eclectic taste has become the new status symbol. Hence, the results of the research represent the symbolic boundaries within Turkish context by also providing a comprehensive ground for the relation amidst class and culture.

In the light of the cultural studies, many scholars underlined the significance of consumption patterns in the sociological conceptualization of class identity. Thus, drawing the scrutiny upon practices of consumption is crucial in terms of perceiving the taste schemas of individuals that may affirm distinction. Yet, along with the process of eclecticism, the taste hierarchies are began to be redefined by the cultural tolerance thesis that opposes to the Bourdieusian understanding of class distinction. In this point of view, another study that has benefited from the conceptual tools of the previous research is Rankin and Ergin's analysis on omnivore patterns in Turkey. Rankin and Ergin (2016) also discuss about the changing taste repertoires of individuals by focusing on multiple taste preferences in three cultural grounds,

namely, music, literature and food. With respect to these cultural consumption domains, the study offers that the cultural groups in Turkey are mostly identified with their participation in local and global taste cultures.

What is important to note that the findings address to "a privileged position (of those higher in social strata), which is based on selective and limited inclusion, instead of indicating an entire exclusion of certain groups". Thus, likewise other researches on cultural omnivorousness, it is found that omnivores tend to cross the established boundaries more than other fractions in Turkey's cultural field. This study may be the most straightforward inquiry on cultural omnivorousness in Turkish context— that contributes to the literature which is in contrast with the homology thesis of Bourdieu— without neglecting the hierarchical structure of local and western cultures in the maintenance of symbolic boundaries.

Moving towards the empirical researches specifically on cultural consumption, the recent studies largely give reference to theory of distinction, whilst analyzing omnivorousness. In spite of the growing trend on cultural omnivorousness, there are also scholars who do not entirely rip off the ties from social class dimension. To illustrate, Özgür Arun (2015), by utilizing Bourdieu's framework, conducts his study upon Turkish television as to examine the audience's tastes in terms of highbrow and lowbrow forms and finds omnivore traces regarding the taste structures in Television sphere— although distinction is more identifiable. Yet, it seems that despite of the omnivore patterns of higher status groups, whether the class cultural inequalities have come to an end is still questionable.

To illustrate, Karademir Hazır (2014) offers an example on cultural patterns in Turkey and argues that, although it is hard to reach at absolute conclusions, the process of eclecticism seems to have some limitations in Turkish context. With relation to cultural omnivorousness debate, she states that arabesque music; which was, previously, ascribed to lower class culture, has entered to the taste repertoires of upper classes in recent years. Nevertheless, this process only occurred after when

the ties with the actual arabesque consumers were severed. In other words, what is appreciated by upper class is not the work of arabesque singers alone but it is, for example, their duets with singers that are assumed as high in both cultural and symbolic capitals. Since Turkey appears to be more open to polarizations; it is more likely to witness inequalities that stem from cultural distinctions. This fact shows that the tension between traditional and modern is yet effective, so as the cultural hierarchies in Turkey.

The social inquiries concerning the cultural hierarchies and eclectic tastes in Turkey, confirm that in spite of the expanded cultural tolerance of high fractions, symbolic boundaries also prevail their position in class- cultural discussions, in which the identification process is not entirely freed from the modern/local conflict. In other words, some scholars argue about the increase in boundary crossing habits, whilst others claim omnivorousness as a new source of distinction. My thesis directly questions this subject matter by elaborating on the related theoretical frameworks in the literature.

3.4. Food and Class Taste in Turkey

As many other cultural areas, the field of gastronomy is welcomed with an increasing interest especially in recent years. Not only eating and drinking practices but also particular themes such as the sustainability of food, issues of food waste, eating out attitudes, *gurme* culture and organic food consumption etc. are all came to constitute the entire literature regarding sociology of food. Eventually, the debates concerning culinary field have brought the question of class since the consumption itself engenders controversial sociological issues. Food consumption practices in Turkey are principally seen as differentiated within distinct class fragments (Yenal, 2000).

Eating patterns have been identified with possessing a particular social status as they reflect taste preferences of individuals. Thus, taken for granted social inequalities

once more step in to the cultural agenda in terms of food consumption practices. The nation based food analyses, as well as the comparative ones, have been conducted across various countries in order to observe culinary dynamics within a specific culture. However, the study of food is a field that requires more analysis in Turkish context as it becomes a significant mark in consumption patterns.

Despite the rising social interest, the sociology of food is a relatively less explored consumption domain in Turkey. As an example for the works of food sociology in Turkish context, Hayati Beşirli (2012) attempts to identify the discipline of sociology over a culinary framework in terms of showing the cultural aspect of food and eating rather than the physiological sides. Apart from the analytical explorations regarding culinary sphere, the literature in Turkish context also presents some important studies on the historical transformation of food and reveals the hidden unequal terms.

Initially, Zafer Yenal can be considered as one of the prominent scholars who has contributed to the development of food studies in Turkey. Yenal (2010) draws attention to the multi sided structure of food and its role on the reproduction of social and cultural boundaries. For example, Yenal (1996) elaborates on food consumption and eating practices through a historical perspective by scrutinizing the transformation and spread of food (mainly focusing on the cultural history of sugar and spice), and analyzes how food and drinking practices shape the construction of social identities and stratification. Further to that, he criticizes the notion that views the relations of class and social status as static by arguing that culture is not merely pertain to upper class fractions but rather it should include daily practices, habits, traditions and rituals to the definition of culture; instead of limiting it solely to art, science and literature and so on (Yenal, 1996:218). It is significant to conduct the analysis by covering multiple cultural dimensions such as daily life practices, in order to have a more firm ground for theorizing the relationships between class and food.

Proceeding on the historical background of Turkish food culture, it is observed that after 1950s, food domain has modified as a result of the industrialization and modernization processes in Turkey. Entrance of new kitchenware products, such as fridges, electric ovens, and the diffusion of convenience foods have penetrated into many houses (including squatters)— that have redefined practices of food (Yenal, 2003:98). Yet, the major shift was experienced after 1980s, especially along with the impact of consumer culture, new eating and drinking habits— such as the emergence of fast foods— as well as the writings on cooking have escalated. Yenal (2003) relates this incredible increase in food programs and *gurme culture* with 'gastro-pornography' by referring to the photographs that are largely found in food magazines. Tracing these critiques in food and eating places from a historical window leads to an understanding how food culture in Turkey has transformed through time that ensued with disappearance of certain old traditions in the culinary field— such as *lokantacılık* which was once very common within Turkish customary way of eating (Yenal, 2003).

Apart from the historic evolution of food systems in Turkey, the geographical differences in eating habits are crucial in terms of revealing the distinctions across local cultures. Ståle Knudsen̕s (2006) empirical study, on seafood in Turkey, provides an important sociological work for explaining different cultural and symbolic meanings in food consumption. By comparing Istanbul and Trabzon's fish food culture, it offers a comprehensive analysis on how regional differences regarding seafood consumption are constructed. To put it simply, Knudsen stresses the differentiation in cultural meanings of fish, with regard to its position in Istanbul (as a mark of wealth and secular fractions), and in Trabzon (as a typical traditional food). His study, in fact, draws attention to secular and religious division among two cultures which also fosters the division amid western and local life styles. By means of a comparative research, the endeavor of social status that occurred as a reflection of social hierarchy is demonstrated. Consumption of food, therefore, sustains a deeper meaning, though at first glance it seems as a modest bodily act.

Further, as other scholars have recognized the importance of stratification dimension with regard to food consumption; there are several sociological inquiries that examine particularly the relationship between food and class structures in Turkey. Focusing on class differences, while studying food and eating habits becomes inevitable, especially in Turkey where certain social and cultural dynamics have not fell into place yet. To illustrate, by observing the food practices and eating-out habits, Akarçay (2014) makes an empirical research on food consumption patterns of middle classes in Eskişehir. By means of his qualitative research, Akarçay explores that middle classes do not exclusively differentiate themselves from other segments through their taste preferences in food — yet, this does not indicate uniformity, but rather presents the fractional structure of middle class in Turkey in which each segment has developed its unique social and cultural codes (Akarçay, 2014:273). Similar to other studies on food in Turkish context, it is important to realize that consumption practices cannot be reduced to economic relations since the culinary dynamics contain the breadth of political, social and cultural backgrounds.

3.5. Concluding Notes

The sociological shift from analyzing modes of production to social organization of consumption has generated an empirical attention within the specific parts of cultural consumption. It has been largely argued that newly habits established with the consumer culture have an instrumental role in the reproduction of cultural and symbolic boundaries not only in the Western cultures but in Turkey as well (Kandiyoti, 2002; Öncü, 1997). As a significant field of cultural consumption, food patterns have attracted attention in Turkish literature as well as it has long been studied in other national contexts. In the light of the limited but enlightening enquiries concerning food culture in Turkey, it can be inferred that the eating and drinking manners, choices of restaurants, techniques at cooking, and the presentation of food — are all important dynamics that necessitate a detailed exploration in Turkish context, where cultural and symbolic hierarchies are yet remarkable. Studying food consumption and eating practices will, therefore, unravel the cultural

dynamics which lies beneath the discussions of distinction and omnivorousness in Turkey.

CHAPTER 4

DATA AND METHODS

4.1. Introduction and the Research Problem

Drawing upon the research question of whether taste hierarchies still exist in relation with food consumption practices in Ankara/Turkey, the thesis aims to offer an exploratory inquiry to unpack the cotemporary dynamics within theories of distinction and cultural omnivorousness. More importantly, by questioning general food dispositions, the objective of the research is to explore the process of eclecticism in Turkey, whilst discovering the standing of class-cultural hierarchies within the debates of inclusive taste repertoires. In other words, whether or not omnivorous patterns are limited within specific moments of culinary consumption is crucial in terms of contributing to the Turkish literature that necessitates more social enquiries in this particular field. In addition to the theoretical framework utilized in this thesis, I draw on certain research and sampling strategies in order to reveal the food dispositions and tastes of a particular consumer fraction in Ankara.

Correspondingly, the reason behind adopting a qualitative method and sampling techniques used in this research will be presented in this chapter. Then, I will give place to the descriptions of the research sites where the fieldwork is conducted. Lastly, I will move onto the reflexive processes as well as the limitations of the research after briefly mentioning about the conceptual definitions operationalized in this study.

4.2. The Qualitative Research Design and Sampling Techniques

The issue of consumption and related cultural practices are examined under various research techniques. Some used quantitative methods and surveys since it is more convenient in reaching a large-scale sample within multiple fields (Bourdieu, 1984; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). Other scholars, on the other hand, refer to the inefficiency of quantitative analyses in investigating everyday interactions by emphasizing the role of qualitative approaches (Atkinson, 2011; Bellavance, 2008; Holt, 1998).

My initial concern in thesis actually covers really intimate parts of daily life interactions. Focusing on individual's eating practices and food habits calls for a qualitative approach since revealing background information on profiling socioeconomic status in detail is essential. More importantly, resolving the impact of individual life experiences on taste preferences and life styles through quantitative methods may be inadequate in terms of a far-reaching analysis. For this aim, my research data based on interviews, small group discussions and field notes so as to engage with consumption habits, evaluations, judgment schemes, boundaries of individuals in great detail. In its totality, while examining taste distinctions, qualitative research was useful to reveal important dynamics hidden in very personal responses.

Moreover, Silverman (2006) stresses the efficiency of qualitative research while studying a social issue, by stating that "it can use natural occurring data to find the sequences ('how') in which participants' meanings ('what') are deployed and thereby establish the character of some phenomenon". Grounding my thesis on a qualitative analysis, thus, provided me a general understanding in what terms food consumption patterns, eating habits, taste preferences are related with the habitus of respondents, and implicitly, brightened the position of distinction and omnivorousness among these sets of data.

As my research design indicates, I used an inductive method that has eased the process of coding of the themes revealed in the data. Constant comparative method actually adopted by several scholars studying social sciences (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Yet, engaging in a systematic coding of the relevant data, I intend to develop my thesis basing on the themes and categories emerged within data collection. And since I was involved in data gathering process through my observations and interactions, I believe integrating theory with the field notes is important, as it may also provide insight into the processes explored.

Following the rules of qualitative method, I interviewed 29 culinary consumers, consisting of; 11 female and 18 male respondents. I have conducted 22 in-depth interviews and 2 small group discussions (that covers in total 7 interviewees) with regular customers of trendy, but at the same time, 'low-key' *(salaş)* and 'authentic' locations in Ankara. Not only the customers but also the owners of those eating places are included in data gathering process. In addition, age of the respondents vary in between 34 and 56. Most of them are university graduates, so the degree of education is generally high. Also the majority of the participants occupied in high level jobs with high salaries. Thus, while elaborating on the sample, the level of income and education appears as two main criteria.

Within the scope of the research design, there are two steps concerning my sampling strategy. First, I undertook a pilot study in order to identify the districts in Ankara where those trendy authentic restaurants are located. Then I specified the most representative eating places in the designated districts of the city. For instance, I avoided places where the customer profile was a mix of both low and high occupational groups so that it would be difficult to reach my specific target group. After determining the places involved in the fieldwork, I interviewed customers, who are frequenters of *salaş* restaurants and who are at the same high in economic and cultural capitals.

Table 1. Characteristics of the Interviewees

Name	Gender	Age	Education	District	Marital status	Occupation	Income TL	Food Expenses (monthly)
Tamer	M	40	University	Bağlıca	Married	Finance Manager	8200	1500
Meltem	F	36	University	Batıkent	Single	Public Relations Manager	5000	1000
Ömer	M	51	University	Çankaya	Married	State official (manager)	8000	1200
Banu	F	44	University	Çukurambar	Married	Orthodontist	16000	2000
Serpil	F	40	University	Bağlıca	Married	Audiometrician	3200	1500
Deniz	M	54	High School	Ümitköy	Divorced	High Ranking Manager	14000	2000
Ayhan	M	36	University	Çukurambar	Married	Consultant	10000	2200
İpek	F	34	University	Çayyolu	Single	Architecture	6800	1100
Baran	M	48	University	Çankaya	Married	Marketing Sales Director	7500	1900
Zeynep	F	47	University	Çankaya	Married	Electrical and Electronic Engineer	12000	2500
Tolga	M	45	University	Ümitköy	Married	Insurance broker	6000	1150
Osman	M	53	University	Çankaya	Married	Doctor	30000	2500
Mustafa	M	51	High School	Emek	Divorced	Mechanical Engineer	6000	950
Erol	M	52	University	Kavaklıdere	Married	Bank Manager	8000	1400
Handan	F	35	University	Çankaya	Single	Lawyer	10000	1200
Betül	F	43	University	Çankaya	Married	Clinical Psychologist	15000	2000
Cenk	M	39	University	Çankaya	Single	Industrial Engineer	8200	1200
Tuğba	F	38	University	Çayyolu	Married	Accounting Manager	5700	1000
Bayram	M	38	High School	Çankaya	Single	Owns a restaurant	40000	1200
Oğuz	M	47	University	Çankaya	Divorced	Process Engineer	7000	1250
Zerrin	F	52	University	Çankaya	Married	Doctor	20000	2000
Emre	M	40	University	Söğütözü	Single	Pharmacy owner	9000	1100
Işıl	F	46	University	Ümitköy	Married	Lawyer	7000	1300
Ceren	F	39	University	Tunalı Hilmi	Married	Dentist	10000	1250
Yalçın	M	56	Conservatory	Çankaya	Single	Saxophonist	6000	1000
Zeki	M	46	High School	Batıkent	Married	Owns a restaurant	25000	2000
Mehmet	M	42	University	Çukurambar	Married	Lawyer	16000	1200
Anıl	M	41	University	Çankaya	Married	Senior Executive	15000	1000
Hakan	M	34	University	Batıkent	Married	Owns a restaurant	15000	1500

Moreover, during interviews, as a non-probability sampling method, I made use of the snowball technique which has accelerated my data collection process. This technique is found useful by many social scientists since "snowball sampling consists of identifying respondents who are then used to refer researchers on to other respondents" (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). To illustrate, some participants referred me to interview their friends from social life or work who are also frequenters of *salaş* restaurants. Snowball sampling had eased the way in reaching the specific target group that consist of individuals who have high educational and income levels that at the same time, frequently eat at low-key restaurants. In addition, snowballing sampling was also a useful strategy for completing the data collection process in a short span of time.

Yet, it also has some shortcomings concerning the repsentativeness issue. In order to avoid from the downside in regard to selection bias as possible as I can, I tried to ensure that the members of the sample are not recruited from same network chains. In that sense, I paid special attention to have variety among age, gender, educational and occupational position of the interviewees. The reason behind having only 2 group discussions is because I chose the ones which consist of people from more or less different occupational positions. Thus, using several strategies to overcome certain drawbacks was essential for the validity of the research. Convincing people while they were eating is not an easy task. Most of them had time limits due to their busy work schedules. As a result, those who were unwilling to participate, especially in lunch time; I arranged meetings for a different day so as to conduct my interviews in a calmer atmosphere. Generally, the snowball sampling technique provided me to uncover the hidden experiences and social dispositions of the respondents which also set better grounds for the data analysis part.

4.3. The Research Sites of the Fieldwork in Ankara

The research was carried out at particular districts of Ankara, where these low-key and popular eating places are located. Yet, before the fieldwork, first I scanned food and gourmet blogs to specify the most popular low-key restaurants. I also read the

comments and searched for the photographs published on these web sites in order to have an initial impression. Additionally, I benefited from my personal upper middle class network to have detailed information about the *salaş* places they regularly go for eating. As they also point the restaurants in Ankara that are also found trendy in food blogs, I decided on 4 *salaş* restaurants that are widely known and preferred by culinary consumers, namely, *Bayram Usta Yaprak Kebap* (Balgat), *Kokoreççi Hacı* (Ulus), *Annem Kebap (*Mustafa Kemal district) and another local restaurant in Keçiören[1]. Most of these districts, where the restaurants are located, are identified as middle/low middle class neighbourhoods in daily categorizations.

Yaprak Kebap, for instance, located inside a gas station on Konya Street/Balgat- a place that at first glance may thought to be improper for higher status groups but actually there are many customers from various high level occupations including lawyers, parliamentarians, academicians etc. Further, the restaurant serves generally kebab type of foods with various appetites *(meze)* and a desert. The relationship between customers and the chief seems very close as it is clear that they have known each other for a while. Also as a part of interior design, the wall of the restaurant is full with the pictures taken with famous people as well as the newspaper clippings in which the restaurant and the chief were praised for its taste quality.

Photograph 1: Outside view of Bayram Usta[1]

[1]I could not use real name of the restaurant as the owner asked me to keep it private, though I have given permission for field research.

[2]The source of the visual is: https://www.zomato.com/photos/pv-res-6004825-r_ODg4MTUzODcxMT

Photograph 2: Interior design of Bayram Usta

Additionally, as an interesting point, the chief states that he opened a new restaurant in Çukurambar, which is designed in a more sophisticated style, especially for his customers from high society. Yet, this does not reduce the number of customers from high status groups in this restaurant.

Similar to former, *Kokoreçi Hacı* is in *İtfaiye Meydanı/Ulus*− a square commonly known by cheap opportunities for home furniture− hosts people that have known this place from past generations. That is, it has become like a traditional eating spot in time that makes all customers frequenters. As the photograph indicates it is a very small place. This place is only open at lunch hours (11.30-14.30 am) so that most of the customers usually eat by standing due to the crowd. In addition, it serves only grilled sheep's intestines (*kokoreç*) as food, and as a result, is famous for its tasty *kokoreç*. As the owner declares, even doctors who will enter into long operations order *kokoreç* to the hospital, although they have no such home service normally.

Photograph 3: Kokoreçi Hacı

Photograph 4: Grilled sheep's intestines (*kokorec*) [3]

---

[3]The source of the visual is: http://www.foodspotting.com/reviews/511872

Another low-key restaurant examined in data gathering process is located in *Eski Garajlar/Keçiören*; which was mostly referred by my respondents. Thus, I discover this restaurant during the interviews in other *salaş* places. It offers mostly traditional Turkish cuisines such as dried beans with rice *(kuru fasulye pilav)*, boiled lamb *(kuzu haşlama) and* lamb's shank thick tomato sauce *(kuzu incik kebabı)* etc. It is known as one of the oldest places in Ankara where people enjoy eating local tastes. *Annem Kebap*, on the other hand, placed in a more transitional space, that is to say, surrounded with popular shopping malls (Cepa and Kentpark) and business offices. Among other places, *Annem Kebab* has the widest space which makes it more convenient for crowded groups/families. Nearly all kinds of local tastes, such as pizza with spicy meat filling *(lahmacun),* pita *(pide),* doner kebab etc., are present at the menu. As it is revealed during fieldwork, people most of the time come here for its delicious pita types.

Photograph 5: Outside view of Annem Kebab

Figure 1. Map of Ankara

In all of the eating places the traditional motives in decoration and popular music genres were central. Food varieties are limited with the traditional Turkish cuisines such as *kebab, doner, lahmacun, kokoreç* etc. Apart from offering local tastes in their menus, they are also placed at neighborhoods that are assumed as lower middle class districts in Ankara[4]. Hence, what is common in these four popular locations is that they are presumed to contrast with stereotypical taste repertoires of higher status fractions. That is to say, they are widely accepted as far from appealing to the aesthetic tastes of middle class consumers. Also these places are very different from the restaurants in upper middle class neighbourhoods in terms of their authentic ambiance, and tastes regarding music, interior design, cutlery etc.

---

[4] The location of the districts can be seen in the map as the figure shows. Balgat is inside Çankaya and Ulus is in Altındağ. The source of the visual: http://www.turkiye-rehberi.net/ankara-haritasi.asp

Though my respondents express an inclusive repertoire by eating at *salaş* restaurants— and accordingly, consuming popular cultural forms— the degree and the fusion of this omnivorousness concerning their other food practices is yet questionable in Turkey. And regarding these debates, my thesis subject aims to uncover the current situation of these relationships in the Turkish context.

Further, while I was making observations on field, I specifically focus on the choices of restaurants, the types of foods consumed, and manners concerning their eating-drinking practices. More particularly, the participants were asked questions about their general culinary routines such as eating habits, cooking styles, presentation of food, taste preferences and rationales for their choices. Also I examined the supermarkets they usually go for shopping as well as the products and brands they mostly prefer. In addition to the questions regarding the modes of appreciation, I also wonder whether they view food consumption practices as an expression of class distinction. The data, in fact, reflects the ways in which respondents foster class differences either with their doings and sayings. Especially the evaluative schemes and judgments, regarding the question of whether food practices generate distinction in society, provide me to measure the extent of this class distinction.

Seeking answer to these queries was a motivational attempt; because it provided me to analyze the taste repertoires of a particular group which involves acts of both crossing and establishing cultural boundaries. Also the interviews were conducted in order to clear the question of whether same pattern of omnivorousness is penetrated in all food practices of the respondents or not. Therefore, synthesizing the responds of interviewees, field observations with social theories related to the thesis' subject becomes a crucial method in terms of theming the data acquired and realizing where the main concern of my thesis stands in the Turkish context.

4.4. Operational Definitions

In the scope of the research problem, certain concepts need to be measured in order to make sense of in what ways food consumption patterns contribute to the literature of distinction and cultural omnivorousness in Turkey. For this aim, I give place to conceptual definitions of *taste*, *economic and cultural capitals*, *omnivorous repertoires* and *hierarchical boundaries* in cultural consumption.

Primarily, the definition of taste is a complicated one since it does not offer a single explanation for its influence on individual preferences. Clearly, it can form collectivities that unite people with similar tastes, at the same time generating the sense of 'other' whose taste repertoires believed to reflect a contradictive model. And my operationalization of taste mainly relies on this description. Similarly, Bourdieu's (1984:6) famous formulation on taste makes emphasis on its diversifying role:

> ... Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed.

The concept of habitus, defined as a second nature, becomes an important instrument in perceiving how taste shapes personal preferences based on the classed natures. Benefiting from Bourdieu's analytical tools in my research, in fact, provided significant hints for a comprehensive study on the relationships amidst consumption and taste patterns in the Turkish context. Other scholars studying taste also concentrate on the ways in which taste shapes and constructs different styles of living (Gans, 1999; Holt, 1997; Kane, 2003; Warde, 1997; Woodward & Emmison, 2001). Arguably, among many theoretical accounts concerning the meaning of taste, class related issues are accepted as one of the main social apparatuses structuring taste. My initial motivation before starting this thesis was also concerned with the dynamics of class and taste and their particular relation with practices food consumption in Turkey.

Furthermore, taste has often been analyzed within cultural studies. More particularly, the conceptual differentiations between 'highbrow and lowbrow culture' became a major source in terming cultural differences, and thus, cultural inequalities. Associating sophisticated, refined and intellectual tastes with highbrow culture result with also labeling it as the legitimate culture— whilst sharply distinguishing itself from middlebrow and popular cultural genres. Accordingly, every taste culture is believed to reflect their own unique form of taste practices in cultural domains of arts, music and food etc. (Gans, 1999:93). Hence, the concept of taste sheds light on the formation of evaluative schemas of individuals whose consumption practices are shaped according to this fashion. And, as the major part of my research is concerned with taste repertoires of respondents regarding food and eating; analyzing the influence of taste is, then, crucial for comprehending the changes in contemporary cultural repertoires.

Secondly, as important components of habitus, scrutinizing *the forms of economic and cultural capital* is essential in order to make sense of the embodied competencies of my sample. Just as the taste repertoires, the volumes of their economic and cultural capitals are important since I aim to discover how these dynamics are interrelated. For this aim, I measured the form of economic capital relying on the monthly income of the respondents, whereas, the education level was taken as the major indicator of the cultural capital. Particularly, focusing on a group of respondents who are both high in economic and cultural capitals actually provided me to observe the position of their consumption acts in regard to the distinction and cultural omnivorousness in Turkey. Also my research problem not specifically articulates on the middle class debates in Turkey. However, overstepping the stereotypical middle class consumer's taste is an unexpected attitude from those higher in overall volumes of capital, so that it raises significant questions for further analysis.

Especially, the embodied form of cultural capital is the most striking model since it clarifies the deepest relations rooted in class cultural differences by, at the same

time, constantly contributing to the reproduction of cultural inequalities. The reason for specifically focusing on these two forms of cultural capital stems from the mutual relationship in between. In other words, the key role of education prevails within one's cultural capital that in some way determines the occupational, and ultimately, the economic conditions. Therefore, measuring economic form of capital not merely relies on financial conditions but also depends on other variables such as education and status remarks etc. Accordingly, the socioeconomic status is also related with the breadth of economic and cultural capitals which may generate certain stratifications and draw symbolic boundaries in a given context. Briefly, having such an unstable societal structure, I intend to demonstrate the conditions for fostering and limiting the boundary making processes in the culinary domain of Turkey.

Approached as a boundary crossing concept, the *omnivorous repertoires* constitute the third point measured in this research. Essentially, the eclecticism in tastes after 1990s has brought out a cultural omnivore thesis that challenges the snobbish exclusion of lower tastes that is usually realized by high status groups. In contrast to what theory of distinction had offered, according to new cultural tolerant model, now hierarchical differences are defined by 'omnivore appropriation' (Erikkson, 2011:476). In accordance, the claim of an inclusive taste repertoire has empirically and theoretically been discussed in contemporary debates of sociology (Bellavance, 2008; Emmison, 2003; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2007). Since one goal of the research is to reveal whether there is a fully established omnivorous repertoire in food related experiences in Turkish context, I pay attention to respondent's attitudes on food consumption. In that sense, while measuring omnivore repertoires, I consider several features —such as preferring both low-key and posh restaurants/districts for eating, favoring local-cosmopolitan tastes, cooking distinct recipes (including both traditional-global cuisines), consuming different brands in general food shopping habits etc.

The conflictual nature between eclectic and distinctive taste repertoires actually leads the discussion to the final concept of the *hierarchical boundaries* in cultural consumption of food. I approach to the drawn boundaries in cultural field as crucial markers of class lines and different life styles in Turkey. In this manner, I operationalized the hierarchical boundaries by examining the ones who majorly point at class boundaries while defining the "I" and the "other". These established boundaries also provide extensive insights for the stratification debates in Turkish literature that explains the unequal distribution of life chances (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 2010; Kıray, 2005). In this research, apart from the eclectic taste repertoires, I examine the moments in which respondents establish boundaries which reflect the distinctive patterns in their eating habits. Drawing on these arguments, my thesis aims to elaborate on the ways in which taste hierarchies are formed and perceived in Turkey as well as it aims to show how hierarchical distinctions are affected by the growing trend on cultural omnivorousness.

4.5. The Process of Reflexivity in the Field and Limitations

Aiming to conduct a comprehensive research in *salaş* restaurants was in fact challenging because of the crowdedness of the places almost at all hours of the day. Yet, I myself usually prefer such eating places in my daily life, therefore, getting used to it was not that much difficult. Considering the discussions on reflexivity in a qualitative research, I believe that my self-presence in the field had certain effects on the research process. In that sense, meanings produced within this research cover both knowledge of me -as the researcher- and the respondents. Therefore, the process of reflexivity actually proposes a model which realizes not only the voices of the participants but researcher as well (Hertz, 1997).

During the fieldwork, I was careful about the way I approach to the interviewees so as the language I used. Also since the districts of the restaurants are usually categorized as the locations of lower fractions in Ankara, I was also careful about my clothing. In order to emphasize my student identity I wore casual clothes and

had a friendly attitude during my interviews. To put it simply, I tried to avoid from appearing as an outsider in the field by expressing my familiarity with authentic tastes as well. Oakley (1981) stresses the significance of the relationship amid researcher and participant as it follows:

> It becomes clear that, in most cases, the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship.

Sometimes interviewees offered me to join them while they were eating, so I did not refuse them. This also gave me a chance to observe the embodied manners in eating-drinking and taste preferences. Therefore, participating in eating acts with respondents helped me in the coding process of themes regarding the research data. Additionally, being a student to an extent eased the process of reaching out to my sample because the general tendency in our society suggests willingness towards helping a student.

Moreover, when I specify the *salaş* restaurants in Ankara, I initially made a visit to the places in order to have the consent of the owner to conduct interviews with his customers. In four of the places (*Kokoreççi Hacı*, *Bayram Usta*, *Annem Kebap* and a restaurant at *Etlik/Keçiören*), where my fieldwork was taken place, I have their permissions to conduct my research before starting my fieldwork and developed a friendly relationship with the owners so that they helped me while I was searching for further interviewees. As a result, ensuring a kindly negotiation with the respondents made data gathering process much easier and increased the efficiency of fieldwork. However, though it was advantageous, my presence might have led respondent's to pay extra care for their attitudes while eating. In other words, they may have changed the usual way they eat their food, such as having a concern on displaying the right manners of eating. Yet, in order to eliminate this deficiency, I tried to ask questions referring to general dispositions on eating. If the doings and sayings of the interviewee were inconsistent, it had eventually become clear in further responds during the interview. In general, conducting a fieldwork including reflexivity affected both my dialogue with the respondents and the research data

which also paved the way for an interactive meaning-making process for an advanced analysis.

Despite the advantages of qualitative research method, there were some difficulties in the course of the data gathering process of my thesis. First, conducting in-depth interviews during individuals' meal time was a challenging task because of the interviewee's limited time. In other words, since I set my sample specifically with the members who are high in economic and cultural capital, most of the respondents have a busy schedule due to their high position and responsibility in their jobs so that it was uneasy to convince them for long interviews and group discussions. In addition, as a result of the current negative social events in Ankara, some of the participants had canceled the meetings that were set on a particular day in the purpose of eliminating time limitations. Therefore, aside from few exceptions that lasted for an hour, the duration of my in-depth interviews and small group discussions vary among 25 to 56 minutes.

Second, with regard to the sample of my thesis, the respondents principally consist of high occupational groups which end up with affecting the age range. That is to say, I can only reach to the responds of middle aged or elder people, without being able to give place to the reactions of youth. Hence, I can solely comment on the tastes and practices of a specific age group.

Third, gender dimension can be counted as one of the salient issues concerning the fieldwork. The number of women that I was able to meet was less than men due to several reasons. Primarily, women do not tend to prefer eat at low-key and authentic places by alone; rather they go either with their colleagues from work or family. For example the location of the restaurant can be a dissuasive factor. Another reason for female respondent's relative absence stems from the criterion of hygiene. According to the statements of some female respondents; the common idea suggests that these sort of eating places ignore particular factors, such as preparing food in insanitary conditions. However, the hygiene criterion is not only significant for female; some

male interviewees as well declare that they pay attention to the cleanliness of the place. Yet, as my limited field search demonstrates it is more disincentive for female interviewees.

Finally, the last shortcoming arises from the limited number of restaurants that I had scrutinized. That is, my fieldwork is based on the examination of only 4 eating places in Ankara. Although I visited 8 places that are labeled as *salaş*, not all of them were appropriate for my research data. Consequently, I decided to conduct my thesis by taking into account these 4 specific places, which appealed as the most striking ones during the pilot study.

4.6. Concluding Notes

As this chapter presents, my exploratory research elaborates on the interpretation of the research data and its merge with existing social theories on food and taste. In order to reach out the detailed evaluative frameworks of the sample I adopted a qualitative approach. Apart from the theoretical background, the field research was useful in terms of perceiving daily practices in food consumption. And since my research heavily based on food settings group discussions, in a more informal way, were also included in data gathering process. As I mentioned earlier, reflexivity generated certain effects within the research process which also enlightened the local consumption fields on food from a wider perspective. However, due to my relatively small scale sample, the research has some limitations that are listed in this section. As certain strategies were developed to overcome these deficiencies, one objective of my thesis is to contribute to the Turkish literature concerning the relationships amid class cultural processes and food consumption practices.

CHAPTER 5

FREQUENTERS OF *SALAŞ* RESTAURANTS

5.1. Introduction

This exploratory study intends to scrutinize the tensional setting among distinction and cultural omnivorousness in Turkey. With respect to significant amount of enquiry in this field, I prefer to ground my thesis on the cultural domain of food consumption, and accordingly, designate eating places in Ankara that are generally preferred by people with high volume of economic and cultural capital. However, these places can hardly appeal to stereotypical middle class consumer's taste. In other words, despite of the popularity of these places among higher fractions, they are, indeed, seen as domains pertain to lower status groups. In order to pass judgment on how the relations amidst culture and class are framed, my field work is based upon four different places, which are both known as trendy and authentic. The purpose of this chapter is to present the general tendencies of frequenters of low-key *(salaş)* restaurants in Ankara, whilst extracting particular themes that are repeatedly revealed within food practices of the respondents. More particularly, there are 5 themes to be analyzed under this chapter, namely, *(cosmopolitan) taste for foreign cuisine*, *healthy eating concerns*, *eating attitudes*, *shopping for food* and *gender issues*. This section, then, mainly unpacks the general features, food habits and consumption practices of regular customers of *salaş* restaurants.

The interviewees of this research consist of distinct age, gender, educational and occupational groups and have been asked questions about the food consumption habits in order to scrutinize the taste repertoires of the respondents that will also enlighten the current status of distinction and omnivorousness in Turkey. Examining food is crucial in terms of understanding the intersection of the strict margins amidst

local and global cultures, and accordingly, the sample of this research comprise of individuals who generally seem to overpass this division under particular conditions.

5.2. (Cosmopolitan) Taste for Foreign Cuisine

The hierarchy in taste cultures is often seen as a powerful mechanism for such separations between what good/bad or refined/unrefined taste is. Having a broad scale of knowledge on taste addresses to the discussions of cultural omnivorousness as it implies an openness in modes of appreciation. Peterson (1997), for instance, underlies that having a high status does not necessarily mean being snobbish any longer; on the contrary, it denotes having cosmopolitan omnivorous tastes. Therefore, appreciation of different cuisines is an important detail that defines my sample, as food is a good way to observe the limits of this cultural tolerance. Tamer defines his palatal delight referring to his cosmopolitan taste:

> I enjoy trying distinct tastes of different cultures. I like sushi, for instance, but when the issue is eating a snail I have to think first. Other than, I want to give it a try before saying no to a specific meal. I guess there is no one who did not eat Mexican or Italian food since you can find it in the simplest restaurant. In my last trip to Greece, I notice that everything is the same but the names. Therefore, I like their cuisine too. Briefly, I enjoy learning about different cultures as well as their cuisines *(male, 40 year old, finance manager)*.

As quote implies, some scholars, analyzing contemporary cultural engagements, recognized that having cosmopolitan tastes now associated with high forms of cultural capital that also stands as a marker of distinction (Prieur & Savage, 2013). Yet, I will move on to these discussions in the following chapters, while the main issue here is to define the general profile of the respondents.

It is crucial to realize, though some respondents shun certain foods, this does not prove that they are not omnivores. Similarly, Betül, who I interviewed in *Bayram Usta,* says that she enjoys experiencing new recipes or presenting foreign tastes, no matter what meal time it is:

> If I do not have any programs at weekends, generally I cook things like cookies, cakes or pies by searching for different recipes from the Internet

because I want to prepare a diner table for my guests that they will speak long after they left home. Thus, when I have someone at home for visit I make the meals which I tried before and I am good at. I do not like cooking classic foods since you can find them in any Turkish kitchen. Even once I made sushi and everyone loved it. More recently, last week I cooked risotto with mushrooms and white wine and got good feedbacks from my friends. Additionally, I usually cook creamy mushroom crepes. As you can see mushroom is my essential ingredient. For the breakfast, I always do something interesting like cooking Tortilla, the Spanish omelette. I also add pastrami to the original recipe and I think it is much better with it *(female, 43 years old, clinical psychologist).*

I believe her illustration is significant because, in a way, she stands as a representative of an omnivore consumer who regularly eats at authentic places and at the same time appreciates distinct tastes. Yet, the effort on distinguishing herself by cooking different culture's cuisines demonstrates the cosmopolitan attitudes within her food practices.

Moreover, given the fact that it is a relative concept, omnivore thesis makes important contributions to recent class analysis by redrawing the boundaries of eclecticism in tastes. Erol claims that although he has some limits, he likes trying different foods of distinct cultures:

Until now, I have visited 4 different countries and I tried their unique cuisines. Certainly, I cannot claim myself as open to every distinct taste. But I can say that I love Italian and Mexican foods. Especially, Paella, which is a Spanish traditional food, is one of my favorites. Also I like the taste of sweet and sour sauce in chicken, which I guess a Chinese cuisine. However, I cannot eat any kind of offal *(sakatat)* such as heart, grilled kidney etc. though I like *kokoreç.* May be it is because I like the authentic ambiance while eating it in a bread with lots of spices *(male, 52 years old, bank manager).*

The respondent, in fact, points at the boundaries of his culinary tolerance with regard to the local tastes in Turkey. Accordingly, taste for foreign cuisine can sometimes cause respondents to alter traditional recipes. Banu, for example, finds traditional Turkish foods as too oily so that she alters some local recipes by adding different sauces/ingredients that she has learned from foreign web sites:

At least I want to try everything to have an opinion. I prepare or cook some meals not according to the traditional recipe but with the ingredients that I

made up. For me, Turkish food is oilier than most of the other cuisines, thus, I add some foreign spices or sauces to our local food which I think make it more eccentric. As an example to a different culture's taste, I love eating falafel, as I first tried it in Germany, which I think originally an Israeli food *(female, 44 years old, orthodontist).*

It appeals that there is a struggle between local vs. global foods. Consuming both foreign and local tastes shows openness in cultural food repertoires, although the degree of these inclusive patterns may change under certain conditions that will be discussed in the following chapters.

Similar to what former quotation implies combining local and foreign tastes is not a unique practice for culinary domain of Turkey. Keyder and Yenal (2011) argue that the internationalization of the food sector in Turkey after 1980-1990s has altered the eating habits and tastes of certain groups. To illustrate, as a result of globalism and the internationalization of the production of food, pizza and pasta, in time, are began to be regarded as a part of Turkish food. To put it simply, as a sales strategy, most of the foreign food companies serve local menus that are unique to a specific country. Domino's Pizza, to illustrate, is in fact an American international restaurant chain; yet, in Turkey, you can find such pizzas named as *Kayseri Ateşi* and *Konyalım* that refers to the regional ingredients and tastes of Turkey. Another example is that what we call pasta with minced meat in Turkey is known as Spaghetti Bolognese in Italy. And since the big restaurants in Turkey have started to involve these international meals together with the addition of local tastes in their menus, people become more familiar with foreign culinary culture, which also provide them to develop wide range of taste repertoires.

Displaying cosmopolitan tastes in global scale, then, regarded as a significant point, whilst assessing the changing relationships. As new aesthetic measures emerged in the consumption field, focusing merely on highbrow culture is found insufficient. Responds of the interviewees support this need to concentrate on new forms of cultural capitals as well.

5.3. Healthy Eating Concerns

Changes in consumption patterns, especially on health, have been an important motive in the recent studies of food. Many scholars argue that people tend to eat what is good for them (Harris 1985; Yudkin & McKenzie, 1964). The study also demonstrates a concern over healthy eating.

Moreover, new generation seems more interested in doing distinct sports such as yoga, pilates, kick box etc. so that their food consumption practices are shaped according to this trend. The majority of the customers interviewed with are more conscious about cooking healthy foods with regard to eating practices as well as preparation of food. Also the results indicate that some of the participants enjoy searching for recent trends in gastronomy such as following particular blogs, reading food magazines and learning new recipes for healthy living or for losing calories. When I inquired what sort of food is usually prepared if a guest is coming, one of the participants responds as:

> I like presenting different recipes to my guests or friends. For instance, I have a delicious toast recipe with avocado and white cheese in it which everybody likes. Also I prepare different drinks like smoothies, lemonade with mints etc. I think while doing sports eating such light meals are more beneficial…I don't like classic recipes like *kısır* because they are outdated. Instead I prefer modern and practical recipes that will surprise others *(female, 35 years old, lawyer).*

Therefore, the understanding of food and eating practices are affected from global culinary trends. Actually, it has long been argued that tastes in food are shaped by the individual's concerns on certain aspects such as health, beauty and strength which differs depending on the position of class as well (Bourdieu, 1984:190). The body aspect, essentially, represents the different life styles between the dominant and subordinate fragments. That is, the habitus of these diverse classes is formed in a way that it reproduces either certain restrictions or flexibilities in consumption. For instance, Bourdieu (1984) enlightens the division in consumption patterns by claiming that the taste repertoires of working class, which for the most part, reflects

the foods that they can afford, are more or less limited with inexpensive and fatty choices, whilst upper class has a more refined taste that involves high-priced and light foods that would keep the body in a fit shape. Majority of my respondents have the concerns Bourdieu referred as the spendings on food become a basis for distinction since they pay attention to particular issues, concerning their bodies, as a symbol of their social class position.

Also some of my male interviewees tell that although they adore to traditional tastes of Turkish food, they try to avoid these foods from making their sole diets since this type of consumption habits can cause some serious health problems like heart diseases and high cholesterol etc. In return of this, the findings point that consuming healthy foods such as fish with multiple appetizers *(meze)*, cold starters and salads becomes an easy and logical choice for a healthy and tasty diet. Growing trends on health and body shapes generates a concern on healthy eating as it also changes consumption attitudes and taste preferences of respondents.

5.4. Eating out Attitudes

Eating out, now as a social activity, is associated with life styles, socializations, leisure time and cultural practices regarding middle class (Warde & Martens, 2000). Correspondingly, eating out now constitutes a substantial part in the lives of middle class in Turkey. Thereby, this section will explore the role and meaning of eating out for these middle class respondents.

Before analyzing the eating out attitudes, however, I will mention briefly about economic patterns of respondents. The monthly income of the sample is approximately 12 000 TL. Since all of the consumers included in this research are occupied on weekdays, and occasionally weekends, eating out turns out as an ordinary activity and even sometimes becomes a necessity due to time constraints. For instance, if both couples are working, respondents state that it is sometimes difficult to cook so that they meet after work for dinner. In addition, the average

amount of money that is spent for food consumption, by shopping from super markets, including eating out, is close to 1500 TL. Nevertheless, when asked, it is revealed that the respondents actually do not know the exact amount of their food expenditures due to the use of credit cards. So the numbers that they give are approximate amounts.

Culinary changes have redefined eating habits by generating new tendencies in food consumption. For example, eating out does not convey a special meaning for individuals, as it was in past (Akarçay, 2014; Olsen, Warde, & Martens, 2000). Nearly all of the respondents claim themselves as regular customers of popular *salaş* restaurants, by also giving other names of similar authentic places that they enjoy eating at. Most of the authentic restaurants, where the field work is carried out, serve traditional Turkish foods, namely, *kebab, pita (pide), Turkish Pizza (lahmacun), boiled lamb (kuzu haşlama), grilled sheep's intestines (kokoreç)* and *dried beans with rice (kuru fasulye- pilav)*. Yet, these places actually compose a minor portion in respondent's eating out habits. Other than the authentic places, they also prefer fancy restaurants for a couple of reasons such as the occasion for going out. Even some participants state that they like luxurious restaurants, since they offer rich menus that involve alternatives such as world cuisine or healthy, fat-free foods. While explaining her favor among classy restaurants, İpek says:

> I love eating at Chinese restaurant and so Quick China is one of my favorite. I, with my girlfriends, always go for eating sushi at least 2 times in a week. Similarly, Timboo Cafe attracts me with its elegant decoration. Also the menu is very rich and great for those who are careful with their weight. You can either eat different cultures' foods like Fajitas, pasta with Pesto sauce or you can eat different salads if you want a healthy choice. Since everybody in our group tries to protect their forms, these restaurants are usually the best option for us *(female, 34 year old, architecture)*.

Similar to her statements, most participants affirm that they like these expensive restaurants because of their variety in food scale. And since traditional Turkish food-such as kebab or buttered rice *(pilav)* with beans - seen as fatty and heavy meals-some interviewees define eating at a low-key restaurant as a short fling.

In addition, the research indicates that, regardless of the occasion, eating out is seen as an ordinary activity- and even in some cases a necessity- for the respondents. As Akarçay's study (2014) on eating and drinking patterns in Eskişehir proves that eating out represents an ordinary act for middle class; my research data also proposes that eating out is primarily seen as a regular practice. As a matter of fact, the majority of the interviewees accept eating out as a main source for socializing. Working mothers, for example, claim that if they do not have children they could constantly eat at out since both working and taking care of the family is devastating. Serpil admits that it is sometimes really difficult to cook at home after a tiring day:

> I would love to live in a world where it is okay to eat at outside every day. If I had no kids, I would unquestionably stop cooking at least three kinds of food just for a single meal time. I mean for their development you have to do this. But at weekends we usually go out for eating with family, while, I come here (a low-key restaurant) for lunch with the co-workers due to its taste and location. Yet, I don't eat at every authentic place, only the ones that fit to my criteria *(female, 40 year old, audiometrician)*.

What is common in married respondents with children is that when they choose where to eat, they consider the proper place for their kids as well. So finding a good taste or a fancy restaurant is not sufficient by its own, they also require places where their children would feel comfortable. And for the most part, this criterion becomes more significant when they go to an authentic place since the common belief suggests that not all low-key places are appropriate for particular status groups.

Further, similar to Akarçay's (2014) findings, my results suggest that the consumption of fast food is low amongst the respondents, despite the high rates of eating out. Majority of the customers proclaim that they do not accept fast food as a healthy nutrition. Instead of big fast food chains such as Burger King and Mc Donald's, they prefer new burger restaurants, namely as, *Burger House, Hmbrgr* or *Mickey's by Las Chicas* which are believed to be more reliable and qualified. To illustrate, Mehmet says:

> My son loves eating hamburger. Actually, I do not support consuming too much fatty food but he is young and his other peers are eating it, therefore, I cannot interfere too much. When he asks me to take him for a hamburger, we

go to Mickey's in a shopping mall, which I presume is way better than Mc Donald's *(male, 42 years old, lawyer).*

Also some of the respondents touch upon the issue of the interior design of the common fast food chains, where they do not feel comforted because they are too crowded and the customer profile can sometimes be disturbing. When I asked why they are disturbed, some participants with children argue that it is difficult to control who comes to eat since it is an inexpensive choice for everyone. So what they prefer is usually to order food at home when they want to eat fast food from those big chains.

5.5. Shopping for Food (Markets)

Act of shopping constitutes a major part in cultural consumption. Individuals not only spend time on best way to consume but also from where to consume. In food domain the picture is not so different. Drawing on the results, shopping for food is not just a random act for most of the respondents. In fact some of them assign particular meanings that imply their aesthetic concerns. As careful consumers, it is observed, the choice of super markets differs according to their particular demands. They prefer big markets/chains which are generally well-known brands in Turkey. Ömer explains why he chooses these big companies for shopping by underlying the factors of 'trust' and 'quality':

> Even when I buy oil or tea I prefer best known brands. I am a bit obsessive about the quality of food, so I cannot easily consume a brand that is unknown, though it is cheap. Certain well-known supermarkets are my favorite super markets because you can reach to any brand you are looking for. Also I believe that if something is cheap you should doubt about its reliability. Therefore, I have no limitations in spending Money on a quality product. Even the personnel of those specific super markets give more confidence *(male, 51 years old, state official manager in a governmental institution).*

Additionally, Cenk *(male, 39 years old, industrial engineer)* argue that some markets are insufficient in terms of product variety and too disorganized that they are not pleasing to the eye. As a result, she states that qualified super markets in Turkey, provides better options for food products, including foreign brands. Therefore, the findings show that respondents are generally selective in their food shopping when the issue is quality. In addition, being selective in super market choices, (e.g. with regard to their interior design) displays that it is not merely an instrumental activity but more of a practice that inholds aesthetic pleasure. Bourdieu (1984) by revealing the symbolic boundaries drawn by class embodied impulses claims that working class habitus give priority to substantial foods rather than aesthetic values. Respondent's consumption attitudes, thereby, indicate existence of aesthetic taste preferences that marks distinction.

5.6. Gender Issues

The relationship between food and gender has been discussed by many scholars. The complex relation amid food and gender is studied in the West as the relationality itself carries crucial inequalities (Caplan, 1997; Murcott, 1982). Gender is not only an ascribed status but it is also achieved through performance (Butler, 1990). Practices of food just as the preparation of meals are, hence, largely thought as women's duty. In this manner, gender dimension is another finding duet of the fact that, in Turkey as well, the preparation and presentation of food are often considered as role of women.

Gender differences in Turkey are considerably visible, and the sexual division of labor at home is perceived as a strong element in gender discriminations. The recent studies, however, argue that the division of labor becomes more egalitarian in last decades due to such reasons as participation of women in work place, and correspondingly, men being more likely to share breadwinning responsibilities with their wives (Youngjoo & Thebaud, 2009:216). Although, the degree of unequal relationships between men and women have decreased; in Turkey, food and cooking

domain is still regarded as an area that reflects gender-based identity formations. For instance, the proportion of female customers, who declare that they are interested in cooking, are higher when compared to male customers. To put it simply, some married men state that either their wives or housekeepers are responsible for cooking so that they usually do not interfere with the preparation of food, while they are having guests at home. It is generally stems from the fact that cooking a meal or a desert is usually associated with women, as if it is their natural talent that is acquired from birth.

Other men, on the contrary, claim that they enjoy preparing different recipes with their wives at the weekends, and plus it is a good activity for letting of stream. Ayhan replies the question about cooking routines at home by noting:

> Actually, we cook regular Turkish foods at home. It is also good for getting away from the stress of daily life. I usually help my wife while preparing meal and we enjoy cooking different tastes for our friends/guests. Of course I am not that naturally talented in cooking as my wife but at least I give it a try *(male, 36 years old, consultant).*

Although, the respondent state that he involves in cooking processes at home, he actually attributes this practice to his wife by emphasizing her 'talent' in cooking. Single male interviewees also declare that they participate in cooking activities because they both love preparing and eating it with their family or friends.

Furthermore, the field work expresses that men prefer the popular low-key places more than women. 'Hygiene' of an eating place is the most crucial criteria, according to women's declarations. Apart from the taste quality, almost all of the female customers highlighted the sanity of a restaurant as a prior factor, which also increases the trust issue. Not just the place but also the hygiene of the waiters/waitresses, chiefs and toilets are equally important in order to make them a regular customer. For example, Ceren explains the importance of the hygiene in her preferences:

> Probably, like everybody else I look at the taste of the food, when I am choosing where to eat. Then, I wonder if that place is clean in terms of its

personnel or the kitchen. Also I sometimes look at the nails of the waiters whether they are clean or short enough. For instance, in some restaurants, which are most of the time the cheap ones, the waiters can have a stained shirt. This is actually really disturbing because from that moment I know that I cannot trust to that place. I have no obsession for sanity but there has to be some regulations, for that reason I feel more comfy in elite restaurants. However, I also come here regularly though it is a low-key place, because I find here reliable including its chief *(female, 39 years old, dentist)*.

Still this does not mean that male respondents do not care for hygiene, but rather it stands as a secondary factor that in some cases they may ignore it in the quest for a delicious meal.

Besides food and its taste, visual quality of a restaurant is a significant facet that affects both men and women's tendencies in food consumption. But the results indicate that women tend to give more attention to visual features of a restaurant that cause them to be more selective in their choices. In other words, men also give importance to decoration and ambiance; yet, some claim that if the food is delicious they may ignore the visuality. Most women, on the other side, believe that certain elements like hygiene, visual quality and taste are all interrelated with each other. This argument is supported by a 48 year old woman, who is an electric and electronic engineer; "if a place has a warm, well decorated atmosphere with clean personnel, it means that this place is, at the same time, good in taste and quality*"*.

Thus, according to the research data, other than taste, my respondents who are frequenters of *salaş* restaurants give significance to multiple factors that play role in their practices. For example, when they go to an expensive restaurant their expectations become much higher when it is compared to a low-key place. That is, due to their high social status in society, while eating at a restaurant they expect to feel themselves respected and valued, which cause them to be selective in their other food practices.

5.7. Concluding Notes

Prevailing tendencies of the frequenters of *salaş* restaurants are presented in this chapter by evaluating on the most repeated features that are emphasized during the field work. The general profiling of the respondents indicates a group interested in foreign cuisine and consuming healthy foods, who are, at the same time, normalized eating out and turned food shopping into a pleasure act. Yet, it is important to realize that food related practices of respondents also point at gender-based differences that give significant hints for critical issues which are still unresolved in Turkey.

CHAPTER 6

DYNAMICS OF BOUNDARY CROSSING

6.1. Crossing the Class Boundaries in Food Taste

6.1. a. Introduction

The well-known analytical tools of Bourdieu have been found disputable by recent debates of the omnivore thesis which supposes that the main distinction stems not from the division amid elite and mass consumers but from the 'univores' whose taste preferences are restricted to a specific cultural repertoire (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007: 375). Thereby, counter to homology argument, the current suggestion in the cultural agenda offers to think cultural omnivores and univores as two separate forms in terms of *distinction*. As studied through multiple cultural spheres, food is found an important dimension to recognize the differences within consumption patterns as well as to see how certain strict taste hierarchies are crossed, especially by the higher social strata. In the Turkish context, on the other hand, cultural omnivorousness is largely appears through the crossings of traditional and modern hierarchy (Rankin & Ergin, 2016). In accordance, my respondents, while mentioning on their practices and tastes of food, imply for an existence of an omnivore model instead of a stereotypical middle class taste repertoire. This chapter, therefore, aims to analyze under what conditions these boundary crossings are occurred in order to reveal the current status of this cultural model in Turkish context. In this purpose, the themes making up this part are discussed under the following headlines; *delicious vs. healthy, local vs. cosmopolitan, arabesque vs. elegant,* and finally *to share or not to share: social media.* Then, while exploring how certain class boundaries are crossed in food tastes, I will also unpack the meanings these cultural processes signify for the respondents.

6.1. b. Delicious vs. Healthy

Assuming rich as conspicuous in their consumption practices is no longer an applicable theory. Most of the respondents declare that they love eating at low-key places because it is a part of their culture that is quite hard to deny. With its warm and intimate ambiance, authentic places are postulated as attractive choices for those who seek for a tasty traditional meal. Thus, enjoying authentic places can be labeled as an omnivorous pattern since it challenges to the stereotyped perception of high status groups. Nevertheless, it is important to note the way respondents formulate on the balance between authentic/tasty foods and elegant/healthy meals in terms of understanding their culinary strategies in daily life because it shows how respondents overpass the established lines, who normally expected to shun *salaş* restaurants. For example, Tuğba mentions about her dilemma, in which she avoids from gaining calories but at the same time loving kebab:

> The traditional tastes always have a special place for me. I cannot think of a world where I do not consume it. That's why I love coming to *Bayram Usta*. I know the chief and I admire his tasteful foods. However, for women, especially after 30s, it is extremely difficult to get rid of too much weight so that I really fight from inside to not to eat it every week. I hate when one asks me if I gain weight, so that's why I try to balance it with more consuming vegetables *(female, 38 years old, accounting manager).*

Moreover, not only female but male respondents as well try to control their eating habits, especially, if they are engaged with sports activities. One of the male customers explains how he sometimes regrets eating pita with casseroled meat in spite of his heavy sports program:

> I usually eat boiled chicken or light meals in order to maintain my body shape because once you spoil your diet program it is hard to go back. At my college years, I use to be very fat. But now I eat nearly 4 eggs in the morning so that I would never go back to unhealthy days. Unfortunately, pita is kind of a weakness for me which twice a week I keep coming here *(39 years old, industrial engineer).*

As it is understood from the responds, most of the participants in authentic places seem careful with their health so that they arrange particular dietary patterns in order to protect their body shapes, even though they cannot give up these traditional tastes. Similarly, it is generally argued that middle class is often engaged with healthy consumption which fosters their stereotypical taste preferences in general (Bourdieu, 1984; Savage et al., 1992). Healthy eating habits were discussed in earlier chapter but here it signifies something different than simply following a healthy life style. In spite of their urge on consuming healthy foods— which are also labeled as expensive tastes in everyday language— the interviewees, largely, cross cultural boundaries constructed through the concerns over eating quality foods by including authentic places into their taste repertoires as well. This shows that consuming *salaş* foods, in terms of having a delicious meal, overweighs being stick to a healthy dietary program which reinforces the position of local taste cultures against global forms in Turkey.

6.1. c. Local vs. Cosmopolitan

As a developing country Turkey represents a complicated structure that requires a detailed analysis for social patterns particular to its society. The social and cultural boundaries are, generally, formulated according to individual's orientations towards local versus western forms by immediately distinguishing in between those who consume both and those who merely bound by the local culture (Ergin & Rankin, 2016:1). In accordance with the former finding, the comparative scrutiny between local and cosmopolitan tastes, hence, provides an evidence for the likings of different kinds of cuisines of the respondents. By stepping out of the social field that is shaped through their class habitus, respondents display a taste repertoire that appreciates popular tastes as well. That is, drawing upon the responds, there is a desire for both local and global tastes, which creates flexibility in their judgment schemas concerning food, as well as leading them towards *salaş* restaurants.

Despite a favor against classy restaurants and cosmopolitan tastes, data displays that the respondents are regular customers of an at least one authentic place due to their love for traditional tastes. Baran finds authentic restaurants more comfortable compared to classy restaurants by remarking:

> When I want to eat pita *(pide)* I always come to *Annem Kebab* because the food is delicious and the personnel is very sympathetic. There are other authentic restaurants that I regularly eat at. For example, for Turkish pizza *(lahmacun)* I prefer a place called *Gaziantepli'nin Yeri* but it is located at the industrial area so that I usually go there with my male friends or my brother. Also if I am in the mood of eating *meat doner*, *Peçenek Doner* at Ulus is the only address. Eating these traditional foods in an authentic atmosphere adds an extra taste to the meal *(male, 48 years old, marketing sales director-pharmaceutical).*

Regarding the research results, the authenticity of low-key places is one of the strong factors that results with making respondents regular customers, through which they exceed the hierarchical lines. Along with this statement, Conner (2008) makes an analysis on food consumption habits in America and claims that highbrow omnivores, due to their interest in distinct cultures, tend to consume outside-region foods more than lowbrows. Concentrating on food consumption patterns of the respondents that reside in Ankara, this research also proves that the respondents have an interest towards authentic cultures of Anatolian regions in Turkey.

Yalçın resembles his practices of eating to an addiction by praising the Turkish regional foods:

> I love eating meat at *ocak başı* or Adana Kebab. I also like world cuisine and being acknowledged about different cooking styles and foods around the world, but Turkish meal and its regional delights are something I would never give up eating. I think our cuisine is one of the richest cuisines in the world. I am not a gurme but consuming delicious foods is like a hobby to me *(male, 56 years old, saxophonist).*

A knowing mode of consuming Turkish cuisine is praised by some of the respondents. Locating Turkish cuisine into global food types and critically reflecting on its status rather than just saying *"we cannot give up consuming kebap since we*

get used to it", thereby, shows a substantial interest towards regional cuisines just as respondent's desire for cosmopolitan tastes. The research data, then, presents that consuming traditional tastes marks an omnivore habit in the cultural field of food in Turkey. Similarly, referring as engaged cosmopolitans, Rankin and colleagues (2014: 172) discuss about a new globalized middle class in Turkey whose cultural consumption practices reflect omnivorous patterns by both appreciating high and popular forms of local and foreign culture. Claiming a favor towards local cuisines, in that case, indicates a boundary crossing since the respondents do not restrict their diets to global/western forms nor to expensive foods.

However, it is crucial to realize that the interest in learning new cultures and their cuisines might lead to the articulation of class hierarchies. In other words, being acknowledged on distinct ethnic tastes and developing certain judgments regarding them can operate as a form of distinction since the lower groups are unable to afford exotic and expensive foods in elegant restaurants. It may also limit the cultural capital of the lower classes, which in turn, results in particular identifications such as having inadequate taste repertoires. Warde and Martens (2000:226) discuss that the class divisions are not completely vanished away. Conversely, they suggest that being acquainted with ethnic cuisine is an expression of sophistication which forms a gap between upper and lower class cultures. Yet, in Turkish case it is significant to note that though taste for global culture is still an important indicator for social status; just as Rankin and his colleagues research offers, we cannot speak of a total rejection or exclusion of traditional cultural forms in Turkey.

6.1. d. Arabesque vs. Elegant

Music has generally had special importance regarding the social class and stratification debates. Bourdieu (1984:18), to illustrate, argues that *'nothing more clearly affirms one's ''class'', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music'*. Also contemporary discussions, especially on cultural omnivorousness,

examine music tastes while conducting their analysis upon cultural consumption domains (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; van Eijck, 2001).

In this manner, the third dimension is concerned with the music playing on *salaş* eating places. It is observed that there is an ascendancy of arabesque music in some of the low-key restaurants. In addition, the decoration of these places accompanies to the music style with its look that is, mostly, defined as far from modern. Yet, many respondents state that the arabesque music does not disturb them since it is compatible with the authenticity of the place. For instance, Ayhan, for instance, indicates his omnivorousness by referring to the playing of arabesque music in authentic restaurants:

> Arabesque music is not the type of music that I listen in my daily life because it doesn't fit to my culture. However, it is suitable both with this restaurant's and the owner's culture. Thus, it doesn't bother me to listen arabesque music here. Let's accept it is unrealistic to see that kind of arabesque music playing in an elegant restaurant. They play more like instrumental or classical songs, and I think it is what suits there *(male, 36 years old, consultant)*.

Anıl similarly, asserts that kind of popular music do not discomforts him unless it is in a low-key place; *I actually cannot match arabesque music and its playing in an elegant restaurant. Of course I am not expecting classical music but arabesque just does not fit there (male, 41 years old, senior executive).* Therefore, despite the fact that arabesque music is not an aspect that prevents my respondents from going to authentic places, they do not prefer listening it at a classy dinner, for instance.

As it is seen, the research data supports the cultural appreciation thesis since respondents both consume high and popular musical genres; in Turkish case, the arabesque and elegant cultural styles. For example, besides the respondents I mentioned earlier, there are also some other participants, who declare that they like listening to arabesque music from time to time. Tuğba, for example, says that:

> Arabesque music is a part of our culture. Even some people, who normally despise arabesque style, like few arabesque songs. Otherwise, how do you explain the songs playing in Turkish weddings. They are all regional songs,

and at the end even the most elegant ones dance in traditional ways. Therefore, arabesque or those kinds of music do not annoy me or I am just being honest, unlike everyone else *(female, 38 years old, accounting manager).*

In essence, the studies on omnivorous patterns were, firstly, proposed by Peterson, Simkus and Kern (1992), who argue on changes in tastes, and music was in center of the analysis. The data on music tastes in America demonstrate an omnivorous model, particularly among highbrows, who noted that they appreciate popular/low brow music. Here in the Turkish context, the applicability of the omnivorous trend is a recent issue that requires a further enquiry but, with respect to the data available in this study, it can be argued that high status groups are now seem to be engaged with popular culture- though the limits amidst the ones regularly listening arabesque music and the ones encountering it only in specific moments (e.g. merely in authentic places) should be separately taken into account. That is, respondents with high cultural and economic capital tend to enjoy aesthetic elements that are frequently associated with lower social classes interior décor, music etc. In other words, just as the music, the decorative atmosphere in *salaş* restaurants leads respondents to cross established boundaries. To illustrate, Yalçın links his love for *kokoreç (grilled ship's intestines)* with the ambiance in *salaş* restaurant:

> When you come here, you see people from qualified occupations- why? It is because they give more importance to the taste of food, than the visual quality of the place. If you ask me, you cannot eat a *kokoreç* in a fancy restaurant. It is against to its own traditional culture. The authentic concept of a low-key place makes the food even more delicious. Watching the chief preparing food in front of the fire is like an art show which increase my appetite more *(male, 56 years old, saxophonist).*

With regard to responds, omnivorous consumption offers tolerant individuals in terms of their openness to other cultural genres. In that case, majority of my respondents demonstrate an inclusive pattern in their cultural consumption moments by crossing over the boundaries in regard to the arabesque versus elegant cultural styles.

6.1. e. To Share or Not to Share: Social Media

In the late 20th century, the organization of societies in terms of communication, was centered on television, whereas, today the Internet, which is assumed as a "medium that holds the most multifaceted set of materials documenting contemporary social, cultural and political life", has taken the central place (Brügger & Finnemann, 2013). In conjunction with the rise of information technologies, the increase in the use of Internet has led to the emergence of social media platforms that has become an important social phenomenon over the past years. Accordingly, the final issue this section covers is around the use of social media because food and eating practices are also influenced from this growing trend. Many people search for the locations, decorations and menus of restaurants by means of the web sites. Even the comments on gastronomic blogs on a specific restaurant determine consumer's choices. İpek tells that *"from avoiding any unpleasant surprises, I definitely make a research on the restaurant before going there. At first I look at its web site and later I Google it in order to read the consumer's comments or learn the most famous food peculiar to that place."* Other respondents like İpek, agree on the benefits of the Internet by stating that they prefer to obtain knowledge about a restaurant through these platforms in order to eliminate some improper options.

Additionally, such applications like *Foursquare* and *Zomato* help people to find proper places for eating and entertainment. Betül clarifies that she cannot live without social media because she loves sharing photos and moments with her loved ones:

> Social media is one of the greatest inventions of the last decades. I don't know how people lived earlier, when the communication was so limited. Now you can be aware of anything happening around the world without putting too much effort. I share everything in my social media accounts like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Since eating out with my family or friends is my favorite social activity, I share comments and photos with my followers. Frankly, I do not differentiate the places I go. That is, I can both let people know that I am eating here, at an authentic place or at a luxuries restaurant. It is indeed more interesting when I go to low-key places because people then say "Wow, we thought you as a princess, who never prefers such cheap alternatives". But once in a while people should make differences and

go crazy like eating at these places *(43 year old, female, clinical psychologist).*

The respondent's statements show that although she frequently prefers to go to fancy restaurants, eating at an authentic place is a little escape from her usual consumption habits. Her sharings' both include *salaş* and luxuries ones. It is clear that she internalized eating at an authentic place so that she does not hesitate to make social sharings besides elegant ones.

Nevertheless, publicizing culinary taste relies on certain tensional dynamics. Although my respondents do not show such acts of avoiding from sharing photos in *salaş* restaurants, they mention about their friends who are involved in these exclusionary attitudes. For instance, in contrast to earlier example, some of the respondents discuss how they are disturbed by people who distinguish between places that are worth to share and not worth to share. These respondents actually critize the ones who differentiate restaurants according to their compatibility with one's social status. Tolga defines this situation as:

> Due to the mentality that is obsessed with famous brands, people assume drinking a coffee in Starbuck's as if it is a sign of royalty. When they go to this sort of popular places for eating or drinking, they immediately make check-in in certain apps like Foursquare. I believe this is the great example of how people distinguish themselves from particular fragments. By sharing a photo from that restaurant, they picture themselves as rich and happy people, even though in reality they are not. I know people who are choosing solely famous and expensive places just to show off, as if it is their main goal in life *(male, 46 years old, insurance broker).*

Social media, therefore, stands as an important figure in decision making processes of cautious consumers. By cautious, I actually, mean the ones who have a concern about their social status. In other words, sharing the moments in an eating place can symbolize something more than an entertainment- such as the identification of a particular social position. A male participant puts the argument in this way:

> What is attractive about luxuries restaurants is their beautiful interior design. Also the presentation of food is more unique compared to other types of restaurants. Thereby, people are willing to pay more money to an omelette

which can be usually found in any eating place with lower prices. Another reason why people choose luxuries places is to show-off. They do this by sharing photos in trendy restaurants just to indicate that this is what their life styles are. I know people who go to classy restaurants not for the food but for showing others that they are wealthy and elegant. I think all of these are a result of capitalism. The lives we are living are imposed to us so that is why people kill themselves to display their wealthy lives in social media *(male, 51 years old, mechanical engineer)*.

As drawn upon the responses, food practices are beyond mere eating or cooking; it functions more of a status symbol for some fractions. Just like fetishizing an object, these people fetishize their lives within their consumption moments as if they are living in a spectacle where the social relations are mediated via images (Debord, 1984). Most of my respondents, however, show no such tendencies in differentiating restaurants while they are using social media. What is striking here is that though their sharing habits signify a boundary crossing act, they criticize the others or their friends who are involved in the reproduction of such symbolic boundaries.

6.1. f. Concluding Notes

One aim of the thesis is to discuss cultural omnivorousness in the Turkish context by examining the cultural domain of food. This chapter basically shows the culinary practices of respondents where their tastes involve inclusionary patterns, regardless of the established cultural boundaries that in fact foster distinction. Eating local foods, laying aside healthy concerns, listening to arabesque music, and sharing their moments in an authentic atmosphere that would normally be unexpected patterns− all clarify the moments in which the sample act out of culturally drawn boundaries and hierarchies. This indicates that, contrary to what is commonly believed, not every single consumption practices of the respondents carry distinctive patterns; though the limitations will be discussed in the next part.

6.2. Conditions for Fostering and Limiting Boundary Crossing

6.2. a. Introduction

Scholars of contemporary cultural theory find omnivorous orientations as significant sociological issues in terms of understanding power relationships. Though limited in quantity, there is a considerable amount of empirical research that predominately, argues about the vanishing role of class boundaries. Despite the growing inquiry on omnivore thesis, the limits of this model are still questionable. Thus, discussing the ways in which the respondents high in economic and cultural capital pass over the established hierarchical borders gives significant hints on the culinary field in the Turkish context.

So far I have explored how and in what ways my respondents cross the axis amongst the existing hierarchical genres. That is to say, the analogy of both consuming cosmopolitan and local tastes may imply cultural tolerance that goes parallel with the omnivore debate. If one agrees with the assumptions of the omnivore debate, then, we might expect that my respondents, by regularly visiting these *salaş* restaurants, exhibit the characteristic of omnivores. And thus, they might be expected to be more tolerant to the culture of lower classes –as suggested by the literature today having a wide range of cultural repertoire defines new relationships among different types of cultural consumption. Yet, as it is signaled in the discussions of social media; although rigid class hierarchies are questioned by current sociological debates, it is also argued that omnivorous individuals might still express distinction, either by means of consuming mass culture or snubbing some of the specific forms that are, for instance, close to lower group's cultural styles (Bryson, 1996). Understanding this cultural turn and its relationalities, thereby, requires a more extensive scrutiny.

Since there is not a smooth inclusiveness in regard to food consumption patterns of my respondents, the next part will discover under what conditions and circumstances

they establish coherent views with the classic class hierarchy literature. I will examine these contentious dynamics by focusing on certain themes such as *meal time* (lunch vs. dinner), *ways of consuming* (accompanied or not) and lastly the *class background*.

6.2. b. Lunch vs. Dinner

Changing definitions of food generates different patterns in the field of consumption calls for a more detailed analysis. Not only food but also its related features give important insides for understanding the limitations and motivations in boundary making processes. Examining small details such as the timing of the meal, hence, can provide a better sociological account.

Primarily, meal time is significant in several terms. First, almost every respondent has a busy schedule which causes them to develop certain practical solutions for lunch break. To put it simply, most of them prefer eating places that are close to their works, and this elucidates how low-key places become the most pragmatic choice in some cases. Also since they are regular customers of a particular restaurant, the food they are going to order is more or less definite, which helps them to save time as well. Apart from the interviews held on weekends, all of the customers declare that they prefer eating at authentic restaurants since it is a quick choice. Cenk expresses why he chooses this place:

> Regarding my workload, I usually prefer coming here at lunchtime- either alone or with my colleagues, again depending on our schedule. Sometimes I have lots of projects so that I need to eat as fast as I can, in order to return to the office immediately. Thus, as food comes right away, these kinds of places suits me better when I am racing against time. Because you know, in big restaurants, due to the complexity of the food, it takes much longer to serve *(male, 39 year old, industrial engineer)*.

In reference to the data results, people choose low-key restaurants more often for lunch time due to its convenience. In other words, they suggest that the menu is simple, there are no any surprises but traditional foods like kebab, which makes the

decision part easier and the serving as well. Mehmet− one of the respondents from small group discussions− supports this argument by saying:

> I choose here since it is close to our building and the taste is great. In addition, it offers valet parking service so that we do not lose time by looking a park space. I and my friends from work can easily eat our meal and take off just like that. Even some times Bayram Usta does not let us pay. I think his place is great! *(male, 42 years old, lawyer).*

Also his colleagues praise authentic restaurants for their simplicity. Anıl, who is another respondent from that discussion, tells:

> Well, authentic places gives you a sort comfort that only thing here is to enjoy your meat and then simply go off. I mean no one is here for its fabulous visual features and I guess no one cares it too. Rather it is a practical and, certainly, a delicious choice for the lunch break (*male, 41 years old, senior executive).*

As a consequence, the plainness of an authentic restaurant is one of the most common phrases that the respondents used during interviews. According to the data, most find it as an advantage, as same as they find it as a rapid alternative between busy work schedules.

Dinner, on the contrary, has a quite different meaning than other meals. The findings demonstrate that people attribute special significance to dinner activities. It is usually, associated with special gatherings or sometimes work meetings. Here the factor of occasion steps in. What I mean for occasion is that the reason, which the respondents go out for eating and drinking, is important in terms of determining where they choose to go. For instance, if it is a lunch time they can eat at an authentic place without putting too much effort, whereas, if it is a meeting for dinner for one's birthday they prefer going to a fancy restaurant – that they think it is more appropriate for a special day. Even though some men assert that they do not give too much significance, they also state that if it is an exceptional day like a Valentine's Day it is certain that they go to an elegant restaurant due to its exclusive ambiance. Zerrin defines the importance of dinner with these words:

I always prefer luxuries restaurants for dinner because it presents something more than food. It is like you get both satisfied with meal and the visuality. Even the waiters treat you in a way that you automatically feel spoiled. And I think I deserve this treatment because of my certain life style. Authentic ones are good as well but they do not offer you something more than food. On the other hand, may be you pay more in luxuries ones but it is definite that they appeal to the eye, including the meal, personnel and the ambiance. Therefore, if it is a special occasion, like a birthday, all of my family knows where I would like to celebrate it *(female, 52 years old, doctor).*

Moreover, the study reveals that eating out on special days refers to a kind of ritual for some respondents. For instance, Tolga tells how some days sign an exclusive meaning for their family:

We can always go out for eating-drinking. It is not a big deal but sometimes I am selective in choosing where to eat… It is not just dinner but the place you prefer for breakfast is important. Because I expect something more than the classic materials for breakfast like cheese, honey, olive etc. These are the ingredients that I can also have in my fridge. Therefore, we usually prefer going to a brunch at weekends since it serves variety of foods. And also as a custom in our family, we always go to a nice restaurant for breakfast in mother's day. We like spending those special moments in a classy place *(45 years old, insurance broker).*

The data, thus, shows that respondent's choices tend to shift towards more distinguished places as occasions change, and even it becomes a ritualized habit.

Not only the special occasions, such as annual anniversaries, but also some colleagues from work claim that they usually prefer elegant restaurants. During a small group discussion, Ayhan noted the reason for his expensive choice:

If we go out for eating or drinking with my associates, there are some restaurants, like Big Chef's, that we usually prefer. I, myself, love traditional foods but there are some occasions which requires more attention. Due to our particular distinct status, I believe that good and qualified restaurants are more applicable to our standards. And again for the same reason I do not find authentic places as proper for these kinds of meetings. They are places more proper for casual events *(male, 36 years old, consultant).*

As understood from this quote, taste preferences are shaped through particular classifications that affect the cultural schemas in individual's minds. "Taste is

culturally shaped and socially controlled" as the structuralist framework offers (Caplan, 2013; Levi-Strauss, 1963). Eliminating choices- in this case the *salaş* ones-according to the value of the occasion or the timing of meal, automatically, draws boundaries where tendencies for exclusion become quite apparent.

6.2. c. Accompanied or Not

Eating habits of individuals sometimes influence their preferences regarding their consumption patterns which may also restructure the boundaries of their taste repertoires. To put it simply, findings of the study not only show that eating practices can alter depending on the occasion but they can also be changed according to the ways of consuming. To illustrate, there is a more instrumental attitude while people eat alone so that some of their criteria may vanish as it fosters their authentic choices.

More specifically, respondents claim that they prefer eating alone when their main goal is to pass over the meal (usually lunch) particularly on working days; whereas, if they are going out for a dinner they are unlikely to be alone. For example, Osman talks about with whom he usually prefers to eat:

> I usually do not like being alone while I am eating but due to the busy work conditions, sometimes I have to eat alone at lunch breaks because your work program may not accord with another colleague. But normally, I like to eat with my family or friends, particularly when we meet for brunch on Sundays or dinner in the evening. We enjoy eating at qualified places where our children also feel comfortable *(male, 53 years old, doctor).*

Another female customer underlines that lunch may be a meal that can be spent alone due to the intensity at the office but in other meals she likes to be with her family or friends:

> The fact that with whom I am eating my meal is changeable according to the hour of the day. On week days, because of time limitations I can be alone at lunch; however, in the evening I eat with my children if my husband is at watch at the hospital. What I am trying to say is that eating is a socializing activity for me; therefore, I rather prefer to eat either with my family or

friends. For instance, girls and I have a ritual to meet every month at one of our favorite restaurants to spend a quality time *(psychologist, 43 years old).*

In point of fact, in consideration of the research's results, all of the three aspects are not independent from each other; but rather they are factors that redefine the limits of omnivorous orientations. What I try to imply is that all of these aspects designate that those seemingly omnivorous consumers, in fact, maintain a certain position which can straightforwardly slide from the account of being a true omnivore.

Consequently, unlike what classical food taste and class studies suggest certain factors like meal time or ways of consuming proves that there is no static relation that identifies particular positions with certain cultural repertoires. In contrast to what is generally argued, I discovered that individuals' evaluative schemes are not that stagnant since their taste preferences radically can change according to specific variables under particular conditions.

6.2. d. Class Background

Material conditions are, in general, known to determine social classes. Yet, it is argued that there are also other crucial aspects that express one's class position (Cvetičanin, 2012:41). These different relationships are in fact important arguments for analyzing social classes. Also dynamics of social stratification may alter over time through mobility. That is, it may be briefly explained as the 'changes in volume and composition of capital over time'. As a matter of fact, changing life styles can cause serious shifts in one's identity and status in a society. Hence, examining dynamics of social mobility is significant while discussing the structures of taste which also constitutes the final dimension.

During the fieldwork and interviews, I realized that the class background of the respondents is a powerful element since I observed that it affects the inclusionary process in which *salaş* restaurants are added into respondent's cultural tastes. One of the researches that attract attention in this subject area is on Sam Freidman's (2015)

analysis about habitus clivé and social mobility. Although Friedman uses Bourdieu's terms; regarding his research results he discusses that habitus is not a uniform concept. That is, for the most part, upward mobility leads to suffering and pain in adapting to new environment, due to the mismatch between one's field of origin and habitus. Drawing upon Friedman's analysis, similar patterns are revealed in this thesis. For instance, an interviewee, who grew up in a shantytown, explains the way upward mobility had affected his consumption practices:

> It is obvious that when your social environment is changed, including the shift comes with the entrance into business life, it is expected from you to be able to stand the pace of life and get use to fancy way of living. I mean sometimes I find myself in restaurants I hardly pronounce it properly. What I mean is that I never change my mother's meals or dried beans with rice *(kuru fasulye pilav)* to any other expensive exotic food that would show me elegant *(male, 51 years old, mechanical engineer)*.

The impact of mobility became clear when respondents asked about whether changes in their social environments (if any) have also affected eating practices. Especially, the ones who had experienced upward mobility seem to have some problems regarding the adaptation process. For example, Tuğba tells that she normally enjoys eating at *salaş* restaurants more than other types but, due to her social milieu that has even changed more with the marriage, she has to disguise some of her old habits from the childhood:

> Frankly, if you ask me I rather prefer authentic places because of the sense of belonging. I grew up in a small family whit limited life conditions. For that reason, spending too much money on clothing or on food is something I try to avoid in my daily life. Yet, the social environment I am in drags me into a life where I began to forget the place I came from. While I am at a classy place, I sometimes feel like I am obliged to follow certain eating manners- such as refraining from eating with hands- to fit into that group *(female, 36 years old, accounting manager)*.

The problems within 'self-identity' and 'to act in certain ways' will discussed later on in more detail, but as it is shown, the conflict amid habitus and the embodied origin may even result with an estrangement from one's own identity. Similarly,

another respondent addresses to the identity issue while talking about changing patterns in his food practices that are quite different from his early childhood:

> I never think myself as a person who discriminates people according to their money or education. Because I grew up among disadvantaged groups, I know for sure how certain inequalities will never end in our society. Thus, the place where people eat or the way they eat does not interest me. If the place presents foods that suits to my taste then it does not matter whether it is *salaş* or luxuries *(male, 40 years old, financial manager).*

The class history of the individuals, therefore, can shape their taste preferences. Crossing the established cultural boundaries are then encouraged by upwardly mobile respondents since their taste repertoires are tolerant to local cultures in Turkey as well.

Besides the customers, the owners of the authentic restaurants display modesty in their own consumption practices by stating that they are sincerely tied with a traditional life style. All of the chiefs that I interviewed with are started business from the bottom, by washing the dishes, cleaning restaurants, doing waitressing etc., and then, after years later, they open their own restaurants. To illustrate, chief Bayram is 38 years old and an owner of a kebab saloon with a monthly profit more than 25 thousand TL. He describes the feeling of discomfort in luxuries restaurants:

> I do not like expensive restaurants because people act really different in those places so that I cannot behave freely. For example, I recently open the same restaurant in Çukurambar which is more suitable for high society. I have lots of customers from different occupations and nearly all of them are wealthy. This new place in Çukurambar is decorated in a more elegant way to address to such sophisticated customers as parliamentarians. But it does not appeal to my taste. What I really like is a warm authentic place where I can simply have a good soup. Other elements do not concern me.

Moreover, one of the owners of the restaurants emphasizes the importance of same patterns. Chief, and also the owner, praises authentic places as he feels more adopted to them compared to fancy ones:

> I cannot comfortably eat at formal restaurants because, if you ask me, I do not belong to that culture. Maybe, if I was raised in a high status family or have a bureaucratic life style, things would be different. I mean, if I was a

politician, my tastes and eating habits would be shaped according to that culture. Since it is not the case, I do not like luxuries places and luckily so as my wife. I have certain visits to Europe and I try distinct cuisines so I am not saying I am close to different tastes. Unless the taste is good, it does not matter whether I eat it in a plastic or porcelain plate. Hence, in our daily life we often eat at authentic places *(male, 36 years old).*

Briefly, as data shows, social mobility is significant in terms of providing an understanding towards people's changeable habits on food consumption and taste patterns relying on their background. As Bourdieu (1984:177) once argued, childhood is a very strong element in the construction of tastes. While the customers who experienced upward mobility maintain a struggle in between two different life styles; the owners seem to adhere to their traditional ways of living. As a result, class background is significant in order to reveal the cases in which mobility facilitates boundary crossings, whilst, in other cases it sets limits that makes overpassing the established hierarchies even more difficult.

6.2. e. Concluding Notes

This chapter mainly reflects the stories related with the low-key restaurants so as the *salaş* consumption habits of my respondents. Mapping divergent practices on food consumption reveals the circumstances in which taste judgments are reshaped. Based upon the findings, although it is eligible in some consumption moments; inclusive consumption patterns in Turkey do not completely reflect liberation from strong status markers in society. Accordingly, the following chapter will focus on the general food attitudes of the respondents in order to enlighten the extent of this boundary crossing.

CHAPTER 7

ESTABLISHING BOUNDARIES IN THE CULINARY FIELD

7.1. Introduction

Seeking an overall view on the evaluative distinctions of the respondents, this chapter analyzes general food tastes apart from their relationships within *salaş* consumption. In other words, I aim to reveal whether my respondents cross the cultural boundaries and establish eclectic tastes in their general food tastes as well.

To begin with, Montanari (1994), in *The Culture of Food*, explains the role of food and eating habits in the formation of social hierarchies in Europe. Through his historical examination on different fragment's food patterns, it is conceived that the culinary practices and eating manners have gained more importance, especially among the upper strata, after the 16th century. As a result, Montanari argues that the history of food is beneficial in terms of comprehending the evolution of cultures where the food and taste have become the expressions of class and status. As discussed in the literature, there are various figures who explored how class distinction is performed by food practices (Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Bourdieu, 1984; Warde 1997). My analysis regarding the respondent's practices and evaluative schemes until so far, have shown that under certain circumstances, class boundaries are regularly crossed. Different than the previous sections, this chapter, principally, focuses on the exclusionary acts of the respondents who will be normally categorized as direct omnivores in a quantitative research or in a survey. The findings demonstrate that taste based distinctions are in fact discernable either in doings or sayings of the customers.

Further, there are particular factors which play a critique role in consumer's value judgments. A single element, such as *hygiene*, *customer profile*, *language and manners*, *location* or *presentation of food* can cause respondents to eliminate

restaurant from their preferences. To put it simply, most of the respondents speak of the necessity of several criteria that the lack of them can easily alter their viewpoints on *salaş* restaurants in a negative way.

7.2. Hygiene

Being selective in consumption choices is a common feature among respondents. Instead of randomly selecting where to eat and what to eat, they set particular criteria in order to preserve their comfort zones. As I mentioned earlier, 'hygiene' is the most important issue in respondent's preferences. While, some claim that they prefer authentic places unless it is recommended by someone else so that they can trust, others argue that although they sometimes eat at specific authentic places they are skeptical about the rest of the low-key restaurants. One respondent enlightens this argument with her comments on low-key places:

> I am not saying that authentic places are bad, in the end; they are a part of our culture. What I stress is not all of them are clean or reliable. Some of my friends told me how imprecise those low-key restaurants are. This place is different than others because I know the owner, and I am coming here since my university years. But I don't think that every low-key restaurant will serve quality food in a hygienic place *(43 years old, clinical psychologist).*

Regarding the data, there is a common belief that interprets authentic places as an integral part of Turkish culture. Yet, what is majorly stressed is the fact that if a restaurant has meals in lower prices, then the quality will correspondingly be low. Similarly, Anıl highlights the importance of trust issue:

> Of course not all low-key restaurants are appropriate for me. Before the taste of food, I give priority to the degree of cleanliness, and to the debonairness of the personnel *(male, 41 years old, senior executive).*

In this point of view, sanitary conditions- functioning as a deal breaker- can easily damage the reliability a low-key restaurant. Likewise the care for healthy eating, respondents have hygiene concerns that causes classifications in daily schemas. The biased perception- *salaş* restaurants lack certain sanitary requirements- leads to a

categorization which locates authentic places at a lower position that mostly attributed to the mass culture.

7.3. Appearances of Others

The consumer culture today, led individuals to be more concerned about their appearances. Relating the outer body with inner self has intensely upraised individual's awareness on their body shapes (Karademir Hazır, 2013:10). This is also studied under cultural field of bodily consumption which signifies the diversities within taste repertoires. Eating as a part of cultural consumption provides an account for the relations amid food and body.

Correspondingly, the second important finding is related with the 'customer profile' which questions the limits of cultural appreciation model. It is striking to observe how effective the appearance of customers on individual's judgments is. A male respondent emphasize the importance of the type of people present in a particular restaurant:

> Once I rely on the quality of the place, I prefer low-key places too. For instance, I regularly eat here because the fraction that prefers here consists of similar people. I do not prefer places that are not suitable for my family. The quality of the customers is crucial for me. You can see modern person in both authentic places and in luxuries ones. What I mean by saying modern people is actually the cultivated and decent person. In other words, I like to go places where the customers possess all the good manners including eating and drinking. Thus, I cannot say that I can eat in all low-key places because eating is an enjoyable social activity and I do not what anything to disturb me there *(47 years old, process engineer).*

I find this quotation significant due to its identification of 'modern civilized individual'. My respondent explains being cultivated is not merely relevant to education but rather as the breadth of the socialization processes that begins within the family. Indeed, the distinction relies among his sentences because the phrase *"we do not prefer places which do not fit into our social environment"* immediately signals an exclusion of the others- in that sense it refers to the ones that are lower in

economic and cultural capital. This example reminds Bourdieu's thesis on how embodied form of cultural capital operates in the reproduction of inequalities because of the fact that those who are similar in cultural capital assumed to have similar practices, and therefore, the definition of social space is a good indicator for such distinctions. Related with the customer profile, respondents argue that the 'clothing' is also significant that could change the vision of authentic places in their minds. To illustrate, Meltem is anxious about the appearance due to the fear of misperception:

> I don't want to eat with people who are oddly dressed *(zibidi)*. A person passing by the restaurant can easily think of me as that kind of person who has no taste. A decent look depends on the way you are dressed, the watch you wear as well *(female, 36 years old, public relations manager)*.

In this example, she is afraid of the misunderstanding of being in a group which does not actually represent her real status. These quotations actually mark the significance of embodied cultural capital which contributes to the preservation of distinction. Embodied form of cultural capital is formulated as ''long lasting dispositions of the mind and the body'' by indicating the inherited dispositions, taste preferences and life styles of individuals (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). Hence, the guidelines for how to act in proper manners (e.g. not dressing oddly) lie beneath the embodied forms that are 'acquired within an upbringing in a cultivated home' (Prieur & Savage, 2011:569).

The cultural boundaries in food consumption are more visible when respondents talk about comparisons amid *salaş* and elegant restaurants. In further example, a customer makes a comparison between authentic and sophisticated restaurants by telling:

> Yes, this place is also good but I generally choose to eat here when I give a break from work. Yet, when I want to spend some quality time with my family or friends I choose fancy restaurants. The cloths I wear, the accessorizes I use are more suitable for that type of elegant places. Besides, the customers in fancy restaurants have more or less the same taste or clothing. When I eat at a low-key place my friends usually get shocked and tell me that we don't know you as a person who eats cheap food. Yet, if they

97

see me in a fancy restaurant they would not get that surprised because by just looking at my Outlook I belong to those elegant places. *(34 years old, marketing director).*

Once again the importance of 'fitting into a particular group' is emphasized through making emphasis on the type of clothing. This attitude is actually observed in most of the respondents. The number of participants who primarily seek after eating a tasty food is very low. Moreover, Karademir Hazır (2013) in *How Bodies are Classed*, provides an account of the bodily practices and tastes in Turkey, in order to demonstrate the power of cultural capital on class structures. She also highlights how dressing, as a bodily act, symbolizes a specific class position by defining "clothes and bodily appearances as the most publicly observable marks of personal taste" (Karademir Hazır 2013: 9). Hence, living in the boundaries of a particular social space stands as a strong element since upper middle class appears to prefer participating in consumption acts within their own specialized environment that reflects their high life standards. May be they do not say it directly but it proves that class is so embodied that by nature, it forms the distinction between the I and the other.

Moreover, Zeynep believes that the profile of customers signifies the eligibility of a restaurant by also giving reference to the decoration aspect:

> The customer profile of a specific place indicates the quality. The more decent people present at a restaurant, the more sophisticated the place is. This place, for example, is a restaurant that is preferred by a particular group of people. In addition to quality, I think the white tile and white light seem very ugly in terms of decoration, thus, I don't prefer places where the lighting is not good. It really irritates me. The yellow light together with a good ventilation system are signifiers of good quality *(female, 47 years old, electrical electronic engineer).*

Some respondents, during the small discussions, relate the use of white light with a low status mark, due to its cheap price compared to the soft yellow light. However, the main point here is respondents that are involved in this study may require expensive tastes that go along with their life standards. Warde (2010:85) defines the

legitimization of culture by referring it to the superior quality of dominant class and argues that "marks of taste draws social boundaries that ascribe diverse honor to individuals or groups". Therefore, the urge in engaging with high aesthetic values, simply, identifies the legitimate culture of those who have power to establish it.

Moving towards the illustrations, in which the sense of social exclusion is either implicitly or explicitly demonstrated, Serpil claims herself as a culinary omnivore by telling that she loves authentic restaurants more than the elegant styled places:

> We love authentic places more than luxuries restaurants. Besides, there is an authentic place that we usually go and we find its decoration funny. It is heavily decorated by traditional motives but the taste is good and our communication with the personnel is intimate so that's why we keep going there *(female, 40 years old, audiometrician).*

However, the adjective she attributes to this authentic place (funny), despite her affirming tone, suggests that she draws on classic conceptualizations of low-brow and high-brow taste, while fixing the low key restaurant's to the lower ends of the dichotomy. Additionally, the data indicates that the choices in their authentic places involve the ones in which the customer profiles are more or less the same. Only some male customers state that they may sometimes go to eating places- on their own or 'man to man'- where the taste is good but the conditions do not seem very well, especially for family meetings.

Another result affirms that low-key places are found more comfy spaces than the elegant restaurants. The respondents agree on that one has to be careful about its clothing, whereas, there is no kind of perceptional differentiations in low-key places. A 56 year old musician gives example of how his friends behave differently when they go to a classy restaurant:

> In my opinion, some people act in a way which does not reflect their own nature. In expensive restaurants people try to be very polite. I mean I know a friend who eats pizza with spicy meat filling *(lahmacun)* with his bare hands next to me but when we go to an elegant place his behaviors suddenly changes as the place gets wealthier. Also you have to wear something according to the place you eat. Even I do not care much, the friends you go

99

with care so that I have to dress in a specific fashion in order to prevent any negative reactions. For instance, if you dressed up improperly, then you are accused of being lowbrow or impolite.

Then, what is the definition of proper way of dressing? And who establishes the right manners in clothing? In that case, these unwritten rules are determined by the fractions who legitimizes what aesthetic taste is, and who have high levels of cultural and economic capital. Thus, apart from the sophisticated customers, clothing appears as an important aspect that reveals the hierarchies in taste.

7.4. Language and Manners

As recognized by many scholars, language is one of the powerful mechanisms in the construction of social and cultural inequalities since most of our dispositions are embedded in language. Also it is one of the important aspects, which is mentioned while placing the emphasis on customer profile. Baran illustrates the verbal difference in low-key places as:

> Compared to classy restaurants, low-key places are more comfy in terms of communication with waiters. For example, I can call a waiter by saying; "*hey captain can you bring me the usual meal?*"(e.g. '*müdür sen ne öneriyorsan ondan hazırla*' or '*sendeyiz patron*'); whereas it is found rude in a sophisticated restaurant. Therefore, you have to ask in a more polite way like saying; "*could you please bring me a glass of water please?*" If I use those casual phrases in a classy restaurant next to our classy friends, my wife would probably kill me. *(48 years old, marketing sales director-pharmaceutical).*

Moreover, one of the interviewees describes the different language patterns in two separate restaurants as:

> You can use a more intimate communication style in an authentic place and no one finds it odd. But when you enter in a nice restaurant it is expected from you to be more polite and careful with your attitudes; just as you can go to a low-key place with sweat pants, while the case in a fancy one is completely the opposite. This difference usually does not bother me much since in both places I speak with waiters in a distant manner and I think everyone should do the same.

In consideration of these examples, altering the way of speaking according to the type of restaurant indicates the authority of class positions. That is, it is believed that eating at an elegant restaurant requires particular manners that involve certain rules such as politeness. In contrast, individuals act more freely in low-key restaurants not because they are too comfortable but because those restaurants are associated with lowbrow culture so that using a more intimate daily language, wearing more casual clothes or eating with bare hands seems acceptable, as all are assumed as a part of lowbrow genre. Some show this difference, while others stick to their own specific manners; but both quotations imply the differentials in individual's manners which vary depending on the degree of classiness. In that sense, they are dressing 'down'. While adapting to that authentic environment, they speak by at the same time knowing that their relaxed embodiments have a low symbolic value than their regular bodily acts in the rest of the day. In fact, they are aware of the fact that the music, language and manners of these *salaş* restaurants are generally attributed to lowbrow cultural styles. The quotations of respondents, thereby, show the established hierarchies among evaluative distinctions.

In regard to language, another striking result of this study is the fact that individuals refer to authentic restaurants as 'authentic places', whereas, they use the word 'restaurant' for the elegant ones. Most of the respondents unwittingly mark this linguistic separation; which is indeed a good example to infer how class is embodied in our practices. Additionally, there is a separation between the act of 'doing something nice' and 'doing something casual'. To put it simply, the respondents claim that when they want to do something nice they prefer fancy restaurants. On the other hand, when it is an ordinary moment, they prefer authentic places, like doing something casual. Hence, the social coding, of the authentic and elegant restaurants in our minds lead to a particular matching between the space and its proper class dispositions.

Furthermore, the hierarchical facet of cultural consumption becomes visible, is on the issue of 'eating manners'. In *The Civilizing Process*, through a socio/psycho-

genetic approach, Norbert Elias (1994) simply talks about how European cultures view themselves as more civilized than other societies. In his work, Elias discusses the evolution of rules of good manners in order to explain the increase in individual's tendencies towards controlling their unpleasant attitudes. In point of fact, these self-controlling mechanisms of individuals reflect the way upper class distinguishes itself from the lower class whose social behaviors are assumed to be uncivilized. Thus, certain distinct habits on eating and drinking, such as the proper use of fork and knife or the napkin, become a primary indicator of being civilized and cultivated, and eventually, puts a distance between elite and lower status groups.

Therefore, the strength of the embodied dispositions is an important sociological matter that should be considered while analyzing the relationship within class and culture. To illustrate, Banu refers to the necessity of certain rules while eating and drinking, as it follows:

> Let alone the kids, I saw many grown up men, within a nice suit; attack the food as if they just got of a scarcity. The whole of the table manners, forms of politeness seem to be forgotten during the effort to consume everything on the table in one breath. Thereby you see there are some things in life you can't learn even you have a lot of money. That is why I like the classy restaurants most. It is unlikely to encounter such primitive behaviors *(female, 44 years old, orthodontist).*

The emphasis on 'primitive' attitudes is, in fact, underlined by a large amount of participants, who state that they do not prefer to encounter with such behaviors in daily life. The following quotation of Deniz shows actually the way food manners operates as a classificatory system:

> When I was little, my mom used to told me; "don't eat like peasants, haven't I taught you to eat properly!" At first, I did not understand what she means by 'eating like peasants', aren't they are people too! But then I realized that life is full of such classifications. For instance, nowadays you are not thought as a decent human being unless you have an iPhone. And it is same in food. If you don't know how to cut a beef with fork and knife, you are accused of being ill-mannered *(male, 56 years old, high ranking manager in automotive sector).*

102

This quote indicates that highbrow/lowbrow measurements in Turkey are closely identified with the relation amid rural and urban genres. Urban manner is an embodiment of not only urban setting but of a certain level of cultural capital because though the urbanization trend has increased over the past decades, it has been showed that living in urban does not necessarily bring out urban ways of living. In that sense, urban manner becomes a significant symbol superiors the legitimate culture. As some respondents specify, the lack of fundamental manners is not very welcomed in regard to the tension amidst rural and urban life styles.

Similar with the previous illustration, another respondent notes the division among classes through food. Zerrin clarifies how her grandmother labels potato as a working class food:

> I think what defines one's taste is an important matter. I mean, if you are only eating kebab and close yourself to other tastes then it represents a particular cultural group. My grandmother believed that potato is a food for poor, so she had never cooked it, as if the time we consume it we would become poor too. What I am trying to say is lower groups are immediately show themselves through their social practices. Of course they cannot do anything about it because they are born into those economic and cultural conditions. Yet, it is important to improve yourself in cultural terms, even though you have limited opportunities *(female, 52 years old, doctor).*

The objective of differentiating oneself by means of practices and taste is a peculiar feature of the middle class (Bourdieu, 1984). But when moved upwardly through the social hierarchy, this differentiation process becomes even more visible. As it is shown in the example, certain foods are identified with particular groups that give hints about the class position and life styles as well. Moreover, Steph Lawler (2008:257) in the article of *The Middle Class and their Aristocratic Others* analyzes the features of middle class-ness by focusing on the ways in which middle class differentiates itself from other fractions through their supremacy to name certain taste dispositions and manners as the right ones. Along similar lines, what is driven from the responses is that the lack of appropriate manners is regarded as means of social exclusion.

With respect to the civilization thesis, Mustafa shows the way self-control mechanisms function differently in two types of restaurants:

> The time I enter to a luxuries restaurant I feel like I am losing my self-identity because whether you believe or not it is expected from you to be something more than you actually are. Hence, as a result of this, no matter what type of restaurant it is, I use knife and fork in both. No one can deny that there is a hidden perception regarding fancy restaurants that you cannot eat anything without using fork and knife. *(male, 51 years old, mechanical engineer).*

Hence, the art of eating and drinking depends on specific established rules either written or unwritten. As Elias (1994) argues, eating and drinking activities are important for the process of socialization and particular norms such as table manners, how people act during eating, whether they use napkin or not, in fact, cannot be separated from the social and cultural structures of any given society.

7.5. Location

Scrutinizing the patterns that contribute to the construction of cultural differences was one of the driving forces of this thesis, and the 'location of an eating place' constitutes the fourth dimension in which omnivorous orientations become blurred. Although high among female customers, both men and women are selective about the neighborhood. To illustrate, Tamer:

> The neighborhood is the initial criterion. I don't believe that a quality work can be done in any district. I run several bars, restaurants (*Gar Lokantası*) for years so I know that a restaurant presents food that matches with the profile of people who reside in that particular district. If it is close to a school, for instance, the menu will be filled with cheap meals because the customers will general be students. But if the restaurant is in Gaziosmanpaşa, Turan Güneş or in Park Avenue, then, it will be more elite and you can meet with different tastes in their menus, yet the price will be much more expensive. Another important thing is that I look whether the place is famous or known by the majority of people which provides me to rely on that place *(male, 40 years old, finance manager).*

Hence, district stands as a symbol in the process of identifying the types of restaurants that are located within the same neighborhood, which also labels the

profile of the residents in the same line. Işıl explains how the location factor sometimes becomes more important than having a good meal:

> For instance, I am very picky according to the neighborhood of the restaurant. I cannot eat at any place as long as it is delicious. I really have to feel comfortable, not just physically but mentally as well. Some of my friends love street food or regularly eat at places that are in industrial zones in Ankara. When I go there to eat, usually, meat, I keep checking around if someone is looking at me, I mean of course for ugly purposes. Shortly, I do not prefer places which I am not familiar with their culture *(female, 46 years old, lawyer).*

This sort of anxiety mood is mostly stressed by the female respondents. Other male participants, similarly, declare that they do not take their families or children to neighborhoods that are not suitable for them. Analyzing the responds, in relation to the locality, is beneficial for capturing how the 'issue of properness' forms social divisions.

7.6. Presentation of Food

Acknowledged about how to design a plate or a table actually signifies a distinctive pattern for most of the respondents; thus, presentation of food is found an important angle by respondents while defining one's food practices. Yet, the value given for the presentation food is not a recent trend. In medieval times, consuming too much food was an indicator of high status which distinguished the aristocracy from the lower strata in England. However, after 17th century, French cuisine became the dominant figure in culinary arena in Europe, and French elite began to pay more attention to the quality of food than its quantity. This process, later on, spread in wide range, that resulted with a great attention on the presentation of food. Preparing detailed recipes with exotic sauces, the organization of plate and table- all came to define the aesthetic taste of the upper class which functioned as a tool for distinction (Yenal, 1996:212).

Up to now, all of the responses are, largely, related with the question of 'the types of restaurants that the respondents claim they would unlikely to step in'. As a last point, I will give place to the views of the respondents on the styles of cooking, presentation of food and design of the dinner table, which also indicates peculiarities in taste judgments. Osman shows how the organization of a meal table is a strong sign of good taste:

> First, I look to at color of table linen, plates, glasses and napkins and the color match among them. Later I look if there are candles or flowers that would go well with the other things on the dinner table. This shows the taste quality of a person. If there is no harmony on the table or the table wares are stained then I do not like it. Of course not everybody has the same economic standards but these are the most fundamental things that I care for when I go on a visit to my friend's house *(male, 53 years old, doctor).*

The role of social media is discussed in the previous chapter and once again it is revealed that individuals benefit from these social web sites in order to prepare an eccentric atmosphere during the meal. Handan clarifies this argument by giving reference to the application of *Pinterest*:

> Since I pay a lot of time on the cooking process, I also care for the presentation of food. In order to do something interesting I look at certain blogs or apps like Pinterest to prepare a joyful meal with a fancy table. As taste, the look of your dinner table is also important. It does not matter if you put the world's most delicious meal unless the table cloth is not clean *(female, 35 years old, lawyer).*

Alongside the ones that spent too much effort on the presentation of food and the table, there are also the ones who associate this process with the amount of economic resources, though limited in number. That is to say, some respondents claim that although they pay attention to the presentation of the dining table or the food itself, they do not criticize the ones who do not express the same care since they are low in financial capitals. For example, Oğuz says:

> It is rude to judge people by looking at the design of dinner table. As long as it is clean, I do not care too much because there is an effort. Also everybody prepares the meal depending on their economic conditions. Bu when I am

having guests I really care how it looks. Even I check several times whether everything is okay on the dinner table *(47 years old, process engineer).*

As the respondent comes from a working class family, before judging discriminately the preparation or presentation skills in food, he tries to think background conditions that are related to class position. Therefore, as discussed in the previous chapter, the class background creates conflictual and even fragile relations that make the case quite different than the other respondent's views.

The findings regarding the presentation of food establishes a particular pattern that points to a desire on aesthetic values which, eventually, results with the creation of differences in taste. Even not judging someone, who has a lower status and a weak taste in presentation of food, is a mark of distinction. In other words, what they really expect from the lower groups is them to have a lowbrow taste due to their restricted volume of capitals; whereas, the expectations increase among those higher in economic and cultural capitals. Bourdieu (1984), in fact, explains this situation by making a separation between forced choice (mainly composed of necessities) and taste of freedom (mainly composed of luxuries). That is, whereas, higher classes have no chains in developing aesthetic tastes, lower classes are identified with lowbrow tastes in which their practices are restricted. Hence, according to Bourdieu, the practices on eating and drinking become much more complicated and even ritualized among those higher in social hierarchy since every social location has its own taste pattern.

7.7. Concluding Notes

I want to make a brief analysis on the general frame in which performing distinction in culinary domain becomes much apparent during data process**.** As data analysis demonstrates, although particular attitudes on food consumption reflect inclusive practices, the majority of the respondents agree on the differentiating power of food. To illustrate, Emre makes emphasis on the diverse driving forces between different class fractions in choosing an authentic restaurant:

People from particular class fractions try to eat at places where the customer profile is mostly high. For example, I do not think that you can find customers from high society. Herein, the education and income level has a differentiating effect, because it is a normal thing for me to eat at a fancy restaurants, whereas, it is an upscale practice for the lower class. Although I do not like judging people depending on their status, I also prefer restaurants that are appropriate for my family (male, *40 years old, pharmacy owner).*

Very similar with the former example, a female respondent claims that the unequal distribution of certain resources in our society has penetrated in all areas of life including eating and drinking practices by noting; "*we do not live in an equal world, you have to fight for everything. For instance, eating a desert in a restaurant is an ordinary thing for me, while, it can be a luxury for others who have limited economic conditions".* Thus, the life style of an individual is shaped depending on its habitus which sets certain boundaries by forming structural inequalities in which, for instance, appreciating a sophisticated taste becomes a strong mark of upper strata.

Furthermore, Tolga summarizes the impact of food consumption on distinction by giving reference to nearly all aspects that are discussed within thesis:

Today the restaurants become more modernized. Now there are lots of fancy hamburger spots like Steak House, Günaydın etc. I think that there are economic and cultural differences between people who prefer those expensive, classy restaurants and people who go to eating-houses *(esnaf lokantası)* because eating in an elegant place requires accumulation of knowledge. Certain behaviors or clothing styles are not compatible with the qualified ambiance of elegant restaurants. If the occasion is special then you choose fancy restaurants because the meaning of the day fits to that sophisticated atmosphere more. For example, the waiters are extra polite in those restaurants. And it is not just my idea but it is what our society offers. Since it is the case the distinction among specific groups is inevitable *(male, 45 years old, insurance broker).*

As also the definition of habitus suggests in Bourdieusian theory, the respondent clearly implies how it is a privilege to be a member of a specific segment with people who are almost same in the level of education, embodied dispositions and tastes, social manners and life styles. Even eating similar foods whether in a luxuries restaurant or in an authentic place differs in terms of class positions.

Additionally, having sufficient economic capitals to eat at a sophisticated restaurant is not enough; what is expected here is to perform the proper manners that will be suitable with both the classiness of the place and the customers.

Moreover, findings also show that eating and drinking practices are no longer defined as vital needs but as great sources for leisure time activities and socializing. Therefore, the ways in which an individual participates in food practices gain more significance. Furthermore, the results present various moments in which respondents differentiates themselves through their distinct practices and judgments on taste. Having learned the proper manners and norms starting from the childhood and being cultivated in distinct areas are the most common factors that are underlined by the respondents. The matter of 'being from one of us', hence, sets the boundaries in between different class habitus. In fact, this 'fitting' issue resembles to what Karademir Hazır (2014: 685) argues in her article of *Boundaries of middle class identities in Turkey*. Through a comprehensive inquiry on different middle class identities, Karademir Hazır demonstrates how individuals from similar social networks, commonly, tend to use the phrase 'to speak the same language' that refers to the similarities in their education levels, taste repertoires and acquaintances with Western culture.

To summarize, grounding on the research results, the last chapter demonstrates that taste is a socially constructed force which also becomes a source for judgment. Legitimate culture, in that sense, plays a crucial role in the establishment of cultural distinctions since it represents the taste of dominant groups. In other words, being inappropriate for a particular group is received as something natural by the upper strata due to the ascribed position of lower class. As Skeggs (2004:96) clearly presents in *Class, Self and Culture*, there are certain values which are attributed with particular class fractions. She refers to the limitations within the working-class culture by arguing:

> The working-classes, who create their own culture (obviously in negotiation with the history of representations and positions), and not in conditions of their own, have far less potential to generate exchange value from their

culture because of social circuits in which they operate… One of the central issues in this evaluating process is how differentiation is made between culture worth having and knowing, and culture that is not.

Drawing upon the arguments of Skeggs, class is, therefore, identified with respect to cultural dynamics. Each class appears to have its own agenda in which the right manners are determined by the boundaries of habitus. In accordance with the findings, it seems that my respondents may be more tolerant to the ones who are low in economic resources; yet, they cannot disregard the ones with lower cultural capital, even they are rich in economic capital. In other words, the volume of cultural capital is crucial because it embodies one's dispositions, values, manners, judgment schemas and tastes throughout the lifetime; thus, the lack of it generates unequal classifications; in this case, it can be explained as showing no respect to the ones who are categorized as ill-mannered.

In this point of view, the ones with high in volumes of capital can exchange value from lowbrow culture. However, with regard to research, it cannot be expected from respondents to consume kebab in all meals nor we can expect them to go all *salaş* restaurants. It is crucial to realize that the working class' and *gourmet's* eating *kokoreç* with bare hands does not reflect the same low value; but it signifies different meanings. Considering this inherent understanding of many respondents, though under particular conditions their cultural repertoires have an inclusive pattern; there is an established understanding and acceptance of culinary taste hierarchies in Turkey. Certain set of practices in culinary field are, therefore, recognized as the basis for the reproduction of class hierarchies with respect to the distinct stylisation of lives, where the proper ways of living has been intrinsically established long before.

7.8. Discussion and Interpretation

The sociological enthusiasm in this study arises from the fact that food and eating practices have been approached as powerful symbols for the construction of social

and cultural identities for decades. For instance, the identification process through consumption practices, ultimately has led to the reproduction of cultural inequalities. Accordingly, set of preferences instituting life styles become the major figure in the generation of distinction which is came to be confirmed by cultural consumption. As habitus engenders the social status of individuals, the patterns of consumption and taste turn as a manifestation of class. Nevertheless, the proliferation of cultural omnivorousness debates demonstrates how these established hierarchies are melting down especially with the rise of inclusive taste repertoires. And more importantly, by keeping these debates in mind, my research intends to show to what extent these seemingly omnivorous consumers cross boundaries, other than their engagement in *salaş* consumption.

Despite taste repertoires seem to cross cultural boundaries in some consumption moments; the general pattern found in thesis reveals that particular topics are still discussed under hierarchical evaluations. The data shows that distinction manifests itself within certain factors like hygiene, body appearance of others, language and manners, location and presentation of food etc. These commonly underlined factors are as significant as comments indicate inclusive repertoires. Consequently, it can be declared that the eclecticism the frequenters of *salaş* restaurants perform seems to be limited and circumstantial, and in fact, weaker when compared to their class based evaluative distinctions.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I explored food consumption practices in Ankara by drawing on the debates on distinction and omnivorousness. In particular, my research focused on the specific consumer fraction in Ankara who frequents *salaş* restaurants. For this aim, I initially examined how these subject matters are discussed within wide scope of academic literature, and then analyzed my research findings chiefly basing on these conceptual frameworks. In data gathering process, I utilize qualitative research technique so as to conduct in-depth interviews and small group discussions with the sample — which mainly comprise of high economic and cultural capital holders. Consequently, my qualitative research allowed me to enlighten how these processes operate in the Turkish context.

The phenomenon of consumption has been studied in various national contexts by elaborating on its diverse aspects. Most of the studies on consumption have emphasized the role of class dynamics (Bauman, 1982; Veblen, 1899). However, considering class itself as the only element in the reproduction of distinction is found inadequate in contemporary sociology due to the cultural turn over the past decades. As a result, considerable amount of theoretical and empirical studies have pointed at the necessity of a cultural-class analysis (Bottero, 2004; Devine, 1992; Savage, 2000; Skeggs, 2004). Examining class cultures actually offers an inquiry towards lived experiences of individuals which unveils means of differentiation. Moreover, food, as a part of an everyday practice, has also been argued to convey social and cultural meanings that explain modes of differentiation particularly in consumption fields (Atkinson & Deeming, 2015; Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Warde, 1997). In accordance with this new model of class analysis, I initially utilize Bourdieu's key concepts in order to reveal how tastes on food turns out to be an instrument for distinction in which cultural and symbolic hierarchies become more

apparent. Yet, this conceptualization does not constitute the whole framework in this thesis, in that sense my research also engaged with more recent debates.

Some scholars, studying shifts in cultural repertoires, have posed a critique against the general framework of Bourdieu and offered a new cultural model called cultural omnivorousness. To put it simply, rather than the distinction amid popular and high culture claimed by Bourdieu, this new trend involves eclectic orientations; that is to say, inclusive repertoires instead of the cultural boundary drawings. Therefore, this cultural omnivorousness in a way smooths over the strict hierarchies established in the social and cultural venues. In parallel with the changing tendencies in modes of appreciation within cultural consumption, food appears as an important aspect to understand the process of eclecticism in tastes. Articulating on the discussions concerning omnivorousness, therefore, my study required an analysis over taste repertoires on food in order to show the breadth of this eclecticism in cultural agenda of Turkey. In general, utilizing Bourdieusian concepts and omnivore thesis has served to elaborate on the main problem of the thesis from a wider frame. Thus, this thesis not only presents findings in regard to taste distinctions but questions boundary crossing dynamics of the sample. This approach enabled me to demonstrate the explanatory power of omnivore thesis within Turkish context.

These contemporary debates, on the other hand, have found limited reflection in the Turkish literature. In other words, though there are various crucial studies on cultural consumption (Arslan, 2011; Arun, 2013; Aydın, 2009; Karademir Hazır, 2013), inquiries on cultural omnivorousness need more attention, especially in future researches. Scholars examining cultural consumption in the Turkish context, largely emphasize the impact of cultural and symbolic hierarchies established as a result of the duality amidst 'modern' and 'traditional' tastes. The reproduction of cultural inequalities in Turkey, hence, relies on the contradictory relations regarding the modes of participation in local and Western tastes (Rankin et al., 2014). Drawing on the taste preferences on food, my research results also hint at the tension between local and Western taste cultures.

As a focus point of my thesis, eating patterns and food have also been analyzed in the cultural setting of Turkey (Akarçay, 2014; Rankin & Ergin, 2016; Yenal, 1996, 2000). Some of these studies examine the historical transformation of food cultures, whilst others concentrate more on their relation with class cultural issues in Turkey. However, how culinary practices and taste repertoires of individuals are affected from omnivorous trends still needs more analysis since the number of empirical researches on this specific academic field is very low. Consequently, my qualitative research aimed to fill this gap on the basis of examining *salaş* consumers in Ankara. And by drawing upon the existing literature both in the international and Turkish academic field, this study allowed me to reflect on how taste, as a subjective matter, has been shaped by number of external factors within the acts of cultural consumption of food.

The table below presents the general findings of my research that are discussed in my data analysis chapters.

Table 2. An Overview of the Findings

Crossing class boundaries	Conditions for fostering and limiting boundaries	Performing distinction
- Delicious vs. healthy - Local vs. cosmopolitan - Arabesque vs. elegant - To share or not to share: social media	- The timing of the meal (lunch vs. dinner) - Ways of consuming (Accompanied or not) - Class background	- Hygiene - Appearances of others - Language and manners - Location - Presentation of food

As table shows, the research has three major findings and themes related to each topic that were revealed in the qualitative data gathering process. Now I will briefly discuss the significant research results discovered while examining the food consumption practices in Ankara.

First, in chapter 6 I analyze under what conditions my interviewees tend to 'cross established class boundaries' as well as the 'limitations of this boundary crossing'. The first part of this chapter largely relies on the stories of the interviewees regarding their experiences in low-key restaurants. Initially, the data shows that there is a desire for local foods besides the interest in cosmopolitan tastes. This orientation towards local tastes actually supports the assumption which claims that in Turkey crossing symbolically important boundaries of western and local assumed to be an indicative of omnivorousness (Rankin & Ergin, 2016:6). Hence, on the basis of my small scale research on food attitudes, I found out that the hierarchy amid traditional (Alaturka) and modern (Alafranga) styles is not that much exclusive. The appreciation of local tastes, therefore, points at inclusive of traditional styles in the culinary domain of Turkey.

Similar pattern become apparent in the contentious atmosphere within arabesque and elegant styles. As argued by Bourdieu (1984), differences in judgment schemas are mostly shaped by individual tastes which are at the same time differentiated according to class habitus. In this conceptual line, appreciation of arabesque music or traditional motives in decoration is unlikely to be performed by (higher fractions of) middle class consumers. On the contrary, they are commonly assumed as a part of lowbrow culture in Turkey. Yet, having examined *salaş* restaurants where traditional items were dominant, my study suggests that cultural repertoires of interviewees are not restricted to Western tastes alone. Although the elegant genres of consuming are found favorable in various cases, it can be inferred from the results that the sample is generally tolerant to popular forms of arabesque styles. Hence, this implies the existence of inclusive dispositions in which local culture in Turkey is not totally rejected.

Moreover, whilst previous section focuses on how hierarchical boundaries in food preferences are crossed, the second part of chapter 6 draws upon particular circumstances that fosters and limits act of boundary crossing. In other words, this part actually explores how this omnivorousness changes under certain conditions

such as meal time, occasion, ways of consuming etc. The findings in this section are significant in terms of expressing the limitations which are presumed to be overpassed by the omnivore thesis. One of the striking findings show that doing something 'nice' and something 'casual' are coded differently by the majority of the participants. According to the data, causal consumption can be associated with low-key eating places, whereas, doing something pleasant involves elegant tastes with nicer outfits. This example in fact summarizes the whole section because it both underlines the conditions in which modes of appreciation redefined depending on specific concepts. Thus, aesthetic pleasure, through which my interviewees express their taste distinctions, appears as an important element in understanding embodied meanings in food consumption practices. The findings also show that there is not that clear homogenous dispositions in food practices as in Bourdieu's descriptions, due to the fact that under particular conditions the priorities of individual can change. Within this scope, my study presents several novel findings that will shed light onto unexplored dynamics of cultural consumption in Turkey. Accordingly, this second part can be viewed as a transition towards the distinction chapter in which existing taste hierarchies in food consumption are clarified.

Chapter 7 covers the general food attitudes by mostly referring to the consumption acts in which 'distinction' becomes more tangible. More particularly, there are significant points in this chapter that enlighten the parameters of eclecticism in tastes within the Turkish culinary context. Nearly all themes discussed within this chapter emphasize the importance of displaying proper manners of a particular group *(zümre)*. This is perhaps one of the striking data results which present how social status is effective in forming class hierarchies even based on the routines of eating. Also besides food tastes, appearances and clothing, the language used, presentation of food — all mark how distinction is performed by these seemingly omnivorous consumers. Here, the significance of embodied forms of cultural capital steps in. Further importance attributed to cultural capital since it determines food dispositions and manners from the very beginning of childhood. As data supports, even though upward mobility can expand the volume of economic capital, it is quite difficult to

116

alter embodied dispositions and habits of the original class background. Therefore, the sense of belonging to a specific segment more likely to occur within similar social networks whose dispositions, tastes, preferences and life styles are embodied in that class habitus. Hence, 'fitting into a particular group' operates as a boundary making mechanism by also indicating the limits of eclecticism in the Turkish context. As Bourdieu (1984) claims taste makes individuals express their social position in society which at the same time is coherent with their habitus. Regarding these examples in the cultural field of Turkey, it can be inferred that taste hierarchies still prevail. Therefore, evaluating on these issues is significant in terms of revealing orientations of class boundaries in Turkey. Consequently, my findings partially support the literature which views omnivorousness neither as a total overthrow of cultural hierarchies, nor de-classification of tastes.

As data analysis presents, there occurs a different trend which cannot be understood merely by the classical scheme of Bourdieu's theory since the respondents, who are high in economic and cultural capital, display unexpected dispositions (e.g. taste for *salaş* restaurants or arabesque music etc.) under certain conditions. Yet, this act of boundary crossing has some limits. That is, my respondents may appear as omnivorous in quantitative surveys but their general tendencies in food tastes signify something more complex. For that reason, this thesis scrutinized not just the reasons for eating at low-key restaurants but also aimed to reveal if the sample have the same inclusive taste repertoires when their general food attitudes are pondered. In other words, under certain themes my respondents appear to cross class boundaries through engagement in *salaş* consumption practices. However, the main concern of my thesis was to figure out whether this particular group displays similar omnivorous patterns in their overall food tastes as well. Thereby, the findings suggested that we cannot talk about a complete transformation in general food dispositions and tastes towards omnivorousness.

Furthermore, as it is described by Peterson and Kern (1996:904) *"omnivorousness does not imply an indifference to distinctions. Rather its emergence may suggest the*

117

formulation of new rules governing symbolic boundaries." In accordance with their explanation, though it is a small scale analysis, my research finds that culinary consumers have some boundaries in performing omnivore patterns in food which indicates that class distinctions have not disappeared completely (Warde & Martens, 2000:226). In fact, a considerable amount of literature regards omnivorousness as a contemporary source for distinction due to the limited boundary crossing habits (Bellavance, 2008; Warde et al., 2007). Drawing upon omnivores' dislikes on specific cultural genres, even the eclectic preferences by themselves may generate contemporary cultural distinctions (Warde et al., 2008). In the light of these discussions, the most notable finding of this empirical research offers that drawing class boundaries in a particular consumption field is in fact neither strict nor a smooth process. In that sense, while consuming in that specific field, some practices may perform class distinction, whilst other practices may be more inclusive. On account of the findings, it is revealed that we cannot talk about a total distinction or omnivorousness in overall food practices within the culinary field of Turkey. Though it cannot be generalized to whole, in-depth interviews and field notes offered a scrutiny in terms of perceiving how cultural boundaries work as significant mechanisms in the Turkish context. In other words, in spite of this relatively small scale analysis, this study provides an analytical account of the ways in which boundary works as a basis for hierarchicalization of tastes.

This qualitative research, consequently, not just demonstrates the food consumption patterns and taste judgments of *salaş* consumers but, at the same time, implicates the general dispositions, values, beliefs and life styles of a particular segment in Ankara. Yet, it is crucial to recognize that the different ways of treating food can result with the inclusion of similar groups, whilst it may exclude the ones lower in social hierarchy since the modern/traditional hierarchy is still powerful in the reproduction of cultural distinctions. In consideration of these findings and discussions, this research provides an empirical contribution to the culinary consumption fields by at the same offering an account on the class cultural debates in Turkey. The literature can benefit from further qualitative and quantitative inquiries regarding taste

patterns. Due to the changeable patterns in food tastes, it is crucial to contextualize the omnivore thesis within scope of class cultural debates in Turkey; where the analysis shows that class based taste differences can still be marked just as the hierarchy amid modern/traditional is yet distinguishable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmad, F. (2012). *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*. Kaynak Yayınları, p.296

Akarçay, E. (2014). Middle Class' Eating-Drinking Patterns as a Class Oriented Differentiation and Integration, pp.1–286.

Arslan, Z. (2011). *Urban Middle Class, Lifestyle and Taste in Keçiören and Çankaya, Ankara: Distinction through Home Furniture, Furnishing and Decoration,* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Arun, Ö. (2013). Rafine Beğeniler ya da Sıradan Hazlar? Türkiye'de Beğeninin, Ortamın ve Tüketimin Analizine İlişkin Bir Model (Taste or Enjoyment? A Model for the analysis of the taste, medium and the consumption practice in Turkey). *Kültür ve İletişim*, *16*(2), 45–72.

Arun, Ö. (2015). Kültürel Hepçiller: Ne Seçkin ne Sıradan, Sadece Olağan! Türkiye Televizyonunda İzleyici Beğenilerinin Analizi. *Toplum ve Bilim, 133,* 247–280.

Atkinson, W. (2011). The context and genesis of musical tastes: Omnivorousness debunked, Bourdieu buttressed. *Poetics, 39*(3), 169–186. doi:10.1016/j.poetic.2011.03.002

Atkinson, W., & Deeming, C. (2015). Class and cuisine in contemporary Britain: the social space, the space of food and their homology. *The Sociological Review, 63*(4), 876–896.

Ayata, S. (2002). 'The new middle class and the joys of suburbia', in Kandiyoti, D. and Saktanber, A. (eds.), *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*, pp.25–73, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Ayata, S., & Ayata, A. (2000). Toplumsal Tabakalaşma, Mekânsal Ayrışma ve Kent Kültürü. In F. Atacan, F. Ercan, H. Kurtuluş, & M. Turkay (Eds.), *Mübeccel Kıray İçin Yazılar*. Ankara, Turkey: Bağlam Yayınları.

Aydın, K. (2006). Social stratification and consumption patterns in Turkey. *Social Indicator Research, 75,* 463–501.

Aydın, K. (2009). Social stratification of culture and leisure in Turkey, *Cultural Trends, 18*(4), 295–311, doi: 10.1080/09548960903268113

Barthes, R. (1979). Toward a psycho-sociology of contemporary food consumption. Forster, R. and Ranum, O. (eds.) *Food and Drink in History*, Baltimore, Md: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Beardsworth, A., & Keil. T. (1997). *Sociology on the menu: An invitation to the study of food and society*. London: Routledge.

Bellavance, G. (2008). Where's high? Who's low? What's new? Classification and stratification inside cultural "repertoires." *Poetics, 36*(2–3), 189–216. doi:10.1016/j.poetic.2008.02.003

Bennett, T., Emmison, M., & From, J. (2001). Accounting for tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures. Cambridge University Press. pp.1-299.

Beşirli, H. (2012). *Yemek Sosyolojisi: Yiyeceklere ve Mutfağa Sosyolojik Bakış*, Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi.

Best, S. (2003). A Beginner's Guide to Social Theory. Sage. P.280

Bocock, R. (2008). Consumption. 'The Emergence of Modern Consumerism'. Routledge. pp.11-33

Bottero, W. (2004). 'Class Identities and the Identity of Class'. *Sociology*, *38*(5), 985–1003. doi: 10.1177/0038038504047182

Bourdieu, P. (1984). Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J.G. (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood, New York, pp. 241–258.

Brügger, N. & Finnemann, N.O. (2013). The Web and Digital Humanities: Theoretical and Methodological Concerns. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 57*(1), 66–80.

Bryson, B. (1996). Anything but Heavy Metal: Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes. *American Sociological Review, 61,* 884–899.

Budak, Ö. (2015). Hibrit Habitus ve Kültürel Yargı: Akışkan alanların yeni sosyal tipi üzerine. *Modus Operandi, 1,* 173–191.

Buğra, A. (1998). Class, culture and state: an analysis of interest representation by two Turkish business associations. *Int. J. Middle East Stud., 30*, 521–539.

Butler, J. (1990). Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York and London: Routledge.

Campbell, C. (2005). 'The Sociology of Consumption' in Miller, D. (Eds.). (2005). Acknowledging consumption. Routledge. pp.95-125.

Caplan, P. (Ed.). (2013). *Food , Health and Identity*. Routledge

Chan, T. W., & Goldthorpe, J. H. (2007). Social stratification and cultural consumption: Music in England. *European Sociological Review, 23*(1), 1–19. doi:10.1093/esr/jc1016

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis. London: Sage.

Conner, C. (2008). Culinary Omnivorousness: The Relationship between Social Class and Food Consumption Patterns. All Theses. Paper 324.

Cregan, K. (2006). The Sociology of the Body: Mapping the Abstraction of Embodiment. Sage Publications Ltd.

Cvetičanin, P. (2012). *Bourdieu's Theory of Practice*. Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia.

DiMaggio, P. (1987). Classification in Art. *American Sociological Review, 52,* 440–455.

Elias, N. (1994). The Civilizing Process: The sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations. *Revised edition by Dunning, E., Goudsblom, J., and Mennell, S.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Emmison, M. (2003). Social class and cultural mobility: Reconfiguring the cultural omnivore thesis. *Journal of Sociology, 39*(3), 211–230. doi:10.1177/00048690030393001

Eriksson, B. (2011). The Uses of Art: Contemporary Changes in Cultural Consumption and the Function of Art, *Culture Unbound, Vol 3*.

Fischler, C. (1988). Food, Self and Identity. *Social Sciences Information, 27*, 275–293.

Friedman, S. (2015). Habitus Clivé and the Emotional Imprint of Social Mobility. *The Sociological Review*. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12280

Gabaccia, D. R. (1999). We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 278 pp. Illustrations, notes, index.

Garcia-Álvarez, E., Katz-Gerro, T., & López-Sintas, J. (2007). "Deconstructing Cultural Omnivorousness 1982-2002: Insights from Americans' Musical Preferences." *Social Forces, 86*(2), 417–443.

Gans, H. (1999). *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (2nd ed.) New York: Basic Books.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.

Göle, N. (1997), The quest for the Islamic self within the context of modernity, in Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. (eds.), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, 81–95, Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Goody, J. (1982). Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A study in comparative sociology. Cambridge University Press. P.234

Holt, D., B. (1997). Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's theory of tastes from its critics. *Poetics, 25*, 106.

Johnston, J., & Baumann, S. (2007). Democracy versus Distinction: A Study of Omnivorousness in Gourmet Food Writing. *American Journal of Sociology*, *113*(1). The University of Chicago Press. pp.165-204

Kalaycıoğlu, S., Çelik, K., Çelen, Ü., & Türkyılmaz, S. (2010). Temsili Bir Örneklemde Sosyo-Ekonomik Statü (SES) Ölçüm Aracı Geliştirilmesi: Ankara Kent Merkezi Örneği, *Journal of Sociological Research, 3*(1).

Kandiyoti, D. (1997). Gendering the modern: on missing dimensions in the study of Turkish modernity, in Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. (eds.), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, pp. 113–133, Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press

Kandiyoti, D. (2002). 'Introduction: Reading the fragments', in Kandiyoti, D. and Saktanber, A. *(eds.) Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Kandiyoti, D., & Saktanber, A. (2002). Fragments of culture: The everyday of modern Turkey. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Kane, D. (2003) Distinction worldwide?: Bourdieu's theory of taste in international context, *Poetics 31,* 408.

Karadağ , M., (2009), 'On cultural capital and taste', *European Societies*, *11*(4), 531–551. doi:10.1080/14616690802317862

Karademir Hazır, I. (2013). "How Bodies are Classed: An Analysis of Tastes in Clothing and Bodily Appearances in Turkey", (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Manchester, Manchester.

Karademir Hazır, I. (2014). Boundaries of middle-class identities in Turkey. *Sociological Review*, *62*(1), 1–23. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12114

Karademir Hazır, I. (2014). Bourdieu Sonrası Yeni Eşitsizlik Gündemleri. *Cogito, 76*, 230–264.

Karadoğan, R. (2010). Kitchen aid ve ekmek makinesi: Yeni orta sınıf mutfakta. *Birikim, 260*, 14–24.

Katz-Gerro, T., & Yossi, S. (1998). The stratification of leisure and taste: Classes and lifestyles in Israel. *European Sociological Review, 14,* 369–386.

Keyder, Ç. (2013) "Yeni orta sınıf", http://bilimakademisi.org/wpcontent/

Keyder, Ç., & Yenal, Z. (2011). Agrarian Change under Globalization: Markets and Insecurity in Turkish Agriculture, Journal of Agrarian Change, Winter.

Kıray, M., B. (2005). Tüketim Normları Üzerine Bir Araştırma, Bağlam Yayıncılık.

Lamont, M. (1992). Money, Morals and Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper Middle Class. University of Chicago Press. pp.1- 327.

Lawler, S. (2005). Introduction: Class, culture, identity. *Sociology, 39*(5). 797–806.

Lawler, S. (2008). The Middle Class and their Aristocratic Others. *Journal of Cultural Economy, 1*(3), 245–261. doi: 10.1080/17530350802476954.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1963). Structural Anthropology. Basic Books Ink, Publisher: New York. pp.31-399.

Mennell, S. (1985). All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. pp.xi-380

Mennell, S. (2005). Taste, Culture and History. *Petits Propos Culinaires, 78,* 22–30.

Mennell, S., Murcott, A., & van Otterloo, A., H. (1992). The sociology of food: eating, diet and culture. London: Sage Publications. pp. 150

Miele, M. (2006). Handbook of Rural Studies. Consumption Culture: The case of food. Paul Cloke, Terry Marsden & Patrick Mooney (Eds.). Sage Publications Ltd. pp.344-354.

Mills, C., W. (1963). The sociology of stratification. In *Power, politics, and people: The collected essays of C. Wright Mills*. Edited by Irving Louis Horowitz, 305–324. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Montanari, M. (1994). The Culture of Food. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell.

Murcott, A. (1982). 'On the social significance of cooked dinner in South Wales', *Social Science Information, 21,* 672–92s.

Öncü, A. (1997). "The myth of the ideal home" travels across cultural borders to Istanbul, in Öncü, A. and Weyland, P. *(eds.) Space, Culture and Power: New identities in globalizing cities,* London: Zed Books

Özcan, G. B., & Turunç¸, H. (2011). Economic liberalization and class dynamics in Turkey: new business groups and Islamic mobilization. *Insight Turkey 13*(3), 63–86.

Peterson, R., A. (1992). Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics, 21,* 243–258.

Peterson, R., A. (1997). The rise and fall of highbrow snobbery as a status marker. *Poetics, 25*, 75–92.

Peterson, R., A., & Kern., R., M. (1996). "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore." *American Sociological Review, 61*(5), 900–907.

Peterson, R., A., & Simkus, A. (1992). How Musical Tastes Mark Occupational Status Groups in Lamount, M. &Fournier M. (eds.) Cultivating Differences: symbolic boundaries and making of inequality. Chicago IL University of Chicago Press, pp.152-186.

Prieur, A., & Savage, M. (2011). Updating cultural capital theory: a discussion based on studies in Denmark and Britain. *Poetics, 39*(6), 566–580.

Prieur, A., & Savage, M. (2013). *Emerging forms of cultural capital*. European Studies, *15*(2), 246–267.

Rankin B., Ergin, M. and Gökşen, F. (2014) A cultural map of Turkey. *Cultural Sociology, 8*(2), 159–179.

Rankin, B., & Ergin, M. (2016). Cultural Omnivorousness in Turkey. *Current Sociology*, 1-24. doi: 10.1177/0011392116634817

Roose, H., van Eijck, K., & Lievens., L. (2012). Culture of distinction or culture of openness? Using a social space approach to analyse the social structuring of lifestyles. *Poetics, 40*(6), 491–513. doi:10.1016/j.poetic.2012.08.001

Sandıkçı, Ö., & Ger, G. (2002). "In Between Modernities and Postmodernities: Theorizing Turkish Consumptionscape", in NA- Advances in Consumer Research Volume 29, eds. Susan M. Broniarczyk and Kent Nakamoto, Valdosta, GA: Association for Consumer Research, pp: 465-470.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). Consumer culture: History, theory and politics. Sage. 'The Rise of Consumer Culture', pp:9-50.

Savage, M. (2000). *Class Analysis and Social Transformation*. Buckingham: Oxford University Press.

Savage, M., & Modesto G. (2011). Unravelling the omnivore: A field analysis of contemporary musical taste in the United Kingdom. *Poetics, 39*(5), 337–357.

Savage, M., Barlow, J., Dickens, P., & Fielding, T. (1992). Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: Middle-class formation in contemporary Britain. Routledge. pp. 266.

Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 3. Press, London: Sage. p.44

Skeggs, B., (2004), *Class, Self, Culture*, London: Routledge.

Smart, B. (2010). Consumer society: Critical issues and environmental consequences. London: SAGE.

Swartz, D. (1997). Culture and Power: *The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu.* University of Chicago Press.

Üstüner, T., & Holt, D., (2010), 'Toward a theory of status consumption in less industrialized countries', *Journal of Consumer Research*, *37*(1), 37–56.

van Eijck, K. (2001). Social Differentiation in Musical Taste Patterns. *Social Forces, 79,* 1163–1184.

Warde, A. (1997). Consumption, Food and Taste. Sage Publications Ltd. pp.5-227.

Warde, A., A. U., & Martens, L. (2000). *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption and Pleasure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Publication link: dd7363d7-c6d1-4f03-aa26-7a6dc283e424

Warde, A., Martens L., & Olsen W. (1999). Consumption and the problem of variety: Cultural omnivorousness, social distinction and dining out. *Sociology, 33*(1), 105–127.

Warde, A., Tomlinson, M., & McMeekin, A. (2000). Expanding Tastes? Cultural Omnivorousness &Social Change in the UK. Center for Research on Innovation and Competition. University of Manchester

Warde, A., Wright, D. & Gayo-Cal., M. (2008). The omnivorous orientation in the UK. *Poetics, 36*(2–3), 148–165. doi:10.1016/j.poetic.2008.02.004

Warde, A., Wright, D., & Gayo-Cal, M. (2007). Understanding cultural omnivorousness: or, the myth of the cultural omnivore. Cultural Sociology, 1(2), 143–164. Warde, A. (ed.). (2010). *Cultural Consumption, Classification and Power*, Routledge. pp.1-94

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. 2 vols. Edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press

Woodward, I., & Emmison, M. (2001). From aesthetic principles to collective sentiments: The logics of everyday judgments of taste. *Poetics, 29*, 295–316.

Yenal, Z. (1996). "Bir Arastirma Alani Olarak Yeme-Icmenin Tarihi ve Sosyolojisi" [Food and Cuisine as a Field of Historical and Sociological Inquiry]. *Toplum ve Bilim, 12*, 195–228.

Yenal, Z. (2003). "İstanbul'da Yemek Kültürü ve Gölgede Bıraktıkları." [Food Culture in Istanbul] İstanbul Dergisi.

Yenal, Z. (2010). "The Myth of Turkish Cuisine. National Appropriation of Local Food Cultures," Europe im Nahen Osten-Der Nahe Osten in Europa, edited by Angelika Neuwirth and Günter Stock, Berlin: Akademie Verlag

Yenal. Z. (2000). 'The culture and political economy of food consumption practices in Turkey', (Unpublished doctoral thesis). State University of New York at Binghamton.

Youngjoo, C., & Thebaud, S. (2009). *Labour Markets, Breadwinning, and Beliefs: How Economic Context Shapes Men's Gender Ideology.* Gender and Society. Vol. 23, No. 2. Pp.215-243. Sage Publications Inc.

Yudkin, J. & McKenzie, J., C. (1964). Changing Food Habits. London: MacGibbon & Kee

Zukin, S. & Maguire, J., S. (2004). Consumers and consumption. *Annual Review of Sociology,30*(1):173-197.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

A.1. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (with regular customers)

Basic individual/household information:

a. Age:
b. Gender:
c. Education:
d. District:
e. Occupation:
f. Occupational status: (Monthly income?)
g. How many people are there in your family?
h. What is your monthly budget for food consumption (including eating out)?

Questions related to food consumption practices and tastes in general:

1. Would you please begin with telling why do you choose this restaurant? Do you often come here? What are the features you like most about this place?

2. How would you define your eating out habits and preferences in general? What are the initial criteria when choosing a restaurant? (What are the features you search in an eating place? Would you pay attention to certain factors like the decoration, menu, customer profile etc. while choosing where to eat?)

3. Are you a frequenter of any restaurant in Ankara? Why do you prefer that place?

4. What do you think of low-key/authentic restaurants? (Do you also prefer other low-key places? Could you please name them? How often, in which meals and with whom do you generally prefer?) How do you feel while eating at a low-key restaurant when compared to an elegant restaurant? (More relaxed? / use of cutlery/ eating manners etc.)

5. What is your opinion about the arabesque music playing in some low-key restaurants?

6. Could you please describe what types of restaurants that you would never step into? Why do you think these places are improper for you?

7. Does the timing of the meal affect your decisions/preferences on where to eat? (In terms of breakfast, lunch and dinner meals)

8. What does 'eating out' signify to you? (An obligation, ordinary act or special occasions?)

9. Do you generally eat out by yourself or with your family/friends? (Does it differ according to the meal time?)

10. How often do you go to restaurants that mostly serve kebab (*lahmacun* etc.) types of foods?

11. What kinds of foods in Turkish cuisine generally appeal to your palatal delight?

12. Other than Turkish cuisine, which cuisine do you like/prefer in general? Would you define yourself as open to different foods/tastes of distinct cultures?

13. Do you prefer restaurants that serve alcohol as well? (If so, how often?)

14. How would you describe your eating habits at home? Where do you usually go shopping for food? (Which supermarkets, brands, products etc. you regularly prefer)

15. Why do you particularly prefer these shopping places?

16. What kinds of meals are routinely cooked at home? Could you name the foods that you would never cook at home? What are the usual/primary products in your fridge?

17. What types of foods you generally prepare for your guests (or for a special celebration at home)? Could you also specify the reflections of foods on different meal times?

18. How important is the presentation of food for you? Do you make a special effort for it? (The magazines, food blogs, TV programs etc. you follow?)

19. Do you pay attention to the design/presentation of food and dinner table when you go on a visit? Is there a type of dinner table you like/dislike? (If so, how?)

20. When you compare your current eating habits to your childhood, what are the differences/similarities? (If there is a great differentiation with the change of the social environment, then, how it affected your current food practices?)

21. What do you think when you compare your food tastes and attitudes with other groups/individuals in Turkey?

22. In general, do you believe that eating habits have a distinguishing effect in our society? (If yes/no, why?)

A.2. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (with owners of the restaurants)

Basic individual/household information:

a. Age:
b. Gender:
c. Education:
d. District:
e. Occupation:
f. Occupational status: (Monthly income?)
g. How many people are there in your family?
h. What is your monthly budget for food consumption (including eating out)?

Questions related to the restaurant:

1. How long have you been in food sector?
2. For how many years you have been running this restaurant?
3. How would you describe your customer profile? (In terms of age, gender, occupation etc.)
4. Are there any group/individual profiles that you are not pleased? If so, then did you have some precautions?

5. What are the reasons behind the great demand towards your food/restaurant?

6. How would you define the rate of crowdedness in terms of day and hour? Does this intensity change in Ramadan?

7. How is the female/male distribution in your restaurant?

8. Do people choose your restaurant for special occasions as well?

9. What is the most preferred meal in your restaurant?

10. Do you have regular customers?

11. Do you also have foreign frequenters?

12. What are your criteria when choosing the restaurant staff?

13. What is the average bill generally? (What is your monthly income particularly from this place?)

Questions related to food consumption practices and tastes in general:

14. How would you define your eating out habits and preferences in general? What are the initial criteria when choosing a restaurant? (What are the features you search in an eating place? Would you pay attention to certain factors like the decoration, menu, customer profile etc. while choosing where to eat?)

15. Are you a frequenter of any restaurant in Ankara? Why do you prefer that place?

16. What do you think of low-key/authentic restaurants? (Do you also prefer other low-key places? Could you please name them? How often, in which meals and with whom do you generally prefer?) How do you feel while eating at a low-key restaurant when compared to an elegant restaurant? (More relaxed? / use of cutlery/ eating manners etc.)

17. What is your opinion about the arabesque music playing in some low-key restaurants?

18. Could you please describe what types of restaurants which you would never step into? Why do you think these places are improper for you?

19. Does the timing of the meal affect your decisions/preferences on where to eat? (In terms of breakfast, lunch and dinner meals)

20. What does 'eating out' signify to you? (An obligation, ordinary act or special occasions?)

21. Do you generally eat out by yourself or with your family/friends? (Does it differ according to the meal time?)

22. How often do you go to restaurants that mostly serve kebab (*lahmacun* etc.) types of foods?

23. What kinds of foods in Turkish cuisine generally appeal to your palatal delight?

24. Other than Turkish cuisine, which cuisine do you like/prefer in general? Would you define yourself as open to different foods/tastes of distinct cultures?

25. Do you prefer restaurants that serve alcohol as well? (If so, how often?)

26. How would you describe your eating habits at home? Where do you usually go shopping for food? (Which supermarkets, brands, products etc. you regularly prefer)

27. Why do you particularly prefer these shopping places?

28. What kinds of meals are routinely cooked at home? Could you name the foods that you would never cook at home? What are the usual/primary products in your fridge?

29. What types of foods you generally prepare for your guests (or for a special celebration at home)? Could you also specify the reflections of foods on different meal times?

30. How important is the presentation of food for you? Do you make a special effort for it? (The magazines, food blogs, TV programs etc. you follow?)

31. Do you pay attention to the design/presentation of food and dinner table when you go on a visit? Is there a type of dinner table you like/dislike? (If so, how?)

32. When you compare your current eating habits to your childhood, what are the differences/similarities? (If there is a great differentiation with the change of social environment, then, how it affected your current food practices?)

33. What do you think when you compare your food tastes and attitudes with other groups/individuals in Turkey?

34. In general, do you believe that eating habits have a distinguishing effect in our society? (If yes/no, why?)

APPENDIX B

TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1. Giriş

Bu çalışmada Türkiye'deki yemek tüketim pratiklerinin ve beğenilerinin kültürel sınırları hangi koşullar altında aştığı ve yeniden ürettiği araştırılmaktadır. Tezin genel amacı, beğeni hiyerarşilerin yeme-içme alanında hala devam edip edilmediğinin nitel araştırma yöntemleri ile sorgulanmasıdır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda Ankara'da ekonomik ve kültürel sermayesi yüksek olan belli bir kesimin yemek alanındaki tüketim pratikleri ve beğenileri esas alınmıştır. Dolayısıyla, bu tez, belli bir grubun beğeni repertuarlarının/yargılarının, Türkiye'deki sınıf kültürel süreçler ve değişen dinamiklerden ne şekillerde etkilendiğini incelemiştir.

Tüketimin son yıllarda daha da merkezi bir rol almaya başlaması, sosyoloji alanında yapılan pek çok çalışmanın dikkatini çekmiştir. Dahası, günümüzde; bireylerin farklı alanlardaki tüketim aktivitelerinin, günlük yaşam pratiklerinde daha belirgin bir rol oynamaya başladığı düşünülmektedir (Bocock, 1993; Smart, 2010). Öyle ki, tüketim pratiklerindeki dinamikler; bireylerin kimlik, sosyal statü ve sınıf gibi önemli kavramların inşasında etkin hale gelmiştir (Bourdieu,1984; Sassatelli, 2007). Bu sebeple tüketim örüntüleri farklı ulusal-kültürel bağlamlarda, farklı yöntemlerle artan bir ilgiyle incelemeye tabii tutulmaktadır. Bourdieu'nün kavramsal alet edevatlarından faydalanan araştırmacılar, daha spesifik olarak, kişisel bir mevzu gibi görünen beğeninin, nasıl sınıfsal pozisyona dayalı bir farklılaşma aracı olarak kullanıldığını göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla, yeme-içme tüketim pratikleri incelerken, bu tez kapsamında ele alınan başlıca teorik çerçeve Bourdieu'nun tüketim ve sınıf temelli analizlerini içermektedir.

Kısaca bahsetmek gerekirse, Bourdieu (1984), sosyoekonomik açıdan farklılık gösteren çeşitli sosyal grupların tüketim pratikleri üzerinden nasıl birbirinden

ayrıldığını incelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, Bourdieu'nün ortaya koyduğu, bireylerin içinde yaşadığı ve aynı zamanda onları tanımlayan fiziksel, kültürel ve sosyal çevrelerine işaret eden habitus terimi farklı sınıf dinamiklerini anlamlandırmada önemli olacaktır. Ek olarak, Bourdieu beğeni yargıları ile sınıf arasında güçlü bir ilişkisellik olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Bireyin bulunduğu habitusa göre şekillenen tüketim zevkleri ve yaşam tarzı, aynı zamanda o bireyin toplum içinde sınıflandırılmasına ve dolayısıyla belli bir sınıf pozisyonu içinde anılmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Bourdieu'nün kavramsal aletlerinden faydalanmak, tezin asıl sorunsalını açıklamak hususunda kayda değer bir kaynak sunmuştur.

Bourdieu'nün kavramsallaştırmasını takiben, 'kültürel sınıf analizi' bu çalışmanın yararlandığı bir diğer önemli teorik çerçevedir (Bottero, 2004; Devine, 1992; Savage, 2000; Skeggs, 2004). Çağdaş sosyolojik analizlerin de öngördüğü gibi toplumlarda var olan eşitsizlikler sadece iktisadi temelli değil aynı zamanda kültürel esaslara da dayanmaktadır. Ekseriyetle, 'sınıf öldü' fikrine karşı çıkan bu yeni sınıf modeli kültürel tüketim gibi gündelik ilişkileri ampirik araştırmalarının merkezine oturtmaktadır. Dahası, bir gündelik rutin veya pratik olarak yemeğin de bazı sosyal ve kültürel anlamları içinde barındırdığı ve hatta tüketim alanlarındaki farklılaşma modellerini açıklamada mühim bir unsur olarak görüldüğünü savunan önemli ölçüde araştırma vardır (Atkinson & Deeming, 2015; Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Warde, 1997). Bu nedenle, yemek alanında bireylerin pratiklerini ve değerlendirme şemalarını incelerken kültürel sınıf analizini de göz önünde bulundurmak, araştırma bulgularının analizi kısmına katkı sağlamıştır.

Tüketim ve beğeni pratiklerinde sınıfsal ve kültürel hiyerarşinin varlığı destekleyen literatürün yanı sıra, 1990 sonrası ortaya atılan ve bu sınıfsal sınırlara karşı çıkan 'kültürel hepçillik' tartışmaları hızla önem kazanmıştır (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Beğenilerdeki eklektikleşme süreciyle paralel gelişen bu literatür, üst ve alt kültür arasındaki uçuruma karşı bir tez olarak sunulmuştur bir bakıma. Başka bir ifadeyle, kültürel hepçillik kavramı etrafında dönen tartışmalar, Bourdieu'nün tarif ettiği biçimiyle yekpare bir yüksek beğeni tanımının günümüz kozmopolit toplumlarını anlamadaki sınırlılıklarına değinmişlerdir. Esasen kültürel

hepçillik; yüksek statü gruplarının beğeni yargılarının salt yüksek kültür ögeleriyle sınırlı kalmadığını, aynı zamanda popüler kültüre ait pek çok bileşene de açık olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Dahası, kültür ve iktidar arasındaki ilişkiyi esas alan pek çok çağdaş kültürel analiz, hepçillik tezini artan bir ilgiyle incelemektedir. Ayrıca, kültürel hepçillik yemek pratikleri de dahil olmak üzere pek çok değişik tüketim alanları içinde incelemeye tabi tutulmuştur. Yine de ayrım ve hepçillik arasındaki gerilimin dinamikleri yemek alanındaki pek çok araştırma kapsamında tartışılmıştır.

Ancak bu görece yeni tartışmalar Türkiye'de sınırlı sayıdaki araştırmada yankı bulmuştur. Diğer bir deyişle, kültürel tüketim alanında önemli araştırmalar bulunsa da (Arun, 2013; Arslan, 2011; Aydın, 2009; Karademir Hazır, 2013); spesifik olarak kültürel hepçillik hakkında çok fazla ampirik çalışma olduğu söylenemez. Türkiye bağlamında kültürel tüketimi inceleyen araştırmacılar daha çok modern (Alafranga) ve geleneksel (Alaturka) ayrımından doğan kültürel ve sembolik hiyerarşilere dikkat çekmektedirler. Bu araştırma da benzer bir şekilde, yerel/batı kültür tarzları arasındaki gerilime yemek alanındaki beğeni tercihleri üzerinden eklemlenmektedir. Dahası, Türkiye'de yemek tüketimi görece daha az çalışılan konulardan biridir (Akarçay, 2014; Rankin & Ergin, 2016; Yenal, 1996). Bazı çalışmalar yemeğin kültürel bağlamdaki tarihsel dönüşümüne vurgu yaparken, bazıları da yemeğin ekseriyetle sınıf kültürel süreçlerle olan ilişkisine değinmiştir. Ancak, daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Türkiye'deki yemek tüketimi ve beğenilerinin hepçillik tezi ile olan ilişkisine değinen sınırlı sayıdaki literatüre katkıda bulunmak ve bu alandaki boşluğu doldurmak tezin önemli amaçlarından biridir. Dolayısıyla tez kapsamında Ankara'daki örneklemin yemek alanındaki genel yönelimleri, hem uluslararası hem de Türkiye'deki akademik çalışmalar çerçevesinde anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Böylelikle, bu çalışma kişisel bir mesele gibi görünen beğeninin kültürel tüketimdeki dış dinamiklerden ne şekillerde etkilendiğinin ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır.

Özetle, bu çalışma, daha spesifik olarak, yemek tüketim pratiklerine odaklanmaktadır. Tezin temel hedeflerden biri Türkiye'de beğenilerdeki

farklılaşmanın yeme-içme tüketimi pratikleri ve sınıf kültürel süreçlerle ne şekilde ilintili olduğunu incelemektir. Dolayısıyla, bu amaç doğrultusunda, sadece Türkiye bağlamında yemek tüketimi ile 'ayrım' arasındaki ilişki değil; aynı zamanda son dönemde ortaya atılan 'kültürel hepçillik' tartışmaları üzerine geniş çaplı bir literatür araştırması yapılmıştır.

Kısaca bahsetmek gerekirse, tez birkaç araştırma sorusuna dayanmaktadır. Bourdieu'nun klasik ayrım teorisiyle ilintili olarak, tezin temel olarak sorgulamak istediği mevzu; *"Yemek tüketim pratiklerinde beğeni hiyerarşileri hala etkili midir?"* Yeni kültürel tartışmalar ışığında merak edilen; *"Türkiye bağlamında yemek tüketim pratiklerinde hepçil repertuarlar var mıdır?" "Eğer öyleyse, bu hepçillik hangi koşullar altında gerçekleştiriliyor?"* Diğer bir deyişle; *"Bu görünen eklektikliğin sınırları nelerdir?* Ve son olarak asıl varılmak istenen nokta ise; *"Genel olarak yemek pratiklerinde ve beğenilerinde (salaş tüketim haricinde) kültürel hepçilliğe doğru bir dönüşüm gerçekleşmiş midir?"*

Çalışma kapsamında nitel araştırma teknikleri kullanılmıştır. Beğenideki eklektikleşme sürecini daha net anlayabilmek için Ankara'da, gündelik kategorileştirmelerde alt sınıf olarak görünen salaş ve oldukça popüler yeme-içme mekânlarının kültürel ve ekonomik sermayesi yüksek olan müdavimleriyle küçük çaplı grup tartışmaları ile derinlemesine görüşmeler düzenlenmiştir. Totalde, 29 katılımcıyla gerçekleşmiştir. Temel olarak, salaş tüketim ögeleriyle pekiştirilen bu hepçilliğin aynı zamanda diğer yemek pratiklerinde ve beğenilerinde de var olup olmadığı keşfedilmiştir. Nitel araştırma kapsamında ele alınmak istenilen bir başka husus ise yeme-içme tüketim pratiklerindeki zevklerin görüşmeciler tarafından hangi şekillerde sınıflandırıldığıdır. Beğenilere yönelik değerlerin ve yargıların, insanların "ben" ve "öteki" ayrımını kurmada ve gündelik eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretmede etkili olduğu düşünülmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak, bireylerin kendilerini toplumla bütünleşmiş veya toplumdan dışlanmış hissetmelerinin; bir nedeninin de, tüketim alışkanlıkları ve beğenileri ile ilişkili olduğu söylenebilir. Kısacası, gündelik yaşam pratiklerine bakıldığında, birinin hangi restoranda yemeği tercih ettiği, ne yediği veya o yemeyi yeme şekli, o kişi hakkında — sosyal statü ve sınıf gibi— belli

140

yargıların oluşmasında büyük bir etkendir. Nicel bir çalışmada hepçil görülebilecek olan görüşmeciler, mevzu bahis; kendi sınırları, yargıları, değerlendirme şemaları −veya "ben ve öteki" ayrımının nasıl oluşturdukları ve tüm bunlara ne anlam yükledikleri olduğunda− yemek olgusu üzerinden detaylı bir şekilde günlük deneyimlerini incelemek önem taşımıştır. Dolayısıyla yemek alanındaki tüm bu kişisel yönelimleri ortaya çıkarabilmek adına nitel bir çalışma yöntemi izlemek çalışmaya katkı sağlamıştır.

Dahası, hem Ankara'daki üst orta sınıfı kapsayan kişisel sosyal çevrenin mekân tercihlerinden faydalanılması, hem de çeşitli yemek bloglarının taranıp popüler salaş mekânların belirlenmesinden sonra, pilot araştırma ile bu mekânların genel analizi yapılmış ve sonrasında mekân sahiplerinin de izni alınarak saha araştırması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Restoranları seçerken üst orta sınıf kesimin daha rahat gözlemlenebileceği yerler olmasına özen gösterilmiştir. Diğer bir ifadeyle, daha karışık meslek ve eğitim gruplarının tercih ettiği salaş mekânlar yerine hedef grubuna rahatça ulaşılabilecek olan yerler dikkate alınmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında seçilen mekânlar daha çok yemek sunumu, iç dekorasyonu, çalınan müziği veya çatal-bıçak tarzı ile ilk bakışta orta sınıfın stereotipik beğenilerine hitap etmesi çok beklenmeyen yerlerdir. Ayrıca restoranların bulunduğu semtler de ekseriyetle günlük sınıflandırmalarda daha orta/alt orta sınıf kesimlerle özdeşleştirilmiştir. Örneklemi oluşturmada ise kartopu tekniğinden yararlanılmıştır. Bu teknik spesifik olarak salaş mekanları tüketen yüksek eğitim ve gelir grubuna ulaşılmasında görece kolaylık sağlamıştır. Sonuç olarak, bu araştırmanın amacı, yalnızca bu kişilerin bu mekânları tercih etme sebepleri değil, aynı zamanda gündelik rutinleri içindeki yeme-içme alışkanlıklarını, değerlendirme şemalarını, beğenilerini ve yönelimlerini geniş bir perspektiften anlamlandırmaktır. Özetle, saha notları ve 29 kişi ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler ile birlikte, ne şekillerde yemek pratiklerindeki sınırların aşıldığı ve yeniden üretildiği incelenmiştir.

Bu tartışmalar ışığında, tez temel olarak 8 bölümden oluşmaktadır. Yararlanılan teorik ve kavramsal çerçeveler ikinci ve üçüncü bölümde sunulmuştur. Diğer bir

deyişle, ikinci bölümde uluslararası yazın kapsamında; kültürel sınıf analizinin farklı bağlamlardaki çalışmaları, yemek olgusu ve onun hepçillik tartışmalarıyla ilintisi incelenmiştir. Aynı örüntü üçüncü bölümde de izlenmiş fakat bu sefer Türkiye örneklemi üzerinden yemeğin sınıf ve kültürel süreçlerde nasıl ele alındığı ve eklektikleşme sürecinin ne koşullarda ortaya çıktığı gibi konuların yerel literatürdeki tezahürleri ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca, farklı bir nokta olarak, üçüncü bölüm, Türkiye'de 1980 sonrası ortaya çıkan yeni orta sınıf tartışmalarına ve bunun kültürel tüketim ile olan ilişkisine değinmektedir. Özellikle, 1980 sonrası etkisini gösteren neo-liberal politikalar ile kültürel değişimler sonucu ortaya çıkan bu yeni orta sınıf, yaşam tarzları, tüketim pratikleri ve beğenileriyle geleneksel orta sınıf anlayışından uzaklaştığı görülmüştür. Homojen bir yapıya sahip olmayan bu yeni orta sınıfın tüketim alışkanlıkları ve beğenileri üzerinden ne şekillerde sınıflandırıldığı, bundan kaynaklı oluşan kültürel eşitsizliklerin anlaşılmasında önemli bir etmendir. Ancak, Türkiye'deki orta sınıf kültürü tartışmaları bu tezin esas olarak ele almak istediği husus değildir. Bilindiği üzere, Türkiye'deki orta sınıf aynı zamanda kendi içinde bölünen bir yapıya sahiptir. Bu özelliği ile kültürel mücadele sınıfı olarak da görülebilir. Tezin temel odak noktası bir noktada orta sınıfların sınıfsal ayrımını ortaya çıkaracağı için bu büyüyen literatüre eklemlenmek Türkiye'deki toplum yapısının farklı dinamikleri anlamlandırmak adına faydalı olmuştur. Dördüncü bölüm ise metot ve araştırma teknikleri kısmını kapsamaktadır. Bu bölümde neden nitel bir araştırma yöntemi izlenildiği detaylı bir şekilde anlatılmaktadır. Hangi kavramların esas olarak ele alındığı ve nasıl ölçülebilir kılındığı, araştırmaya dâhil olan mekânların ve örneklemin genel profili açıklanmıştır. Aynı zamanda çalışma sırasında karşılaşılan zorluklar ve araştırmanın sınırlıklarına da yer verilmiştir.

Beşinci bölüm ise veri analizine geçiş kısmıdır. Bu bölümde salaş restoranlara giden müdavimlerin genel yemek alışkanları, eğilimleri tanıtılmıştır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, bu bölüm genel olarak bu mekânlardaki katılımcıların yemek alanındaki deneyimlerine yer vermektedir. Kısaca bahsetmek gerekirse, araştırmada yer alan salaş mekân müdavimleri aynı zamanda kozmopolit beğeni repertuarlarına da sahiptir. Çoğu yabancı yemeklere ve değişik kültürlerin tatlarını denemekten keyif duyduklarını belirtmiştir. Yemek pratiklerinden bahsederken yine çoğu sağlıklı

beslenme/yaşam üzerine olan kaygılarından ve bu kaygının yemek tüketim pratiklerine nasıl yansıdığını anlatmıştır. Bu bölümde değinilen diğer önemli mevzular ise görüşmecilerin, dışarda yemek yeme alışkanlıkları, yemek alışverişi gibi genel deneyimleridir. Aynı zamanda, yemek olgusunun kadın ve erkek tarafından nasıl farklı şekillerde yorumlandığının, hatta Türkiye'de halen çözülememiş önemli bir unsur olan cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini ne şekillerde ürettiğine değinilmiştir.

Bölüm 6 ise iki kısımdan oluşarak, temelde, araştırma esnasında görüşmeciler tarafından sıkça değinilen temaları açıklamaktadır. İlk kısım daha çok sınıfsal hiyerarşilerin aşıldığı anlara işaret ederken, ikinci kısım hangi koşullarda ve ne şekillerde bu sınırların aşıldığını ifade etmektedir. Öte yandan, yedinci bölüm yemek pratiklerinde ortaya çıkan hiyerarşik sınırlara değinmektedir. Sekizinci bölüm ise araştırmanın genel bulgularının özetini kapsayarak genel bir sonuç bölümü sunmaktadır.

2. Araştırmanın Bulguları

Gerçekleştiren saha çalışmasının ve mülakatların ardından, bu çalışmanın üç büyük bulgusu olduğu söylenebilir. Aşağıdaki tabloda genel bulgular özetlenmiştir. Aynı zamanda, başlıklar altında veri analizi kısmında ortaya çıkan, görüşmecilerin sıkça değindiği temalar da belirtilmiştir.

Sınıfsal sınırların aşıldığı unsurlar	Sınıfsal sınırları limitleyen ve destekleyen unsurlar	Ayrımın belirgin hale geldiği unsurlar
- Lezzetli vs. sağlıklı - Yerel vs. kozmopolit - Arabesk vs. şık/seçkin - Paylaşmak ya da paylaşmamak: sosyal medya	- Öğün saati (öğlen vs. akşam yemeği) - Tüketim şekilleri - Sınıf geçmişi	- Hijyen/temizlik - Dış görünüş - Kullanılan dil ve görgü kuralları - Semt - Yemek sunumu

Öncelikle, daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi altıncı bölümün ilk kısmı görüşmecilerin hiyerarşik sınırları aştığı durumlara değinmiştir. Veriler gösteriyor ki, kozmopolit beğenilerinin yanı sıra, yerel yemeklere karşı da bir beğenileri bulunmaktadır. Yerel tatlara yönelik bu eğilim aslında Türkiye'de hepçilliği batı ve yerel kültürel tarzları arasındaki sembolik sınırların aşılması olarak tanımlayan çalışmaları destekler nitelikte (Rankin & Ergin, 2016:6). Buradan yola çıkarak, bu görece küçük ölçekli araştırmanın bulguları, geleneksel (Alaturka) ve modern (Alafranga) tarzları arasındaki hiyerarşinin yemek alanında çok da ayrıcalıklı olmadığını gösteriyor. Dolayısıyla yerel tatlara karşı olan beğenilerin, Türkiye'de yeme-içme alanında geleneksel tarzların kapsayıcılığına işaret ettiği söylenebilir.

Benzer bir örüntü arabesk ve şık/seçkin tarzlar arasında belirgin hale gelmiştir. Bourdieu'nun (1984) da tarif ettiği şekilde, değerlendirme şemalarındaki farklılıklar, sınıf habitusuna göre farklılaşan bireysel beğeniler tarafından şekillenir. Bu kavramsal çerçevede, dekorasyondaki geleneksel motiflerin veya arabesk müziğin takdir edilmesi orta sınıfın üst kesimleri tarafından pek de deneyimlenmesinin beklenmeyeceği davranışlardır. Bu inanış, tam tersi olarak, bu tarzların Türkiye'de daha çok alt kültür ögeleri olarak kabul edilmesinden gelir. Ancak, geleneksel ögelerin hâkim olduğu çalışma kapsamında incelenen salaş mekânlarda, araştırma bulguları gösteriyor ki görüşmecilerin kültürel repertuarları salt batı tarzları ile sınırlı değil. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, çoğu noktalarda şık/seçkin tarzda tüketim daha çok tercih edilse de, örneklem aynı zamanda popüler kültür formu olan arabesk tarza karşı kendini kapatmış değil. Pratiklerindeki bu içerleyici örüntüler gösteriyor ki, Türkiye'de yerel kültür tam anlamıyla reddedilmiş değil.

Dahası, tabloda gösterildiği gibi altıncı bölümün ikinci kısmı, öncekinden biraz daha farklı olarak, sınıfsal sınırları limitleyen ve destekleyen koşulları açıklamaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, bu kısım hepçilliğin, öğün saati, tüketim biçimleri gibi hangi koşullara bağlı olarak değişkenlik gösterdiği tartışılıyor. Esasında, bu bölüm hepçillik tezinin ortaya attığı argümanların Türkiye bağlamındaki sınırlıklarına

değinmesi açısından önemli. Tezin önemli bulgularından biri, "güzel bir aktivite" ile "sıradan bir aktivitenin" görüşmeciler tarafından nasıl farklı şekillerde kodlandığını gösteriyor. Sıradan tüketim daha çok salaş mekânlarla özdeşleştirilirken, "güzel bir şeyler yapmak" daha şık kıyafetler ile daha seçkin zevkler içeriyor. Bu örnek aslında altıncı bölümün ikinci kısmını özetler niteliktedir çünkü aynı zamanda bazı konseptler altında değer yargılarının nasıl yeniden tanımlandığını gösteriyor. Böylelikle, görüşmecilerin beğenilerindeki farklılaşmayı yansıttıkları estetik zevkleri, yemek tüketim pratiklerindeki derinde yatan, kişisel anlamları ortaya çıkarmak adına önemli bir etmen haline gelmektedir. Benzer bir şekilde, araştırma sonuçları, bazı koşullar altında bireylerin öncelikleri değişebildiği için, Bourdieu'nun tarif ettiği şekilde, yemek pratiklerinde homojen bir dağılım olmadığını vurguluyor. Bu bağlamda, bu tez, Türkiye'de keşfedilmemiş bazı kültürel tüketim dinamiklerini aydınlatması adına önemli sonuçlar sunmaktadır.

Üçüncü temel bulgu ise 'ayrımın' yemek pratiklerinde belirgin hale geldiği kısmı kapsamaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, Türkiye bağlamında beğenilerdeki eklektikleşmenin parametreleri tartışılmaktadır. Bu kısımda yer alan hemen hemen bütün temalar belli bir kesime/zümreye ait uygun davranışları, görgü kurallarını vs. sergilemenin önemini vurgulamaktadır. Başka bir ifadeyle, araştırmanın dayandığı örneklemin bir anlamda kendi içinde geliştirdiği 'aynı zümre içinde yer almak' olgusu, kendilerini diğer fraksiyonlardan ayrıştırmasına neden olmaktadır. Hâsılı, çıkan bu sonuç, sosyal statünün yemek gibi gündelik rutinler de bile sınıf hiyerarşisinin nasıl oluşturduğunu göstermektedir.

Ayrıca yemek beğenilerinin yanı sıra, dış görünüş, giyim tarzı, konuşma dili, yemeğin sunumu — bütün hepsi ayrımın nasıl belli koşullar altında hepçil görünen görüşmeciler tarafından gerçekleştirildiğini gözler önüne seriyor. Bu noktada içselleştirilmiş kültürel sermaye devreye giriyor. Kültürel sermayenin önem kazanmasının bir nedeni de yeme-içme davranışlarının ve bazı yerleşmiş görgü kurallarının erken sosyalizasyon, yani çocukluk döneminde aileden kazanıldığı düşüncesidir. Araştırma verilerine göre, yukarı doğru sosyal hareketlilik ekonomik

sermayeyi arttırsa da, orijinal sınıf geçmişine bağlı olarak bazı yerleşmiş ve içselleştirilmiş alışkanlıkların değiştirilmesinin daha zor olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle, 'belli bir kesime ait olma' duygusu daha çok, o sınıf habitusu içindeki özelliklere, beğenilere, yaşam tarzlarına sahip, benzer sosyal çevreler içerisinde gerçekleştiği söylenebilir. Dolayısıyla, 'belli bir gruba uyma veya ait olma' kriterinin, Türkiye'de sınıfsal sınırları üreten ve hatta eklektikliğin sınırlıklarına işaret eden bir olgu olduğu söylenebilir. Bourdieu'nun (1984) da belirttiği gibi beğeni bireylerin aynı zamanda habituslarıyla da uyuşan sosyal pozisyonları yansıtmada önemli bir araçtır. Bu örneklere bakılacak olursa, Türkiye'de kültürel, özellikle de yemek, alanındaki beğeni hiyerarşilerinin hala etkisini sürdürdüğü gözlemlenmiştir. Tezin de desteklediği bu hususlar, Türkiye'deki sınıfsal sınırların ortaya çıkarılması için önemlidir. Sonuç olarak, araştırmamın bulguları, kısmi olarak, kültürel hepçilliği kültürel hiyerarşilerin tamamen sona ermesi olarak görmeyen literatürü destekler niteliktedir.

Veri analizinin de gösterdiği gibi, bazı koşullarda kendilerinden beklenmeyecek dinamiklerle iç içe geçen (örneğin arabesk ve salaş tarzlar) örneklem göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, yalnızca Bourdieu'nun teorisindeki klasik şemalarla anlaşılamayacak farklı bir eğilim ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak, bu sınıfsal sınırların aşılması belirli alanlarda gerçekleşmiştir. Bu nedenle, bu tez yalnızca salaş mekânları tüketme nedenlerini değil, aynı zamanda bireylerin geniş perspektiften yemek pratikleri sorgulandığında da benzer içerleyici beğeni repertuarlarına sahip olup olmadıklarını araştırmıştır. Başka bir deyişle, tezin asıl amaçlarından biri, salaş mekânları tercih etmede olduğu, gibi diğer tüm yeme-içme pratiklerinde ve beğenilerinde hepçillik örüntülerine rastlamak mümkün müdür sorusunu aydınlatmaktır. Ancak, araştırma bulguları gösteriyor ki yemek tüketim pratiklerinde ve beğenilerinde hepçilliğe yönelik tam anlamıyla bir dönüşümden bahsedemeyiz.

Dahası, Peterson ve Kern'in (1996:904) bahsettiği gibi 'hepçillik kavramı aynı zamanda sembolik sınırları yöneten yeni kuralların oluşmasında da etkili olabilir'. Bu argümandan yola çıkarak, görece küçük çaplı bir araştırma olsa da, tezin

analizlerine göre, görüşmecilerin sergiledikleri hepçillik bazı sınırlar dâhilinde gerçekleşiyor; dolayısıyla, sınıfsal ayrımın henüz tamamen ortadan kaybolmadığını destekliyor (Warde & Martens, 2000:226). Aslında, literatürde hepçilliğin yeni bir ayrım formu olduğunu veya bu hepçillerin sınıfsal sınırları aşmadaki pratiklerinin oldukça sınırlı olduğunu savunan önemli sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır (Bellavance, 2008; Warde et al., 2007). Yani, kimi kültürel formların beğenilmesi kiminin ise beğenilmemesi, bu eklektik tercihlerin bile günümüzde farklılaşmaya yol açabileceği düşünülmektedir (Warde et al., 2008). Bu tartışmalar kapsamında, tezin en göze çarpan bulgularından biri de belirli bir tüketim alanı içerisinde sınıfsal sınırların çizilmesinin aslında ne çok katı ne de çok pürüzsüz veya kolay bir süreç olduğudur. Bu bağlamda, belli bir alanda tüketirken, bazı pratikler sınıfsal ayrımı ortaya çıkarırken diğerleri daha içerleyici olabilir. Bu ampirik çalışmaya göre, yemek pratiklerinde genel bir ayrım veya hepçillikten söz etmek mümkün değil. Tabiatıyla, tezin bulgularıyla Türkiye bağlamında bir genelleme yapılamasa da, gerçekleştirilen saha çalışması ve derinlemesine görüşmeler, kültürel ve sınıfsal sınırların nasıl çalıştığına dair önemli ipuçları vermektedir. Başka bir ifadeyle, bu çalışma kültürel ve sınıfsal sınırların nasıl beğenilerdeki hiyerarşilere zemin hazırladığını hakkında bir analiz sunmaktadır.

Yapılan bu nitel araştırma, neticede, sadece salaş mekânlardaki yeme-içme tüketim pratiklerini değil, aynı zamanda, Ankara'daki belli bir grubun genel karakterleri, değer yargıları, inançları ve yaşam tarzları hakkında da önemli veriler sunmaktadır. Yine de, yemek olgusunun farklı şekillerde ele alınmasının benzer grupları birleştirici özelliği olacağı gibi, özelikle de Türkiye'de modern/geleneksel arasındaki gerilimin hala hissedilebilir olduğu düşünüldüğünde sosyal hiyerarşide alt pozisyonlarda görülen kesimlerin dışlanmasına yol açabileceği akılda tutulmalıdır.

Birkaç örneğe rastlamak mümkün olsa da genel anlamda yemek tüketimi ile ilgili çalışmaların Türkiye'de görece yetersiz kaldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Benzer bir biçimde, farklı gündemler ve koşullar altında değişkenlik gösterebilen yemek beğenileri nedeni ile hepçillik tezini Türkiye'deki sınıf kültürel tartışmalar dâhilinde

anlamlandırmak önemlidir. Sonuç olarak, araştırmanın analizleri ve bulguları ışığında, bu tez ile, Türkiye'de sınırlı örneği bulunan yemek-içme tüketim örüntülerinin ayrım ve hepçillik ile ilintisi araştırılarak bu alandaki yazına ampirik bir katkıda bulunulmuştur. Benzer şekilde, beğeni örüntüleri hakkındaki ileriki nitel ve nicel çalışmalar, Türkiye'de bu spesifik kültürel tüketim alanındaki yazının gelişmesini sağlayacaktır.

TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☒ **X**

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Yalvaç

Adı : Nihal Simay

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI: The Dynamics of Distinction and Cultural Omnivorousness in the Culinary Field of Turkey

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans ☒ **X**   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın. ☐

2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. ☐

3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. ☒ **X**