

DIFFERENT FACETS OF NEW MIDDLE CLASSNESS: A CASE STUDY IN
THE CITY OF ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

DIFFERENT FACETS OF NEW MIDDLE CLASSNESS: A CASE STUDY IN THE CITY OF ANKARA

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The aim of this study is to understand the class character of the new middle class, that is defined as white-collar workers through the bulk of the class literature. To achieve this aim, two sets of research questions, operating both on the objective and subjective levels, have been developed. The first set of questions are; “*What are the objective conditions (such as economic capital, cultural capital, gender/age composition and class background) of the people who belong to the new middle class defined as white-collars according to structural definitions in Ankara? How are those conditions differentiated within this new middle class category?*” Those questions are tried to be answered by conducting a secondary analysis to an already existing three-generational representative database for Ankara. By taking the quantitative analysis as a base, second set of questions that aim to scrutinize how this heterogeneity in terms of economic/cultural capital and class background are reflected on the subjective level, has been developed. Therefore interviews are held with 31 people in Ayrancı neighborhood so as to answer to the following questions: “*How people who belong to the new middle class, defined as white-*

collars according to structural definitions, experience their class position? and what elements, in what ways affect their class experience/class practices?” In the light of the interviews that question the “social space of lifestyle” –composed of daily life practices- and “social relations” –analyzed by the content and nature of the drawn symbolic boundaries- four new middle class milieus –which are highly dispersed among the habitus map of Bourdieu- are identified. The overall study highlights how it is problematic to attribute certain values, lifestyles and attitudes, which are the molders of the class experience, to the whole new middle class category that is defined within the occupational structure.

Key Words: New middle class experience, class milieu, lifestyle, symbolic boundaries, Ankara

ÖZ

FARKLILAŞAN YENİ ORTA SINIFLIK HALLERİ: ANKARA ŞEHİRİ ÜZERİNE ÖRNEK ÇALIŞMA

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, sınıf literatüründe çoğunlukla beyaz-yakalılar olarak tanımlanan yeni orta sınıfın sınıf karakterini anlamaktır. Bu amaca ulaşabilmek için, hem nesnel hem öznel düzeyde işleyen iki grup araştırma sorusu geliştirilmiştir. Birinci grup araştırma soruları şunlardır: “*Yapısal yaklaşımlara göre beyaz yakalılar olarak tanımlanan yeni orta sınıfa mensup olan insanların nesnel koşulları (örneğin; ekonomik sermaye, kültürel sermaye, yaş/cinsiyet dağılımı ve sınıf kökeni gibi) Ankara örneğinde nasıldır? Bu koşullar yeni orta sınıf kategorisinin içinde nasıl farklılaşmaktadır?*” Bu sorulara cevap verebilmek için, daha önceden var olan ve üç kuşağı kapsayan Ankara temsili veritabanı kullanılmıştır. Bu nicel analizi temel alarak, ekonomik/kültürel sermaye ve sınıf kökenine bağlı heterojenliğin öznel deneyimlere nasıl yansıdığını sorunsallaştıran ikinci araştırma soruları grubu oluşturulmuştur. Bu amaçla Ayrancı semtinde 31 kişiyle “*Yapısal yaklaşımlara göre beyaz yakalılar olarak tanımlanan yeni orta sınıfta bulunan insanlar bu sınıf pozisyonlarını nasıl deneyimler ve Hangi*

unsurlar, hangi yönde onların sınıf deneyimlerini ve pratiklerini etkiler?” sorularına cevap bulmak için mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Gündelik yaşam pratiklerinden oluşan hayat tarzını ve çizilen sembolik sınırların doğasını/içeriğini sorgulayan mülakatların ışığında –Bourdieu’nün habitus şemasında farklı yerlere dağılmış olan- dört farklı yeni orta sınıfı deneyimleme biçimi gözlemlenmiştir. Bu çalışma genelinde, mesleki yapıda tanımlanan yeni orta sınıf kategorisinin tümüne, sınıf deneyimi ile karşılıklı etkileşimle biçimlenen belirli değerleri, hayat tarzlarını ve tavırları atfetmenin sorunlu olabileceğini göstermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni orta sınıflık deneyimi, sınıf “milieu”, yaşam tarzı, sembolik sınırlar, Ankara

To my dear family; Nur, Suat and Agah...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“...What colorizes culture, values and thought is experience, and mostly it is class experience...¹

Those who are involved in the social sciences are pretty lucky since a variety of research questions come and hit them in the course of everyday life observations. My journey of developing a keen interest in the realm of the new middle class has also initiated as I have realized the increasing frequency of the appearance of the term in the media. Especially after 1990s in Turkey, the popular science books² have much served the construction of a totalizing image for the new middle class. In those studies, the new middle class in Turkey was presented as pursuing individualized life styles that are consciously freed from “traditional habits” and deeply concerned with consumption so as to sustain their identities. Studies in the realm of urban sociology on the other hand, focused on the phenomenon of the new middle class in relation to their consumption of the urban space. Especially suburbanization and the associated lifestyle, motivated by an urge of being distant from the “dirty” and “crowded” city center was linked with the new middle class’ evaluative distinctions.³ On the other hand, the rise of the new middle class was welcomed by contemporary Marxist activists because the new middle class was seen as a part of the working class due to its salaried character.⁴ Apart from the

¹ Thompson Edward Palmer (1994), “Teorinin Sefaleti”, Alan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, p:178, translated by the author.

² For instance: Kozanoğlu Can (2001), “Yeni Şehir Notları”, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul
Şimşek Ali (2005), “Yeni Orta Sınıf”, L&M Yayınları, İstanbul

³ For instance: Ayata Sencer (2002), “The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia”, in *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*, ed.by: Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, Rutgers University Press, U.S.A

⁴ “Orta Sınıf mı, Yoksa İşçi Sınıfı mı Büyüyor”, www.marksist.com

parallel arguments regarding the above mentioned contexts, in the international literature, the new middle class has also began to be presented as the main actor of new social movements⁵ that are based on issues beyond exploitation and injustice in the realm of production. Indeed, it can be argued that especially after 1990s, a strong familiarity with the term “new middle class” has been formed both in the academia and the popular culture.

As I have faced so frequently with the term, I have got curious about how the new middle class has been studied in the literature. As I have decided to turn this curiosity into an academic interest, the major question to be answered was: what fraction of the middle class is argued to be “new”, in other words, who is this new middle class? Actually to answer such a question is extremely difficult, since the question, “what constitutes a class” have also been answered differently by various approaches in the literature on class. However, as it will be evident in the literature review, the majority of scholars who have built their analysis on Marxist and Weberian tradition, and also Marx and Weber themselves have defined the new middle class as composed of white collar workers. Certain transformative processes in various realms have been argued to cause a shift in the composition of middle class. Especially the recent change in the labor market structure including the expansion of the service sector at the expense of manufacturing, have been argued to create a demand for the educated white-collar workers. On the other hand, the democratization of education together with fast urbanization has increased the weight of the educated population and has created a growing supply to the employment structure. Therefore, a new middle class composed of white-collars who have achieved their position via their cultural capital have began to constitute the larger part of the middle class instead of the traditional one composed of small and medium size entrepreneurs.

Since those transformations were observed earlier in the industrialized countries, the implications of those shifts within the middle class have long been debated on. However, as the developing countries began to experience the transformations

⁵ Eder Klaus (1993), *The New Politics of Class*, Sage, London, p:101

mentioned above and to observe the rise of the new middle class, new studies⁶ that scrutinize the lifestyle, political ideology, and the cultural codes of the new middle class have flourished in different parts of this region especially after the 1990s. But why social scientists continue to study the middle class or certain fractions of it, for instance the new middle class-, in other words, why middle class has always been considered as an important topic to study?

First of all, the middle class is considered as an important historical actor in the democratization process of the 'West'. For instance, while Barrington Moore compares the English, French and American revolutions and he finds out a commonality in terms of the motivations behind those revolutions. He argues that, in those cases, middle class looked forward to enhance its power deriving from the economic superiority also to the realm of law and politics and therefore become an important actor as they demanded democracy and revolted against the local aristocrats.⁷ Also today, democracy is argued to be stable in the cases where the population is not skewed through the upper and lower ends. In other words, the new middle class is still seen as an important actor that is responsible for the stabilization of democratic political processes.⁸ Apart from the significance in the political realm, the new middle class is also considered as "concerned with the production and dissemination of consumer culture imagery and information"⁹ and therefore argued to be an important element in shaping the dominant pattern of

⁶ For instance: Shigeto Sonoda (2006), "New Middle Class in Confucian Asia: Its Socio-Cultural Background and Socio-political Orientations in Comparative Perspective", Working Paper, Center of Excellence- Contemporary Asian Studies, <http://hdl.handle.net/2065/12808>

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Liechty Mark (2003), "Suitably Modern: Making Middle Class Culture in a New Consumer Society", Princeton University Press, New Jersey

⁷ Moore Barrington (1966), "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy", Beacon Press, Boston

⁸ Glassman Ronald (1997), "The New Middle Class and Democracy in Global Perspective", St. Martin's Press, New York, pp: 379-382

⁹ Featherstone Mike (1991), "Consumer Culture and Postmodernism", Sage, London, p: 84

consumption and urban lifestyles.¹⁰ On the other hand, the “inner life” –for instance their evaluative schemas- of especially the professional and managerial segments of the new middle class is considered as an important issue since they “tend to control the allocation of many of the resources most valued in advanced industrial societies”¹¹. Moreover, the new middle class, who is responsible for producing knowledge, is also considered as the main actor of the society according to the assumptions of the scholars who identified the coming of a post-industrial society¹²; that is a society of knowledge producers. Moreover, the in-between position of the new middle class with respect to the antagonism between the labor and capital has been debated passionately especially by the Marxist approaches. Known as the “boundary problem”, these debates focused on the possibility of perceiving this new middle class as a subject of the socialist project working in allegiance with the working class or as a major functionary of the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations. Apart from the power of the new middle class in the realm of politics, consumption or in the decision making processes, what deserves also attention is the weight it has gained at the expense of working class or the bourgeoisie. As this study on Ankara will also suggest, the new middle class has become the largest category especially in the urban centers, and its demographic weight seems to further increase.

As it will be discussed in detail in the second chapter, the traces of the transformations that are argued to be fostering the increase in the new middle class occupations can also be followed clearly in the Turkish case, especially after the 1980s. The shift from the import substitution strategies towards the free market

¹⁰ Koo Hagen (1991), “Middle Classes, Democratization and Class Formation” *Theory and Society*, vol: 20, p: 485

¹¹ Lamont Michèle (1992), “Money, Morals, Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class”, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p:1

¹² Block fred and Hirschhorn (1979), “New Productive Forces and the Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism: Apost-Industrial Perspective”, *Theory and Society*, vol: 5, May, 363-396

Drucker Peter (1978), “ The Age of Discontinuity: Guidelines to Our Changing Soicety, Harper and Row, New York

Gouldner Alvin (1982), “The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class, Oxford University Pres, New York

Bell Daniel (1973), “The Coming of an Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting, Basic Books, New York

economy, which prioritizes the independency of the market instead of state-led introverted growth, brought about vast flow of private capital investments especially in the service sector. Together with the economic restructuring, the rate of the agricultural incomes has severely decreased and the agricultural activity of Turkey has dramatically fallen in 2000s. On the other hand, due to fast domestic migration, the urbanization rate has increased at the expense of rural population. Together with the increase in the education levels, the rise in the population of white collar workers in the urban centers has become an easily observable phenomenon in Turkey.

Although the popularity of the term new middle class has increased recently in the Turkish media, and although several aspects of the rise of the new middle class has been considered as important in the international literature, my initial literature review suggested that systematic empirical studies have not yet been conducted on this subject in Turkey. Therefore, I aimed to develop research questions that will enable to figure out certain aspects of the class character of the new middle class in the Turkish context. For this aim I have developed two sets of research questions so as to comprehend both the objective and subjective levels. The first set of research questions which operate on the objective level are: *“What are the objective conditions (such as economic capital, cultural capital, gender/age composition and class background) of the people who belong to the new middle class, defined as white-collars according to structural definitions, in Ankara? How are those conditions differentiated within this new middle class category?”* On the other hand, the second and the main set of questions of the thesis are designed so as to focus on the subjective level: *“How people who belong to the new middle class according to the structural definitions, experience their class position? What elements, in what ways affect their class experience/class practices?”* Thus, how does the new middle class experience their class position in daily life and in social relations are the leading research questions.

In order to answer the first set of research questions, a secondary analysis will be conducted on an already existing representative database of Ankara, which was

collected in 2007.¹³ Although the heterogeneity within the new middle class is frequently mentioned in the literature, the actual conditions and the patterns of differentiation within its ranks has not been adequately explored yet. Therefore, thanks to the representative merits of the sample, the first set of analysis will hopefully contribute to the existing empirical class literature in Turkey. Through this quantitative analysis, the objective conditions of the new middle class in Ankara will be analyzed, such as the amount of possessed economic/cultural capital, class background, occupational status and gender/age composition. This analysis will on the one hand draw a profile of the new middle class in Ankara, on the other hand will search whether there is a pattern within this heterogeneity or not. To develop a sense on the variables that create such heterogeneity will serve to identify new clusters of interest for the further questions that are posed so as to scrutinize the class experience of the new middle class. Because, the variables that are identified as having an explanatory power on the differentiation in terms of objective conditions within the new middle class (for instance; whether primarily endowed with economic capital or cultural capital or having an upper class or working class background), may also be effective on the way people experience their new middle class position in their daily life. Therefore, apart from drawing the class profile, to identify such variables for the further research, is the main expectation of the analysis on the objective level.

The first part of the analysis may be considered as an answer to the questions posed so as to uncover the heterogeneity within the new middle class by asking “what”. On the other hand, the second part of the analysis will direct questions with “how”, and therefore will analyze how the identified variables causing heterogeneity shape the class experience of the new middle class. Although the new middle class has been frequently studied by different approaches, the dimension of “class experience” has not been included to the agenda, especially until the “cultural turn” in class literature. The class character of the new middle class, including the values and attitudes, was read off from their positions in the production or market relations by the majority of the literature on the issue, especially until the 1990s. However,

¹³ Sibel Kalaycıođlu, Filiz Kardam, Helga Rittersberger Tılıç, Kezban Çelik and Sinan Turkyılmaz (2008), “Ankara Kent Merkezinde Toplumsal Tabakalaşma, Hareketlilik ve Sosyoekonomik Statü Araştırması”, Unpublished Project Report, The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK), Project No: SOBAG 104 K 039

although the “new middle class” definition of the approaches before the cultural turn –as defined from the occupational structure- will be used throughout this study, the second set of research questions of this thesis specifically focuses on the way new middle class people experience their class position and searches for a pattern within those experiences. In other words, this study’s specificity stems from its design that prioritizes the agent’s own experiences and could yield results that “touch” the daily lives of the new middle class.

Therefore consistent with the second research question’s focus, the conceptual tools that flourished after the “cultural turn” will be used in this study. This new class methodology argued that classes are not empty categories that are filled by individuals but they are something that individuals actually live and through which they construct their “classed identities”¹⁴ In other words, class is suggested as operating at the very heart of our everyday living, traces of which can be read off from our habits and our evaluative distinctions. The class “habitus” introduced by Bourdieu that singles out the places of individuals on the social space offers us a tool through which the effect of structural properties on the generation of such “classed” habits, tastes and schemas of perceptions could be studied analytically. Not the structural location in the occupational structure but both the amount and the composition of the possessed economic/cultural capital and the change in those two properties over time –the effect of trajectory- determine the class habituses and therefore organize the practices of individuals.¹⁵ In other words, although the decisions such as where to go out, where to live, or the preferences in terms of free time activities seem to operate arbitrarily in the daily lives of the individuals, they carry the traces of the class positions. However, to empirically study class habitus is a difficult task especially due to the heterogeneity within its boundaries. In other words, class experiences may not directly fit into the three broad habituses of Bourdieu; that are habitus of distinction of the bourgeoisie, habitus of cultural goodwill of the middle class and habitus of necessity of the working class. Therefore, as recent studies attempted to discover how research on habitus can

¹⁴ Lawler Steph (2005), “Introduction: Class, Culture and Identity”, *Sociology*, vol:39, no: 5, p: 797

¹⁵ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), “Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste”, Harvard University Press, U.S.A, p: 114

empirically be carried out, the term “class milieu”¹⁶ has been introduced and it has offered both methodological and conceptual solutions. Indeed, class milieus can be considered as subcategory of the class habituses. They are empirically identified by scrutinizing the class experiences of the individuals and they correspond to different places within the habitus types which are defined in the social space of Bourdieu. Indeed, while scrutinizing the class experiences of the new middle class, to find out such “class milieus” –determined by the volume and composition of capital and as well as by class background- and to identify their places within Bourdieu’s habitus map are main expectations of the second part of the analysis.

On the other hand, not only the activities that people engage in, but also the decisions regarding whom to contact with or whom to avoid may also carry a class character. In other words, people constantly draw symbolic boundaries according to their maps of evaluative perceptions and act according to those valued styles. For Lamont, the analysis of the types and relative strengths of those boundaries (cultural, socio-economic and moral boundaries), that individuals draw when they categorize people, will reveal how classes differ culturally between and within each other.¹⁷ Therefore, while scrutinizing the class experience of the new middle class, the second main conceptual tool will be symbolic boundaries. Therefore, not only to identify certain class milieus –placed differently within the habitus map of Bourdieu- but also to discover how and what kind of boundaries operate in those different milieus is another expectation of this study. To combine the notion of class milieu and symbolic boundaries while analyzing the class experiences will also develop a sense on how different new middle classed identities in those milieus conflict and compete with each other in daily life.

The first chapter of the thesis is organized in such a way that it will uncover the differences within the approaches to the new middle class before and after the cultural turn and will further clarify why such a triangulation is needed for answering the research questions of the thesis. The chapter will begin with the new

¹⁶ Vester Michael (2003), “Class and Culture in Germany”, *Sociologia Problemas E Praticas*, no: 42, p: 26

¹⁷ Lamont Michèle (1992), “Money, Morals, Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class”, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp: 1-2

middle class analysis of the two cornerstones of class literature; Marx and Weber. Later on, the works of more recent scholars on the new middle class, who have built their analysis on the assumptions of the two founding fathers, will be presented. In the third section, after discussing the change in class paradigm, four major daily life experience realms –taste and consumption, social opposition, childrearing-education and symbolic boundaries- through which the new middle class has been studied will be discussed. Lastly, building upon the accumulated familiarity with the literature, the approach of the thesis will be presented.

The second chapter is devoted to the Turkish case. In this chapter, firstly the studies on the overall class structure in Turkey will be evaluated so as to construct a background image for the specific focus of the thesis. Later on, the traces of the transformations that led the demographic formation of the new middle class will be monitored in the Turkish context. Lastly, the outcomes of the studies that have focused on different aspects of the new middle class and have served for a construction of a new middle class image in Turkey will be presented.

Both the methods that are used in the empirical research and the limitations-difficulties of the fieldwork will be put forward in the third chapter. In order to answer the first set of research questions, the secondary analysis of a representative database¹⁸ for Ankara will be used. Therefore, in the first part, the features of the sampling of the project and the re-categorizations that are made for the quantitative analysis part of this thesis are explained in detail. So as to answer the second set of research questions, a fieldwork is conducted in the neighborhood of Ayrancı in Ankara – where the rate of the new middle class population is the highest when compared to other neighborhoods according to the Ankara representative database of the above mentioned project-. Therefore, the features of the fieldwork and the sample in Ayrancı will be introduced under the heading of the “qualitative method”. Since, the respondents mentioned also their spatial choices and singled out the names of different neighborhoods in their narrations, at the end of the method

¹⁸ Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, Filiz Kardam, Helga Rittersberger Tılıç, Kezban Çelik and Sinan Turkyılmaz (2008), “Ankara Kent Merkezinde Toplumsal Tabakalaşma, Hareketlilik ve Sosyoekonomik Statü Araştırması”, Unpublished Project Report, The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK), Project No: SOBAG 104 K 039,

chapter, brief information is given regarding the spatial features of both the research site –Ayrancı- and the other neighborhoods that are mentioned.

The fourth chapter is designed in order to give an answer to the first set of questions that is posed. Firstly the features of the overall class structure of Ankara, the changes it has experienced and also the features of the population will be presented so as to give background information. Later on, analyses that yield the profile of the new middle class in Ankara and its internal differentiations in terms of volume of economic and cultural capital and also in terms of class background will be conducted.

In the fifth chapter, the outcomes of my own field study, which is designed for the second set of research questions that problematize the class experience of the new middle class in the Turkish context, will be discussed. In the introduction part, further clarifications regarding the operationalization of class experience will be put forward. The analysis will mainly focus on two main realms: “social space of lifestyle” –composed of daily life practices- and “social relations” –analyzed by the content and nature of the drawn symbolic boundaries-. Later on, the outcomes of the qualitative analysis will be discussed with respect to four identified different new middle class’ experiences –as I labeled them “cultural excluders’ milieu, intellectuals’ milieu, trapped milieu and first generation’s milieu”-.

In the conclusion chapter, the outcomes of the quantitative and qualitative analysis that yield the peculiarities of the Turkish case will be discussed. The quantitative analysis will present the elements that create patterns of heterogeneity within the ranks of the new middle class. The qualitative analysis on the other hand, will further clarify how those differences create different new middle class experiences. At the end, those different experiences will be placed into the three different habitus types of Bourdieu - the habitus of distinction of the bourgeoisie, the habitus of the cultural goodwill of the petit bourgeoisie and the habitus of necessity of the working class- and further possible implications of these differentiations will also be briefly explored.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introductory Remarks on the Chapter

The aim of the following chapter is to build a theoretical background for the specific approach of this study. The phenomenon of “the new middle class” has been widely discussed in the scholarly literature with the concept white-collars. However, different approaches have different motivations while studying the new middle class. Indeed, the way they develop research questions, consistent with the methodology they have adopted, varies among those different approaches. For instance, what “class” means and includes for Marxist approaches, as well as the focus of the studies on the new middle class are definitely different than the Weberian approaches. Therefore, in order to follow a consistency, the literature review is organized by following the path of the approaches. For this, after presenting Marx’s and Weber’s approaches to the new middle class, firstly the neo-Marxist and then the Weberian-inspired approaches will be discussed. Although those structural approaches attempted to read off the features of the new middle class from their location in production or market relations, their inferences still develop insight. For instance, due to the in-between position of the new middle class between the capital and labor, it is argued to be experiencing a high degree of fear of falling, and therefore adopts individualistic strategies. Or, the same in-betweenness is argued to create a strong concern with the class reproduction and therefore the new middle class is seen to be the class of deferring pleasure for the upward mobility of its offspring. However, it can be argued that the most relevant sources for this study have flourished after the “cultural turn”¹⁹ in which classes are not seen as objective categories filled by the researcher but seen as constructed

¹⁹ For details, please see: 2.4 New Class Paradigm

through the individuals' symbolic means and social practices.,²⁰Since the main questions of the thesis are in the realm of class experience. Therefore, after the structural approaches, by specifically focusing on the novelty of the methodology, new class paradigm, called as “the cultural turn” will be presented. After, discussing the new middle class studies that are conducted with this new methodology, the framework of the thesis, which I consider as a form of “triangulation” will be put forward.

However, the limitation of such an organization is that, although each line of thought is presented within a time line in itself, the overall literature review tends to lose an encapsulating time dimension. Time dimension in class studies is extremely important since each and every attempt of studying class is concerned with structural inequalities and therefore deeply bounded with the analysis of the specific production relations and market relations, the role of state or the political agenda of that time period. For instance, while Marx's concern was whether a labor aristocracy was being formed by embourgeoisement of the white collars in the 1800s, Bourdieu's concern was the way new middle class legitimized the privilege through the cultural realm with creating a hierarchy of taste and consumption in 1980s. In other words, it would be a mistake, to consider that all the reviewed scholars have pointed to the same group of people, with a same intention, as the new middle class, indeed the literature review includes 200 years time period. The paradigm in which the concepts have flourished and have been used as explanatory devices shifted; both the production and market relations have changed their forms and the growth of the welfare state and later on its shrink affected the balances of power. Therefore through the literature review, the shifts in the usage of the concepts and differences between the way new middle class was referred in the beginning of 1900s and the way it is in 2000s should be considered.

It is true that the white-collars was a new component of the middle class, while middle class was itself “new” in the beginning of the 1900s. Then, why we still use

²⁰ Le Grand Elias (2008), “Realist Class Theory and Ethnographic Research”, Paper Presented at the 11th Annual IACR Conference, King's College, University of London, p: 8
http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/law/events/0708/iacr/papers/leGrand_Realist_Class_Theory_and_Ethnographic_Research.pdf

the term “new middle class” for the white collars, if they were already new in 1900s? Where is the novelty? Firstly, the adjective “new” does not imply a simple time dimension in this study. Because, no one can argue that a teacher, who is a white collar, is a new component of the occupational structure today in 2000s. Here, the term “new middle class” does not imply to the new class positions per se, but instead refers to the formation of a demographic block that constitutes the largest part of the class structure especially in the urban centers today. It is “new” not because it has been recently observed, but because it has recently received a self-reproducing settled position in the class structure instead of the traditional middle class that once constituted the largest part of the middle class also in Turkey. The novelty is thus actually the different representation of components in the middle class.

As I have argued, to present the arguments on the new middle class by following a path with respect to the approaches has a risk of losing the time dimension. In order to compensate this limitation, the following time line is constructed which will enable us to develop a sense of the view emerging from the windows’ through which the referred figures observed the social.

Table 2.1: Time periods of the referred literature

1800s	Beginning of 1900s	1970s to 1980s	After 1980s
Marx	Weber	Neo-Marxists (Poulantzas, Wright Carchedi, Ehrenreich...)	Cultural Turn (Bourdieu, Savage Lamont, Wacquant....)
	Early Period Marxists (Kautsky, Lederer..)		
		Weberian inspired approaches (Goldthorpe, Giddens, Lockwood....)	

In the class analysis of Marx in 1800s, new middle class was analyzed as a transitory category and mostly referred in the discussions of whether a “labor aristocracy” is being formed through “embourgeoisement” of those advantaged workers. On the other hand, the analysis of the early period Marxist discussions

focused on the possibility of “proleterianization” of those white-collar workers. In other words, the new middle class was referred with respect to a “boundary problem” between the new middle class and the working class. While Weber was observing the stratification order in the beginning of 1900s, unlike Marx, he insisted that “non-manual” workers or “qualified, property-less white collars” have different market positions than the traditional petty bourgeoisie and the working class. Taking the “manual/ non-manual divide” as the basis of differentiation within the propertyless workers, he argued that those white collars are the characteristic of capitalism. On the other hand, the discussions of neo-Marxists between 1970s and 1980s on the new middle class were held with respect to the place of the “non-polarized class positions” in the stratification order. Whether it is a “class fraction”, or a “contradictory class location” or the “functionary of global capital” or the “functionary of collective worker” was passionately debated among various scholars. However, the new middle class after the cultural turn in 1980s has begun to be debated not in relation with the above mentioned concepts – such as labor aristocracy, embourgeoisement, non-manual labor, white-collars or non-polarized class positions-. Rather, concepts that aims to operationalize the class experience such as “new middle classed identity”, the “new petit bourgeoisie habitus”, or the “new middle class’ interpretative schema” have begun to be used while analyzing the new middle class. Although the emphasis throughout the literature will be on the studies after the cultural turn, the overall review aims to clarify how the new middle class has been studied by different approaches, at different times, in relationship with different concepts.

2.2 Classical Inheritance: Marx and Weber

2.2.1 Marx on class:

The author of this thesis is certainly aware of the fact that it would be a miserable attempt to try to summarize the place of class within the works of Marx. However, in order to understand Marx’s and neo- Marxist’s account of the new middle class, a general bird’s eye view on the very basic concepts and assumptions is still seen as a necessary starting point.

Although the centrality of the concept social class in explaining the social is agreed upon by majority of the traditions in the sociological literature, we may say that Marxian tradition is distinct in terms of its emphasis given to the explanatory power of the concept.²¹ Because the theoretical foundations of Marx stem from a materialist approach to history in which the answers to the questions regarding the social is not expected from the ideas but only from the material conditions.²² In other words, historical materialism basically assumes that “the nature or variety of political ideologies, religion, family organizations, and other factors in specific human societies are generally shaped by the particular means of production or economic base in that society”²³. Therefore, class antagonisms rising from the material conditions which stemmed from the capitalist mode of production are the major pivot behind his comprehensive analysis of the social.

However, those who dig out the works of Marx surprisingly cannot come up with a clear definition of social class defined by him.²⁴ In fact, his abstract model of class is definitely a dichotomous one. Whether capitalist or not, each mode of production gave birth to two antagonistic classes defined by the property relations; non-producers who own the means of production and producers who sell their labor power in order to survive. However, according to his labor theory of value it is not only ownership that determines the antagonism but also the process itself intrinsically inhabits exploitation. In other words, only human labor which became a commodity in the capitalist mode of production has the capacity to create new values. The wage of a worker only covers her/his some limited amount of labor power since s/he creates surplus value which is not reflected on her/his earnings. In other words, even the worker is paid “fairly” representing her/his value of labor in the market; s/he is exploited at the end of the day anyway.²⁵ Therefore, ownership

²¹ Wright Erik Olin (2005), “Foundations of Neo-Marxian Class Analysis”, In *Approaches to Class Analysis*, ed. by Wright Erik Olin, Cambridge University Press, UK, p:4

²² Hindess Barry (1987), “Politics and Class Analysis”, Blackwell, UK, p:14

²³ Kerbo Herald (2003), “Social Stratification and Inequality: Class Conflict in Historical, Comparative, and Global Perspective”, McGraw-Hill, New York, p: 91

²⁴ Crompton Rosemary (1998), “Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates”, Polity Press, UK, pp: 23-24

²⁵ Crompton (1998), p:23

of the means of production, its control and intrinsic feature of production relations creates antagonistic classes in each mode of production.

However, one should keep in mind that, nowhere in Marxian theory the amount or the source of income is seen as a determinant of class position. Classes are never income groupings²⁶, and all other aspects of life including consumption are determined by the place of the individual within production relations. This arises from his philosophical assumptions regarding the centrality of labor in the lives of human beings. Unlike any other species, human beings produce cooperatively their means of existence through the labor they create and this is why the social organization of production should be seen as the basic prerequisite for all the remaining realms of life. Following this assumption, only classes which are determined by the relations of production, have the explanatory power for understanding different interests, ways of thinking, attitudes and social change.²⁷

Nevertheless, to what extent this philosophical assumption was observable in the everyday livings of individuals, in other words, to what extent we, as productive humans- develop an outlook in correspondence with our position in the social organization of production has always been debated. Marx himself devoted time and energy for explaining the potentiality of this correspondence with making a distinction between class for itself and class in itself. As Giddens suggests, although class generally refers to the people in the same position within the social organization of production independent of his consciousness and acts –class in itself-, the proper meaning of class can only be realized when these groups gather and act together with a consciousness of their position –class for itself-.²⁸ In other words, the historical actors in Marxist theory are the social classes which have succeeded in gaining its class unity and consciousness, and therefore which have achieved to become a class for itself. Therefore, for Marx, the potential

²⁶ Giddens Anthony (1981), “The Class Structure of Advanced Societies”, Hutchinson&Co Ltd, London, p:28

²⁷ Hamilton Malcolm and Hirszowicz Maria (1987), “Class and Inequality in Pre-Industrial, Capitalist and Communist Societies”, St.Martin’s Pres, New York, p:7

²⁸ Giddens (1982), pp: 30-31

correspondence between the attitudes and position within the relations of production is realized when class in itself becomes a class for itself through time.

But much of the difficulty arises when we try to analyze the social structure by looking into it from the dichotomous glasses of Marx. It is nearly popular to argue that, Marx was not able to create usable tools for analyzing class societies because of his theoretic stubbornness about the dual character of the class structure. If we leave aside the popular ignorance, we would discover that, although his theoretical abstraction focuses on the two great classes, Marx himself was always aware of the empirical existence of middle classes in every mode of production. Therefore, the following section is devoted to the place of “new middle class” in the works of Marx.

2.2.2 Marx on the New Middle Class: *Tool is the Structural Production Relations*

According to Marx, the main axis of differentiation within the social structure is always between the two great classes which determined by the dichotomy in production relations; in ancient society it is between patrician and plebeian, in feudal society it is between lord and the vassal, and in capitalist society it is between capitalist and wage worker. Nevertheless, when level of abstract theorizing lowered down and concrete structure is analyzed, Marx himself admits that middling groups –different in each mode of production- have always existed in the class structure. These marginal classes may exist as transitional classes or as the segments of major classes. For instance, the rising bourgeoisie in the feudal mode of production is a transitional middle class in that specific mode or the petty bourgeoisie with their distinct interests form the middle classes in capitalist mode of production.²⁹

The criticisms are directed to Marx because of his assumption that the transitional character of middle classes in the capitalist mode of production will disappear and the dichotomous classes will experience a great confrontation at the end. We may

²⁹ Giddens (1982), pp: 30-31

argue that this criticism is partly true since Marx believed that the middle class of the capitalist mode of production -petty bourgeoisie- would eventually disappear due to the production relations in capitalist mode of production.

The lower strata of the middle class –the small trades people, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen and peasants –all these cohorts sink into the proletariat, partly because their meager capital does not suffice for the scale on which big industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the bigger capitalists partly because their skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population. ³⁰

However, to foresee the decline of the old petty bourgeoisie does not mean that that Marx and Engels were not aware of a rising new middle class instead of old petty bourgeoisie and its contradictory position between proletariat and capital owners. As Burris suggests, just a few pages later, Marx and Engels clearly states that a new kind of petty bourgeoisie was formed where modern civilization is developed and this new petty bourgeoisie who constantly renews itself floats between proletariat and the bourgeoisie.³¹ While commenting on the position and the faith of this new intermediate salaried groups, Marx and Engels uses the term “new middle class”. Including Giddens and Val, those who aims to show that Marx indeed was the advocate of the term “new middle class”, highlighted the popular passage in *The Theory of Surplus Value* in which Engels and Marx criticizes Ricardo for having underestimated the role of new middle class in the capitalist mode of production.

What Ricardo forgets to emphasize is the constantly growing number of middle classes, those who stand between the workmen on the one hand and the capitalist on the other. The middle classes maintain themselves to an ever increasing extent directly out of revenue; they are the burden weighing heavily on the working base and increase the social security and power of the upper ten thousand³²

³⁰ Marx Karl and Engels Friedrich (2004), “The Communist Manifesto”, Broadview Press, Canada, p:69

³¹ Burris Val (1986), “The Discovery of the New Middle Class”, *Theory and Society*, Vol.15, No:3, p: 320

³² Marx and Engels (1969), “Theories of Surplus Value”, vol:2, pp:573 quoted in Giddens (1982) p: 177

Here, one may get confused when s/he faces with a clear statement of Marx in which he brings the word “middle” and “class” together. As it is discussed in the short review of Marxist account of class in the previous part, class positions only arise with respect to the positions in the production relations. Since these categories of unproductive laborers do not have a common unique function in production relations, they also lack the basis for common economic interests and solidarity.³³ Then how Marx himself uses the term “new middle class” for these intermediary groups? Some have commented on this inconsistency by focusing on the difference between the essential and inessential classes in Marxist approach, which “is derived not from observed differences in social, cultural or ideological coherence at any given time but from the predictive aspect of what is, at bottom, an epochal theory of past and future capitalist development.”³⁴ .Some have argued that, even Marx used the term “class” for new middle strata, he did not use it in a strict sense of the term since he did not “attributed to them the same economic and political significance that he ordinarily implied by the term “class.”³⁵

While analyzing the approaches in the early stages of socialist parties regarding the definition and the place of new middle class in the next part, it will become clear that this issue is very much related with the Marxist political agenda. Because, the boundaries that define new middle class also defines the boundaries of the major actors of the political change-. This is why Marx’s analysis of the new middle class was blamed for contradicting with “his statements about the polarization of classes under capitalism, since he quite clearly envisages these middle classes as expanding rather than becoming submerged in the proletariat”³⁶. However, according to Moore, the boundary problem was not a central paradox for Marx and Lenin since their focus was rather on the relationship of proletariat with peasants.³⁷ This may be

³³ Burris (1986), p: 322

³⁴ Blumin Stuart (1989), “The Emergence of the Middle Class”, Cambridge University Press, Canada, p: 6

³⁵ Burris (1986), p: 321

³⁶ Breen Richard and Rottman David (1995), “Class Stratification: A Comparative Perspective”, Antony Rowe Ltd, Estbourne, p: 27

³⁷ Moore Thomas (1982), “The Structure of Work Life ‘Ordeal’: An Emprical Assesment of Class Criteria”, *Critical Sociology*, vol:11, no:2, pp:73-84

a plausible explanation to the inconsistency regarding the usage of the term class for new middle strata in the works of Marx. Moore also suggests that, the transition from class in itself to class for itself was also seen as a matter of time and it was thought to be achieved as working class reaches its demographic weight. However, the dynamic of capitalist development, shifted the object of analysis from the relationship between proletariat and peasants to the boundary between the new middle class and proletariat. Increasing flow of capital necessitated large number of non-manual positions that was once perceived as non-productive work and these positions turned out to be the originator of surplus value. In other words, after Marx, the development of capitalism forced Marxists to think more seriously about the objective and subjective class positions of the new middle class which had proved its stubbornness of enlargement.

2.2.3 Weber on Class

The works of Max Weber, through which an approach to class has been developed that paved the way of many analysis concerning the contemporary class structure, are often been commented as representing a prolonged “dialogue with the ghost of Marx”.³⁸ The differences in the approaches of Marx and Weber to social class in general and the middle class in particular stem from the disparity in their methodology. Although a methodological comparison between Marx and Weber is surely beyond the limits of this study, it is worth to say that Weber was highly critical of Marx’ historical materialism and instead Weber argued that “all social collectivities and human phenomena have to be reducible to individual constituents and explained in these terms”³⁹

The most important distinction between the classical Marxist and Weberian theories of class is about the dimensions of social stratification. Marx, as discussed above regarded class as the only one dimension of stratification –therefore unidimensional-, whereas “Weber holds to a *multidimensional* view in which class

³⁸ Giddens Anthony (1971), “Capitalism and Modern Social Theory”, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p: 185

³⁹ Crompton Rosemary (1998), p: 29

relations intersect with and are often outweighed by other (non-class) bases of association, notably status and party”⁴⁰ For Weber, class is directly related with the market situation and with his own words we may speak of a class when “1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as, 2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income and 3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets”⁴¹ To put it more clear, individuals who are closely located in the labor market and who roughly get similar material and non material returns possess the same “life chances” and therefore they are in the same class. Depending on the law of marginal utility, Weber suggests that non-owners are excluded from a competition of highly valued goods; therefore “property” and “lack of property” are regarded as the basic category of all class situations. Nevertheless, class situations differentiate in itself according to the kind of property and the kind of services that is sold on the market.⁴² Among those with property, he distinguishes four classes: the dominant propertied groups and the traditional petty bourgeoisie, and among the non-proprietor he distinguishes the market situation of propertyless white collar workers: civil servants, professionals, technicians and the manual working class.⁴³

Besides his theorization of multiple aspects of social stratification, Weber further strictly disagrees with Marx on the issue of class consciousness which develops as the classes become aware of their “class interest”. Since Weber rejects the notion that the major determinant of human nature is derived from the economic phenomena, than valuations of individuals and their social action should be conceptualized independently of their class interests.⁴⁴ To put another way, the formation of class conflict rising from similar class interests is always historically

⁴⁰ Burris Val (1987), “The Neo-Marxist Synthesis of Marx and Weber on Class”, In *The Marx-Weber Debate*, ed.by: Norbert Wiley, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA, p: 68

⁴¹ Weber Max (1978), “Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology, volume 2”, ed by: Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, California Press, U.S.A, p: 927

⁴² Weber Max (1958), “Class, Status, Party” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed.by: H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press, New York, p:182

⁴³ Edgell Stephen (1993), “Class”, Routledge, London, p: 13

⁴⁴ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 166

contingent and an independent definition of “class interest” based solely on economic positions is therefore unacceptable.

The concept of class interest is an ambiguous one: even as an empirical concept it is ambiguous as soon as one understands by it something other than the actual direction of interest following with a certain probability from the class situation for a certain average of those people subjected to the class situation.⁴⁵

According to the Weber’s conceptualization of class, dozens of economic classes may exist in a society at a particular time but Weber himself agreed that those economic classes can combine into “social classes”. For Weber, social mobility is figured out as a key to such transformation: “a social class makes up the totality of class positions within which individual and inter-generational mobility is easy and typical”⁴⁶ In other words, the four classes that Weber singles out are composed of clusters of economic classes between which mobility is typical and easy.

Apart from classes defined within the realm of economics, Weber’s notion of stratification includes two other dimensions. Status groups are the other dimension of stratification, which is determined by social estimation of honor and composed of people who are conscious of their situation and pursue a common life style while protecting their unity by certain strategies such as endogamy⁴⁷. Apart from classes defined within the economic realm, status defined within the social realm, party is the third dimension of the stratification that is defined within the dimension of power and oriented towards the acquisition and perpetuation of political leadership. We may conclude that, Weber’s theory of multidimensional stratification with the elements of class, status and party makes more room for theorizing the middle classes when compared to Marxist approaches. Indeed, his approach suggests that “the middle classes are not transitory but reflect the multidimensionality and

⁴⁵ Weber Max (1958), p:183

⁴⁶ Weber Max (1978), p: 302

⁴⁷ Weber Max (1958), p: 188

persisting complexity of social stratification which renders inappropriate simple dichotomous conceptions of class relations.”⁴⁸

2.2.4 Weber on the New Middle Class: *Tool is the Structural Market Relations*

Needless to say, for Weberian approaches, the stubborn increase of the new middle class has not been met with anxiety. Unlike Marxist’s attempt of theorizing the new middle class using mainly the dimension of “relationship to the means of production”, Weber himself both used the ownership criteria and labor market position simultaneously. Thus, although he did not use the term “new middle class”, he theorized the qualified white collar workers as distinct from the old petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and working class on the other hand.

Perhaps, even more important, the spread of bureaucratization stimulates a progressive growth in the proportion of non-manual workers in the labour market –workers in occupations where recruitment is governed by the possession of various levels of educational qualification. This creates an expanding ‘white collar’ grouping, whose class situation differs substantially from that of those in manual occupations⁴⁹

The Marxist assumption that the development of capitalism would inevitably bring two homogeneous classes was opposed by Weber. Instead he argued that, the class relationships and class structure stemming from the capitalist division of labor would bring “a variety of different, but overlapping economic interests”⁵⁰ Indeed, unlike Marx, Weber regarded the category of new middle class that is composed of qualified workers as a characteristic of capitalism.⁵¹

Giddens suggests that, Weber agrees with Marx on that the importance of the traditional petty bourgeoisie’s decline within the process of capitalist growth.

⁴⁸ King Roger, Raynor John, Cliff Dallas, Sparks Geoffrey (1981), “The Middle Class: Aspects of Modern Sociology; The Social Structure of Modern Britain”, Longman, UK, p: 10

⁴⁹ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 47

⁵⁰ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 47

⁵¹ Breen Richard and Rottman David (1995), p:29

However, for Weber, the petty bourgeoisie would not “sink into the proletariat, but they become absorbed into the expanding category of skilled manual and non manual salaried workers”⁵² Although Weber, foresees the significance of the “new middle class” in the advanced capitalist mode of production, probably he would not agree to attribute political or cultural characteristics to the members of this class. Because, his theory of stratification suggests that economic classes may further differentiate according to the interests with respect to different market positions. That is status, stratification in the social realm that creates common life styles and communal action rather than economic classes which are predominantly instrumental in its orientation.⁵³ In other words, although Weber himself identified that within middle class, propertyless white collar workers and traditional petty bourgeoisie have different market situations, thus are different economic classes, he would not conclude that this specific market position would attribute certain common characteristics in terms of politics, values or life style.

The difference between Weber’s and Marx’s approach to new middle class, as argued by Liechty, should be viewed without neglecting the “different historical moments, class experiences, and political concerns that each addressed”⁵⁴. In the context of mid nineteenth century, what Marx observed were the discontent, mobilization and harsh labor exploitation. Motivated by his political concerns, Marx concentrated on theorizing the material basis of class and class conflict between capitalists and the workers. From the window of Weber in the early twentieth century, the rapid increase of the middle class and a rise of a new mass production based consumer society were observable. This is why much of the Weber’s theory aims to describe the socio-cultural conditions of the middle class.⁵⁵

This difference between Marx and Weber reflects at least in part the fact that by the time Weber appeared on the European scene a very

⁵² Giddens Anthony (1981), p: 48

⁵³ Gane Nicholas, (2005), “Max Weber as Social Theorist: ‘Class, Status, Party’”, *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol:8, issue: 2, p: 217

⁵⁴ Liechty Mark (2003), “Suitably Modern: Making Middle Class Culture in a New Consumer Society”, Princeton University Pres, New Jersey, p: 12

⁵⁵ Liechty Mark (2003), p:14

different class dynamic had emerged, one in which a new abundance of mass produced consumer goods was beginning to defuse earlier forms of overtly class-based politics by opening up a space for a new middle class. The new middle class did not own the “means of production” (productive assets like factories or plantations), but its members were offered access to other forms of “property”: consumer goods, autos, even private homes. The growth of this new middle class reflected both the rapidly increasing bureaucratic, service, and professional labor sectors, and the ability of the new consumer economy to absorb large portions of the old working classes into the middle class by encouraging them to construct their social identities more around the goods and property they *owned* than the kind of *work* they did.⁵⁶

So, the skill, the marketable resource of the new middle class, put them into a privileged position both in the production and consumption sphere. Weber never perceives the new middle class as underprivileged hired labor. Contrary, new middle class by its special skills guaranteed and reproduced through school certifications enjoys the favorable benefits in society.

2.3 “On the Shoulders of Giants”: New Middle Class After Marx and Weber

2.3.1 Early Period Marxist Discussions

It may seem surprising to see that the hottest discussions on new middle class were held within the agenda of different socialist parties in the beginning of 20th century. But one should keep in mind that the focus on the new middle class was not on its distinct consumption patterns, values, lifestyles as it is today. Rather, the aim of the analysis was always on defining the structural position of these new salaried groups. The crucial question was about the problem of boundary; is this new middle class could be seen as a potential subject for revolution –as proletariats-, or should they be excluded from the socialist project? In other words, the discussion was solely on the class position of this newly rising groups. There was also another reason behind the attempts of Marxists in order to explain the structural position of the new middle class while also trying to remain loyal to the theoretical assumptions of Marx. The growing number of white collars was regarded as evidence to the deadlock of the

⁵⁶ Liechty Mark (2003), pp: 14-15

Marxist approach by the anti-Marxist theorists of 1890's.⁵⁷ Standing Marxism on its head, the anti-Marxist theories suggested that, it would be not the proletariat that will be ruling in the future but this new middle class composed of non-manual employees both in the public and private sector would hold the power instead. More modest anti-Marxists suggested that, new middle class would be a stabilizing force in the capitalist mode of production and the society would be hold in equilibrium with the help of this stratum.⁵⁸

To put it briefly, early Marxists' ambitious attempt to analyze the new middle class stems from the boundary problem on the one hand, on the other hand from the need of making self-defense of Marxism to anti-Marxist theorists.

When we analyze the theoretical discussions on the new middle class within the early Marxist tradition, we come up with two different camps, namely orthodox Marxists and revisionists. Needless to say, the dominant tendency in the social democratic parties –especially British, French⁵⁹ and German- was to oppose to use the term “new middle class” before facing with the criticisms of anti-Marxist camps regarding the position of this stratum. They even called this group "stif-collar proletariat" (Stehkragenproletariat)⁶⁰ However later on, Karl Kautsky, who is the leading theoretician of German Social Democracy and one of the most important figures in the orthodox Marxist side, introduced to term “new middle class” in 1899.⁶¹ He argued that, due to the increase in the state functions and due to the enlargement in the scales of production units a new middle class was born whose basis is entirely different from old one that “is the firm bulwark of private property in the means of production”⁶² Although Kautsky admitted the distinct position of

⁵⁷ Burris (1986), p: 325

⁵⁸ Burris (1986), p: 326

⁵⁹ Ross George (1978), “Marxism and the New Middle Classes: French Critiques”, *Theory and Society*, Vol:5, No:2, p: 167

⁶⁰ Burris (1986), p: 326

⁶¹ Carter Bob (1985), “Capitalism, Class Conflict and the New Middle Class”, Routledge, London, p:17

⁶² Kautsky Karl (1899), “Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Program”, Stuttgart, quoted in Carter Bob (1985), p: 17

the new middle class, persistent with his orthodox standing, he concluded that this new middle class should not be treated as proletarians by the socialist movement. Because according to him, these new middle class members cannot be proletarian due to their social origin and educational qualifications. In other words, he argued that, the members of the new middle class are recruited from bourgeoisie and they enjoy their advantageous educational skills which are never achieved by proletarians. As it can be inferred from the passage below, the orthodox expansion to the approach to new middle class was envisaged to finish with a “happy end”.

As much they cling to bourgeois appearances, the time will come for everyone of the proletarianized strata of the white collar groups at which they discover the proletarian heart. Then they will take an interest in the proletarian class struggle and finally they will participate in actively.⁶³

Apart from orthodox Marxists, another wing –namely; revisionists- within the socialist parties of the period introduced a new approach to the phenomenon of the new middle class. Revisionist approach, which was an alternative to orthodox Marxism in order to solve the deadlock of new middle classes, developed in the Social Democratic Party of Germany. However, one should keep in mind that, the conflict on the position of the new middle class was much more significant than it sounds. Because, how one approaches to the position of the new middle class has much to do with her/his approach to the future perspective of the socialist project. Therefore, revisionists approach to the new middle class was also linked to the anti-revolutionary perspective they offer for social change.

Revisionist does not agree with the orthodox Marxists on the issue of class polarization and its unavoidable necessity for maintaining socialism.⁶⁴ Edward Bernstein, the leader of the revisionists, argued that, the increasing weight of the new middle class -composed of white collar workers- prove the economic improvement of the working class as a whole. He insisted that, the attempts to incorporate the new middle class into the working class via an assumption of

⁶³ Kautsky Karl (1899), quoted in Carter Bob (1985), p:17

⁶⁴ Carter (1985), p: 19

proleterianization and expect them to be a part of the agent of socialist revolution is not logical at all. Moreover he did not wish to see such a polarization rather he was in favor of a gradualist strategy of social reform. Following this political perspective, revisionist approached to new middle class as a checking mechanism for polarization of society and “conceived of the class as independent of both capitalists and workers, as a third force”⁶⁵ Emile Lederer, while criticizing the supporters of proleterianization thesis also insist that, the position of the new middle class depends on a feeling of “social esteem” which stems not only from its technical skills but also from its relationship with employer and laborers.⁶⁶ In other words, with the “innovative studies of authority structures, occupational ideologies, and cultural patterns”⁶⁷, revisionists marked a break off from the orthodox Marxism. And it is still surprising to witness the conceptualization of status as a determinant of class position within Marxist tradition. We may say that, while Marxists were trying to solve the problem of new middle classes, they got closer to the Weberian assumptions. With the debate that revisionists started up, even in the Marxist tradition, two different dimensions of stratification, one based on economic relations other related with social status was recognized.

In this manner there developed the notion that white-collar employees occupied conflicting positions on two different dimensions of social stratification. In economic terms they were indistinguishable from the proletariat. In terms of social status they formed a separate group. The question of whether salaried employees belonged to the proletariat or the middle class thus came to be understood as a question of the relative importance of economic relations versus status relations in the determination of political consciousness.⁶⁸

As it can be inferred from the early Marxist discussions, the issue of the new middle class became a demarcation line between the social democratic and revolutionary wings of Marxists. However, since the early Marxists’

⁶⁵ Carter (1985), p: 19

⁶⁶ Lederer Emil and Marschak Jacob (1995), “The New Middle Class”, In *The New Middle Classes: Life-Styles, Status Claims and Political Orientations*, ed. by: Vidich Arthur, Macmillan Press, London p:57

⁶⁷ Burris (1986), p:332

⁶⁸ Burris (1986), p:330

approaches to new middle class was motivated by the political agenda, it remained shallow. In other words, both revisionist wing by reducing the status differences to class differences and orthodox wing underestimating the inter-class differences within new middle class, oversimplified the analysis at the end.⁶⁹ Although they are the first debaters on the term new middle class, they neither focus on the difference between the old middle class and the new middle class, nor did they systematically analyze their distinctive position of the new middle class in between labor and capital. The following part is thus devoted to the more sophisticated and detailed analysis of relatively recent analysis of neo-Marxists regarding the new-middle classness

2.3.2 Neo-Marxist Analysis of the New Middle Class

“An entire history of political sociology could be written on the theme of the "new middle classes." Whether in the guise of the "managerial revolution," "white collar," the "new working class," or the "new petite bourgeoisie," the emergence of intermediate strata in advanced industrial societies has been rediscovered more often than the wheel”⁷⁰

We may say that, after 70's; new middle class begin to be debated again by Marxists. Although their analysis is more sophisticated when compared to earlier arguments, they still follow the Marxist line of thought. In other words, the specific works that will be discussed further here, also studied the new middle class with a focus on its structural position within the relations of production. However, as Dahrendorf suggests, it is not an easy task to approach to an “occupational salad” of salaried employees, composed of both senior executives on the one end and both typists on the other hand. Indeed, “the new middle class” has stubbornly resisted all

⁶⁹ Burris (1986), p:332

⁷⁰ Ross (1978), p: 163

attempts to define its upper and lower limits”⁷¹. The most referred figures within the neo-Marxist camp who offered theoretical explanations to the what-ness of this “occupational salad”, are namely Carchedi, Ehrenreichs, Wright and Poulantzas. However within these four figures Carchedi and Wright focused solely on the structural location of the new middle class whereas Ehrenreichs and Poulantzas made inferences from its structural position regarding their political and cultural outlook. This is why the major figures in the Marxist tradition who studied the wage-earner positions those are ambiguously located between labour and capital-will be analyzed in two groups.

2.3.2.1 Debates on the Structural Location of the New Middle Class

As it is stated above, the neo-Marxist approaches to the new middle class is not trapped into a narrow proletarian non-proletarian debate but aims to systematically analyze their position between capital and labour. The Italian Marxist **Guglielmo Carchedi**, the author of the very basic Marxist source which specifically deals with the “problem” of the new middle class, analyses the economic identification of the new middle class’s distinct position in the era of global capitalism. He admits that a new middle class analysis should also include the ideological and political aspects, as well as the economic one and puts forward his mono-focus as a limitation.⁷²

Carchedi identifies four elements that determine the two fundamental classes of Marx on the highest level of abstraction. The first element focuses on the dichotomy between producers and non- producers. The second determinant is the ownership of the means of production. The third element is related with the difference between the laborer and the non- laborer. And lastly, the fourth element focuses on the source of income, whether it is determined by a) the share of the social wealth going to a class, b) its acquisition mode, and c) the source of the income⁷³ If we apply this schema to the class position of the proletariat, proletariat can be defined as 1) the

⁷¹Dahrendorf (1959), “Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society”, Stanford Uni. Press, California, p:52

⁷² Carchedi Guglielmo (1977), “On the Economic Identification of Social Classes”, Routledge, London, p: 45

⁷³ Carchedi (1977), p:52

producers and therefore the exploited, 2) non-owners of the means of production, 3) as the laborers and 4a) their income determined by the value of their labor power, 4b) is produced by themselves and 4c) paid to them by the capitalists

He argues that, except from the ownership criterion, the position of new middle class within all other criterion is spurious because it carries both the characteristics of the working class and the capitalist class simultaneously. The new middle class he asserts owes its position to the global capitalism. Because in early capitalist mode of production, “the whole can be conceived in terms of the relation between a single worker who produces the complete commodity with the aid of simple machinery, and a single capitalist, who both owns the means of production and directs the laborer in the labor process.”⁷⁴ However, as Carchedi argues, while production in the capitalist firm in the global era becomes more complex, then the pure function of worker and the pure function of capitalists have been broken down. New tasks, functions and subdivisions arose between the ranks of the global capitalist and the collective worker. This is closely linked with the advent of the joint stock company, through which the legal and economic ownership separated. Therefore, the function of capital is no more only performed by the capitalist class itself. As he clearly suggests “..the function of capital only pertains to those who have the real ownership of the production; capital takes on a global function of the collective worker which is no longer concentrated in the capitalist class but is diffused among those who are neither the legal nor the real owners of the means of production.”⁷⁵

After a detailed economic analysis, he figures out the major characteristics of the new middle class. New middle class, neither the legal nor the real ownership of the capital performs both the function of capital and the function of the collective worker. Although they are always economically oppressed due to their non-ownership, when they perform the global function of capital they can be seen as

⁷⁴ Mukonoweshuro (1990), “Problems of Structural Determination of Class: A Critical Methodological Review, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol: 36, issue: 1, p:31

⁷⁵ Carchedi (1977), p:88

exploiters and oppressors. On the other hand, when they perform the function of capital they are both exploited and economically oppressed.⁷⁶

His analysis is regarded as an important contribution to the new middle class discussions since “it is radically different from those analyses that rely on the simple dichotomy of ownership/non-ownership of the means of production...and it forms a part a coherent Marxist approach, in contrast to the ‘Orthodox’ Marxists who resorted to the Weberian concepts”.⁷⁷ Although his analysis is one of the major sources for the new middle class discussion within Marxist tradition, it can still be criticized on several grounds. Firstly, problems certainly arise when one tries to empirically identify which specific function (global capital vs collective worker) that a particular fraction of the new middle class performs. Moreover, since it solely concentrates on the economic dimension, except from determining the relative distance between working class and capitalist class, the significance of this differentiation is not mentioned. Needless to say, his analysis can further be criticized on the ground that it only concentrates on the structural position of the new middle class while omitting the significance of the reflections of that specific position upon the daily lives of the individual.

Erik Olin Wright -the author of the probably one of the most referenced materials on class studies- criticizes Carchedi because he argues that his new middle class analysis trapped into an effort of locating those positions into only one class.⁷⁸ What Wright offers is to study these contradictory positions in their own right instead of artificially classifying them into one class or another. He begins his class analysis of the advanced capitalist societies by indicating that “Marxist theorizing on the problem of class has been what might be termed the “embarrassment” of the middle class.”⁷⁹ Therefore his initial aim is to deal with the conceptual problem of non polarized class position while preserving a coherent Marxist approach and to

⁷⁶ Carchedi (1977), pp:89-90

⁷⁷ Carter (1985), p: 67

⁷⁸ Wright Erik Olin (1996), “Varieties of Marxist Conceptions of Class Structure”, In *Class: Critical Concepts*, Volume IV, ed. by: John Scott, Routledge, London, p: 414

⁷⁹ Wright Erik Olin (1989), “The Debate on Classes”, Verso, London, p: 3

introduce an alternative conceptualization of the new middle class in the class structure. In his earlier works, he uses “domination” as the basic determinant of the contradictory class location rather than exploitation and singles out three contradictory locations (managers, small employers, semi autonomous wage earners) between three basic class forces (proletariat, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie). Managers occupy a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, small employers occupies a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. And lastly, semi-autonomous wage earners who have high levels of control on their labor occupy the contradictory location between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat.⁸⁰ However he later on, he decides that using the domination as the constitutive element of the class structure is a weakness since it “undermines the claims that classes have objective interests and erodes the centrality Marxists have accorded class in social theory”⁸¹. Shifting the focus of analysis from domination to exploitation, he further multiplies the aspect of ownership and adds the skill and organization assets into his analysis so as to solve the empirical and theoretical problems.

As Crompton observes, in the later version of the schema, contradictory positions are not defined with respect to the presence or absence of autonomy, but through their possession of organizational assets, expertise and credentials.⁸² At the end, his systematic typology of complex class locations for capitalism includes twelve positions determined by the level of ownership, the type of ownership and the exploitation criteria.

⁸⁰ For a chart of contradictory class locations in the earlier works of Wright see: Wright Erik (1976), “Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies”, *New Left Review*, issue: 98, p: 27

⁸¹ Wright Erik Olin (1989), p: 5

⁸² Crompton Rosemary (1998), p: 72

Table 2.2: Class Schema of Erik Olin Wright

Owners		Non-Owners		
Bourgeoisie	Expert Manager	Semiredientialed M.	Uncredientialed M.	+
Small Employer	Expert Supervisor	Semiredientialed S.	Uncredientialed S.	Organizational
Petty Bourgeoisie	Expert Non-manager	Semiredientialed Worker	Proletarian	- Assets
	+	Skill Assets	-	

Source: Wright (1989), p:25

According to the above table, he further comments on the position of the new middle class and old middle class. He argues that, the class location of petty bourgeoisie, who is neither exploiter nor the exploited within capitalist productions can be called as traditional middle class. However, there are other class locations which are characterized by “complex patterns of intersecting exploitation relations” and while they are exploited on one dimension, they may exploit other class locations on the other dimensions. Skilled wage earners for example, although they are exploited because of their lack of capital, they still exploit on the skill dimensions. Wright refers to these positions as the new middle class of the existing system.⁸³

Wright also criticizes Poulantzas –will be discussed further- for attributing a class determination characteristic to the political and ideological criteria even sometimes more than the economic one. Wright suggests that, political and ideological elements can influence the objective class position however; the amount of their effectiveness varies according to the location of the specific class position. With his own words:

“The more contradictory is a position within social relations of production, the more political and ideological relations can influence its objective position within class relations. The more a position coincides with the basic antagonistic class relations at the level of social relations

⁸³ Wright (1989), p:24

of production, the less weight political and ideological forces can have in determining its class position.”⁸⁴

The significance of this analysis for the new middle class which is dispersed among the contradictory locations is its suggestion that on the political and ideological levels, class struggle can move the contradictory locations closer to or further from the working class. It can be asserted that, dependent on the conjunctural factors, those who occupy the contradictory locations will side with either capitalists or the proletariat. And thus social change is dependent on the allegiances that those people on these locations forms through time.⁸⁵ For instance, strong white collar unionization may act as a political factor at a certain time and may push the white collar employees closer to the working class.

While Carchedi draws the picture of the new middle class as uniform and as the functionary of global capital, Wright emphasizes its heterogeneity and complex exploitative relations that it enters into. What they have in common is that they do not problematize what new middle class-ness comprises and they limit their new middle class study with the problem of the structural class position.

2.3.2.2 Debates on the Political/Cultural Outlook of the New Middle Class

Unlike early Marxist discussions and merely structural emphasis of Wright and Carchedi, Ehrenreichs’ and Poulantzas’ analysis problematize the kind of outlook that this specific class position brings into the daily lives of individuals. Indeed **Poulantzas**’s major work, *Classes and Capitalism*, can be seen as a criticism towards Carchedi’s approach who analyzed the new middle class based on the relations of production only in economic terms.⁸⁶ What Poulantzas offers is to analyze the classes with regard to multiple levels, including ideological and political dimensions. Actually he argued that a social class is structurally determined by “its place in the ensemble of social practices, i.e. by its place in the social division of

⁸⁴ Wright (1976), p: 40

⁸⁵ Mukonoweshuro (1990), p:28

⁸⁶ Carter (1985), p:71

labor as a whole and this includes political and ideological relations”⁸⁷ So, the conjunction of economic, ideological and political levels determine the classes structurally. Although social classes exist in class struggle, class positions stemming from conjuncture and the structural place of a class is different from each other. In other words, “a social class may take up a class position that does not correspond to its interests, which are defined by the class determination that fixes the horizon of the class’s struggle”⁸⁸. This means, a particular class fraction’s ideology and actions can change in accordance with the conjuncture, and it does not indicate a change in its structurally determined class position.⁸⁹ This theoretical assumption indicates that, even new middle class sometimes acts with working class in industrial and political struggles; it does not mean that this stratum is moving to working class. Because, their structural class determination cannot be reduced to their class position which may change according to the conjuncture.⁹⁰

Poulantzas attributes a distinct class position to the new petit bourgeoisie with respect to the positions they held according to these three criteria (economic, ideological, and political). On the economic level, the boundary line between the new petit bourgeoisie and working class stems from the kind of labor they possess. He argues that, wage labor alone cannot be a criterion for defining the working class. He asserts that, “although every worker is a wage earner, every wage earner is not a worker for not every wage earner is engaged in productive labor”⁹¹ Although it will not be analyzed within the limited frame of this study, the way he uses the Marx’s definition of unproductive and productive labor as a demarcation line of the working class opened up a huge debate within Marxist tradition. He limited the definition of wage labor, therefore reduced the working class to a stratum that is composed of only the ones who engage in productive labor. But how should we

⁸⁷ Poulantzas Nicos (1974), “Classes in Contemporary Capitalism”, Lowe&Brydone Printers Ltd., Britain, p: 14

⁸⁸ Poulantzas (1974), p:15

⁸⁹ Clegg Steward, Boreham Pauli Dow Geoff (1986), “Class, Politics and the Economy”, Routledge, England, p: 172

⁹⁰ Steward et.al. (1986), p: 172

⁹¹ Poulantzas (1974), p:20

decide whether a labor is productive or not? Polunatzas assumes that, productive labor is the one which creates directly surplus value “while directly reproducing the material elements that serve as the substratum of the relation of exploitation: labor that is directly involved in material production by producing use-values that increase material wealth”⁹²

Therefore, the kind of labor which contributes to the circulation of surplus employed in the sectors such as - commerce, advertising, marketing, banking, insurance is not productive. Following this line of thought, new petit bourgeoisie which is composed of unproductive laborers, should be excluded from the ranks of the working class. Moreover, large numbers of blue collar “workers” are also excluded from the ranks of working class⁹³. Indeed, the productiveness criteria, which suggests that the surplus-value can only be gathered in the production of physical commodities, was criticized by many neo-Marxists -especially by Erik Olin Wright- because of the criteria’s arbitrariness.⁹⁴ It is seen as methodologically and analytically illogical to argue that the two workers who perform the same tasks -one in a productive enterprise, the other in an unproductive enterprise- should be conceived as belonging to the two separate classes.⁹⁵

On the political level, the boundary line between the new petit bourgeoisie and working class is determined by the criteria of “supervision”. Although supervisory labor in the realm of material production is “productive” and should be seen within working class on the economic level, the supervisory character of the labor disassociates the owners of it from the working class on the political level. Due its position on the social division of labor, supervisory labor provides the domination of capital over the working class. Due to their domination in social division of labor, Poulantzas asserts that “their principle function is that of extracting surplus-

⁹² Poulantzas (1974), p:216

⁹³ Ashcraft Richard (1979), “Class and Class Conflict in Contemporary Capitalist Societies”, *Comparative Politics*, Vol: 11, No: 2, p: 233

⁹⁴ Wright Erik (1976), “Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies”, *New Left Review*, issue: 98, p: 15

⁹⁵ Mukonoweshuro Eliphaz (1990), p:27

value form other workers- 'collecting' it"⁹⁶ Then, we may say that the political criteria further narrows down the definition of working class by excluding the supervisory staff employed in the realm of material production. However, since they are also subordinated to the capital, they are also excluded from the bourgeoisie. Indeed, we may conclude that, foreman and supervisors belong to the new middle class due their specific place regarding the political relations of domination and subordination.

On the ideological level, the boundary line between working class and the new middle class is based on the mental/manual distinction. For Poulantzas, through the mental manual divide, new middle class dominates the working class ideologically by keeping them away from the secret knowledge of production. The structural class position of all non manual workers, including the lower level clerks who do not directly supervise anyone, is then in the new petit bourgeoisie.⁹⁷ However, the mental labor of new petit bourgeoisie is also dominated by capital ideologically because although "experts may participate in the 'secret knowledge' of production, but that knowledge is always fragmented and dominated by the requirements of capitalist production and reproduction"⁹⁸ Erik Olin Wright again criticizes Poulantzas for choosing the mental/manual criteria arbitrarily as a sign of domination and as a determinant of class boundary. There are other dimensions of political domination, i.e. based on gender, race so on, and these dominations do not exclude the subordinate ones from the ranks of working class.⁹⁹

According to the positions regarding these three criterion, new petit bourgeoisie is defined as: "wage earning employees who do not belong to the working class but are themselves exploited by capital, either because they sell their labor-power, or because of the dominant position of capital in the terms of exchanges"¹⁰⁰ Although

⁹⁶ Poulantzas (1974), p:228

⁹⁷ Poulantzas (1974), p:252

⁹⁸ Wright (1976), p: 10

⁹⁹ Wright (1976), p: 20

¹⁰⁰ Poulantzas (1974), p:251

new petty bourgeoisie and traditional petty bourgeoisie occupy different structural positions, these two groups belong to a single class, the petty bourgeoisie. However, his new/traditional petty bourgeoisie definition does not mean that Poulantzas attained these groups an autonomous class position. Although in the short term the petty bourgeoisie, including the new one, have a political position, in the long run it does not have an autonomous class position independent of the positions of the two great classes. He contends that, “the ideological make up of the petty bourgeoisie is constituted within an arena of struggle between bourgeoisie and working class ideologies”¹⁰¹ This is why Poulantzas, the first figure in the social class literature who systematically included the time dimension into the analysis of class structure, used the term “ideological sub-ensemble” while analyzing the petty bourgeoisie life world.

For Poulantzas, due to this structural position the new petit-bourgeoisie develops a certain outlook. Since they are unproductive workers and they are exploited in a hidden form, their major consideration is related with their incomes. Although an egalitarian distribution of income and social justice is demanded, they strongly support wage differentials through which they differ themselves from manual working class. In order to pull up their mental labor to its deserved position, they demand rationalization and decentralization of the authority structure.¹⁰² Nevertheless the motivation behind this attempt is not derived from questioning the hierarchical structure as a whole. Indeed Poulantzas argues that “the petty bourgeoisie agents are, moreover, strongly attached to a hierarchy, even though they want this ‘re-arranged’ in respect to their relations both among themselves and with the working class”¹⁰³ The animosity they hold for “the rich” is also related with their constant fear of proletarianization. Poulantzas asserts that, their “monetary fetishism” and their constant fear bring about a strong belief in reformism and prevents them from supporting a revolutionary transformation of society. Accordingly, their work situation does not enable them to form class solidarity and

¹⁰¹ Steward et.al. (1986), p: 174

¹⁰² Poulantzas (1974), p:291

¹⁰³ Poulantzas (1974), p:291

their competitive isolation creates the basic feature of new petit bourgeoisie outlook; individualism.¹⁰⁴

The ideological sub-ensemble of the new petty bourgeoisie is squeezed between an aspiration to bourgeoisie above and a fear of proletarianization from below. While their fear causes individualism, the aspiration results in a belief in career development and upward social mobility. Therefore, the new petty bourgeoisie is the strong supporter of the democratization in the educational apparatus, through which it guarantees a better position for her/his offspring in the hierarchy of mental labor. New petit bourgeoisie's belief in meritocracy is also one of the reasons behind its reformist approach since "it does not want to break the ladders by which it imagines it can climb"¹⁰⁵ The cumulative effect of the attitudes presented above has also reflections upon the new petty bourgeoisie's evaluation of the state apparatus. Its "power fetishism", and its strong belief in meritocracy, develops a tendency towards seeing state as a neutral force mediating between different social classes.

Although Poulantzas describes the ideological sub-ensemble of the new petty bourgeoisie as it is homogeneous, he asserts that some fractions of the new petty bourgeoisie -especially lower level white-collars in the commercial sector, employees that are affected by the mechanization of labor in every sector and service sector lower rank employees- are much closer to proletarian polarization.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, although cleavages may cause some groups to have proletarian class position, these groups will always remain petty bourgeoisie.¹⁰⁷

Poulantzas attempt of defining how new middle "classness" shape the daily lives of people is still very inspiring today. Moreover his analysis formed the basis of the contemporary popular discourse on the "new middle class values". He outlined the outlook of those people, who "cannot be said to have full ownership or possession,

¹⁰⁴ Poulantzas (1974), p:291

¹⁰⁵ Poulantzas (1974), p:292

¹⁰⁶ Poulantzas (1974), p:314

¹⁰⁷ Carter (1985), p: 78

yet by actions, duties, interests and even wages they seem to be closely linked to the capitalist class”¹⁰⁸. **Ehrenreichs**, who are the supporters of the New Class thesis, make similar inferences regarding the political and cultural outlook of the new middle class. The term “New Class” is introduced by a number of Marxist scholars indicating that the new middle class contain the embryo of a new dominant class in the post-industrial societies. Although New Class theories include diversified approaches, what the scholars agree upon is the idea that, Marx was right to foresee that the ruling power of the bourgeoisie under capitalism will not last forever. However, they argue that Marx’s prediction that the post-capitalist society would be classless or would be ruled by proletariat will not be realized. Although there are different views upon the what-ness of this new class, they all suggest that it will rule the society instead of the working class and the capitalist class¹⁰⁹

Alvin Gouldner's “The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class” is seen as a cornerstone for the analysis of the New Class. According to him, New Class includes technical intelligentsia and bureaucrats whose power rests on ownership of the cultural capital and having the “culture of critical discourse”.¹¹⁰ In other words, the supporters of the new class thesis argue that, knowledge production takes the place of the industrial production in the advanced capitalist societies.¹¹¹ Since, the traditional industrial production has moved the “third world countries” due to the low level of costs, advanced capitalist countries evolve to a post-industrial society that is based on the production of services and knowledge.¹¹² Therefore, the knowledge controllers, who are mostly the wage earners are neither dispersed among contradictory locations nor exist as fractions of the petty bourgeoisie but form a distinct class.

¹⁰⁸ Mukonoweshuro (1990), p: 20

¹⁰⁹ Szelenyi Ivan and Martin Bill (1988), “The Three Waves of New Class Theories”, *Theory and Society*, vol:17, No:5, p: 647

¹¹⁰ Wacquant Loic (1991), “Making Class: The Middle Class(es) in Social Theory and Social Structure”, In *Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, ed. by: McNall Scott, Levine Rhonda, Fantasia Rick, Westview Press, USA, p: 46

¹¹¹ Howe Carolyn (1992), “Political Ideology and Class Formation: A Study of the Middle Class”, Praeger Publishers, USA, p: 31

¹¹² Bell Daniel (1973), “The Coming of Post- Industrial Society: A venture in Social Forecasting”, Basic Books, New York

The thesis of John and Barbara Ehrenreich regarding this New Class is the most sophisticated analysis of this approach through which the relationship of this new class with the whole class structure is questioned. Their analysis begins with criticizing the “new working class” approach, (had been put forward mainly by Aronowitz, Denitch Mallet and Gorz in 70’s) which assumes that the “interests of the new middle class is able to represent and articulate the entire working class, leading the traditional proletariat toward an emancipatory future”¹¹³ Instead, Ehrenreichs argue that the new middle class categories that has been debated in the Marxist analysis for many decades “the technical workers, managerial workers, culture producers etc. must be understood as a distinct class in monopoly capitalist society”¹¹⁴. Professional Managerial Class – PMC as they call it- is a distinct class in their terms in accordance with the way they define “class”.

For Ehrenreichs, classes are defined by two general characteristics, one of which is familiar to us from the Marxist approach in general. Firstly, “class is defined by a common relation to the economic foundations of society –the means of production and the socially organized patterns of distribution and consumption”¹¹⁵. Nevertheless, only common relation to economic foundations of society does not necessarily make a group a real social class. A second criterion which is “a coherent and cultural existence” is needed. Needless to say, commonality in terms of the lived experience is not a widely used criterion for Marxist approaches to class. However, Ehrenreichs explains why coherent cultural existence is significant in detail and argue that class should have these two characteristics so as to be a real entity.

At any moment in its historical development after its earliest, formative period, a class is characterized by a coherent social and cultural existence; members of a class share a common life style, educational background, kinship networks, consumption patterns, work habits,

¹¹³ Howe Carolyn (1992), p:35

¹¹⁴ Ehrenreich Barbara&John (1979), “The Professional Managerial Class”, In *Between Labour and Capital*, ed.by : Pat Walker, The Harvester Press, Britain, p: 9

¹¹⁵ Ehrenreich Barbara&John (1979), p: 11

beliefs.....In addition, the social existence of a group of people is determined not only by its experience at the point of production, but by its experience in private life (mediated especially by kinship relations, production). The relationship between class as abstract economic relationship and class as real social existence has been all-but-unexplored..¹¹⁶

However, it should be noted that Ehrenreichs use Braverman's working class definition which includes the routine clerical workers and sales personnel that are included in the new middle class ranks according to the previous approaches. In other words, Ehrenreichs approach excludes the lower levels of new middle class from the PMC. But why Ehrenreichs insist that PMC is a distinct class different from the "the old middle class of artisans shopkeepers, self employed professionals and independent farmers"¹¹⁷ on the one hand and the working class on the other hand? Since Ehrenreich defines PMC as "consisting of salaried mental workers who do not own the means of production and whose major function in the social division of labor may be described broadly as the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations"¹¹⁸, they assume that the relationship between them and working class is objectively antagonistic. They argue that the interests of PMC and the working class are mutually contradictory. Moreover, the contradiction does not limited to the realm of objective relations but also has reflections upon the daily lives of individuals. Therefore they conclude that, through the interaction, working class people develop "hostility and deference" towards the PMC while PMC itself develops "contempt and paternalism" towards the working class. Moreover, PMC is also distinct from the old middle class, since old middle class lies outside the polarity of labor and capital. Furthermore PMC and capitalist class have contradictory interests because capitalists have logic of profit maximization while PMC operates with a rationalistic logic under the guidance of their expert knowledge.

Apart from their attempts of identifying the political character of PMC, what deserve further attention are their systematic analysis of the common culture and the lifestyle

¹¹⁶ Ehrenreich Barbara&John (1979), p: 11

¹¹⁷ Ehrenreich Barbara&John (1979), p: 18

¹¹⁸ Ehrenreich Barbara&John (1979), p:12

patterns of this class. Ehrenreichs argue that the interior life of PMC is widely affected by the reproduction since the positions they occupy is not hereditary but achieved. The continuous effort that is needed for self-recruitment make this class obsessive about child raising. Mostly women of this class are responsible for the acquisition of good performances at school and credentials for desired positions.

As a result of the anxiety about class reproduction, all of the ordinary experiences of life –growing up, giving birth, childraising- are freighted with an external significance unknown in other classes. Private life thus becomes too arduous to be lived in private; the inner life of the PMC must be continuously shaped, updated and revised by of course ever mounting numbers of experts: experts in childraising, family living, sexual fulfillment, self-realization, etc.¹¹⁹

Developing an ideology of its own -technocratic liberalism-, following certain ways of recruitment –good education via elite universities-, and forming its own network –professional associations-, PMC ensures its unique existence in the class structure.

¹²⁰

However, affected by the climate of the 60's new left movement, they suggest the dissolution of the contradictions between working class and PMC would bring a mass movement. In other words, they wrote the prescription for altering the society as the combination of working class experience with the socialist thinking kept alive by middle class intellectuals.¹²¹

Although Ehrenreichs are criticized because of not theorizing the antagonism between capitalist class and the PMC comprehensively¹²², their emphasis on the importance of the lived experiences of the individuals and shared class culture as the constitutive of a social class, are very significant contributions to structuralist account of Marxist approaches. Even they narrowed down the definition of the new middle class when compared to Poulantzas and Carchedi, the unity of the class culture of PMC –including their lifestyle, aspirations, values, and interests etc- as

¹¹⁹ Ehrenreich Barbara&John (1979), p: 30

¹²⁰ Wacquant Loic (1991), p: 46

¹²¹ Steward et.al. (1986), p: 161

¹²² Carter (1985) p: 82 and Steward et.al. (1986), p: 161

they put forward, can still be problematic. If PMC includes both a top manager whose class of origin is also PMC and also a nurse whose class of origin is working class, it would be not wrong to assume that such heterogeneity would have reflections upon how those people experience the class position they have. Although Ehrenreichs and Poulantzas has widen the scope of Marxist analysis, their work can still be criticized because of their over-generalizations regarding the political and cultural outlook of a very diversified and heterogeneous group with only giving reference to the same structural position they share within the production relations.

2.3.3 Approaches to the New Middle Class after Weber

Weber's notion of class which is derived from the sphere of market rather than sphere of production has built the theoretical ground for many contemporary approaches to the middle class. Two important points should be stated before passing to the key ideas developed within these approaches. First, the approaches derived from Weberian notion do not include uniform theories of new middle class in particular as it is in the neo-Marxian cases. In accordance with their methodologies, rather than specifically focusing on the theoretical position and ideological outlook of the new middle class, these approaches introduced new tools for understanding the particular features of these white-collar groups in advanced capitalism. Secondly, it would be wrong to label all of them as neo-Weberians, although Lockwood and Golthorpe have always been discussed under the heading of neo-Weberian approach. However the rest include the combination of certain theoretical standings such as Giddens who articulate the Weberian and Marxian themes together and Savage who developed a socio-historical approach by elaborating the Weberian idea of assets which determine the life chances. What is common in these approaches is that, they take into consideration the possession of market-relevant assets seriously and analyzed them systematically since "class is of interest because it links individuals' positions in capitalist markets to inequality in the distribution of life chances"¹²³ Indeed, those who stand in the middle according to the statistical distribution of income and prestige and those who own high

¹²³ Breen Richard (2005), "Foundations of a neo-Weberian Class Analysis", In *Approaches to Class Analysis*, ed.by: Erik Olin Wright, Cambridge University Press, UK, p: 35

credentials in Weberian terms –white collar workers and professionals- are regarded as middle class. Thus, for Weberian inspired approaches to middle class “the manual-non manual line is considered to mark the boundary of the middle class”¹²⁴ Weberian inspired approaches the new middle class is also internally diversified like Marxist approaches. However, when compared to Marxist approaches, Weberian inspired analysis “share a more strong empiricist focus on research, rather than on class theory per se, and typically remain close to the data”¹²⁵. Weberian inspired approaches can be grouped with a similar logic that is used in the neo-Marxian approaches. Throughout their analysis, Giddens and Lockwood draw an ideal type for the new middle class milieu while Goldthorpe and Savages debate on the horizontal and vertical differentiation within its ranks.

2.3.3.1 The New Middle Class Ideal Type

One notable exception to the strong empiricist focus of the neo-Weberian inspired analysis is **Giddens** who developed a more structural framework and developed the thesis of class structuration. Although he insists that much of his theoretical insights are borrowed from Marx, his thesis of class structuration is built upon the critique of Marx because “he is not able to encompass that grouping which has always escaped adequate analysis in Marxist terms; the new middle class in capitalism”¹²⁶ Due to his expectation that the technological advancements would reduce productive works to a homogeneous skill level, Marx was not able to recognize the importance of the “market capacity” which do not stem from the property ownership.¹²⁷ Therefore, he brings a novelty to the formulation of Marxist definition of exploitation and expresses it as “any socially conditioned form of asymmetrical production of life chances”¹²⁸ To put it another way, Giddens’s theory

¹²⁴ Wacquant Loic (1991), p: 48

¹²⁵ Wacquant Loic (1991), p: 48

¹²⁶ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 101

¹²⁷ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 103

¹²⁸ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 130

diverges from Marxism since he conceptualizes exploitation through differentials in market capacity by using the Weberian notion of life chances, rather than through surplus value. Moreover, his analysis regarding the structuration of classes aims to enlighten one of the blank spots of Weber's theory; the processes where by economic classes become social classes.¹²⁹

Giddens argues that, the structuration of social classes is facilitated as the chances of mobility create classes within which homogeneous experience and similar market capacity is experienced. He identifies three types of market capacity that structures the classes in advanced capitalism; ownership of property in the means of production, possession of educational qualifications, and possession of manual labor-power.¹³⁰ Those different market capacities create easily observable economic and socio-cultural differences between manual and white collar workers "through the distinct clusters of mobility, life-chances, lifestyle ...and distribute groupings such as neighborhoods and status communities further reinforces the cleavage between the middle and working classes"¹³¹

Although Giddens does not analytically separate the old middle class from the new one through his three class schema, he uses the term "new middle class" while referring to "propertyless, non-manual or white-collar workers". The difference he made between "class consciousness" and "class awareness" acts as a mirror upon which the inner world of the new middle class is reflected. Class awareness includes the awareness of common life style and similar attitudes raised from the class structuration. However, class awareness does not comprise a consciousness in which these similarities are perceived as class affiliations and does not necessarily create class consciousness.¹³² The new middle class structuration produces its typical cognitive perspective as class awareness rather than class consciousness. Here, Giddens attributes certain characteristics such as individualism and belief in

¹²⁹ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 105

¹³⁰ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 107

¹³¹ Wacquant Loic (1991), p: 49

¹³² Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 111

meritocracy to the new middle class with which we are definitely familiar from the neo-Marxist approaches.

“A number of fairly recent, and well-known, studies in the European countries have demonstrated that class awareness, rather than class consciousness, is the typical cognitive perspective of the middle class. The image of society, as Willener calls it, of the white collar worker involves a hierarchical perception of occupational levels distinguished by differences in income and status –an evident generalization from the hierarchical system of authority in which the non-manual worker is located. Movement up and down this hierarchy is perceived to be decided by the initiative and energy shown by any particular individual. Consistent with this ‘individualism’, is a general willingness to accept ‘deferred gratification’ as necessary investment to secure anticipated future rewards”¹³³

Although he suggests that the new middle class image of society does only enable the formation of class awareness, Giddens avoids making generalization from this European experience. He hesitates to apply this ideal-type of new middle class outlook in such way that will encompass all the positions within the new middle class.

A similar ideal type for the new middle class was also drawn by **Lockwood** whose studies bear the stamp of alternative ways of approaching to the phenomenon although he did not directly studied the class position or class experience of the new middle class. In his study *Affluent Worker*, he and his colleagues tested the embourgeoisement thesis –whether the affluent manual workers become middle class or not- empirically. For this, apart from focusing on the structural class position of the social classes, he calls attention to the different aspects of class formation. For him, *relational aspect of class formation* refers to “the extend to which a class can be identified through its more or less exclusive patterns of informal social interactions of which the principal indices are intermarriage and informal association”¹³⁴ On the other hand, *normative aspect of class formation* includes the capacity of a social class in terms of having common values and beliefs

¹³³ Giddens Anthony (1971), p: 185

¹³⁴ Lockwood David (1995), “Marking Out the Middle Class(es)” *In Social Change and the Middle Classes*, ed.by: Butler Tim and Savage Mike, UCL Press, London, p: 6

which become observable through specific norms and forms of behavior. This is why in his empirical study *Affluent Worker*, while testing the whether manual workers became middle class through the process of embourgeoisement, he defines his objective as “to bring together data which pertained both to attitudes and to social behavior and relationships, and to cover work and non-work milieux alike, the ultimate aim being that of forming some idea of the total life-situations and life-styles of the individuals and groups we studied”¹³⁵ Therefore, while studying whether affluent workers experience a process of embourgeoisement or not, apart from the working conditions he also focuses on the relational and normative aspects of their class formation and includes the social perspectives and the norms of behavior of the group that was studied to his analysis.

Consistent with his approach, Lockwood and his colleagues analyze affluent workers class experience on three grounds –the world of work, the pattern of sociability, aspirations and social perspectives- which should definitely receive the attention of the class researchers who are interested in the class-ness of the class. While questioning whether affluent workers adopt middle class worlds¹³⁶, apart from the world of work, he focused on their speech and dress, eating habits and styles of decor, leisure activities, child rearing practices and parental aspirations. However, Lockwood and his colleagues were well aware of the fact that the literature lacks comprehensive studies that aims to shed light on the middle class milieux. As they have stated in the one of the footnotes;

In making statements of this kind, we are all well aware of the fact that detailed studies of the life-styles and sociability of the British middle class are unfortunately few, and thus that attempts to assess the degree to which our affluent workers and their wives approximate middle class patterns cannot always be as well grounded empirically as would be desirable¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Golthorpe John, Lockwood David, Bechhofer Frank and Platt Jennifer (1971), “The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure”, Cambridge, Britain, p: 31

¹³⁶ Although Lockwood and his colleagues did not used the term “new middle class”, they use the term white collar interchangeably with the term middle class. In the appendixes part of their study (p: 197) the occupational classification they made for the white collar refers to the groups that are conceptualized as new middle class in our study.

¹³⁷ Golthorpe John, Lockwood David, Bechhofer Frank and Platt Jennifer (1971), p: 91

The ideal type they used for the new middle class perspective shares many common elements with that of Giddens and Poulantzas. They argued that for the white collar middle class the social order resembles a ladder through which one can climb the stairs. And this hierarchical order is not closed, rather “it is possible for individuals to move from one level of the hierarchy to the another... Those who have ability and initiative can overcome obstacles and create their own opportunities”¹³⁸. In other words, the middle class perspective is motivated by a deep belief in meritocracy and the social position that one achieves is believed to depend on one’s own effort. Therefore, typical objective is to “keep up a progressive improvement in consumption standards and, correspondingly a steady ascent in terms of prestige and the quality of life style”¹³⁹. The main expectation is the progress in career, rise in the income, and betterment in the life style. This hope orients the white collar middle class towards the future causing them to make sacrifices now so as to ensure greater advancements in the future. Here again, one of the most repeated feature of the white collar middle class ascertained again by Lockwood and his colleagues; that is deferred gratification.

Contrary to the ideal type of the working class perspective, middle class values in the realm of work is individualistic and the basis of their work motivation is the belief that one has to make sacrifices and show enough effort so as to reach to the desired welfare which is certainly his/her responsibility. The individualistic moral ethic of the white collar middle class achievements is conceived as an important indicator of the individual’s moral worth. However, this individualistic social ethic affects the parental aspirations of the middle class turning the child-raising into an area of “investment”. As Lockwood and colleagues suggests;

However, the achievement is also regarded as a family concern: parents feel an obligation to try to give their children a “better start in life” than they themselves enjoyed and then anticipate that their offspring will in turn attain to a still higher level in the social scale. In other words, the expectation is again that advancement will be continuous –between

¹³⁸ Lockwood David, Golthorpe John (1996), “Affluence and the British Class Structure” In *Class: Critical Concepts*, Volume IV, ed. by: John Scott, Routledge, London, p: 26

¹³⁹ Golthorpe John, Lockwood David, Bechhofer Frank and Platt Jennifer (1971), p: 120

generations as well as in the course of individual lifetimes. Indeed through parental aspirations for children, it is possible for desires and hopes for the future to become virtually limitless¹⁴⁰

In their empirical study they observed that the white collar parents are more in touch with their children's education, and they eagerly take part in their children's chances of success. Ehrenreich's observation regarding the new middle class culture -that is motivated by the anxiety of class reproduction and obsession of child raising- seems to be consistent with results of the Affluent Worker project. Lockwood and his colleagues further argues, consistent with this ethos, parents desire a good job for their offspring which "leads somewhere". Following this line of thought, unions are conceived as burdens on the people who are constantly devoting energy for self advancement.¹⁴¹

The thesis of proletarianization of the new middle class could not find many supporters within the Weberian tradition since market situation is seen as an important factor in the class formation of the new middle classes. Although Giddens analysis contains certain connotations regarding the heterogeneity within the new middle class, he never agrees that the lower segment of this class is experiencing a process of proletarianization. Neither mechanization nor the automation of the office work would annihilate the middle class which is conceived as a class sui generis in capitalism. Lockwood's other study *Blackcoated Worker*, which investigates the differences in class consciousness between manual and clerical workers can also be regarded as the anti-thesis of class polarization. Using the Weberian criteria, Lockwood analyses the market situation, work situation and the status situation of the clerical workers and concludes that "blackcoated worker" differs from manual workers in all three of these aspects.¹⁴² Both studies of Lockwood approved that manual, non-manual divide is significant both in the relational and normative aspects of class formation and suggests that there exists a commonality in terms of perspective, total life situation, values and attitudes within

¹⁴⁰ Golthorpe John, Lockwood David, Bechhofer Frank and Platt Jennifer (1971), p: 121

¹⁴¹ For a table comparing the working class and middle class perspective, see: Lockwood David, Golthorpe John (1996), "Affluence and the British Class Structure" In *Class: Critical Concepts*, Volume IV, ed. by: John Scott, Routledge, London, p: 26

¹⁴² Lockwood David (1966), "The Blackcoated Worker", Unwin University Books, Britain, p: 201

this huge new middle class population that includes both the clerk at the lower end and the professionals at the upper end.

2.3.3.2 Horizontal and Vertical Differentiations within the New Middle Class

Although Giddens and Lockwood draws similar ideal types for the new middle class milieu as a whole, one of the most frequently referred neo-Weberian class schema of **Goldthorpe** disperses the class position of the new middle class into two different camps; upper segment belonging to the “service class” and the lower segment belonging to the “intermediate class”.

Actually the term service class used in many different ways within existing literature, especially frequently used interchangeable with the term “new middle class”. “Service Class” first used by Austrian Marxist Karl Renner in the 1930’s.¹⁴³ Renner used the term for referring to employees employed by capitalists so as to function for control and regulation of workers. Renner’s service class occupies in the middle of the class structure between bourgeoisie and working class¹⁴⁴ Later on, Goldthorpe used the term service class with a different connotation than Renner in his neo-Weberian class schema which is developed to measure the mobility patterns. In his class schema, the classes are differentiated according to the employment relations that they entail and for a starting point he differentiates between three divisions of class positions deriving from Marx and Weber: Employers, self employed, and employees.¹⁴⁵ Further, according to the conditions of the employment he creates a seven-fold class schema dispersing the new middle class groups into Class I, Class II and Class III. ¹⁴⁶ Goldthorpe uses the term Service Class for the class I –composed of all higher grade professionals, higher grade administrators, managers and large proprietors- and class II –composed of lower

¹⁴³ Savage Mike, Barlow James, Dickens Peter and Fielding Tony, (1992), “Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: Middle Class Formation in Contemporary Britain”, Routledge, New York, p: 7

¹⁴⁴ Hindess Barry (1987), p:69

¹⁴⁵ Goldthorpe John and Erikson Robert (1992), “The Constant Flux : A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies”, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp: 37-40

¹⁴⁶ Goldthorpe John (1987), “Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain”, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp: 41-42

grade professionals and higher grade technicians, lower grade administrators and officials and supervisors of non-manual employees-. While service class was a middle class in Renner's usage, for Goldthorpe, they form the upper ranks of the class schema with the large proprietors. On the other hand, the lower ranks of the new middle class –routine non-manual employees in administration, commerce and sales personnel - is grouped under Class III which is structurally located in the middle between service class and the working class.¹⁴⁷

The principle that divides the new middle class into three different class locations is the difference stemming from their employment status. The relationship of the service class I and II with the employer is based upon service contract and trust therefore it is rewarded with more “favorable remuneration, conditions of service, security of tenure and crucially career advancement prospects”¹⁴⁸. Although the lower ranks of the new middle class that is grouped under class III is regarded as separate from the service class, “might rather be seen as representing a white collar labour force functionally associated with but marginal to the service class”¹⁴⁹. On the other hand, the working classes VI and VII, is bound to the employer by a labour contract –not with a service relationship based on trust- which is marked by no attempt of securing long term relationship.

As stated above, throughout the literature review, it is observed that, those who studied the new middle class phenomenon frequently used the term with service class interchangeably, however, now it is clear that service class only refers to the upper segment of the new middle class. In his earlier works Goldthorpe made a distinction between established new middle class and marginal new middle class, the former later on categorized as service class and placed at the upper ranks of the class schema while the latter categorized as intermediate strata and positioned below the service classes. However, if service class is the “established” new middle

¹⁴⁷ For a detailed table of Goldthorpe's sevenfold class schema see: Goldthorpe John and Erikson Robert (1992), “The Constant Flux : A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies”, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp: 38-39

¹⁴⁸ Butler Tim (1995), “The Debate over the Middle Classes”, in *Social Change and the Middle Classes*, ed.by: Tim Butler and Mike Savage, UCL Press, London, p: 28

¹⁴⁹ Goldthorpe John (1987), p: 41

class for Goldthorpe, why it is located at the highest rank in the class schema together with the large proprietors is not clear. To put another way, the assumption that ‘the cultural and organizational assets’ power is comparable to the power of property’ is not well explored.

Table 2.3: Class Schema of Goldthorpe

	OLD	NEW
ESTABLISHED	Large Proprietors	Salaried Professionals
	Independent Professionals	Administrators, Managers
		Officials, Higher Grade Technicians
MARGINAL	Small proprietors	Routine non-Manual employees
	Self employed artisans	Lower Grade Technicians
	Own account workers	Foremen

Source: Goldthorpe (1978) *B.F Sociology*, quoted in King Roger, Raynor John, Cliff Dallas, Sparks Geoffrey (1981), “The Middle Class: Aspects of Modern Sociology; The Social Structure of Modern Britain”, Longman, UK, p: 43

Like Giddens structuration thesis and Lockwood’s normative/relational aspect of class formation, Goldthorpe also emphasize the significance of the process of class formation. For him, there are two types of class formation, namely demographic and socio cultural and unlike Giddens and Lockwood, he argues that the service class has not yet been formed on these two levels. The heterogeneity in terms of class backgrounds and continuing class mobility into the service class prevent service class from forming its both demographic and socio-cultural identity. For Goldthorpe, demographic identity refers to “whether classes have emerged as ‘specific social collectivities...collectivities that are identifiable through the degree of continuity with which in consequence of patterns of class mobility and immobility, their members are associated with particular sets of positions over time”¹⁵⁰ As service class forms its demographic identity, it will than begin to form its socio-cultural identity by creating a common and identifiable life style, patterns of association and mode of action. Although service class has not yet been formed

¹⁵⁰ Goldthorpe (1983), “Women and Class Analysis: in Defence of the Conventional View”, *Sociology*, 17(4), cited in Crompton Rosemary (1998), “Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates”, Polity Press, UK, p: 68

on these two grounds, Goldthorpe argues that, after the formation service class will have a conservative outlook. Contrary to the expectations of new class approach to the new middle class, Goldthorpe argues that the upper segments of the new middle class –in other words service class- would act in defense of the privileges flourished from the favored conditions of employment. Due to the eagerness for maintaining their distinguished position, the service class will want to police the space below and therefore there will be no chance of political alliance with the working class¹⁵¹

In a more recent publication, Goldthorpe emphasizes that the regularities that form the socio-cultural formation of the service class should receive further attention and asserts that “some explanation of how these regularities are actually generated, at the “micro” level, by processes of social action and interaction that can themselves be shown to occur in a similarly generalized way”¹⁵² The strategies pursued by service class families such as the effort shown for finding the best organization of the possessed capital so as to help their children maintain their class position should be studied with detail.

Although Goldthorpe’s service class thesis is perceived as the most promising approach to explore how the middle classes might actually be social classes in their own right, he is criticized since because he underestimated the role of the different causal powers in the formation of the middle class. **Savage** criticizes the structural approaches which are not able to explore the precise causal and determining links between social class and other phenomena since it undermines the historical formation of classes.¹⁵³ According to Savage, social classes are not only “classificatory devices” but they are social collectivities who are effective on social change. Apart from shared culture and lifestyle, these collectivities should have a similar position in the process of exploitation and Savage determines three differing types of exploitation arising from the dynamic relations between three specific

¹⁵¹ Butler Tim (1995), p: 30

¹⁵² Goldthorpe H. John (1995), “The Service Class Revisited”, in *Social Change and the Middle Classes*, ed.by: Tim Butler and Mike Savage, UCL Press, London, p: 326

¹⁵³ Savage Mike and Butler Tim (1995), “Assets and the Middle Classes in Contemporary Britain” in *Social Change and the Middle Classes* ed.by: Tim Butler and Mike Savage, UCL Press, London, p: 347

assets: namely: *property, bureaucracy and culture*.¹⁵⁴ If we apply the assets into occupational structure, in the crudest sense, those who use the property assets are the petty bourgeoisie (self employed and small-medium entrepreneurs), those who use the organizational assets are managers and administrators, and those who use cultural assets are professionals. However, this does not mean that there are three distinct middle classes. One person can utilize a number of those assets or try to convert one type of asset into another one. Furthermore, these assets do not have symmetrical power and they yield differing potentials for class formation. Property assets allow to exploit other people' labour and can be easily transmitted and stored therefore it is the most robust bases of class formation. Organizational assets allow the superordinates to exploit the others below him but it cannot be stored as easily as property assets. On the other hand, although cultural assets needs contexts through which it can produce material rewards, they can well be stored and transmitted –via ensuring the ownership of the cultural capital of the offspring-¹⁵⁵

Although Savage identifies three types of assets effective in the formation of middle classes, he argues that their significance varies historically and spatially. This is why he perceives the actual nature of middle class formation as an “empirical matter... and one need to see how the dynamic between the three assets takes place in any particular time and place”¹⁵⁶ Since classes are formed in specific historical conditions, the contemporary trends in the middle class formation has much to do with recent economic structuring. Although Savage conceptualizes organizational assets as distinct axis of exploitation, he argues that there is an erosion of this asset in contemporary Britain due to economic restructuring. Major reason behind the decline of the value of organizational assets is related to a shift towards post-fordist production techniques. ¹⁵⁷ These recent changes undermine the distinction between managerial and professional middle classes causing the split of contemporary middle classes broadly into between professional (endowed with cultural assets) and propertied middle classes (endowed with property asset). By approaching to the

¹⁵⁴ Savage Mike, Barlow James, Dickens Peter and Fielding Tony (1992), p: 17

¹⁵⁵ Savage Mike, Barlow James, Dickens Peter and Fielding Tony (1992), p: 18

¹⁵⁶ Savage Mike, Barlow James, Dickens Peter and Fielding Tony (1992), p: 18

¹⁵⁷ Savage Mike, Barlow James, Dickens Peter and Fielding Tony (1992), p: 59

issue without neglecting the historical factors, Savage shows that the service class of Goldthorpe is composed of diversified class situations which endowed with diversified assets and experienced different patterns of formation. His approach definitely offers us tools¹⁵⁸ for studying the horizontal differences within the middle class between the one formed by property assets –traditional middle class- and the one formed by cultural assets –new middle class- the significance of which varies spatially and historically.¹⁵⁹

2.4 New Class Paradigm: Tool is the “lived experience”

As it can be inferred from the history of the theoretical approaches to the new middle class, the sociological debate on class was organized around the debates between the Marxist and Weberian tradition for a long time. The main attempt was on how best to define class in occupational terms and therefore class analysis is said to be focused on measurement issues.¹⁶⁰ The main failure of this kind of analysis was viewed as not the lie not in its lack of concern with the “economic”, but in its difficulties in explaining the relationship between class and culture”¹⁶¹

Through a recent interest in the relationship between culture and stratification, which will be discussed below, the cultural dimensions of a variety of economic, social and political processes are begin to be explored. However, it would be wrong to argue that the relationship of class and culture was not explored until the “cultural turn” but we can argue that the way culture is entered into the analysis of class researchers in the 50s and the way it is now considerable differs from each other. The years between 1940s and 1970s –which is labeled as the golden years of the traditional research on class- the cultural meanings of class inherent in the subjective perceptions, social relations and in everyday living was included in the

¹⁵⁸ For a detailed empirical analysis regarding how these different assets affects the consumption patterns and therefore perpetuates the historical formation, see Savage et al (1992), pp 99-131

¹⁵⁹ Edgell Stephen (1993), p:73

¹⁶⁰Savage Mike(2000), “Class analysis and Social Transformation”, Open University Press, UK, p 18

¹⁶¹Devine Fiona, Savage Mike(2000), “Conclusion: Renewing Class Analysis”, in *Renewing Class Analysis* ed.by: Fiona Devine and Mike Savage, Blackwell Publishers, p: 193

class analysis. E.P Thomson's pioneering study¹⁶² could be an example to such an approach since he directly defines the classes as not abstract categories but as an experience and as a relationship buried in the everyday living of the individuals. However, the way Thompson conceptualizes the class experience is much more focused to uncover the decisive role of the positions in the production relations over the everyday living of the individuals.¹⁶³ Therefore, such approaches are criticized by the new class paradigm because they link the issue of class culture directly with class consciousness especially of the working class.¹⁶⁴

The main criticism towards such approaches stems from the fact that they all fall into the trap of conceptual dualism between structure and action. Labeled as S.C.A (structure-consciousness-action) approaches, these researchers perceived consciousness as the intermediary between structure and action. Moreover, the traditional approaches suffer from the dualism they assume between culture and economy. To put it another way, class cultures have been viewed as rooted in the economic positions and following this line of thought "the social imagery, values and norms of a class are reduced to being the 'effect' of (i.e. caused by) the economic class in which people are situated...culture is, in effect, conceived as the dependent 'variable', while economy is seen as the independent 'variable'"¹⁶⁵

...class analysis has traditionally relied on a S-C-A model, whereby class structure is seen as leading to class action through giving rise to a particular type of class consciousness with the result that identities are crucial intermediary in understanding the structure- action relationship..S-C-A model ultimately depends on an instrumental theory of social identity that involves reducing norms and actions to a material base.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Thompson Edward Palmer (1991) "The Making of the English Working Class", Penguin Books, London

¹⁶³ Thompson Edward Palmer (1994), "Teorinin Sefaleti", Alan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, p:177

¹⁶⁴ Devine Fiona Savage Mike (2005), "The Cultural Turn, Sociology and Class Analysis" ,In *Rethinking Class: Culture, Identities and Lifestyle*, ed.by: Fiona Devine, Mike Savage, John Scott, Rosemary Crompton, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, p: 4

¹⁶⁵ Le Grand Elias (2008), "Realist Class Theory and Ethnographic Research", Paper Presented at the 11th Annual IACR Conference, King's College, University of London, p:2

¹⁶⁶ Bagnall Gaynor, Svage Mike, Longhurst Brian (2001), "Ordinary, Ambivalent and Defensive: Class Identities in the Northwest of England", *Sociology*, vol: 35, no: 875, p: 877

The school of thought that has risen in response to the limitations of the conventional class theory and has called for a “renewal” in the class project is referred as “cultural turn” in the literature. The figures in those approaches argued that ‘closer investigation of interests and identities is required by focusing upon the interrelationship of the “economic” and the “social”¹⁶⁷. However, the one of the problems that culturalist approaches faces with is the “absence of clear cut class identities, despite persisting inequality”¹⁶⁸ For instance Savage argues that Britain is not a class conscious society in the traditional terms since class is not seen embodying membership of collective groups, however people identify themselves as members of class although “this identification seems contextual and limited significance, rather than being a major source of their identity and group belonging”¹⁶⁹

Why then class is still of importance if it does not give rise to collective consciousness or communities and what actually class refers to for this approach? After the cultural turn, the classes are no more seen as objective categories filled by the researcher but seen as constructed through the individuals’ symbolic means and social practices.¹⁷⁰ Class is something that individuals actually live, and something through which they construct their identities. Class is neither the name of the category we fill in but it is what we are, related with our “classed identities”¹⁷¹ To put it another way, the footprints of class are not being searched in the collective action but instead the footprints are followed on our individual territory including our everyday living, our habits and our evaluative schemas. “Rather than seeing class identities as collective they focus on how individual identities are shaped by

¹⁶⁷ Bottero Wendy(2004), “Class Identities and the Identity of Class”, *Sociology*, vol: 38, no: 985, p: 986

¹⁶⁸ Bottero Wendy(2004), p: 987

¹⁶⁹ Savage Mike(2000), p: 40

¹⁷⁰ Le Grand Elias (2008), “Realist Class Theory and Ethnographic Research”, Paper Presented at the 11th Annual IACR Conference, King’s College, University of London, p: 8
http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/law/events/0708/iacr/papers/leGrand_Realist_Class_Theory_and_Ethnographic_Research.pdf

¹⁷¹ Lawler Steph (2005), “Introduction: Class, Culture and Identity”, *Sociology*, vol:39, no: 5, p: 797

class processes. There is, in other words, a move from collective class identities to *classed* individual identities”¹⁷²

This kind of approaching to the class also includes answers to the perspectives that applaud the “death of class” due to the individualization of the society. Pakulski for instance argues in the late industrial period, classes are decomposed and the major indicators for this shift are the declining class organizations and the process of progressive individualization.¹⁷³ The proponents of the new approach view this individuality not as signaling the death of class but contrarily as a process deeply bound up with class. In other words lack of collective class identity is also the outcome of a class process. In order to argue that a class process is operating, we do not have to observe people identifying themselves with distinct class groupings. In other words, as Le Grand clearly summarizes, “the emphasis is not on the development (or not) of class consciousness, but rather on the classed nature of particular social and cultural practices”.¹⁷⁴ So, the individualization did not bury the class beneath the ground, but shifted the way it operates. In contemporary society, “while collective class identities are indeed weak, people continue to define their own individual identities in ways which inevitably involve relational comparisons with members of various social classes’, representing ‘the reforming of class cultures around individualized axes”¹⁷⁵ Although class processes are definitely less observable, the effect of class on the daily lives of individuals continues, but of course not in the sense that S-C-A approaches suggest.

This is a radical shift in how class is seen to operate. Rather than the polar terms of ‘class in itself’ giving rise to ‘class for itself’ in which inequality triggered consciousness and action, this new model sets out a reverse process, where explicit class identification and awareness dissolve, leaving behind a hierarchical version of ‘class’, implicitly encoded in identity through practice.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Le Grand Elias (2008), p: 9

¹⁷³ Pakulski Jan (2005), “Foundations of a Post-Class Analysis”, in *Approaches to Class Analysis*, ed.by Wright Erik Olin, Cambridge University Press, UK, pp: 152-193

¹⁷⁴ Bottero Wendy(2004), p: 989

¹⁷⁵ Savage Mike(2000), p: xiii

¹⁷⁶ Bottero Wendy (2004), p: 991

To whom people interact with or what kind of a lifestyle they have is strongly motivated by the hierarchy that class creates. Although this hierarchy does not turn into overt conflict it does not mean that there exists no class conflict and exclusion. However, to conceptualize class solely as embedded in the daily lives of individuals as “classed identity” can have certain shortcomings. To put it frankly, it is like skating on the thin ice and the balance is crucial since the new research agenda can lead to “winning the cultural battles but losing the class war”. To take culture seriously should not make us reduce the class practices to the level of identity politics which would inevitably make us blind to the issues of structured inequality. Some authors have called attention to the timing of the new research agenda, implying it is suspicious that it coincides with a time when structured inequalities are deepened by the capitalist mode of production. This is the reason behind their argument that, while following the traces of class upon the daily lives of individuals, we should not forget why we actually study class and why class is primary importance for us as an explanatory variable regarding the distributional inequalities.

“In particular, it tended to write class itself out of the agenda of social theory and research, virtually replacing it with discussions of culture consumption and identity alone.....thus identity politics associated with the cultural turn have serious consequences for the politics of equality. If individual recognition is to be the primary political objective, then issues of redistribution fall by the way side. It is paradoxical (to put it mildly) that this theoretical shift took place at the same time that the intensification of capitalist economic activity was actually generating increasing levels of inequality...there is a very real danger of “winning the cultural battles but losing the class war”¹⁷⁷

As Crompton and Scott warn us, while criticizing the vulgar economism in which economic conditions are believed to directly create cultural differences, by taking culture too seriously we may also find ourselves trapped in vulgar culturalism which is no more than the mirror image of the former. At this point, it is relevant to mention the fact that Bourdieu offers the most promising theoretical tools

¹⁷⁷ Crompton Rosemary and Scott John (2005), “Class Analysis: Beyond the Cultural Turn, In *Rethinking Class: Culture, Identities and Lifestyle*, ed.by: Fiona Devine, Mike Savage, John Scott, Rosemary Crompton, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, p: 200

through which a research agenda can be followed by an assumption that classes are perceived as the products of processes and constructed by actors. For Bourdieu, class boundaries are not drawn by the different positions in the production sphere but they are produced constantly as classed individuals search for distinction from other classes. Furthermore class boundaries are drawn not only according to the economic capital institutionalized as right of possession, but cultural capital is also a resource of power through which individuals are distributed among class positions. Bourdieu's approach can also be seen as the best way of dealing with the balance between vulgar culturalism and vulgar economism. His notion of "habitus" offers us a way in between pure objectivism through which every conduct is explained with giving reference to structural location and pure subjectivism through which individual action is perceived as a result of rational action. For Bourdieu habitus "has an infinite capacity for generating products –thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions –whose limits are set by historically and socially situated conditions of its production"¹⁷⁸ and it is determined by our position in the social space which is also determined by the volume/composition of different forms of capital and class trajectory.

An important point should be made here regarding the way Bourdieu conceptualizes habitus. For Bourdieu, habitus is not an abstract concept, it is inside the heads of individuals and it only exists in "through and because of the practices of actors and their interaction with each other and with the rest of their environment: ways of talking, ways of moving, ways of making things, or whatever"¹⁷⁹. But how then our habitus -our schema of perceptions- are determined in the social structure? For Bourdieu it is determined according to our place in the social space which is grounded on three dimensions. Firstly it is determined by the total amount of capital including the cultural and the symbolic one. Secondly it is further determined by the composition of the overall capital – the amount of cultural economic and symbolic capital within the overall amount-. And thirdly, our place in the social space is determined by the change in those

¹⁷⁸ Bourdieu Pierre (1990), "The Logic of Practice", Stanford University Press, California, p: 55

¹⁷⁹ Jenkins Rischard (1992), "Pierre Bourdieu", Routledge, London, p: 75

two properties over time –the effect of trajectory-.¹⁸⁰ So by asserting the relative importance of cultural capital, and then the notion of habitus as our generative schemas, Bourdieu opens up new horizons to those who seek not to reduce the dynamic character of class solely into the objective positions defined by the researcher. To put it another way, our habitus generates certain practices through which we form our implicit class identities. This is why the tools that Bourdieu introduces and the tools that the proponents of the thesis of cultural turn offers will be used as guide for the following section where different aspects of new middle class-ness is discussed by a focus on a class definition deriving from the everyday life experience. In the following part approaches to the new middle class which bring the everyday life practices into the center of their analysis will be presented with respect to the four different realms that they address; “Taste and Consumption”, “Social Opposition”, “Childrearing and Education” and “Social Network Distance and Symbolic Boundaries”.

2.4.1 Taste and Consumption

The importance of cultural consumption and tastes on the determination of social location and on the conditioning of social relations is well documented in the sociological literature. Lifestyles and the values behind our preferences not only form and sustain our identities, but also they draw the boundaries between social classes through our urge of distinction. Our cultural consumption habits and tastes initiate symbolic meanings that serve as a means of distinguishing our classes. Moreover, since those preferences and values are resources for distinction they are also key motivator of the process of class reproduction because “the consumption of cultural products with high symbolic value contributes to the legitimization of privilege and facilitates the selection of the next privileged generation”¹⁸¹ This is why Bourdieu argues that taste functions as a social orientation and it gives a “a sense of one’s place”¹⁸² while it also classifies the classifier himself/herself¹⁸³.

¹⁸⁰ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), “Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste”, Harvard University Press, U.S.A, p: 114

¹⁸¹ Gerro Katz Tally (2004), “Cultural Consumption Research : Review of Methodology, Theory and Consequence”, *International Review of Sociology*, vol: 14, no: 1, p: 11

¹⁸² Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 466

Therefore, taste and consumption is of crucial importance because through the coherence regarding the consumption habits, lifestyle and internalized dispositions, we can detect relatively homogeneous and socio-logically interrelated set of individuals¹⁸⁴ For Bourdieu, the dispositions varies systematically and this systematicity is not limited to the consumption of certain objects but the traces of it can be followed within multiple realms.

It is found in all the properties –the property- with which individuals and groups surround themselves, houses, furniture, paintings, books, cars, spirits, cigarettes, perfume, clothes, and in the practices in which they manifest their distinction, sports, games, entertainments, only because it is in the synthetic unity of the habitus, the unifying, generative principle of all practices, is the generative formula of the lifestyle, a unitary set of distinctive preferences which express the same expressive intention in the specific logic of each of the symbolic sub-spaces, furniture, clothing, language or body hexis¹⁸⁵

However, while trying to map out the commonalities which in the end defines social classes, the point that should not be neglected is the process how certain tastes become institutionalized and “protected by symbolic boundaries and forms of exclusion, so that the categories used by groups to make recognize and cultivate differences become legitimated over time”¹⁸⁶

Taste and lifestyle as the systematic products of the new middle class habitus is therefore very basic definition of what constitutes the new middle class. To put another way, for Bourdieu, the lifestyle and preferences of the new middle class generated by its habitus is what defines new middle class itself. Before passing into the elements of taste within the new middle class habitus in general and internal differentiation within its ranks in particular, the habitus of the dominant class and the working class should be referred so as to make fruitful discussions and

¹⁸³ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 6

¹⁸⁴ Brubaker Rogers (2000), “Rethinking Class Theory: The Sociological Vision of Pierre Bourdieu” In *Pierre Bourdieu Volume III*, ed.by: Derek Robbins, Sage, London, p:107

¹⁸⁵ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 173

¹⁸⁶ Skeggs Beverley (2004), “Class, Self, Culture”, Routledge, London, p: 142

comparisons. For Bourdieu, the habitus of the dominant class is marked by a **taste of distinction**; however it is not unified within itself. As it is discussed above, the composition of capital determines the class fractions, in this sense, those endowed primarily with economic capital and those endowed primarily with cultural capital are further differentiated within the taste of distinction. While the taste of the former experiences distinction through the pursuit of luxury goods, the latter expresses this desire through cultural “asceticism” by consuming the intellectually most demanding forms of culture. From the empirical data on the French case, Bourdieu outlines this differences by giving concrete examples which are of course specific to that time and to that nation.

[o]n one side, reading, and reading poetry, philosophical and political works, *Le Monde*, and the (generally leftish) literary or artistic magazines; on the other, hunting or betting, and when there is reading, reading *France-Soir* or...*Auto-Journal*... On one side, classic or avant-garde theater..., museums, classical music,...the Flea Market, camping, mountaineering or walking; on the other, business trips and expense account lunches, boulevard theater...and music-hall, variety shows on TV,...the auction room and “boutiques,” luxury cars and a boat, three-star hotels and spas.¹⁸⁷

On the other extreme, the habitus of the working class is marked by **the choice of necessity** which is made out by the experience of deprivation of necessary goods and reflected as a pragmatic and functionalist aesthetic in the daily lives of the individuals. For Bourdieu, even one move towards the ranks of *petit bourgeoisie*, to grow in a habitus of necessity affects the perceptions of the individual, for example, s/he “gets much satisfaction from calculating how much they saved by doing without a commodity or service”¹⁸⁸ In other words, to purchase an expensive commodity, which may be viewed as a prime necessity for the individuals having the habitus of distinction, would always perceived as illogical because there are always “so many things that come first”. Even their economic capital increases they would not diverge from the choice of necessity by feeling that other preferences are “not for them”. Functionalism and conventionalism is the basic motive behind their choices. The working class women for example, neither understand the bourgeoisie

¹⁸⁷ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 283

¹⁸⁸ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 374

women's attempts of equipping every room with aesthetic objects nor the time she devotes for her body so as to lead a beautiful and healthy life. ¹⁸⁹

So far, the basic characteristics regarding the lifestyle of the bourgeoisie habitus and working class habitus is presented. Although Bourdieu presents middle class habitus as the **culture of goodwill**, he makes distinctions between the traditional petty bourgeoisie and the new one, former being endowed primarily with economic capital while the latter is rich in terms of cultural capital. Due to the transformations in the social space, he suggests that, petty bourgeoisie has been experiencing a decline while the new one is growing with pursuing their own reproduction strategies.¹⁹⁰ However, before these nuances between fractions, the general dispositions of the middle class habitus will be presented. For Bourdieu, all the elements of the petty bourgeoisie taste is motivated by their effort for making things look like something that they actually are not. Their habitus is marked by a hopeless struggle trapped between the habituses of working class and the bourgeoisie. The taste of middle class social groups are freed from the economic restrictions as in the case of taste of necessity, but on the other hand they lack the sources –economic-cultural-social- to create some sort of exclusiveness. The daily life of the petty bourgeoisie is therefore motivated by this predicament causing them to “unwittingly act as if their deficiency in economic and cultural capital were compensated for by the additional energies of readiness to sacrifice and eagerness to learn”¹⁹¹

The relative unstable space upon which middle class grounds its existence is not only discovered by Bourdieu. For instance Liechty, who analyzed the new middle class culture in Nepal from an anthropological perspective has also diagnosed that the specific position of the middle class create some sort of anxiety forcing them to “constantly promote and justify their self-worth in the face of competing claims in

¹⁸⁹ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), pp: 379-380

¹⁹⁰ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 137

¹⁹¹ Honneth Axel (2000), The Fragmented World of Symbolic Forms: Reflections on Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology of Culture”, In *Pierre Bourdieu Volume III*, ed.by: Derek Robbins, Sage, London, p: 13

the market”¹⁹² Therefore, the members of the middle class, who aspires to bourgeoisie and who tries to distinguish itself from the proletarian live beyond their means.

However, Bourdieu identifies three dimensions that create differentiation within the habitus of the middle class. In addition to the changing vertical positions, middle class habitus is horizontally divided according to the composition of capital, whether endowed primarily with cultural or economic capital. And trajectory is third element that affects the nature of the habitus that is not determined by their position at a given moment but shaped by the past and future trajectory.¹⁹³ According to these dimensions the internalized dispositions of the members of the middle class changes dramatically. The habitus of the **old declining petit bourgeoisie** is marked by traditional values and they believe that they owe their position to “simple, serious and honest life”¹⁹⁴ The outcome of the detailed empirical study of Bourdieu shows that the ethos of old petty bourgeoisie daily life is motivated by conscientiousness leading them to appreciate the “values of work order, rigour and care”. On the other hand the **executant petit bourgeoisie** which differs from other middle class fractions according to the diachronic properties – trajectory- is the upwardly mobile middle class. The habitus of executant petit bourgeoisie affected by her/his past trajectory, is marked by great ambition for accumulating further cultural capital. For Bourdieu, their dispositions regarding the cultural consumption, aesthetic values and friendship choices are different than the old petit bourgeoisie¹⁹⁵. Since they reach to where they are now by climbing the stairs up barely, they project their ‘not fully fulfilled ambitions’ on their children. In Bourdieu’s words, “the future he ‘dreams of for his son’ eats up his present”¹⁹⁶, and

¹⁹² Liechty Mark (2003), p: 18

¹⁹³ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 344

¹⁹⁴ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), “Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste”, Harvard University Press, U.S.A, p: 350

¹⁹⁵ Bourdieu uses specific brands and styles in order to make the differences regarding the evaluative distinctions more observable. However, they are much detailed and probably make sense for the ones that are close to the daily life in France. Therefore, the details are omitted, and to represent the overall picture is seen as the main goal.

¹⁹⁶ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 353

this is why he defers his pleasures so as to take later when the children are older or when he manages to pay for the mortgage and so on.

The new petit bourgeoisie habitus on the other hand mostly belong to the ones working in occupations that involve presentation, representation, provision of symbolic goods and practices. They observed to be playing a leading role in the struggles over “everything concerned with the art of living in particular, domestic life and consumption, relations between the sexes and the generations, the reproduction of the family and its values”¹⁹⁷ The habitus of the new petit bourgeoisie is distinct from the old one and places morality of pleasure instead of duty. For Featherstone this petit bourgeoisie is “new” and distinct when compared to the old one in terms of the meaning they attach to the consumed products. While old petit bourgeoisie carries a ‘narrow ascetism’ motivated by expressive consumption, the new petit bourgeoisie lifestyle adopts an expressive manner “mediated through affluent consumption and stylized presentation of the performing self”¹⁹⁸ Since trajectory is an important factor behind the determination of habituses, Bourdieu emphasizes that the new petit bourgeoisie with an upper class background has a system of preferences very similar to that of bourgeoisie. For instance they prefer to use adjectives such as “refined”, “artistic”, “stylish” while presenting their evaluative distinctions in terms of friendship choices.

However, recently some scholars opened up a debate criticizing Bourdieu’s definition of high/low culture and his definition of habituses in association with this hierarchy. Peterson introduced the term “cultural omnivore” referring to a system of tastes developed by high status people. Unlike elite mass models of cultural taste, recent empirical studies showed that high status people add diverse practices including popular culture to their cultural repertoire. They are omnivores because they develop a taste for everything rather than limiting their preferences to the “high brow” taste.¹⁹⁹ Following the same line of thought, these scholars argued that both

¹⁹⁷ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 367

¹⁹⁸ Featherstone Mike (1991), “Consumer Culture and Postmodernism”, Sage, London, p: 92

¹⁹⁹ Bennett Tony, Savage Mike, Silva Elizabeth, Warde Alan, Gayo-Cal Modesto and Wright David (2009), “Culture, Class, Distinction”, Routledge, U.S.A, p:182

the cultural capital of the middle classes and the way they differentiate themselves from lower classes is marked by this omnivorous orientation.

Using focus groups and interviews, we argue that distinction now plays out through forms of knowingness and self-reflection. Rather than differentiating themselves from the working class by their command of a fixed cultural canon, the educated middle classes seek to position themselves through demonstrating competence in handling a diversity of cultural products in a context where knowledge, information and media proliferate²⁰⁰

It seems that whether the evaluative distinctions that shape the habitus of the new middle class is motivated by a logic of taste hierarchy as in the case of French in 1980s or it is defined by developing a taste for everything as in the case of Britain in 2000s will long be debated. However, what those approaches have in common is, they all take the taste and life style of the new middle class not as an outcome of their position in the occupational structure but as very basic determinant of their class position and classed identity.

2.4.2 Social Opposition

Apart from lifestyle and consumption, the classed identity of the new middle class is argued as being perpetuated by their common “interpretative schema”. To put it another way, if the new middle class is taken as a collectivity that is socially constructed on the basis of socially defined symbols, then their specific form of experiencing and perceiving the world becomes the determinant of their new middle class-ness. For Klaus Eder, although all cultural expressions (aesthetic, religious, political and so on) are determinant in the construction of class habitus, “opinions” and “meanings” on social inequality is a privileged field when compared to others.²⁰¹ Because, Eder argues that these opinions are associated with the explicit effects of the overall class structure. In other words, the new middle class habitus is

²⁰⁰ Bennett Tony, Savage Mike, Silva Elizabeth, Warde Alan, Gayo-Cal Modesto and Wright David (2009), p:178

²⁰¹ Eder Klaus (1993), *The New Politics of Class*, Sage, London, p:75

strongly linked with interpretative schema they adopt with respect to the perceptions regarding the social inequality. This is why the cultural orientation behind the new class conflicts –new because it is not based on issues beyond exploitation and injustice in the realm of production- is argued to be stemming from the interpretative schema of the new middle class. New social movements, argued by Eder as composed of two types: Cultural New Social Movements and New Political Movements. Cultural type includes the communal movements such as the youth, the feminist, and the anti-industrial movements. The New Political Movements on the other hand include anti-bureaucratic movements and student movements.²⁰² Eder argues that the motivational factor behind cultural movements is the opposition towards the present social life, while it is an aim of challenging the modern state domination in the case of political movements. However, the general definition of the culture of the new social movements –which is argued to be stemming from the new middle class interpretative schema-, is the anxiety resulting from being excluded from the social means of realizing identity.²⁰³

Bourdieu also suggest that consistent with their habitus, the new petit bourgeoisie struggles over everything that concerns the art of living.²⁰⁴ The class specific life form of the new middle class places identity as a central concern. Although middle class has always pursued a notion of good life and consensual social relations, the inner dynamic of today’s new middle class culture is motivated by “personal aggrandizement, autonomy and competition” which are also the cultural basis upon which new social movements are based.²⁰⁵ Consensual social relations require a belief in the need of free interaction and in communication which is seen as central feature of the new middle class life form.

From didactic material (how to educate children) to personal affairs (how to solve conflicts with your partners) this culture of

²⁰² Eder Klaus (1993), p:101

²⁰³ Eder Klaus (1993), p:175

²⁰⁴ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 366

²⁰⁵ Eder Klaus (1993), p:175

communication has served as an integrating code of middle class culture²⁰⁶

Therefore, what gives the new middle class a class character is their direct affiliation with a new antagonistic relationship that stems from “the control over the means of creating an identity, an identitarian life form.”²⁰⁷

2.4.3 Child-Rearing and Education

The accumulated discussions so far have implied the centrality of cultural capital for the class experience of the new middle class. Cultural capital is the basic necessity of the new middle class so as to reproduce its class position. This condition necessarily brings the issue of education -as the institutionalized form of cultural capital- and childrearing -as the main locus of class reproduction- to the center of the daily life experience of the new middle class. One of the very important figures who introduced the differences between new and old middle classes in terms of child rearing practices and educational expectations is Bernstein. He argues that old middle class develops a solidarity that necessitates an ideology of radical individualism which requires explicit and unambiguous values. However, the new middle class that began to develop in the second half of the 20th century experience another form of organic solidarity which brings personalized identities resting on implicit hierarchies and ambiguity.²⁰⁸ The different identities of old and new middle class -individualized and personalized- are constituted within different socializations. The individualized identity of the old middle class is achieved through a socialization that tends to be positional in that “boundary procedures are strong; the differentiation of members and the authority structure is based upon clear-cut, unambiguous definitions of the status of the member of the family”. On the other hand the new middle class family is person-centered, and “boundary procedures are weak or flexible, the differentiation between members and the authority relationships are less on the basis of position... [and] more upon

²⁰⁶ Eder Klaus (1993), p:181

²⁰⁷ Eder Klaus (1993), p:183

²⁰⁸ Power Sally & Whitty Geoff (2002), “Bernstein and the Middle Class”, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol: 23, no: 2, pp:599-600

differences between persons”²⁰⁹ These two different types of solidarity bring two different type of control which eventually reflects on the whole education system and child raising practices. For Bernstein, the old middle class raise their children in such a way that they guarantee the imposition of strict classificatory schemas and strong framings. However new middle class child rearing practices aims to create weak frames and classifications.

Although Bourdieu do not attribute the differences between the new middle class and the traditional one to the different types of solidarity, he makes similar arguments by depending on the different evaluative distinctions within the middle class. The new middle class habitus defined by Bourdieu, as it is discussed in the former part, motivated by a new “ethical avant-garde” that desires a morality of pleasure as duty. He further suggests that, the child rearing practices of the new middle class is in opposition with the “puritanical view of child” which requires the application of a strict pedagogy for controlling the child. What new middle class habitus brings into the realm of childrearing is the “therapeutic ethic” requiring to treat child as “a sort of apprentice who must discover his body and the world through exploration; and blurring the boundaries between work and play, duty and pleasure, it defines play as muscular and mental learning and therefore a necessary pleasure...thus making pleasure a duty for children and parents alike.”²¹⁰

At this point, it should be noted that empirical studies on the new middle class child raising practices also presents the above discussed theoretical propositions. Lareau observes that the new middle class parents adopt a cultural logic which she labels as “concerned cultivation” meaning that they “invest” both enormous time and energy to child raising activities. Since they perceive these activities as transmitting crucial life skills to children, especially mothers carry their children from one age specific activity to another. This concerned cultivation of the middle class families for Lareau creates “a frenetic pace for parents, a cult of individualism within the family,

²⁰⁹ Bernstein (1971), “Class, Codes and Control”, Volume 1, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p: 184 quoted in Power Sally & Whitty Geoff (2002), “Bernstein and the Middle Class”, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol: 23, no: 2, pp:600

²¹⁰ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 369

and an emphasis on children's performance"²¹¹ Focusing on the cultural practices amongst families of the new middle class in terms of schooling, Watson also suggests that their practices includes a stress of authenticity, personal fulfillment and individual creativity"²¹². Similar results are found within a study that compares Russian and American cases with a hypothesis that assumes new middle class families would be more likely to value self-direction for their children and freedom to explore their environments. Although the results of the study disapproves that social class determines the parental values and beliefs, they argued that there is certainly a link –probably a mutual perpetuation- between the two.²¹³

The new middle class families have to strategically act in the education system, which becomes the main battlefield of class struggle, in order to reproduce their position. Therefore the habitus of the new petit bourgeoisie, who aspires to bourgeoisie and succeeded in escaping the proletarian, adopt an ideology of meritocracy with a focus of individual achievement. Empirical studies on the narratives of new middle class mothers regarding the educational system also bring out the tension of this in between-ness. Although new middle class parents, who are perceived by others as liberal, seem to support an inclusive education, their narratives often support segregated and stratified school structures from which the students with middle class background benefit. The authors suggest that this is caused by the “contradiction between their desired liberal identity and the advantage of middle-class personality”.²¹⁴

The majority of the literature on this issue depends on comparisons between the working class and the educated new middle class, or between the new middle class

²¹¹ Lareau Annette (2002), “Invisible Inequality: Social Class and Childrearing in Black Families and White Families”, *American Sociological Review*, vol: 67, October, p:748

²¹² Watson Ian (1993), “Education, Class and Culture: The Birmingham Ethnographic Tradition and the Problem of the New Middle Class, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol:14, no: 22, p: 192

²¹³ Tudge Jonathan, Hogan Diane, Snezhkova Irina, Kulakova Natalya, Etz Kathleen (2000), “Parent's Child-Rearing Values and Beliefs in the United States and Russia: The Impact of Culture and Social Class”, *Infant and Child Development*, Vol: 9, p: 118

²¹⁴ Brantlinger Ellen, Majd-Jabbari Massoumeh, Guskin Samuel (1996), “Self-Interest and Liberal Educational Discourse: How Ideology Works for Middle Class Mothers”, *American Educational Research Journal*, vol: 33, no:3, p: 590

and the traditional one in order to make sense of what new middle class everyday practices of social reproduction requires. However, it should be also noted that, there are studies in which differences within new middle class experience is problematized with an argument that “child care choices also point-up and perpetuate subtle distinctions and tensions of values and lifestyle within the middle class, between class fractions”²¹⁵ What all those theoretical assumptions and empirical studies have in common is they approve the centrality of education –as the institutionalized form of cultural capital- and the importance of childrearing practices –transfer of the ‘important’ traits- for the class experience of the new middle class.

2.4.4 Social Network Distance and Symbolic Boundaries

The new middle class habitus, which is marked by a belief in making sacrifices for the future and a belief in the individual merit, has reflections upon the area of sociability. For Bourdieu, since s/he is convinced that s/he owes his class position to her/his own merit, new petit bourgeoisie “to concentrate his efforts and reduce its costs, he will break the ties, even the family ties, which will hinder his individual ascension”²¹⁶ Although they guarantee a kind of network and support, neither kinship nor friendship can provide the social capital which can function as true ‘connections’ that is needed so as to make the economic and cultural capital. Social network approaches to stratification labels this process as ‘differential association’ whereby social distance is sustained by distinct patterns of association. The network of social relations determines the social capital that each group has and also generates common classificatory systems through which “they define us as opposed to ‘them’, ‘other people’, and which is the basis of exclusions (not for the likes of us) and inclusions they perform among the characteristics produced by common classificatory system”²¹⁷. Educated new middle class in this sense is observed to

²¹⁵ Ball Stephen, Vincent Carol, Kemp Sophie and Pietikainen Soile (2004), “Middle Class Fractions, Childcare and the ‘Relational’ and ‘Normative’ Aspects of Class Practices”, *Sociological Review*, vol: 52, no: 4, p:479

²¹⁶ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 337

²¹⁷ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 478

have weaker social ties that are known as less homophilous than strong social ties. Weaker social ties that the educated new middle class built are capable of bridging more distant social positions and of making them able to access to individuals with different social resources. For instance, weak ties constructed through formal associations such as membership in clubs, sporting, leisure and civic associations undertaken by educated middle class brings higher levels of social capital when compared to the forms of associations that other classes built.²¹⁸

The differential association of the new middle class has important implications on the daily lives of individuals. Indeed much of the literature which analyzes the boundaries that the classes draw followed Bourdieu's approach with an assumption that only the "cultural practices have inescapable and unconscious classificatory effects that shape social positions by defining (social) class boundaries."²¹⁹ In contrast to Bourdieu's exclusive focus on cultural capital, Lamont widens the meaning of symbolic boundaries by including dimensions other than cultural boundaries while problematizing the evaluative distinctions and structures of thought of the educated middle class. Her study compares the French and American upper middle class in terms of moral, socioeconomic and cultural boundaries they draw while defining their own middle classed identity. She argues that the "content of symbolic boundaries varies with the cultural resources that individuals have access to and with the structural conditions in which they are placed"²²⁰ Moral boundaries for Lamont are drawn according to the moral character and focused on such qualities as: work ethic, honesty, personal integration and consideration for others. Socioeconomic boundaries on the other hand are drawn on the basis of "judgments concerning people's social position as indicated by their wealth, power and professional success"²²¹. On the other hand, cultural boundaries take the education, intelligence, tastes and knowledge on high culture as a basis for

²¹⁸ Bottero Wendy (2007), "Social Inequality and Interaction", *Sociology Compass*, vol: 1, no:2, pp: 325-326

²¹⁹ Lamont Michèle and Molnar Virag (2002), "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences", *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol: 28, p:172

²²⁰ Lamont Michèle (1992), "Money, Morals, Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class", The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p: 6

²²¹ Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 4

judgment. Her study at the end shows us that, French middle class draw moral and socioeconomic boundaries as frequently as the cultural ones. Moreover, although the literature only concentrates on the cultural capital as a basis of exclusion in the American upper middle class, her interviews shows us that socioeconomic and moral boundaries are drawn more frequently than the cultural ones even in the American case.

Evaluative distinctions, mental maps, symbolic boundaries, whatever we call it, they all generate system of rules that determines our interactions by influencing who we come together with and to what social acts we engage in. The meaning making process constitutes a crucial dimension of social inequality because it is at the center of intersection of culture and inequality.²²² An approach to new middle class experience and classed identity of the middling groups should therefore include not only the cultural repertoires but also the process whereby social capital is generated through our differential associations that is formed by the multiple symbolic boundaries.

2.5 The Framework of the Study: *Tool is “triangulation”*

Until this point, I have tried to shed light on how the phenomenon of new middle class has been studied within different theoretical approaches. For the sake of simplicity, we may argue that until the cultural turn, the debate was held around such questions: Is the new middle class a transitory category?, Does it belongs to one class or dispersed among several groups?, In what ways it differs from the working class? Both Marxist and Weberians have studied the new middle class as “an entity already given and pre-constituted in the social structure, whether on the basis of purely economic criteria or on the grounds of authority, credentials, and market relations.”²²³ Those structural approaches –whether based on production relations and market positions- treat classes as empty places while conceive individuals as moving into and out of these places.

²²² Lamont Michèle (2000), “Meaning-Making in Cultural Sociology: Broadening Our Agenda”, *Contemporary Sociology*, vol: 29, no:4, p: 604

²²³ Wacquant Loic (1991), p:50

The shortcomings -in terms of underestimating the role of culture- of this kind of abstract typologizing approach is discussed in detail while presenting the paradigm shift in the class studies. Opposed to structural approaches processual approaches see classes as constituted by the lived experiences of people. The family structure, forms of community or culture is conceived as not less important than one's place within the production relations. The processual approaches are motivated by agent centered theories of action and it revolves around "the problem of learning, with how people come to learn to be class members with the accompanying identities, worldviews, life-styles and meanings."²²⁴ While class consciousness is studied in terms of interests within structural approaches, the processual approaches take the classed identity as a central concern. The methodological framework of such approaches assumes that the classes and their boundaries are made and unmade in history. Wacquant's approach that suggests "class identities, practices, and "lived experience" are not "afterthoughts" tacked on preexisting classes; they enter into the very making of these classes"²²⁵ and Bourdieu's approach which suggests class boundaries are "like a flame whose edges are in constant movement, oscillating around a line or surface"²²⁶ enable researchers with the needed tools to study class in processual and cultural terms. To put it another way, while the production/market relations is the tool for structural approaches, lived experience is taken as the frame through which the reality of class is questioned.

We may argue that both approaches have certain limitations. It is true that social classes should be defined with respect to structural inequalities and therefore structural approaches that concentrate on the position of the new middle class within market and production relations have irrefutable assumptions regarding the class position of the new middle class. However, the theoretical approaches after the cultural turn also hold important arguments which make us suspect about the

²²⁴ Wright Erik Olin and Shin Yeong-Kwang (1988), "Temporality and Class Analysis: A Comparative Study of the Effects of Class Trajectory and Class Structure on Class Consciousness in Sweden and the United States", *Sociological Theory*, vol: 6, p:59

²²⁵ Wacquant Loic (1991), p:52

²²⁶ Bourdieu Pierre (1987), "What makes a Social Class", *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, vol: 22, p: 13

homogeneity of the new middle class identity, lifestyle and values. Moreover, the processual approaches open up new horizons for the ones who study the new middle class under different national and cultural contexts. To persist on using the ready made schemas that are constructed by occupational aggregate approaches under different contexts seems to be no more than a desperate effort; like trying to fit an already sewed dress to different bodies with different characteristics.

This is why recent studies adopt the methodological framework of processual approaches while handling with ethnographic representations of class practice. One recent study that is conducted on new middle class culture in Nepal uses “performativity” and “narrativity” as the tools to conceptualize the new middle class as a cultural process. Narratives of people are not only the “stories that people tell” but also the “stories that tell people”. The researcher Liechty argues that “through cultural narrative people learn who they *are*; through cultural narrativity people learn who they should *become*. It is through narratives and narrativity that groups of people transport ideas about meaning and value from the past into the present, where these stories then stake claims to the futures of those who tell them.”²²⁷ These kind of conceptual tools best fit to the expectations of the researchers interested in the new middle class cultural practice, since the new middle class itself is located in a cultural in betweenness. Adopting a processual approach also offers us very useful methodological tools –such as habitus- in order to shed light into the different facets of new middle class experience under different contexts. By including the effect of trajectory, analyzing the influence of the multiple forms of capital and by introducing the importance of the composition of overall capital Bourdieu forms the linkages between the classed identity and the institutionalized symbolic inequalities. The extension Lamont offers into the realm of social boundaries (cultural, moral, socioeconomic) further make it possible to define how middle classed identity forms the boundaries between us/them and the features of their mental map composed of conceptual distinctions.

Although the conceptual tools that the processual approaches offer enrich the capacity so as to build an anthropological account of the new middle classes, they

²²⁷ Liechty Mark (2003), p:24

also have certain shortcomings. Firstly, the researchers should be very careful while using the everyday experience as the locus of study in order not to fall into the trap of descriptiveness. To put it another way, if we present the aim of the class analysis as to uncover the relationships between the power structures, -whether material or symbolic- and the agents, only describing the class cultural practice of the new middle class -or the different fractions of the new middle class- will not be able to realize the premises of the class research. Therefore the analysis based on the conceptual tools such as habitus, symbolic boundaries, taste and lifestyle, class values should definitely question the conflicts and competing identities that become observable through such analysis.

However, when a researcher enters into the field in order to study the phenomenon of new middle class, s/he needs a-priori definitions while selecting the site of study or the people who to contact with. Despite the structural approaches are criticized because of using ready made schemas for each and every context, the accumulated knowledge they sustain is still useful for the field researchers. For instance, an empirical study of this kind should at the beginning have certain assumptions on the what-ness of the new middle class. In other words, if one is interested even in the classed identity of the new middle class through everyday experiences, s/he has to make use of the definitions of the occupational aggregate approaches. This is why, this study proposes the combination of these two approaches so as to compensate the limitations of each.

The new middle class in this study is conceptualized as composed of white-collar workers whom has gained her/his class position via organizational and cultural assets- as it is presented in the works of majority of the structural approaches to the new middle class such as Giddens, Poulantzas, Carchedi and partly Erik Olin Wright and Goldthorpe. However, instead of attributing certain patterns of lifestyle, tastes, values and boundaries to the new middle class from the structural position it has -which is strictly criticized by the author of this thesis-, this study proposes to use the tools that the processual approaches offer. The common position that the people working in the occupations composing the new middle class held with regard to production and market relations, assumed to put them into by and large similar positions in terms of the distribution of structural inequalities. Therefore,

they are assumed to form a distinct class other than the traditional middle class and the working class in this study. However, this kind of a structural definition does not have enough power to comment neither on the characteristics of the lived experience nor on the homogeneity within its ranks. The framework of this study, by reconciling the structural and processual approaches, offers to analyze the different new middle class-nesses of the diverse fractions –by using the new middle class definition of structural approaches- and therefore makes it possible both to observe inter and intra class antagonisms. In other words, the framework of this study is shaped by an assumption that there is a need to analyze the new middle class -that is defined structurally- through the glasses of the processual/cultural approaches.

Although this kind of a framework could be accused of being eclectic, the author of this thesis believes that this is the best way of dealing with the originalities of the class cultural practices under the different contexts. This study of the Turkish case therefore aims to analyze the category of the new middle class –whose heterogeneity is approved both by structural and processual approaches- both by adopting quantitative methods –which will enable us to analyze the category in terms of the volume/composition of capital and class background- and by adopting qualitative methods –which will enable us to analyze the category in terms of the differences regarding the class cultural experience, symbolic boundaries and class habitus-. This is why; it can be argued that the tool of this study is neither the production/market relations as in the case of structural approaches nor solely lived experience as in the case of processual approaches, but certainly a triangulation of both.

CHAPTER 3

THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS IN TURKISH CONTEXT

3.1 Overview of the Studies on the Class Structure of Turkey

“Örnektir milletlere açtığımız yeni iz; imtiyazsız, sınıfsız, kaynaşmış bir kitleyiz.”

“It is a reference for other nations that the traces we have left, We are a blended mass without class and privilege.”

These two lines are a part of a popular march that is composed for the 10th anniversary of the Turkish Republic. Actually from the establishment of the Republic, both within the political and the state discourse, society of Turkey is presented proudly as composed of a blended mass without class and privilege. Needless to say, this argument is not credited within the academia however; Turkish literature is still lacking empirical studies regarding its class structure. Researchers studying social class may easily sink into despair when they conduct an initial literature review on class structure in Turkey. One reason behind this fact may be the difficulty of studying the phenomenon of class in a context where modes of productions are articulated. To develop a measurement tool –which is the initial step- that is powerful enough to cover the class positions stemming from both the urban and rural production relations, is hard to achieve. Moreover, the complex occupational structure with a high amount of irregular and informal labour makes it more difficult to encapsulate the different fractions. This is why, Boratav, who may be regarded as the one and only figures who tried to analyze the overall class structure in a comprehensive manner- develops two different class schemas for

urban and rural sites. His studies “Class Profiles from Istanbul and Anatolia”²²⁸ and “Social Classes and Distribution in Turkey in 1980’s”²²⁹ will be my main guide while discussing the class structure in Turkey.

However, before presenting the studies of Boratav, certain important studies should also be mentioned so as to make sense of how class and stratification have been studied in Turkey. Although they do not focus on the overall class structure, with the different perspectives that they have adopted, they have made important contributions and have developed crucial insights to the stratification and the class literature in Turkey. It can be argued that, apart from the studies on the overall class structure, the class and stratification literature in Turkey follows three patterns; macro attempts, socio-economic status studies and the case studies.

The abstraction level of the first one is quite high and concentrated around macro-sociological questions regarding the class issue. For instance, in his study Keyder²³⁰, by adopting a historical approach, analyses how development of capitalism and the state tradition of Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic have formed the balance between social classes. Indeed his study is one of the very basic sources for this realm since he incorporates the elements deriving from nation specific historical developments so as to shed light into the ideological formation of social classes. Güralp’s study²³¹ is another important source that analyzes the role of state in the process of capital accumulation. In his study, he analyses how this accumulation process takes different shapes and therefore effects the formation of different class coalitions who hold the power under different contexts.

Stratification studies, although they hold different pre-assumptions than the social class tradition, offer us important tools for analyzing how life chances are

²²⁸ Boratav Korkut (2004), “İstanbul ve Anadolu’dan Sınıf Profilleri”, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

²²⁹ Boratav Korkut (2005), “1980’li Yıllarda Türkiye’de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm”, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

²³⁰ Keyder Çağlar (1989), “Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar”, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul

²³¹ Güralp Haldun (1993), “Kapitalizm, Sınıflar ve Devlet”, Belge Yayınları, İstanbul

distributed among different stratas. Kiray's study²³² which is conducted in Ankara between 1946-47 can be considered as the earliest attempt to develop a status scale in the Turkish context. In this study, Kiray analyzes how consumption norms are differentiated among the different stratas within the Turkish society. Considering the lack of former information regarding the relationship between the occupations of 1940's and the existing stratification order, her research team themselves identified the features and qualities of the households that can be used for differentiating the stratas from each other. Within the 500 respondents, they at the end identified five stratas depending on the type of the possessed household furniture, the types of kitchen items, the diversity of the food consumed as the breakfast, and depending on whether those households have - if there is, the number of - servants and the garment made of fur. According to these variables, 99 households are estimated as belonging to the lowest strata, 90 households belong to the lower middle strata, 200 families belong to the middle strata, 70 families belong to the upper middle strata and finally only 33 families estimated as having the highest status position in the stratification structure of Ankara.²³³ On the other hand, Kalaycıođlu, Kardam, Tüzün and Ulusoy's study²³⁴ which is conducted with qualitative methods in 1997 aims to analyze the factors behind the determination of status positions within the society. Through 20 in-depth interviews conducted in Ankara with the middle (C) status positioned families according to the index developed by a research company -Veri Aş.-, the research team questioned what that common status position brings to the daily lives of the families. The VERI index is calculated by using four variables, the occupational positions, the mean education level, the possessed household items of the family members and the district in which the family members live in. The interviews held with the middle status families showed that the family network and different types of migration have an important effect on the status positions that those families had. Therefore, the

²³² Kiray Mübeccel (2005), "Tüketim Normları Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma", Bağlam Yayıncılık, İstanbul

²³³ For further details on the distribution of the 500 households within the five stratas, please see: Kiray Mübeccel (2005), "Tüketim Normları Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma", Bağlam Yayıncılık, İstanbul, pp:78

²³⁴ Kalaycıođlu Sibel, Kardam Filiz, Tüzün Sezgin, Ulusoy Mahir (1998), "Türkiye İçin Bir Sosyoekonomik Statü Ölçütü Geliştirme Yönünde Yaklaşım ve Denemeler", *Toplum ve Hekim*, Cilt 13: Sayı:2

writers proposed that certain measuring procedures should be worked on in order to add those dimensions into status index that is used. A very recent project titled as; “A Study on Social Stratification, Mobility and Socioeconomic Status in the City Center of Ankara”²³⁵ is conducted in 2007-2008 both with an aim of mapping the social status schema of the city Ankara, and showing the patterns of mobility within three generations. This sample of the study is designed as representing the city of Ankara and conducted with 1769 households.²³⁶ In this study, the research team has developed a more complex index than the previously mentioned VERI index. After certain statistical procedures are followed, eleven variables are estimated as creating different but statistically meaningful differentiations. Those variables are; the mean education level of the family members, the occupational status of the family members, the income per capita, the type of residence, the type of heating, the ownership of the second house, and the ownership of certain items such as: the automobile, dishwasher, second TV, DVD player and internet connection. According to this study, the smallest status category in Ankara is the category “A” – the highest status- with only 3.6 percent of the sample while the larger category is estimated as the lower middle status, “C2” with 38.3 percent of the sample population.

Apart from macro historical/sociological and the socio-economic status studies, the third line of analysis within the class literature in Turkey focus on the historical formation, or existing features of a single class –especially the working class- in the Turkish context. Kalaycıoğlu’s study²³⁷ conducted in 1979 at five industrial plants of Bolu with 120 working class people can be accounted as a preliminary work on the issue of class formation. In her study Kalaycıoğlu focuses on economic and social structure of the working environment, the relationship of the workers with their unions, the social networks of the wage-earners and their worldviews. By

²³⁵ The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) funded research by Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, Filiz Kardam, Helga Rittersberger Tılıç, Kezban Çelik and Sinan Turkyılmaz, “Ankara Kent Merkezinde Toplumsal Tabakalaşma, Hareketlilik ve Sosyoekonomik Statü Araştırması”, Unpublished Project Report, Project No: SOBAG 104 K 039, 2008

²³⁶ Since the database of this project is used for this thesis, for further details regarding the questionnaire, please see the “the Quantitative Research” part in the method chapter of this thesis.

²³⁷ Kalaycıoğlu Sibel (1995), “Formation of a Working Class: A Study of Factory Workers in Bolu, Turkey”, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kent at Caterbury

covering such wide work and non-work realms, Kalaycıoğlu at the end presents the peculiarities of the process of working class formation in the Turkish context. A more recently published study approaches to the working class from historical perspective. In her study, Baydar²³⁸ analyzes the socio-demographic profile, the living conditions, and the type of organization/unionization of the working class beginning from the period of Ottoman Empire until 2000's. On the other hand, by defining the working class as the blue collar workers in middle and large scale enterprises, Koray²³⁹ analyzes the personal qualifications, the family origins, the social mobility patterns, the working and living conditions and the political outlooks of the working class union members in 1990's. Another recent case study is conducted by Özüğurlu²⁴⁰ in the city of Denizli in 2000. Denizli is a middle sized Anatolian city in the west of Turkey, in where textile production is the main industrial sector. Özüğurlu's analysis not only builds a coherent and strong theoretical framework for studying the formation of the working class but also analyzes empirically the working class experience within a labor market that is closely incorporated into the global level. His analysis includes close investigation of the process of proletarianization, moreover by linking the level class consciousness of the respondents to the labour market trends and the labor processes, Özüğurlu manages to clearly present the formation of a global factory in an Anatolian city.

Needless to say, each of the above mentioned different approaches have their own unique contributions to the field. For instance, socioeconomic status (SES) studies achieve to clarify the nation and time specific criteria that can be used for estimating a valid social status structure. Moreover, they give us the possibility to analyze the relationship between the social status structure and many other realms such as consumption, life-style, attitudes and so on. Macro attempts on the other hand, rather than focusing on the class structure –which is the output of social economic and political transformations- analyzes that specific transformations

²³⁸ Baydar Oya (1999), "Osmanlı'dan 2000'e İstanbul İşçileri", in *75 Yılda Çarkları Döndürenler*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp:207-220

²³⁹ Koray Meryem (1999), "Değişen İşçi Sınıfı Profili: 1990'larda Endüstri İşçisinin Sosyal Kimliği ve Çalışma Yaşamı", in *75 Yılda Çarkları Döndürenler*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp: 179-194

²⁴⁰ Özüğurlu Metin (2008), "Anadolu'da Küresel Fabrikanın Doğuşu: Yeni İşçilik Örüntülerinin Sosyolojisi", Kalkedon Yayınları, İstanbul

within the own historicity of the case. Case studies on the other hand, reduce the abstraction level and make to see the inner dynamics of a certain social class possible. Indeed, it can be argued that, those studies complement each other and they make the different parts of a “whole” from different angles visible. However, since the research question of this thesis necessitates focusing on a single class, to present a background image regarding the class structure of Turkey is perceived as a necessary starting point. Therefore, as it is indicated in the introduction part, the two studies of Boratav²⁴¹ which focus on the class structure in Turkey will be analyzed more detailed in the following part.

Firstly it should be noted that, the analysis of Boratav holds a strong structuralist perspective build on the assumptions of historical materialism. For him, class structure derives from the production relations and therefore the extraction of surplus -the process of exploitation- determines the structure of the class schema. This approach suggests that, social classes can not be defined independent of each other and cannot be ranked as in the stratification schemas. Depending on the way surplus is extracted, there always exists a duality in the class structure. For instance, in the capitalist type bourgeoisie and working class is defined with reference to each other, in the feudalist type serf and senior create a duality, and in the slavery system the definition of master and slave is dependent to each other. If class system is built upon a duality, then we should agree that there is no “middle” in the structure. Boratav argues that, there exist middle groups and strata however they are not social classes as it is discussed above. These strata are not formed according to the process of surplus extraction as it is in the “real” classes, but they are defined in the realm of “redistribution of the surplus”. To be more clear, the surplus that is taken in the production process (primary process through which classes are defined) is redistributed by the market mechanisms and this redistribution creates a secondary process by which certain middling groups come into existence.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Boratav Korkut (2004), “İstanbul ve Anadolu’dan Sınıf Profilleri”, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

Boratav Korkut (2005), “1980’li Yıllarda Türkiye’de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm”, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

²⁴² Boratav Korkut (2005), pp: 9-12

For Boratav, in the Turkish case, class structure discussions have always been stuck into debate on whether republican period's bureaucracy has formed a distinct class or not. In the Ottoman period, as it is highlighted in the Asian mode of production discussions, the bureaucracy extracts the surplus from the lands of farmers. Therefore, they create a distinct class: "state class". However, for Boratav, the function and objective conditions of the bureaucracy in the republican period is very different than today. The bureaucracy of the 20th century is composed of salaried civil servants and their position is not defined by the surplus that is extracted from the peasantry. Therefore, he argues that, instead of state class, bureaucracy in contemporary Turkey should be analyzed with respect to other intermediary groups.²⁴³

The class structure in Turkey, which is schematized by Boratav, is built on three different observable production relations: the capitalist, the semi-feudal, and the petty commodity production. Each mode of production creates two main classes; therefore there exist six main classes in the Turkish class structure. The bourgeoisie and the worker in the capitalist case, the sharecropper peasant and the big land owner in the semi-feudal case, the petty commodity producer and the trader in the petty commodity production case constitute the main classes which are in antagonistic relationship with each other.²⁴⁴ Other categories such as professional groups, bureaucrats and craftsmen constitute the intermediate groups and since they are determined by the redistribution of surplus they should not be treated as real classes. Even the boundaries within the intermediate strata seem to be flexible in the Turkish case, Boratav argues that certain conjectural common interests and ideological/behavioral norms within these groups can also be observed.²⁴⁵

1980s is argued to be a turning point for the Turkish case both in terms of the economic and the political structure. The changes in the power structure and the shifts in the policies effected both the class relations and the class structure of Turkey. Before presenting how Boratav discussed the effects of this transformative

²⁴³ Boratav Korkut (2005), pp: 13-14

²⁴⁴ Boratav Korkut (2005), p: 31

²⁴⁵ Boratav Korkut (2005), p: 33

process of 1980s on the Turkish class structure, the presentation of a very brief framework regarding what those transformations included is seen as a necessary starting point. The end of 1970s in Turkey was marked by harsh political violence between the left and the right. Hundreds of people were killed due to the huge discontent in the streets, universities and the neighborhoods. Zürcher argues that, the reason behind this discontent was not solely political, but the economic depression of the 1970s was also very effective since it damaged the social stability.²⁴⁶ In 12 September 1980, the military coup occurred; the leading political figures were arrested and unions were closed down. Only three new political parties were allowed to enter into the first general elections after the coup. Motherland Party won the elections in 1983 and the leader of the party, Özal began to implement the new economic policies motivated by the assumptions of economic liberalization. Actually, the new decisions which necessitate structural economic changes were taken in January 1980, while Özal was at the head of the State Planning Organization.²⁴⁷ The basic feature of the new economic policy was that the market rather than the state acts a decisive role in the determination of the prices. To reduce the price of the labor-power was also seen as a necessary change in order to increase the profit rates. Moreover, according to the new policy, the cheap labor would reduce the cost of the production, therefore would eventually increase the amount of exports.²⁴⁸ This new economic policy that was being implemented, which prioritizes the independency of the market was very different from the former policies that was based on introverted growth and state-led industrialization.²⁴⁹ One of the most criticized implications of the new policy was in the realm of income distribution. Not only the incomes of the workers were taken under pressure but also the agricultural incomes were harshly reduced. The civil servants and the workers in the urban areas coped with the problems deriving from loss of income by increasing their working hours or by the remaining family members' engagement

²⁴⁶ For further details please see: Zürcher J. Erik (2004), "Turkey: A modern History", I.B Tauris, London, p: 385

²⁴⁷ Owen Roger and Pamuk Şevket (2002), "20.Yüzyılda Ortadoğu Ekonomileri Tarihi", Sabancı Üniversitesi, İstanbul, p: 159

²⁴⁸ Kepenek Yakup and Yentürk Nurhan (2003), "Türkiye Ekonomisi", Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, pp: 196-199

²⁴⁹ Owen Roger and Pamuk Şevket (2002), p: 159

with informal labor. On the other hand, in order to compensate the loss of income in the agricultural production, the producers had to implement more dense technologies or had to prefer to produce goods that require more labor power.²⁵⁰

Boratav begins his analysis of the changes in the class structure by mentioning the effect of the above mentioned new economic agenda of 1980s. For Boratav, the reason behind the military coup of 12th September is the increasing unbalance between the workforce and the capital. For him, in addition to the military intervention, and the following political and administrative regulations and the policies of Özal's government which brought serious restrictions upon social security and unionization resulted in a relative loss of power of the working class in Turkey.²⁵¹ The value of the agricultural production also decreased in 80s because of the state policies. Boratav argues that the international finance institutions –which become to hold a leading role in the national policies-, have favored the market forces instead of state policies for the organization of agriculture.²⁵² The state officials, who had constituted the larger part of the white collars at those times, began to suffer from the income decline that reached nearly 50 percent loss. The major constituents of the middle class have began to experience erosion in the quality of daily life and even had to move into squatter settlements moving out of middle class neighborhoods.²⁵³ Boratav asserts that the bourgeoisie in that period formed strategic alliances both with the military –thus supported the intervention- and with the Ozal's government. Turkish bourgeoisie in 1980s –probably still- was aware of the fact that it is dependent upon and weakly linked to the global capitalist system. Therefore they did not prefer to support policies that were directly in opposition with those agents.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Owen Roger and Pamuk Şevket (2002), p: 163-164

²⁵¹ Boratav Korkut (2005), p: 38

²⁵² Boratav Korkut (2005), p: 53

²⁵³ Boratav Korkut (2005), p: 56

²⁵⁴ Boratav Korkut (2005), p:72

In order to present the class structure in Turkey in 1980s, Boratav uses the results of the 1985 census. When the workforce in the agriculture is ignored, three major groups emerge: the traditional petty bourgeoisie, the working class (blue collars) and the qualified white collar workers (the new middle class). According to the census results, the largest category is the qualified white collar workers constituting the 36.5% of the non agricultural workforce. Following the new middle class, 27% of the workforce is composed of working class. On the other hand, 25.7% of the workforce is constituted by non-salaried groups; however Boratav argues that the majority of this group is composed of the petty bourgeoisie while the bourgeoisie remains marginal²⁵⁵. Two important conclusions are deduced from this class structure. Firstly, although the weight of petty bourgeoisie remains marginal in the urban class structure of the industrialized countries, they were still a powerful group in Turkey in 1980s. Secondly, Boratav admits that, large categories of people – for instance the petty bourgeoisie or the new middle class- are excluded when the class analysis decides to take the bourgeoisie-working class duality as the main axis.²⁵⁶

The second empirical study of Boratav²⁵⁷ which carries the potential of presenting the class structure of Turkey is based on a fieldwork that includes both rural and urban sites. In the study, which is conducted in 1991, different categories used in order to map the class structure in Istanbul and 19 villages in Anatolia. It is difficult to compare the pictures which emerged out of in 1985 and in 1991. Because, the class schema that is used for Istanbul is much more fragmented than the 1985 analysis and categorizes the “retired” and the “unemployed” apart from the other categories. However, still we can re-categorize by getting similar categories together –as Boratav also suggests-. But before presenting the class structure in Istanbul in 1991, we should note that 8.7% of the population was coded in the category of the unemployed, while 19.3% of the sample was coded as retired. 38.6% of the sample belongs to working class –composed of the blue collars and unqualified service proletariat-, while 10.4% is made up of the new middle class –

²⁵⁵Boratav Korkut (2005), p: 106

²⁵⁶Boratav Korkut (2005), p: 107

²⁵⁷ Boratav Korkut (2004), “İstanbul ve Anadolu’dan Sınıf Profilleri”, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

composed of highly qualified workers and white collars-. The urban petty bourgeoisie constitute 19.2% of the sample –composed of small artisans/tradesmen and small employers-²⁵⁸. When the class structure emerged by 1985 census results and the one by this specific study for Istanbul is compared, the most salient change that can be observed is the increase in the working class. The relative increase is possibly related with the constant enlargement of the service sector since a large proportion of the working class is working as service proletariat. Another important conclusion from this comparison is that although urban petty bourgeoisie has begun to decline, it still held an important weight in the class structure of Istanbul.

In order to map the class structure of the rural, the research team had developed eight categories²⁵⁹. The largest categories in the rural class structure of Turkey are composed of small, middle sized and poor groups; actually nearly 62% of the overall sample. On the other hand, capitalist and rich farmer categories reach to 11.5% indicating that the agricultural structure of Turkey is a specific form of underdeveloped capitalism.²⁶⁰

The research team further draws the socio-demographic, cultural and economic profile of these classes. Based on the questions regarding their leisure time preferences, they concluded that the petty bourgeoisie is the class which spends the least time out of work. Working class on the other hand, devotes more time when compared to petty bourgeoisie but spends it in accordance with their economic capital: such as in the case of holiday. Both the service proletariat and the blue collars observed to have parallel activities for their holidays, usually they stay in Istanbul or they go to their hometowns. The new middle class and bourgeoisie on the other hand have similar tastes in terms of leisure time and they prefer and purchase “modern” activities frequently.²⁶¹ This parallelism is observed in the frequency of concert, cinema and theater attendance. The bourgeoisie and the new

²⁵⁸ Boratav Korkut (2004), p: 26

²⁵⁹ Capitalist farmer, rich farmer, rich peasant, middle peasant, small peasant, poor farmer, agricultural worker and rentier, For classification details see *ibid* p:29

²⁶⁰ Boratav Korkut (2004), p: 31

²⁶¹ Boratav Korkut (2004), p: 77

middle class are observed to attend to those activities very frequently while petty bourgeoisie prefers to go to “gazino”²⁶².

As I have indicated in the introduction of this part, the Turkish literature lacks extensive researches on her class structure. However, still we can make use of these two pioneering studies for making certain inferences. Firstly we may argue that the bourgeoisie –if it is defined as big employers- do constitute and have always constituted a small part of the class structure in Turkey. Secondly, although the petty bourgeoisie still holds an important part of the middle class, it has entered into a process of decline until 80s. White collars and qualified workers, namely the new middle class can be expected to increase further after 90s and to constitute the largest part of the middle class. And thirdly, the working class –especially in big cities- is demographically increasing together with a change regarding its composition. The service proletariat rather than the blue collars begin to constitute the larger portion of the working class.

3.2 The Demographic Formation of the New Middle Class in Turkey

After presenting this brief picture concerning the overall class structure in Turkey, the aim of this part is to shed light into the major transformative processes, which had an important effect on the demographic formation of the new middle class. By showing some figures, the traces of those transformation processes will be searched regarding the Turkish context. However, it should also be noted that although they will be presented separately, these transformative processes do not act independent of each other. So now we can ask, how the category of the “new middle class” who settled into the nucleus of the class agenda in the last decades, emerged as an important category in the class structure?

The first and the most important factor behind the formation of the new middle class that is presented in the literature is the *change in the labor market structure*.

²⁶² “Gazino” is the name of a specific place of entertainment that is a popular and frequently attended place especially between 1940s and 1980s. It is not solely a restaurant or not as fancy as a night club. In his article Senyapılı defines “gazino” as the entertainment place of the “common people” where they can listen to live music and drink alcohol, as opposed to places that are attended solely by the upper classes. For further details regarding both the “gazino” and other entertainment places in Ankara before 1980s please see: Şenyapılı Önder (2005), “Gençlik Yıllarımın (ve öncesinin) Ankarasında Eğlenme-Dinlenme Mekanları” in *Cumhuriyetin Ankara’sı*, ODTU Yayıncılık, Ankara, pp: 311-356

The expansion of the service sector at the expense of manufacturing –for the case of early industrialized countries-²⁶³ and at the expense of agriculture –for the case of late industrialized countries-²⁶⁴ labeled as “sector shift” or tertiarization. Although all the positions in the service sector cannot be seen as proxy for the new middle class, it certainly increased the demand for educated white collar workers and affected the increase in the demographic weight of the new middle class. According to Oesch, the expansion of the service sector is related with three labor market trends. Firstly the industrial workforce becomes redundant and moves to the service sector due to the technological changes which increase the productivity in goods producing sectors. Secondly, the demand for goods decreases while demands for services increase because of saturation of the productive markets. Thirdly, the offer and demand for service sector employment increase as the welfare state expands and female participation increases.²⁶⁵

The expansion of the tertiary sector, which fuels the development of the new middle class, is also observable in the Turkish case. It can be observed that from the 80s onwards the occupational pattern of labor force in Turkey experienced a decline in the rural labour force and an expansion in the tertiary sector. Now in the 2000s, service sector instead of agriculture has the largest proportion in the employment structure. Although the secondary sector has also expanded, this expansion seems to be limited. The following table shows those shifts with numbers.²⁶⁶

Table 3.1: Employment by Sectors

	1988	2005
Agriculture (%)	46.5	29.5
Industry (%)	15.8	19.4
Services (%)	37.7	51.1

Source: State Planning Institution

²⁶³ Oesch Daniel (2006), “Redrawing the Class Map : Stratification and Institutions in Britain, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland”, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, p: 29

²⁶⁴ Embong Rahman Abdul (2002), “State-led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia”, Palgrave, New York, pp: 37-38

²⁶⁵ Oesch Daniel (2006), p: 29

²⁶⁶ State Planning Institute : <http://www.dpt.gov.tr/Portal.aspx?PortalRef=3>

Another process, which is referred in literature as fuelling the development of the new middle class and going hand in hand with the sector shift, is the rapid *rural to urban migration*²⁶⁷. The rural population which was once gaining its livelihood through agriculture has moved to the city centers since about 1950s. This migration is argued to be caused by both push from the villages and pull from the cities and is observed to be facilitated by the improvement of highway transportation.²⁶⁸ We may crudely state that the reduction of surplus due to the introduction of farm machinery and rural overcrowding acted as push factors, while the lure of employment and of education for their offspring acted as pull factors for the rural-urban migration. In their analysis, İçduygu and Sirkeci²⁶⁹ adds the time dimension to the relative importance of the pull and push factors for the case of Turkey. They identify four periods of rural to urban migration, which mainly differs from each other on certain basic features. İçduygu and Sirkeci argue that, the first period begins from 1923 to 1950. In that period, the rural to urban migration was extremely rare, actually in this period, the population of the urban centers was observed to increase only 3 percent. The migration rates within the second period, between 1950s and 1960s, increase dramatically when compared to the first period and it is explained by the writers in terms of the increase in the push factors deriving from the transformation in the rural areas²⁷⁰. However during the third period between 1960s and 1980s, it is argued that the basic motive behind the rural to urban migration can be seen as the pull factors deriving from the transformations within the urban areas. Especially the increase in the difference between the rural-urban income rates, the technological developments which pave the way of easier transportation and the development of the communication technologies are argued

²⁶⁷ Embong Rahman Abdul (2002), “State-led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia”, Palgrave, New York, p:38

²⁶⁸ Cohn Edwin, (1970), “Turkish Economic, Social and Political Change”, Praeger Publishers, New York, p: 66

²⁶⁹ İçduygu Ahmet and Sirkeci İbrahim (1999), “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye’inde Göç Hareketleri”, in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp:249-276

²⁷⁰ The modernization of the agricultural production, the change in the land ownership regulations are presented as basic motives behind the rural transformation. For further details please see: İçduygu Ahmet and Sirkeci İbrahim (1999), “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye’inde Göç Hareketleri”, in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp:249-276

to be the basic motives behind the increasing effect of the pull factors.²⁷¹ Although the pull factors in the urban centers continue to be effective in the migration patterns, the period after 1980s differs from other periods since the introduction of political factors to the migration agenda. Not only İçduygu and Sirkeci, but many other scholars²⁷² who study the issue of migration in Turkey, assert that the motivation behind the majority of the rural to urban migration after 1980s differs markedly from the earlier periods.

Due to the constant “war” atmosphere in the southeastern and eastern regions resulted by the conflict between Kurdish separatist movement and the Turkish army²⁷³, large number of people had to migrate into the safer places. On the other hand, thousands of small towns were evacuated due to the state’s policy in the region therefore introduced the issue of “forced migration” to the agenda.²⁷⁴ Özbay argues that, the rate of urban poverty should be expected to increase because of the political dimension of the last migration wave²⁷⁵. In other words, when the socio-economic conditions of the immigrants are considered, it can also be argued that this new migration pattern has also added an ethnic dimension to the concept of “urban poor”.

Although rural to urban migration contributed to the emergence of the “urban poor”, it also –through intergenerational upward mobility via education- affected

²⁷¹ İçduygu Ahmet and Sirkeci İbrahim (1999), “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye’inde Göç Hareketleri”, in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, p: 252

²⁷² For further details please see:

Peker Mümtaz(1999), “Türkiye’de İçgöçün Değişen Yapısı” in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp: 295-304

İlkkaracan İpek and İlkkaracan Pınar (1999), “1990’lar Türkiyesi’nde Kadın ve Göç, in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp: 305-322

Özbay Ferhunde(1999), “İstanbul’da Göç ve İl içi Nüfus Hareketleri (1985-1990)”, *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp: 277-294

²⁷³ The Turkish State and the PKK have been in war for 25 years. Although PKK is perceived as a terrorist organization by the Turkish State, they present themselves as a gerilla movement working for implementing the demands of the Kurdish population.

²⁷⁴ For further details please see: Doğu ve Güneydoğu’da Zorunlu Göç, in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, pp:333-358

²⁷⁵ Özbay Ferhunde(1999), “İstanbul’da Göç ve İl içi Nüfus Hareketleri (1985-1990)”, *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, p: 292

the shift in the employment structure from agricultural towards service sector. Especially between 1980 and 1985, with 7.7%, the urbanization rate of Turkey jumped to its peak. According to the official statistics, today 62.7% of the overall population is estimated to live in the urban areas.²⁷⁶

Table 3.2: Urban and Rural Population

		Urban Population (%)		Rural Population (%)
1970		28.7		71.3
2006		62.7		37.3

Source: State Planning Institution

Apart from rapid urbanization and tertiarization, the third transformative process is related with the *massive expansion of education*. The occupational upgrading is both the result and cause of tertiarization in the labour market. Because, “educational expansion has both stimulated and been stimulated by the tertiarization of employment: as the goods-producing sector relies more heavily on low education work than the service sector, the shift towards services has increased the demand for higher education.”²⁷⁷ The increase in the educational qualifications also resulted in a sort of democratization in the realm of education since the tertiary education no longer was reserved for a small number of elites. However, this does not mean that the structural inequalities in the realm of education have been totally overcome. According to the official statistics, the schooling rate (which is calculated by taking the ratio of the actual numbers of people who attend to that school level to the number of people who have to attend according to their age group) of higher education jumped from 1.3% to 43% meaning that 43% of the people in population in Turkey who are in the age group of university education is actually attending to higher education.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ State Planning Institute : <http://www.dpt.gov.tr/Portal.aspx?PortalRef=3>

²⁷⁷ Oesch Daniel (2006), p:36

²⁷⁸ State Planning Institute : <http://www.dpt.gov.tr/Portal.aspx?PortalRef=3>

The missing places are not presented due to the comparison difficulty. Before 1997, 5 years primary education was compulsory in Turkey. However, in 18 August 1997, the primary and secondary education is linked to each other and the compulsory education level is increased into 8 years. Therefore, the categories are combined within the statistics after 1997 regarding the primary schooling level.

Table 3.3: The Rate of Schooling

	1950-1951	1989-1990	1996-1997	2005-2006
Primary School	69,5	102,1	100,0	95,6
Secondary School	4,8	58,8	64,3	
High School	5,2	36,6	54,7	
Higher Education	1,3	14,5	23,2	43,4

Source: State Planning Institution

Here, it can be useful to present the literacy rates since they are presented with the gender dimension. Although the rate of literacy of women is far behind the men, the difference which was very wide in the 50s gets smaller when it comes to 2000's.

Table 3.4: Literacy Rate

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
1935	19,2	9,8	29,3
1940(1)²⁷⁹	24,5	12,9	36,2
1945(2)²⁸⁰	30,2	16,8	43,7
1950(3)²⁸¹	32,5	19,4	45,5
1955	41	25,6	55,9
1960	39,5	24,8	53,6
1965	48,8	32,8	64,1
1970	56,2	41,8	70,3
1975	63,7	50,5	76,2
1980	67,5	54,7	80
1985	77,4	68,2	86,5
1990	80,5	72	88,8
2000	87,3	80,6	93,9

Source: State Planning Institute

When all of these figures are considered together, we can conclude that the above mentioned transformative processes are also valid for the Turkish case. Although those changes lead to the demographic formation and the enlargement of the new

²⁷⁹ The data of 1940 have been estimated by using data of 1935 and 1945

²⁸⁰ Population 7 years of age and over

²⁸¹ Population of five years of age and over

middle class, the changes observed in the class structure are neither parallel to the early industrialized countries nor to the newly industrialized ones. However, the specificities behind the new middle class formation in Turkey will be discussed later in the quantitative part of the research.

3.3 New Middle Class Studies in Turkey

The aim of this part is to present how and under what circumstances the phenomenon of the new middle class is studied in Turkey. Unfortunately, it is hard to claim that there are satisfactory references for the Turkish case, as in the case of class overall structure. I argue that the term new middle class is discussed in three different frameworks. First framework used the term new middle class not in line with the general connotation but with a special meaning for the case of Turkey in particular, and state-led modernized countries in general. Secondly, the new middle class is discussed in the popular studies referring to its cultural image; however they depend not on empirical analyses but on daily life observations. Thirdly, the new middle class is studied with reference to the neighborhood context and they reflect – some fraction- of the new middle class style of life empirically. In the following part, these three different lines of argument will be presented.

3.3.1 The New Middle Class with Reference to Power Structure

The term “new middle class” entered into the agenda of the scholars who have been interested in the socio-political and economic change that Turkey experienced in the 1950s however with a different connotation. Although they used the term the “new middle class” they admitted that the way they use it, is not parallel to the common meaning of class as derived from clash of economic interests.

“We have used the term “middle classes” sparingly throughout this study, to describe a series of occupations, attitudes, and interests rather than a rigid hierarchy of groups. The pattern of social stratification, the nature of economic development, the political ideology, and the sociocultural bases of the system in Turkey, as in many developing nations, are such as to preclude yet the formation of the rigidly separated and antagonistic social classes seen in Western Europe. Although we refer repeatedly to the political conflicts between the bureaucratic elites and economic

groups we do not regard these conflicts as being classic class struggle stemming chiefly from clash of economic interests.”²⁸²

Nezih Neyzi, who analyzed the middle class in Turkey from this specific framework, argued that the core of the middle class in Turkey had been the bureaucratic elite. Especially in developing countries, primary locus of the bureaucracy had been the civil service, since governments supplied the majority of the employment opportunities, status and power.²⁸³ However later on, certain changes affected the composition of the middle class by introducing a new fraction to its ranks. The decline of the agricultural production and the increase in the industrial and service sector in 1950's created a labor force mainly composed of “the entrepreneurs, managers, and small manufacturers, and new businessmen as a group were markedly different from the landlords, professionals, bureaucrats, and intellectuals who had formed the backbone of the Turkish political elites and decided the destiny of Turkey until the mid-fifties”²⁸⁴ The economic interests and the political outlook of this “new” middle class are observed to be different from the “traditional” one which was composed of bureaucrats, civil servants, officers and the intelligentsia.²⁸⁵

In order to make sense of this kind of an approach, the socio-political climate of the 1950s and the related arguments regarding the shift in the power structure (from center to periphery) in Turkey at those times should also be mentioned shortly. The thesis that center-periphery paradigm is both a key to understand the politics in both Ottoman Empire and Turkish republic raised by Şerif Mardin²⁸⁶. He argues that, the forces that shapes the state structure in the West and in the Ottoman Empire is not the same. The centralization that shapes the modern state in the West was realized

²⁸² Karpat Kemal (1973), “Introduction”, in *Social Change and Politics in Turkey*, ed.by: Kemal Karpat, Brill, Leiden, pp: 2-3

²⁸³ Neyzi Nezih (1973), “Middle Classes in Turkey”, in *Social Change and Politics in Turkey*, ed.by: Kemal Karpat, Brill, Leiden, pp:130

²⁸⁴ Karpat Kemal (1973), “Structural Change, Historical Stages of Modernization, and the Role of Social Groups in Turkish Politics”, in *Social Change and Politics in Turkey*, ed.by: Kemal Karpat, Brill, Leiden, p: 59

²⁸⁵ Cohn Edwin, (1970), “Turkish Economic, Social and Political Change”, Praeger Publishers, New York, p: 64

²⁸⁶ Mardin, (1990), “Türkiye’de Toplum ve Siyaset”, İletişim Yayınları

by multiple confrontations through which certain compensations are given to a peripheral force in each. With every compensation, a new force is added to the center. These confrontations were between state and church, nation builders and locals, the owners of the means of the production and the non-owners. What make Western modern politics flexible today were those cleavages in the past. According to Mardin, in the Ottoman case, the confrontation was one sided and the main conflict was between center and periphery.²⁸⁷ He argues that this duality continued in the single party period of Turkish Republic²⁸⁸ because a relationship with rural population was not formed through policies. The Kemalist ideology was dealing with creating symbols for nation-state identity and undermining the revolutionary base of the mass mobilization. Following Mardin's terms, the relationship of positivism with the Kemalist ideology resulted in a reform process directed from center to periphery in the continuation of a strong state tradition. Civil bureaucracy of this type –like responsible for a cultural guardianship- did not have a positive attitude towards the emergence and development of new social groups with potential political force.²⁸⁹ Therefore, the rise of Democratic Party was seen as a response to center's above mentioned ideologies. It mobilized the periphery by promising to carry their daily problems to the political agenda, to save Turkey from strong bureaucracy, and to provide a certain degree of freedom in religious realms.²⁹⁰ Therefore, the rise of Democratic Party was seen as the victory of “democratic periphery” to “bureaucratic center”

The assumptions of the conceptualization of the new middle class with respect to power structure have its roots from the above discussed center-periphery paradigm. According to this perspective, the transition into the multiparty system and the rise

²⁸⁸ Although the elections had been held regularly between the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 to 1946, there was only Republican People's Party –which is founded by Atatürk- in the elections. However in 7 January 1946, Democratic Party had been founded and they won the majority of the votes in the 1950 elections. For further details please see: Eroğul Cem (2003), “Demokrat Parti: Tarihi ve İdeolojisi”, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara

²⁸⁹ For further details please see: Heper (1976), “Political Modernization as Reflected in Bureaucratic Change: The Turkish Bureaucracy and a Historical Bureaucratic Empire Tradition”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v:7, n:4, p:507-521

²⁹⁰ For further details please see: Weiker, (1981), “The Modernization of Turkey”, Holmes&Meier Publishers, New York

of the Democratic Party as opposed to the Republican Party is strongly related with the rise of the new middle class. It is argued that, the Democratic Party succeeded in identifying itself with the aspirations of this “new” middle class composed of entrepreneurs and therefore the political evolution of that decade is argued to be marked by the shifting balance between these two fractions of the middle class.²⁹¹

Actually, such an analysis of the middle classes is not specific to the Turkish case. The shift of balance between the bureaucratic fraction of the middle class and the entrepreneur and professional fraction of the private sector is seen as a characteristic of the state-led modernized countries. An analysis regarding the new middle class – in the sense of this framework- formation in the Middle East countries figure out that; as the “initial plunge of state agencies into social and economic engineering led to the formation of new professional interests in unprecedented numbers”²⁹². However, later on as the state policies reinforce the private and commercial activities and expand the ranks of professionals, the private sector made inroads into the domains which were once under the control of state bureaucracy.²⁹³ To put it other way as the private sector dominates the market, the middle class of the public sector could not continue to be a significant group. According to such a framework, although state functions as the creator of the new middle class, the new middle class than separate itself from the state bureaucracy and forms a different fraction. From such a framework, what is “new” is neither the position within production or market relations nor the evaluative distinctions derived form the everyday experience but the place within the political power structure. This is why one may be suspicious of the assumptions of this approach to the “new middle class” and may not be able to develop a logically consistent argument for using the term “class” instead of “group”.

²⁹¹ Neyzi Nezih (1973), pp:124-125

²⁹² Richards Alan and Waterbury John (1996), “A Political Economy of the Middle East”, Westview Press, U.S.A, p:416

²⁹³ Richards Alan and Waterbury John (1996), p: 19

3.3.2 Cultural Image of the New Middle Class in the Popular Discourse

By the end of 1990s, the term “new middle class” has begun to enter into the Turkish agenda by both entering into the vocabulary of the newspapers and by getting visible as a focus of analysis in the “popular science” books. These analyses, as it is stated in the introduction, have not been derived from systematic empirical analysis but depend on daily life observations of the writers. Consistent with the bulk of the literature, the new middle class is defined in those studies as the white collar workers who reached their positions through acquisition of the cultural capital.

Although he defines the new middle class as white collar workers, Şimşek²⁹⁴ analyses the cultural landscape of the very affluent fraction of this class and directs the attentions to the transformations²⁹⁵ that Turkey experienced after 1980s. Consistent with the global “wind” of neo-liberalism, a shift from import substitution strategies towards strategies that require less controlled transnational capital flows created a private service sector in 1980s.²⁹⁶ It is argued that in 80s, Thatcher in England, Reagan in U.S.A and Özal in Turkey adopted policies which strictly had aimed to reduce the state activities and maximize the capabilities of the private sector. Those changes created the category of “yuppies” (young urban professionals) who symbolize the flexibility, entrepreneurship, openness as opposed to heavy bureaucracy and infertile state institutions. According to Şimşek, this shift also

²⁹⁴ Şimşek Ali (2005), “Yeni Orta Sınıf”, L&M Yayınları, İstanbul

²⁹⁵ Amore detailed framework regarding what those economic transformations includes is presented under the heading of “Brief Overview of the Class Structure in Turkey”.

For further information please see:

Richards Alan and Waterbury John (1996), “A Political Economy of the Middle East”, Westview Press, U.S.A

Owen Roger and Pamuk Şevket (2002), “20.Yüzyılda Ortadoğu Ekonomileri Tarihi”, Sabancı Üniversitesi, İstanbul

Zurcher J. Erik (2004), “Turkey: A modern History”, I.B Tauris, London

Kepek Yakup and Yentürk Nurhan (2003), “Türkiye Ekonomisi”, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul

²⁹⁶ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 32

created new sectors to be employed for the new middle class in Turkey such as; banking, finance media, advertisement, human resources and entertainment. This fraction of the new middle class was composed of credited university graduates who know foreign languages and who have a flexible cultural landscape in terms of gender relations, foreign cultures and religion. Şimşek argues that the category of “yuppies” in the western vocabulary corresponds to the “princes”²⁹⁷ of Ozal in Turkey.²⁹⁸

Especially after 1990s, both the high capital investment in the cities and the scarcity in terms of the urban land caused by the urban population increase, gave way to increasing commodification of the urban land. The housing choices of the new middle class analyzed by Şimşek, which enlarged due to the changes after 1980s, created a demand for construction of sites far from the city centers. Needless to say, the increasing built environment market with high profit rates was willing to meet the demands. As Öncü suggests, the motivation behind such kind of segregated housing is very much related with the lifestyle choices of the demanders. These sites freed from the traffic, dirt, immigrants and poverty have been representing the desires of the middle classes.²⁹⁹ Şimşek points the changes in the urban planning legislation in 1984, and he argues that it gave way to the construction of gated suburban communities which are preferred by the professional and affluent fraction of the new middle class.³⁰⁰ With the legislative changes which permits such spatial segregations the new middle class not only spatially segregate themselves but also by presenting their aesthetic choices in the realm of housing –including the decoration and architecture- they separated themselves from the traditional middle class. The recent study conducted by Güvenç and Işık³⁰¹ so as to analyze the changes

²⁹⁷ Ozal himself brought Turkish professionals back to Turkey whom get their education abroad and gave them important positions in the public sector institutions. Those people are labelled as “princes of Ozal” in the Turkish context.

²⁹⁸ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 35

²⁹⁹ Öncü Ayşe (1997), “The Myth of the Ideal Home” in *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalising Cities*, ed by: Öncü A. and Weyland P, Zed Books, London, p: 61

³⁰⁰ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 52

³⁰¹ Güvenç Murat and Işık Oğuz (2002), “A Metropolis on the Crossroads: The Changing Social Geography of İstanbul under the Impact of Globalization”, in *Of States and Cities: The Partitioning of Urban Space*, Oxford University Press, New York, p: 208

in the social geography of Istanbul in 2000s also shows that there has been increasing polarization on the urban geography. Their study also points the increase in the construction of “fortified enclaves”³⁰² far from the city center and consumed by the rich segments of all occupational groups. In other words, although Güvenç-İşık and Şimşek point to the rise of the same phenomenon, unlike Şimşek, Güvenç and İşık link it to the income distribution by proving that rather than class, income determines the formation of such communities.

Especially after 80s, as the entrance of women into the labor market increased, the dual earner households become typical for the new middle class. According to Şimşek, those educated families who work in the above mentioned sectors and who send their children to private schools and also who become the representatives of the global consumption culture created a new middle class identity in the Turkish context.³⁰³ In order to “maintain” this new middle class identity, certain strategies are being adopted such as; being extroverted, developing an interest in consumption, creating a manner as opposed to the exaggerated display of the traditional middle class, stressing the position acquired by education etc.³⁰⁴

The bunch of strategies that the Turkish new middle class have developed in order to differentiate itself from other classes also created a different “language” in the media. Both Ali Şimşek and Ayşe Öncü decoded the language and themes of the different cartoon magazines which became popular after 80s in order to show how this new middle class identity constructed itself through creating the image of the “other”. The introduction of the term “*maganda*” in those magazines, than later on its settlement in the vocabulary of the popular culture is identified as one of the most important cultural representations of the process of defining the “other” by the new middle class’s cultural repertoire. Although its meaning has become commonsense today, it is still important to analyze what this “invented” labeling refers to the cultural climate of the 90s in Turkey. The characteristic of the Maganda that is

³⁰² Güvenç uses this term to indicate the access controlled housing projects offering its residents a new life-style where the residents can detach themselves from the rest of the society. p:211

³⁰³ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 53

³⁰⁴ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 80

drawn by the codes of the cartoons represented as a type of person who depends on brute force and deliberately poisons the cultural atmosphere in which s/he enters in. The inventors of the stereotype themselves define “maganda” as, emotionally ill-mannered, aesthetically defected, unenlightened, rude, vulgarian and as the representative of all the impaired values.³⁰⁵ The “maganda” is therefore coded as the newly rich urban migrant who lacks the cultural resources, who listens to arabesque music and who is also a potentially sexual abuser. For Şimşek, the “maganda” stereotype is drawn in such a way that it intrinsically carries an ethnic connotation. To put it another way, “maganda” becomes the other of the “white Turks” as opposed to “black Turkishness” and create the language of the major strategy of exclusion by the new middle classes.³⁰⁶

Another process that is adopted by the new middle class in order to define the “other” that is decoded from the cultural landscape of the 90s is the stereotype of “*yurdum insanı*”³⁰⁷. Şimşek argues that the representation of “*yurdum insanı*” and its entrance into the vocabulary of the popular discourse acts as a harsher exclusion strategy than the stereotype of the “maganda”.³⁰⁸ This process is materialized in the cartoons with an attitude of murmuration or muttering by the “hidden eye” of the observer. The cartoons that include the observation of the “*yurdum insanı*” is marked by an ethos of self confidence of puzzling out everything by the observer. For instance, the hidden eye observes the traditional daily life practices of the traditional or lower middle classes –such as picnic or aesthetic tastes- and looks down on them with a self confident language.³⁰⁹ Together with the process of defining the “*yurdum insanı*” -who will never achieve to be a “right men”- the language of the new middle class after 90s also caricatures the Turkishness by

³⁰⁵ Öncü Ayşe (2000), “İstanbulular ve Ötekiler: Küreselcilik Çağında Orta Sınıf Olmanın Kültürel Kozmolojisi”, in *İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel Arasında*, ed. by: Çağlar Keyder, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, p: 136

³⁰⁶ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 94

³⁰⁷ Can be crudely translated as “man of the homeland”

³⁰⁸ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 108

³⁰⁹ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 108

turning its codes into a supply of entertainment.³¹⁰ For instance, through this process the former cultural products such as the film “Dünyayı Kurtaran Adam” and the series of “Tarkan” become the cult of caricaturizing the Turkishness and also they create the supply of entertainment for the new products such as the film “Gora”(2004) in which to be a Turk in the space age is caricaturized. For Şimşek, the language of the new middle class in 1990s is marked by an attitude of irony, cynicism, and the state of coolness. The actor of the ironic language is exactly the new middle class because “affecting ignorance” requires to be enlightened which is again related with the acquisition of cultural capital via education.³¹¹

Apart from the decoding of the popular language, the second approach to shed light on the cultural image of the new middle classed identity in the Turkish context directly stem from the daily life observations. A series of features are attributed to the new middle class, sometimes consistent with the certain inferences made by the theorists – i.e Poulantzas, Ehrenreichs, Giddens or Bourdieu- such as individualism, monetary fetishism, and deferred gratification and so on. For example Kozanoğlu, a well known figure who is famous of his cultural landscape decodings, argues that the new middle classness carries the tension of a constantly stretched out elastic band.³¹² Because Kozanoğlu argues that upper classes present a clear picture, which can be viewed with hatred, aspiration, admiration or disgust. The lower classes also draw a clear profile marked by hopelessness and cruelty. New middle classes on the other hand cannot draw such clear images and it is motivated by great tension of constant competition. The new middle class chases the opportunities with showing an extreme effort because they always reach or lose them with little differences. Although the new middle classed identity is observed to be marked by open-mindedness it also carries the traces of an intense conservativeness –especially in the realm of work-.³¹³

³¹⁰ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 113

³¹¹ Şimşek Ali (2005), p: 118

³¹² Kozanoğlu Can (2001), “Yeni Şehir Notları”, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p: 54

³¹³ Kozanoğlu Can (2001), p: 56

The new middle class, looks into the bottom, watches the upper. It is afraid of the bottom, refrains from the upper. It is not conscienceless and feels sorry for the sad stories of the bottom. But the stories of the people who have originated from the bottom and get ahead of them...anger...The stories which are watched at length...aspiration...a decent jealousy...³¹⁴

Kozanoğlu also comments on the division of labor in the new middle class family and argues that it differs markedly from the traditional one. Mothers in those families usually have the responsibility of many decisions and they hold the role of the organizer. He further argues that the women of the new middle class satisfy their admiration for adventurous life by being the major regular customer of the best-seller books in which extraordinary feminine stories are told. Kozanoğlu labels these best sellers as “the series of myth that is presented to the new middle class by the new era”³¹⁵. On the other hand fathers, he observes, are extremely fragile because they are the fathers of the “consistently demanding” era, and the fathers of the “target group” of the epoch.³¹⁶ This is why he begins his analysis by drawing the picture of a typical weekend for the new middle class family in the Turkish context: searching for a parking place in the garage of the shopping mall that is preferably close to the door of the mall since they are in competition with other new middle class families who are also looking forward to purchase the promotional products. For Kozanoğlu, to belong to the new middle class requires to attach importance to “little” differences: a little earlier, a little better, and a little more favorable.³¹⁷

3.3.3 The New Middle Class with Reference to the Neighborhood Context

The third line of studies that develops arguments regarding the whatness of the new middle class in the Turkish context is derived from neighborhood studies. But these studies not solely concentrate on the neighborhood relations of the new middle class but also present detailed empirical data on the daily life practices and on the nature of the drawn symbolic boundaries. However, they are limited in number; actually I

³¹⁴ Kozanoğlu Can (2001), p: 58

³¹⁵ Kozanoğlu Can (2001), p: 69

³¹⁶ Kozanoğlu Can (2001), p: 61

³¹⁷ Kozanoğlu Can,(2001), p: 54

could only figure out two studies; the first study³¹⁸ was conducted in 1996 at six neighborhoods in Ankara three of which –Gaziosmanpaşa, Oran and Çayyolu- are identified as mainly new middle class neighborhoods. The second one³¹⁹ was conducted in 1998 at a suburban district –Koru Sitesi- and focuses on the new middle class lifestyle in the suburbs of Ankara. The outcomes of these researches are extremely important for this thesis because on the one hand they are relying on systematically collected empirical data that allow identifying some peculiarities of the Turkish case. On the other hand although they are not based on representative sample they certainly provide insight. Moreover, the insight they provide is important for this work since these studies were conducted in Ankara where the field of this thesis is also carried on.

In their work Ayata and Ayata³²⁰, question whether housing areas which are different in terms of the class origin of the inhabitants could be seen also as different communities. Based on their own fieldwork, they concluded that while the inhabitants try to differ the area they live in from the other areas, they share a sort of common identity strengthened by a shared “we” feeling.³²¹ Deriving from this conclusion their analysis regarding the attitude and lifestyle differences of the inhabitants of those neighborhoods also carries a class character; therefore they do not hesitate to label certain neighborhoods as “new middle class neighborhoods”. The middle class culture in the Turkish context is argued to be marked by a claim of carrying the values of modernization and identifies itself with the urban social culture. As Ayata and Ayata suggest, “civilized manners, high levels of education, secular world view, inclination towards consuming the western high cultural elements; such as theater and opera” have always been the elements around which middle class culture and identity is built.³²² However, we should approach to these

³¹⁸ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), “Konut, Komşuluk ve Kent Kültürü”, T.C Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı Dizisi, ODTÜ, Ankara

³¹⁹ Ayata Sencer (2003), “Yeni Orta Sınıf ve Uydu Kent Yaşamı”, in *Kültür Fragmanları: Türkiye’de Gündelik Hayat*, ed.by: Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul

³²⁰ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996)

³²¹ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p: 131

³²² Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p:132

kind of homogenizing conclusions regarding the new middle class of 2000s with suspicion, if we keep in mind that certain transformative processes mentioned before -such as democratization of education, the growth of the service sector, fast rural to urban migration- opened the barriers of this class into a population whose class background is extremely heterogonous.

The outcomes of this study also suggested that the new middle class in Ankara differs markedly from other classes in terms of the division of labor in the family. They argue that the main character of the new middle class family relations is based on a principle of “sharing” rather than the requirements of the traditional gender roles. The authority of the women and the degree of responsibility of representing the family is observed to be higher when compared to other classes. Moreover the men in this class tend to share the child caring activities while the children – regardless of their gender- are kept away from the division of labor in the household.³²³ Another important empirical outcome is regarding the childrearing practices and attitudes of the Turkish new middle class. Ayata and Ayata argue that the major orientation of the new middle class upon the children is “control”. Especially in the suburban sites where there are many areas for children to play, it is observed that children spend less time outside home when compared to other children in different neighborhoods. The authors argue that, as the education level of the mother increases, their anxiety in regard to establishing a control mechanism on the child also increases.³²⁴ This is why new middle class mothers are seen to be extremely involved in planning the free time as well as additional educational activities of their children.

Ayata and Ayata analyzes the social networks of the different classed neighborhoods both in terms of familial and neighborhood ties. When the relationships with the relatives are questioned, it is observed that they are much more limited in the case of the new middle class. The relationships still emotional rather than instrumental, they are not as intense as it is in the other classes. Mostly, the new middle class families do not extend their network into far relatives, instead their network remains within

³²³ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p: 64

³²⁴ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p: 59

the chamber of the closed blood tie: especially they continue their relationships with their mothers and fathers.³²⁵ Parallel to this close family network, the neighborhood ties of the new middle class in the case of Ankara is observed to be weak. Ayata and Ayata argue that what is typical for the new middle class families is “distant neighborliness” meaning that the good neighbor is defined as the one who is invisible and who forms distant relationships motivated by respect to the private life of the other³²⁶. This attitude is argued to be related with the value that the new middle class attaches to the individualized life forms. Moreover, it is also related with the importance that the new middle class attaches to the social capital that derived from multiple sources such as formal associations, alumni’s, business network and so on. In other words, the relationships which are formed through such secondary sources –apart from neighborhood- are perceived as more beneficial due to the higher social position of the participants. Apart from the dimension of social capital, this attitude has also its roots in economic resources. Since the new middle class families are assumed to be more affluent when compared to working classes and relatively more crowded traditional middle class, they do not lack the economic sources that are needed to form such relationships -apart from neighborhood- which are spread over the city.³²⁷

The second study³²⁸ –as it is introduced in the introduction of this part- that presents the new middle class image in Ankara by focusing on a suburban housing estate also yielded similar outcomes with regard to the social network structure and division of labor within the new middle class families. The ethnographic part of the study is able to shed light on the pattern of the symbolic boundaries by figuring out the evaluative distinctions and schemas of perception that this specific fraction has. The fieldwork suggests that the obsession of the new middle class with “order” and its desire for continuously “showing the class differences” are the most effective basis for defining their classed identity. These two elements are dependent on each other,

³²⁵ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p: 77

³²⁶ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p: 99

³²⁷ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p: 135

³²⁸ Ayata Sencer (2003), “Yeni Orta Sınıf ve Uydu Kent Yaşamı”, in *Kültür Fragmanları: Türkiye’de Gündelik Hayat*, ed.by: Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul

since the emphasis of the class differences would be most salient under very orderly and organized occasions.³²⁹ Therefore, suburbs –clean, ordered and far- are the spatial reflections of the symbolic boundaries that they draw between themselves and the “other” people. Ayata argues that, the new middle class perceives the city as composed of people from countryside and therefore they are rude and uncivilized. To live in the city is identified with degraded habits such as: hanging on the clothes in the balcony, going out with pajamas, leaving the shoes out of the door³³⁰ etc.³³¹ To behave in a right manner requires to form a distant –and desired- relationship with the other people, this is why new middle class is observed to feel distressed by the city crowd. The new middle class, whom learn to attribute an extremely positive character to the “order” both through their education and through their acquaintanceship with the West, cannot stand to the uncivilized unrepresentable jungle of the city center.³³²

Ayata’s study shows us that the emphasis on civilized manners is a characteristic of the cultural homogeneity and acts as an indicator of the new middle class identity in the Turkish context. The schemas of perception of the interviewees are observed to be marked by an inclination towards order, predictability, rationality, individual autonomy, secularity, open-mindedness, and environmental sensitivity.³³³

Although the special segregation -resulted from the disgusted image of the city center- is frequently referred with giving reference to the new middle classed identity in the literature, Turkish case adds some peculiarities to the issue. Ayata’s field study shows that the urge of constructing spatial boundaries also perpetuated with the secular character of the new middle class in the suburbia.

³²⁹ Ayata Sencer (2003), p: 41

³³⁰ The habit of leaving the shoes out of the door is usually perceived as an ill-manner which represents the state of not knowing the right codes of being the “appropriate urban” or indicates the state of not being able to detach from the rural habits.

³³¹ Ayata Sencer (2003), p: 40

³³² Ayata Sencer (2003), p: 41

³³³ Ayata Sencer (2003), p: 54

The expansion of this class in Ankara can be seen as the outcome of both of the growth of the civil service and of a managerial and entrepreneurial middle class. The middle class can be distinguished not only in terms of wealth and property but also through its distinctive consumption patterns and lifestyles. In the Turkish context, a wide section of the middle class tends to distinguish itself from other classes through culturalised lifestyle choices: this involves a strong emphasis on secular values and a secular group identity defined in opposition to the Islamist middle classes that lead their segregated existence in other parts of the city³³⁴

The power conflict within certain classes between Islamist and the secular fractions is a largely debated issue in the Turkish literature. Since Ayata's study focuses on the secular fraction, secular group identity as opposed to Islamist one was observed as an important part of the interviewee's new middle class identity. However, as Yavuz argues³³⁵, the Islamist movements achieved to create "their own middle class ethos and accommodations with modernity"³³⁶. There are also systematic empirical analysis that yield important conclusions regarding the dynamics behind the middle class ethos of the Islamist fractions. Indeed those people constitute the fractions that are excluded by the new middle class respondents of Ayata's study. Saktanber in her PhD dissertation³³⁷, questioned to what extent Islam shapes the aspirations and organizes the daily lives of the Islamist fraction of the middle class. She made in depth interviews with 25 people in Ankara in 1989 and also used the participant observation as a method in her field. In her thesis, under the heading of "Socio-economic Status as the Basis of a Middle Class Ethos" she argues that what distinguishes this fraction from the other middle class people is that they develop a different system of classification which is developed as a result of their tastes. But Saktanber argues that, in her case, "faith" functions as Bourdieu's notion of taste, as responsible for generating classificatory schemas.³³⁸

³³⁴ Ayata Sencer (2002), "The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia", in *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*, ed.by: Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, Rutgers University Press, U.S.A, p: 30

³³⁶ Yavuz Hakan (2003), "Islamic Political Identity in Turkey", Oxford University Press, New York

³³⁷ Saktanber Ayşe (1995), "Islamic Revitalization in Turkey: An Urban Model of a "Counter-Society": A Case Study, Unpublished thesis, METU

³³⁸ Saktanber Ayşe (1995), pp:149-150

Göle also mentions the power conflict between the Islamist elites and secular modernist elites and argues that due to the possibility of social mobility and acquisition of cultural capital, “Islamist movements have created their own educated, technical, and intellectual elites which resemble the secular modernist elites they criticize and oppose”³³⁹ The center-periphery cleavage mentioned before builds the analytical framework of such counter-elite thesis which assumes that the power struggle of on cultural codes and lifestyles continue to be effective between the center -Republican elites- and the periphery –Islamists. Gülalp argues that the notion of “intellectual” and “Westernized” was carrying identical connotations until the rise of the Islamist professional middle class in 1980s and 1990s.³⁴⁰ He argues that not only the professional middle class but also the capitalist class and the working class have their own Islamist fractions who construct the social base of the political Islam. He defines the Islamist fraction of the middle class as “consisted of those university graduates who have a conservative and mostly provincial background and who have begun to challenge the “core” professional elite who are fundamental mainstay of Kemalism in Turkey.”³⁴¹

Keeping in mind the existing analysis regarding the fractional differences in terms of cultural codes –or lets say it habituses- within the middle class, kinds of analysis like Ayata’s should be read cautiously without generalizing the above mentioned codes to the whole fractions of the new middle class. Concentrating on a single fraction is the limitations of studies where neighborhood is selected as a site of study conducted so as to uncover the elements of class habituses. This limitation is also valid for my own field study, which is conducted in the neighborhood of Ayrancı, where majority of people are observed to vote in 2002 general elections for Republican People’s Party³⁴² that is strongly identified with the Kemalist “center”.

³³⁹ Göle Nilüfer (1997), “Secularism and Islamism in Turkey: The Making of Elites and Counter-Elites” , *Middle East Journal*, vol: 50, no: 1, p:46

³⁴⁰ Gülalp Haldun (2001), “Globalization and Political Islam: The Social Bases of Turkey’s Welfare Party, *Middle East Studies*, vol: 33, p: 442

³⁴¹ Gülalp Haldun (2001), pp: 444-445

³⁴² Işık Oğuz and Pınarcıoğlu Melih (2005), “Ankara 2002 Genel Seçimleri Coğrafyası”, in *Cumhuriyetin Ankara’sı*, ODTU Yayıncılık, Ankara, p: 256

3.4 Concluding Remarks on the Chapter

In this part, firstly I have attempted to present a picture regarding the class structure of Turkey by referring to the literature on the issue. Then, I have tried to follow the footprints of the transformative processes in Turkey, which are taken generally as the reasons behind the enlargement of the new middle class in the literature. In the last part, I have figured out the ways that the conceptualization of the new middle class is approached and attempted to make sense of the outcomes that those approaches have presented upon the whatness of the new middle class in the Turkish context. However, these approaches have certain limitations and shortcomings which should not be neglected.

The first approach is build upon an assumption that the new middle class in the Turkish context appears as a result of the related shifts in the power structure. As the supporters of this approaches also suggests, the way they used the term class does not depend neither on production nor on market relations. On what grounds an engineer working as a civil servant and the one working in the private sector –while they both have to sell their mental labour- have different positions in the class structure is not clear. To put it another way, we are right to ask whether having different positions within power relations is enough to assume that these two categories belong to two different classes. Therefore it is difficult to argue that what they comment on is class antagonisms/relationships rather I argue that it would be more appropriate to use the term group/ “*zümre*” instead.

The second line of argument takes the new middle class consistent with the general connotation in the literature, as white collar workers, and attempts to read the “cultural surface” of this class in Turkey. However, the initial challenge of these kinds of decodings is the process through which these cultural codes are attributed to a certain class. The new middle class may use these codes while forming its classed identity or building symbolic boundaries or reproduce them consistently however, are these features enough to define them as the “culture of the new middle class”? For instance to humiliate the immigrants and nouveau riche/ “*sonradan görme*” or the vulgar/ “*maganda*” does not belong solely to the cultural repertoire of the new

middle class, bourgeoisie also uses these strategies while building their symbolic boundaries. Another challenge –as in the case of the Ali Şimşek’s study- is to define the new middle class as the white collar workers and to only analyze the cultural practices of the “*crème de la crème*” fraction of this class, for instance “princes” of Özal or the inhabitants of the gated communities for the Turkish case. It is also a fact that, the strategies and the values are much more crystallized and observable in those cases. However, if the population weight of this category is intensified around the middle or lower fractions of the new middle class, to neglect the elements of their classed identity would definitely prevent us from seeing both the heterogeneous character as well as certain life conditions of this class which sometimes even gets closer to the working class.

The critics that are presented are also partly valid for the third approach which takes neighborhood as a site of study in order to shed light into the new middle class’ evaluative schemas. Suburbs are frequently used as field research sites so as to study the new middle class lifestyle. Although the patterns of suburbanization in the Turkish context are behind the limits of this study, we can argue that if the volume of the suburbs within the city population and the economic capital that is required for living in those sites are considered, the lifestyles in the suburbs could only represent a small and affluent segment of the new middle class in Turkey. The empirical data that will be presented in the research section also suggest that, when a representative sample for Ankara is considered, the majority of the new middle class still live in the city center. Although these kinds of neighborhood studies contribute much to the literature, it should be kept in mind that they do not aim to problematize the heterogeneity within the ranks of this class and therefore the outcomes -homogeneous values and lifestyles- should not be generalized. It is a fact that the new middle class has upper-middle-lower fractions as well as different facets such as traditional/religious, secular/modern, established/new comer. And it is for sure that these facets have an effect on both creating differences regarding the classed identity, values, schemas, evaluative distinctions of this new middle class and they are probably effective on creating certain inter-group conflicts/tensions.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH METHOD

Consistent with the framework adopted, the approach of this study towards the phenomenon of the new middle class certainly necessitates a triangulation of both qualitative and the quantitative methods. As it is widely discussed under the heading of “framework of the study”, I aim to merge both the structural and processual approaches to new middle class. For this aim, my research will be composed of two parts; each of which will hopefully compensate the limitations of the other and enable me to present a comprehensive picture at the end.

4.1 The Method of the Quantitative Research

The quantitative part of the research aims to present the profile of the new middle class (defined structurally as the white collars) in Ankara by specifically focusing on the patterns of differentiation within its ranks in terms of volume/composition of overall capital and social class background. This analysis depends on the secondary analysis of the database of a recent stratification and mobility project. This project is conducted both with an aim of mapping the social status schema of the city Ankara, and showing the patterns of mobility within three generations. It is certain that the database of this project is very valuable for the researchers whose interest is in the realm of stratification and social class in Turkey for several reasons. Firstly, the questionnaire is composed of two separate parts; *household* and *individual*. Throughout the household part, several questions are posed in order to get the socio-demographic features of all the household members. In addition, the information regarding the structural conditions of the house and the ownership of certain materials is gathered which may be used to measure the socio-economic status of the household. The second part is designed to measure the patterns of social mobility so it was directed to a member of the household whose age is between 25 and 69. The individual member is selected by a statistical method

known as Kish method which ensures that the distribution is unbiased in terms of gender and age. The individual part is designed in such a way that it has the power to gather social and economic indicators of three generations. Moreover, it includes detailed questions which aim to capture information on four basic realms; attitudes towards social differentiation within society; the networks of social solidarity; ethnic and religious identity; consumption/lifestyle patterns. In sum, the first part of the two-fold questionnaire is designed to get information regarding the household and filled by any member of the household whose age is between 18 and 69. With the help of this information it was possible to measure the social status of the household. The second part of the questionnaire is posed to an individual selected by the Kish method and aims to gather information about the social and economic indicators of three generations.

In addition to the content of the questionnaire, what makes this database more valuable is its design. The sample of the project is designed as to represent the city center of Ankara with the help of the addresses taken from Turkish Statistical Institute. The city center is represented by eight districts namely; Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Kecioren, Mamak, Sincan, Yenimahalle and Gölbaşı. 2400 households are selected according to the population weights of the districts so that these households have the power to represent Ankara. The research team was able to reach the 73.7% of the targeted households (1769 households) and filled the first part of the questionnaire. The response rate falls when it comes to the individual part of the questionnaire since the individual respondent was selected by Kish method. Although Kish method reduces levels of responses (since the researcher cannot pose the questions to anyone who is at home at that time) it provides us an unbiased sample in terms of gender. The team reached 1293 individuals 58.2 percent of which is women. However, as my own study takes the occupations as the proxy for social class, among 1293 respondents 596 of them who have declared themselves as “currently working” will constitute my sample.

In order to make use of the information in this strong database, strong both in terms of content and sample design, certain procedures of re-coding and re-categorization are followed. The aim of the mobility survey is to measure the social status of the households and the patterns of social mobility across generations in terms of social

status. In this survey, different variables such as education, occupation, income, ownership are used for developing a social status index. We should keep in mind that the defining characteristics of social class schemas and social stratification; therefore class positions and social status positions are different and belongs to two separate traditions; social class and social stratification. However the theoretical assumptions of these two different traditions will not be discussed within the limited frame of this study. Consistent with the framework of my own study, the secondary analysis of this database required new categorizations of the raw data according to the occupations of the respondents. Since “occupational position” is used as the only proxy for social class position, my analysis will focus on the individuals who belong to the category of the white collars.

In the questionnaire the respondents’ occupation was coded according to the occupation schema that is developed by the research team. In the survey, 22 occupational codes were used in order to measure the occupational status. I recoded these 22 codes as precise as possible in order to create a class schema including a capitalist class, new middle class, traditional middle class and working class. However, certain categories cannot be distributed into these 4 class schema since certain income generating activities are not regular. The relative weight of this group –which I call “informal”- also indicates how it is difficult to apply the class schemas developed in the literature to the Turkish case.

Table 4.1: The distribution of 22 occupational codes into social classes

Recoding of occupational codes	
Capitalist class	Large scale commerce/Self-employed
Categories: (12-14)	Large scale employers(over 50 people)
New Middle Class	Administrators/Professionals in State Sector
Categories (1-2-4-5-6-7)	Middle Level Civil Servants
	Professional Military Officers
	Teachers in State Sector
	Managers/Professionals in Private Sector
	Middle level white-collars in Private Sector

Traditional Middle Class	Small Employers
Categories(10-11-13-15-16-20)	Middle Scale Employers (below 50 people)
	Small Scale Commerce/Self employed
	Craftsmen/Self employed
	Professionals/Self Employed
	Agriculturalists/Farmers
Working Class	Blue Collars&Service Proletariats/State Sector
Categories (3-8-9)	Blue Collars/Middle Qualified/Private Sector
	Blue Collars/Unqualified/Private Sector
Informal	Marginal works/own account
Categories(17-18-19-21-22)	Temporary works with daily wages
	Income generating works done at home
	Seasonal agricultural workers
	Unpaid Family Labor

Although the theoretical frameworks that have been discussed so far have created a vision for the new/traditional divide within the new middle class, I needed further help from empirical studies in which complex occupational structure have been transformed into a coherent social class schema. Therefore, while trying to convert the occupational coding into social classes, I made use of the recent national empirical studies in which middle class in the class structure is divided into two as traditional and new middle class.³⁴³ Since traditional middle class lost its demographic weight long ago and middle class is not usually categorized as composed of two groups -traditional and new-, the occupational schemas of early

³⁴³ Shigeto Sonoda (2006), "New Middle Class in Confucian Asia: Its Socio-Cultural Background and Socio-political Orientations in Comparative Perspective", Working Paper, Center of Excellence-Contemporary Asian Studies, <http://hdl.handle.net/2065/12808>,

Arita Shin (2003), "The Growth of the Korean Middle Class and its Social Consciousness", *The Developing Economies*, XLI-2, PP:201-220,

Burris Val (1999), "The Old Middle Class in Newly Industrialized Countries" in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, ed, *East Asian Middle Classes in Comparative Perspective*, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

Lee Whan-Jung (1994), "Industrialization and the Formation of the New Middle Class in Korea", *Korea Journal of Population and Development*, vol: 23, no: 1, pp:76-96

industrialized countries is not helpful. Therefore, East Asian studies are consulted in order to attain the occupations as proxies for class positions.

4.2 The Method of the Qualitative Research

After presenting the heterogonous profile of the new middle class, my own field research aims to shed light into the diverse middle classnesses of its different fractions. Qualitative methods, which bring the meaning-making process behind the preferences of the individuals to the center of the analysis, is the most appropriate way of uncovering the evaluative schemas and symbolic boundaries that built the classed identity of the individuals.

The initial aim of the thesis was to build an argument upon a comparative design, indeed I would like to compare the new middle class and the traditional one, therefore make sense of what “new” actually involves. I have conducted a pilot study in the summer of 2008 in my hometown Denizli where my social network is wider and I have made 8 interviews. Later on, I continued my pilot study in Ankara for the category of the traditional middle class and I have interviewed five people. After those pilot studies, I have made many changes regarding my research design and the research focus. Firstly, I have discovered that, although there are observable differences in the class experiences and class habituses of the traditional and the new middle class, these two categories in themselves are deeply diversified. Therefore, I have decided that, with a small sample –within the limits of masters thesis- it is not appropriate to compare such big categories. The best solution I have found –consistent with my interest area- is to only focus on the new middle class and its different facets. Secondly, thanks to this pilot study, I realized that I definitely need to reduce my clusters of interests because while I was aiming to grasp as many things as possible, I was loosing the essential information that would enable me to make sense of the elements of the new middle class habitus. Admittedly, that interviews were designed as not only focusing on the class habitus or class experience, but also included the work ethic and political ideology dimension. Therefore, after the pilot study I have decided to diminish the scope of the study.

Therefore for my actual field work, I developed a semi-structured interview guide³⁴⁴ which is composed of questions regarding generally the daily life practices and the values attached to those practices, tastes and attitudes towards others. I did not strict to that guide, but let the interviewees to follow their own ways as much as possible. While preparing the interview guide, I made use of some questions that are used for the fieldwork of the studies with similar research questions. Especially Lamont's interview guide³⁴⁵ that she used while studying the French and American middle class culture was very useful for operationalizing the symbolic boundary making process. Bourdieu's questions³⁴⁶, although bulk of them was very time and "French culture" specific, was very directive while determining and including questions which of that approximated to my discussion to the notion of habitus at the end.

After the "research focus" problem, sampling was another shortcoming of my fieldwork. My initial aim was to take a small subgroup from the sample of the stratification project which was a data source for my quantitative analysis. Therefore, from the address list of the project, I chose 30 households by random sampling. Since the sample of the stratification project was representative, the addresses I chose were dispersed among 8 districts of Ankara: Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Kecioren, Mamak, Sincan, Yenimahalle and Gölbaşı. However, the names and the telephone numbers of the respondents were not taken in the stratification project, so I basically had to go to the addresses in order to get an appointment. But contrary to my expectations, it was practically impossible. Firstly, the addresses were highly dispersed and it was not an easy task to find them. Moreover, the respondents were involuntary to give appointments for an interview, which would probably last more than one hour. Moreover, it was hard to convince them since they have already agreed to give time and answer the questions of the stratification project held one year ago. Even some of them got irritated because their addresses were kept and used for further research aims. And lastly, it was extremely disappointing for me to spend the whole day in order to find the address

³⁴⁴ Please see the Appendix

³⁴⁵ Lamont Michèle (1992), "Money, Morals, Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class", The University of Chicago Press, Chicago

³⁴⁶ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste", Harvard University Press

and than to be refused because since the next address to find belongs to a neighborhood from another far district.

At the end, I have decided to do my field research in a single neighborhood by stating the limitations of the sampling. But on the other hand, I thought that the selection of the neighborhood should not be done arbitrarily. So I have decided to conduct my research in a neighborhood where the rate of the new middle class population is the highest. From the representative database of the stratification project, I have selected the category which I have recoded as the “new middle class” and take the descriptives of their locations. From that analysis, I have figured out that the neighborhood Ayrancı in the district of Çankaya inhabits the largest category of the new middle class. Actually, I estimated that the 90.9% of the respondents in Ayrancı was working in occupations that were recoded as the new middle class.

Through my fieldwork in Ayrancı neighborhood, I have used the snowball technique for reaching to the targeted sample. However, I cautiously selected multiple gatekeepers in order not to reach only to a certain social group composed of close relatives and friends. Moreover, although I did not put an age limitation for the sample, I intentionally did not prefer to make interviews with single newly graduates or the long ago retired people. Among 31 respondents only 2 of them are retired. Also, since subjective perception is crucial, in order not to direct them, I did not use the term “class” while interacting with both the gatekeepers and the respondents. Instead I presented my research topic as “the lifestyles and values of different occupational groups”.

Although I did not detect a sample size prior to the field, after a point, the interviews I had made enabled me to figure out certain patterns and to make certain categorizations. Therefore, I have ended up my field work after I have made 31 interviews in the Ayrancı neighborhood. The interviews took between 45 minutes and 2.5 hours depending usually on the place of the interview.

4.3 Limitations and Difficulties of the Fieldwork

The initial limitation of my research is not specific to my case but it is widely debated within the empirical class studies literature. Whose position determines the class status of the household? Should the individual be taken as a reference? But if certain fields such as consumption are common in the household, is it meaningful to argue that the wife belongs to the new middle class while the husband belongs to the working class? Indeed in my pilot study, not to follow a principle regarding this issue was an important limitation. Two of the interviewees, who are lawyers, were both married to people who own their own textile factories. Indeed, they continuously stated that they are not “living” like a lawyer due to their husband’s positions. Therefore, in my actual field work, while approaching to potential interviews, I have considered this household dimension and omitted the unbalanced couples. Also, in the quantitative part of the research, it was extremely difficult to convert the occupational codes of the stratification project into a class schema and my attempt may be criticized. However, for reducing such criticisms, I have analyzed how occupational structures are converted into class schema in recent studies which makes distinction between the new and the traditional middle class – as expressed above- in detail and have followed their logic of thoughts. An additional limitation of this sort of analysis is that, it excludes the unemployed and the people who engage in informal income generating activities, since they do not fit into the categorizations. However, the categorization that is used for the quantitative part of this study involves an “informal” category which also shows the important weight it has in the overall structure.

My sampling which is designed as covering only one neighborhood is another limitation for my research. Although Ayrancı neighborhood is estimated as mostly inhabited by the new middle class, it should be noted that to some extent this population represents the “secular/modern” fraction of the new middle class. Therefore, though this group has many internal differentiations, it also has an homogeneous character and the outcomes should be generalized to overall new middle class. I am clearly aware of the fact that, different patterns would be detected, if this study was held in the district of Keçiören –known as inhabited by

the conservative fractions of the new middle class population-. Moreover, after I started my field work I realized that the young population in Ayrancı is quite low, indeed many of my interviewees argued that in the last years new generation tended to prefer suburbs.

Admittedly, to snowballing process was not easy at all. Although the appointments are taken via “a friend of friend”, the bulk of the interviewees were very skeptical about the research, indeed sometimes I tended to believe in the assumption reflected within the popular culture –which I have always criticized- that the middle class is extremely “fearful”. Since all my interviewees are currently working, to arrange a spare time was also a problem. Their weekends were already planned with diverse activities, especially the ones who have children –with their own words- have to run all through the weekend. This is why my fieldwork continued for 5 months, actually it began in October 2008 and ended in February 2009.

4.4 The Research Site; Ankara and Ayrancı

The research question of this thesis is not formed so as to uncover the neighborhood/community relations. However, since a single neighborhood had to be selected –due to the above mentioned limitations-, to give a brief information on its features is seen necessary. Moreover, while telling their daily life practices, and while commenting on the categories of people which they do not want to engage with, respondents frequently singled out the names of certain neighborhoods. In order to make sense of what kinds of connotations that those preferences carry, I will present shortly the spatial transformation of Ankara, with specifically focusing on the neighborhoods that are mentioned by the respondents.

Before Ankara was selected as the capital city, it was an Anatolian village with a population of 20 thousand.³⁴⁷ After becoming the capital city of the newly founded Republic, certain construction and reconstruction plans were adopted so as to create Ankara as the reflection of “modern glorious and enduring” character of the new

³⁴⁷ Görmez Kemal (2004), “Bir Metropol Kent Ankara”, Odak Yayınevi, Ankara, p: 23

government.³⁴⁸ After it was announced as the capital city, in 1927, the population of Ankara had risen to 74 thousand. A fast urbanization trend in the 50s further increased the population in the city, reaching to 4.2 million in 2009. As the population increased, new spaces are opened into construction, and changed the features of the places which were once regarded as the city center. The neighborhood Ulus, was the city center of the Ankara in the early years of the Republic. However, the assembly decided to construct a “new” city and selected the south axis of the city for further construction.³⁴⁹ Therefore Kızılay, it was referred as the “new city” then, became the new city center. As Görmez argues, the transformation was not only in the sense of space, but it also brought about cultural differentiations which are reflected on the space.³⁵⁰ Şenyapılı’s study suggests that, although the significance of Ulus was continuing in the beginning of 1940s, it could not receive investment when compared to the new center, Kızılay.³⁵¹ And today, although certain historical places in Ulus still receive visitors, as Görmez states, it has become the place of the poor newcomers.³⁵²

As Kızılay became the city center, it began to be visited frequently by provincials and squatters. Therefore, the urban bourgeoisie began to prefer Tunalı Hilmi Street and Kavaklıdere instead of Kızılay. As Görmez argues in 90s the neighborhoods of Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa and Oran became the sites of attraction in terms of shopping and entertainment centers.³⁵³ In other words, there is a cleavage today between Kızılay and Çankaya similar to the cleavage between Ulus and Kızılay centers in 1950s.

Those spatial differentiations also carry cultural and political differentiations. The above mentioned neighborhoods preferred by middle or upper middle classes have

³⁴⁸ Şenyapılı Tansı (2004), “ ‘Baraka’ dan Gecekonduya: Ankara’ da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü, 1923-1960”, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, p: 36

³⁴⁹ Şenyapılı Tansı (2004), p: 38

³⁵⁰ Görmez Kemal (2004), p: 43

³⁵¹ Şenyapılı Tansı (2004), p: 86

³⁵² Görmez Kemal (2004), p: 43

³⁵³ Görmez Kemal (2004), p: 50

also a by and large common political outlook. Although “worldviews” cannot read off from the voting preferences, still they may act as a clue so as to see how cultural and political landscape of the neighborhoods is differentiated today. According to the analysis of Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, the districts of Ayrancı, Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa and Bahçeli –the neighborhoods of which are traditionally associated with social democratic party supporters- and the suburbs such as Çayyolu, inhabited by the new upper middle classes, are estimated as mostly voted for CHP in 2002 general elections. On the other hand, the center of Ulus and the surrounding neighborhoods are observed as voting mostly to “right” and nationalist parties, especially to MHP and GP.³⁵⁴ The neighborhood of Mamak, that was inhabited firstly by the immigrants from Çankırı, Çorum and Yozgat in 1940s³⁵⁵, and the neighborhood of Altındağ that was firstly inhabited by diverse ethnic groups in 1960s –mainly by Kurdish and Romany people³⁵⁶-, and majority of the neighborhoods in the district of Keçiören, Sincan and Etimesgut were observed to be voting mainly for AKP –that present itself as conservative democrat-³⁵⁷

Although this brief information is surely not enough to completely present the socio-cultural geography of Ankara, it will certainly be useful developing a sense and insight for the occasions where evaluative schemas of the respondents work within the neighborhoods context

³⁵⁴ Işık Oğuz and Pınarcıoğlu Melih (2005), “Ankara 2002 Genel Seçimleri Coğrafyası”, in *Cumhuriyetin Ankara’sı*, ODTU Yayıncılık, Ankara, pp: 256-257

³⁵⁵ Şenyapılı Tansı (2004), p: 131

³⁵⁶ Şenyapılı Tansı (2004), p: 128

³⁵⁷ Işık Oğuz and Pınarcıoğlu Melih (2005), p: 252 - 256

CHAPTER 5

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

5.1 Introductory Remarks

In this part, secondary analysis of a representative database for Ankara –details of which are presented in the quantitative method part- will be used in order to answer the first part of my research question: *What are the objective conditions of the people who belong to the new middle class according to the structural definitions, in Ankara? and How those conditions are differentiated within this new middle class category?* The objective conditions include both the basic socio-demographic profiles and the volume of economic and cultural capital as well as the class background. The analysis of the new middle class in Ankara will begin with drawing the profile of the respondents in these realms by taking the new middle class as a unified category. Later on by dividing the category of the new middle class into four subgroups –public sector-upper ranks, public sector lower ranks, private sector upper ranks, private sector lower ranks- the differentiation of the objective conditions of the new middle class in Ankara will be presented. However, before beginning the analysis, the very valuable representative database will be used to give some information on the city of Ankara in general. This introductory analysis will yield information on the class structure of Ankara in 2007 as well as the changes she has experienced through three generations and the characteristics of the new middle class formation in the Turkish case. Therefore it will manage to construct a background image for the analysis of the objective conditions of the new middle class category.

5.2 The Profile of Ankara and its Class Structure

Among 1293 respondents, 596 people whose age is between 25 and 69 declared themselves as currently working, therefore this 596 people constitutes the sample of

this study that has the power to represent the working population in Ankara. The mean age of the sample is 38.48 and the age distribution shows that the highest percent of the working population is between 25 and 35 age interval. The age distribution of the sample is as follows

Table 5.1: Age Distribution of the Population

Age	Percentage
25-35	43.1
36-45	35.4
46-55	17.3
56 Above	4.2

Although the overall population is gender balanced, my sample composed of the working population is highly skewed. While 60.8 percent of the sample is composed of male respondents, only 30.2 percent of it is female. Moreover, the educational qualification of the working population is quite different from other provinces of Turkey, since the largest category of the working population in Ankara has a university degree.

Table 5.2: Education Levels of the Population

Education	Percent
Primary	23.3
Secondary	11.4
High School	21.6
Uni and above	42.1

42.1 percent of the working population in Ankara has a university degree and above including masters and PhD degrees. 21.6 percent of the population is high school graduates whereas 11.4 percent has quit their education only after secondary school. The second largest category is composed of primary school graduates who include the 23.3 percent of the whole working population.

Ankara both receives immigration from lower classes of surrounding provinces and also many people migrate to Ankara due to bureaucratic appointments as civil servants. Consistent with the expectations, majority of the working population in

Ankara has experienced a certain kind of migration. 32.2 percent of my sample declared themselves as living in Ankara from birth whereas 67.8 percent stated that they have migrated to Ankara themselves.

If the re-categorization of occupations³⁵⁸ is applied to the overall sample, we can make sense of the current class schema of Ankara/city center

Table 5.3: Social Class Positions of the Population

Social Class	Percent
New Middle Class	37.2
Traditional Middle Class	16.1
Capitalist Class	1
Working Class	32.2
Informal	12.6

According to the database, the largest class category that is observed in Ankara is **the new middle class (NMC)** which constitutes 37.2 percent of the sample population. The employment indicators of the capital Ankara also show us that it has a distinct place when compared to other provinces. According to the development reports of State Planning Institute, Ankara is ranked at 80 over all 81 provinces in terms of its employed population in agriculture. Furthermore, it is ranked as second over 81 provinces in terms of the volume of population who are employed as salaried workers.³⁵⁹ Ankara also has a distinct profile in terms of education when it is compared to the whole country. According to the educational indicators of Ankara, it has the second rank in terms of literate population. However, when the ratio of university graduates to literate population is estimated, Ankara is ranked at first over 81 provinces. When these indicators are kept in mind, it becomes clearer why the occupations that are used as proxies for new middle class have the largest proportion in the employment structure of Ankara.

³⁵⁸ Please see the “quantitative method” part in the Method chapter

³⁵⁹ “Ankara İli Gelişmişlik Performansı” (2003), DPT, <http://www.dpt.gov.tr/bgyu/ipg/icanadolu/ankaraper.pdf>

Although Ankara is ranked as third over 81 provinces in terms of the number of people categorized as “employers” in the occupational structure, only 1 percent of my sample is in the category of **capitalist class (CPTL)**. We can derive from these two sources of data that, although Ankara has a relatively large employer group compared to other cities, the employers mostly fall into the category of traditional middle class due to their small scales. As a result, according to my sample, 16.1 percent of the population occupies the **traditional middle in class terms (TMC)**. Although Ankara is ranked at the lower levels –in this case 17- in terms of its population employed in industry, it has a relatively large category which is composed of working class. According to my sample, 32.2 percent of the working population in Ankara can be placed in the category of **working class (WC)**. From these data, we can infer that, the working class population of Ankara is not mainly composed of blue collar occupations in industrial productions but instead it is mostly composed of service proletariat.

The most striking group in the class schema of Ankara is the **informal class** which includes 12.6 percent of the whole working population. Ankara has the highest ranks in terms of salaried/waged workers over 81 provinces and since it is the capital city it employs large number of civil servants. However, as it seen from the class schema, its population consists of quite a large amount of people who have irregular jobs. The large amount of informal work is also a limitation for the approaches in which occupations are seen as proxies for social class positions. This may not be considered as a crucial problem in countries where minimum level of irregularity is observed in the occupational structure (–such as in Britain where class research has its roots-). However, in cases like Turkey, to analyze these informal income generating activities will always introduce new problems into the social class research agenda

Before focusing the characteristics and internal differentiations within the new middle class, in Ankara, **the change in the class schema of Ankara** within three generations will be explored. The above discussion takes the current picture of the class schema in Ankara, however, the following analysis will compare the pictures of class structure that are taken from three generations. Since my sample population is composed of working people between 25-69 years old, it is meaningless to look

to their fathers' and grandfathers' class positions. Because, "the fathers" and "the grandfathers" of the different aged respondents, are definitely not from the same generation. In order to take the pictures of generations, I analyzed the class background of the respondents who are aged between 30 and 40.

Table 5.4: Three Generational Class Schema of the Age Group 30-40

Social Class	Individual's distribution(%)	Father's Distribution(%)	Grandfather's Distribution (%)
NMC	35.7	33.57	7.58
TMC	16.9	33.93	72.2
CPTL	0.72	0	0
WC	32.8	29.24	6.85
INFORMAL	12.2	0	3.61

As it is inferred from the table, although the class structure seems to be more stabilized when compared to one generation before –in this case fathers- it also includes sharp ruptures and breaks within the transition from the second generation to the third one. This also shows that the employment structure and demographic features of the Turkish population has experienced recent drastic changes. For example, we can infer that "new middle class" is a relatively new phenomenon, and specifically 72.2 percent of the middle class was composed of traditional middle classes in grandfathers' case. The majority of the population was employed in the agricultural sector as petty commodity producers and only 6.85 percent of the population was in working class occupations probably due to the low number of blue collar positions in industrial and service sector. The marginal class in grandfathers' schema is observable due to the category of unpaid family labor in agriculture. Large scale employers and large scale trade manufacturers were also not observable in Ankara both in fathers' and grandfather's cases.

When we look at the overall picture, we can conclude that, the major dynamic behind the change in the class structure is the change in the composition of middle class. The percentage of new middle class jumps from 7.58 to 35.7, whereas the percentage of traditional middle class shrinks from 72.2 percent to 16.9 percent. Following the changes in the employment structure and the rise of industrial and service sectors, number of blue-collar workers has risen from 6.81 percent to 32.8

percent. Relatively recent but increasing category is the marginal class, although it is not evident in father's case, it reaches to 12.2 percent in the current generation. It is clear that the future, direction and effects of this marginalization in the employment structure should receive further attention.

The three generational class schema shows us that the change in the Turkish occupational structure follows a different pattern when compared to countries where systematic industrialization had been experienced. The new middle class is estimated as the only social class which has constantly grew when compared to other social classes in America.³⁶⁰ There is a consensus in the British class literature that the major change in the occupational structure is characterized by the decrease in blue collar manual occupations and the rise of white collar non manual occupations instead.³⁶¹ In other words, the reshaping is mostly marked by the mobility of working class into new middle class positions. This is because traditional middle class has shrunk during rapid industrialization and lost its place in the class structure long ago. Even in 1981, 28 years before now, traditional middle class in Britain was estimated as only 12 percent of the whole population whereas new middle class has already reached to 26.5. The employment structure of United States also followed the same pattern. In 1990 traditional middle class was only 9 percent of the whole population while new middle class was around 27 percent.³⁶² In other words, early industrialized countries' new middle class is formed through a shrinking working class, since old middle class had already lost its place in the class structure during rapid industrialization.

However, in the Turkish case, an increase in both working class and new middle class is observed simultaneously. In other words, the emergence of new middle class in Turkey follows a different pattern from the early industrialized countries and it is not mainly restructured by the working classes' upward mobility. Rather

³⁶⁰ Mills Wright C.(1956), "White Collar and The American Middle Classes", Oxford University Press, New York, p: 63

³⁶¹ Wynne Derek (1998), "Leisure, Lifestyle and the New Middle Class", Routledge, London, p: 9

³⁶² Burris Val (1999), "The Old Middle Class in Newly Industrialized Countries" in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, ed, *East Asian Middle Classes in Comparative Perspective*, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, p: 436

three generational class schema shows us that, Turkey's class schema is shaped by dissolution of traditional middle class giving way to the emergence of the new middle class. The simultaneous growth of new middle class with working class is observed as a typical trend in lately industrialized East Asian countries. For example, from 1960s on, since Korea has been experiencing a rapid economic growth, new middle class and working class grew together.³⁶³ However, the place of traditional middle classes in the class schema of Asian countries is still larger when compared to Turkey and in some cases it is bigger than the new middle class.³⁶⁴ In other words, the lately industrialized countries' new middle class is formed through a shrinking old middle class and experience a simultaneous growth with the working class. Therefore, we can argue that the formation process of new middle class in Turkey is neither solely parallel to early industrialized countries not to lately ones. Instead we may conclude that the characteristic of the new middle class formation in Turkey is on the middle of these to types.

5.3 The Overall Profile of New Middle Class in Ankara

After presenting the overall profile of the sample of the project, this part is devoted solely to the objective conditions of the category of the new middle class. But, although further analysis will focus on the patterns of differentiation within the new middle class in terms of volume/composition of capital and class background, this part will analyze it as a unified group.

As we analyze the **age dimension**, according to my sample, new middle class is mainly composed of relatively young population indicating that this class has a tendency to grow further in the next generation as compared to traditional one. Nearly 80 percent of the new middle class population is between 25 and 45, whereas 20.3 percent of new middle class is composed of people over the age of 45.

³⁶³ Arita Shin (2003), "The Growth of the Korean Middle Class and its Social Consciousness", *The Developing Economies*, XLI-2, p: 203

³⁶⁴ Burriss Val (1999), p: 437

Table 5.5: Age Composition of the New Middle Class in Ankara

Age		Percent
25-35		46.4
36-45		33.3
46-55		16.2
56 Above		4.1

When we look closer to the **gender composition** of new middle class, we see that, it is the most gender balanced class within regular class categories. It is a common view that the growth of service sector on the one hand increased white collar occupations thus enlarged the new middle class, on the other hand increased the women's participation into the workforce and have made this class gender balanced. The gender composition of new middle class in United States, Britain and France shows that the increase in the women's involvement in the occupations, used as a proxy for new middle class, is more than the increase in their participation to the whole workforce.³⁶⁵ The following table clearly shows the new middle class' distinct quality in terms of gender distribution when compared to other classes in Ankara.

Table 5.6: Gender Distribution Among Social Classes in Ankara

Social Class		Women(%)		Men(%)
NMC		45.5		54.5
TMC		13.5		86.5
CPTL		0		100
WC		15.6		84.4
INFORMAL		45.3		54.7

As it is seen, traditional middle class, working class and capitalist class are relatively homogeneous in terms of gender, while marginal class and new middle class are the only two categories in which women are nearly employed as equal to men. However, this should not mislead the reader since this argument does not

³⁶⁵ Crompton Rosemary (1998), "Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates", Polity Press, UK, p: 158

necessarily support the idea that women and men are enjoying equal rights and equal conditions in the realm of work. In fact, further analysis shows that, gender segregation in terms of occupation type continues remaining some professions heavily feminized.³⁶⁶

The **class background** of new middle class is mainly from traditional middle class indicating a horizontal mobility within middle class in general across generations.

Table 5.7: Class Background of the New Middle Class in Ankara

		NMC(%)	TMC(%)	WC(%)
NMC		7.5	72.9	19.6

As we see, only 7.5 percent of the new middle class come from new middle class backgrounds. A further analysis shows that, within 214 new middle class members only 1 person has new middle class background for three generations. In other words, only 1 person's both father's and grandfather's occupation falls in the category of new middle class. This fact again proves that new middle class' demographic formation is quite recent phenomenon in the Turkish case.

The sticking conclusion is that, 80.4 percent of new middle class comes from middle class backgrounds (including traditional and new) indicating a great level of class reproduction. Class reproduction may be seen as an indirect way of looking at social inequalities. In other words, although new middle class is a recent phenomenon in Turkish class structure and expected to be heterogenous in class background terms, it is seen that new middle class positions are not equally open to people with working class backgrounds. From this picture, we can conclude that, new middle class in Ankara today is mainly composed of people from traditional middle class backgrounds who have made horizontal mobility and a small amount of people with working class backgrounds who have experienced upward mobility.

³⁶⁶ Crompton Rosemary (1998), pp: 158-159

In addition to class background, the **fathers' educational capital** also supports the argument of heterogeneity and the socio-demographic change that Turkey experienced recently.

Table 5.8: Education Level of the Father's of the New Middle Class in Ankara

Education	Percent
None	7.7
Primary	33.3
Secondary	8.6
High School	14.4
Uni and above	28.4
Missing ³⁶⁷	7.2

According to the sample, 28.4 percent of new middle class members' fathers hold a university degree or above, whereas 33.3 percent of fathers are primary school graduates. Moreover, 7.7 percent has not even received any formal education.

When we look at the **educational capital of new middle class members**, we see a relatively homogenous picture in which the majority of the members have a university degree. Since the occupations used as a proxy for new middle class requires high level of education and training, this picture is an expected one.

Table 5.9: Education Level of the New Middle Class in Ankara

Education	Percent
Secondary	0.5
High School	16.2
Uni and above	82.9
Missing	0.5

However, while looking closer to the internal differentiation within new middle class, we will see that, this distribution of educational capital is closely related to the divisions within occupational hierarchy and sector of employment. Moreover, as

³⁶⁷ This table includes missing cases due to the design of the survey. If the father lives with the individual in the household, his information is gathered in the household part of the survey therefore it appears as missing in my analysis which covers the data of the individual part of the survey

data suggests, the educational capital has direct reflections on the economic capital that one receives.

When it comes to **neighborhood profiles**, certain concentrations can be observed. According to my sample which represents Ankara population, new middle class members mostly inhabited in the district of Çankaya. The rise of the new middle class is mostly studied by giving reference to its mobility in the urban space. Increasing amount of suburbanization is seen as a conclusion of the new middle class' attempt to escape from the city center that is marked by great heterogeneity and uncivilized and ill-mannered lifestyles.³⁶⁸ As it is discussed in detail in the part of “new middle class studies in Turkey”, these suburbs, with their fancy architecture and multiple social facilities have become ideal areas where new middle class separates itself from lower classes' way of living.³⁶⁹ Following Çankaya, Yenimahalle, where most of the suburbs are located, is at the second rank in the ranking of new middle class preferences. Although suburbs are places where new middle class lifestyles are crystallized, as it is inferred from the representative data, the majority of the new middle class in Ankara still prefers or have to prefer (due to economic costs) the city center.

Table 5.10: Geographical Distribution of the New Middle Class in Ankara

Districts		Percent
Altındağ		1.4
Çankaya		45.5
Etimesgut		5.9
Keçiören		11.3
Mamak		6.3
Sincan		3.6
Yenimahalle		26.1

Before passing to within class divisions, I would like to make use of the **social status** index calculation of the TUBITAK project. After following statistical procedures, the project team developed a measurement formula, and divided the

³⁶⁸ Ayata Sencer (2003), “Yeni Orta Sınıf ve Uydu Kent Yaşamı”, in *Kültür Fragmanları: Türkiye’de Gündelik Hayat*, ed.by: Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, p: 40

³⁶⁹ Şimşek Ali (2005), “Yeni Orta Sınıf”, L&M Yayınları, İstanbul, p: 52

population into 5 status categories including A, B, C1, C2, and D. The formula is calculated according to the variables such as income, education level, occupational status, and ownership of certain materials such as second TV, DVD player, internet connection, dish washer, second automobile and a second house. Although social status is not the determinant of the class position, it tells much about the actual life conditions of people. Therefore, I only would like to show how life chances and life conditions of new middle class is diversified greatly with the help of this status index.

Table 5.11: Distribution of the New Middle Class in terms of Social Status Index

Social Status	Percent
A	14.4
B	47.3
C1	32.4
C2	5.9

There is no family in the sample, who has the “D” status, and “C2” status is limited in number but the remaining members’ family statuses vary greatly. 14.4 percent of new middle class members have the best life conditions within Ankara while 32.4 percent has the third rank over five. Therefore, we are definitely right to raise question marks when we are faced to phrases such as “new middle class way of life” in the popular culture and sometimes in the sociological literature. Although the material conditions are not the only determinant of life styles we cannot underestimate its impact on certain realms of preferences.

5.4 Within New Middle Class Differentiations in Ankara

Those who study the new middle class usually approach to the issue by stressing its heterogeneity. Mills, whose analysis of the new middle class is still counted as a cornerstone to middle class analysis, also suggests that the new middle class is not a compact horizontal stratum.³⁷⁰ The supporters of fragmentation thesis introduce

³⁷⁰ Mills Wright C.(1956), p: 64

different tools for analyzing this heterogeneity. Some have argued that the changes in the occupational structure that gave rise to the formation of new middle class created different groups according to their market and status positions³⁷¹. Following this different market and status positions, the fragmented nature of the new middle class creates many alternatives concerning cultural life, attitudes to work, domestic life and leisure time preferences.³⁷²

Although market and status positions may have impacts on creating differences in the class experiences, it does not offer a systematic tool for analyzing these differences. However, the more sophisticated analysis of Bourdieu and his notion of multidimensional capital open up new horizons while analyzing within new middle class differentiations. Although it is presented in detail in the theory chapter, it is useful to state certain key points again. His approach suggests that class experience is determined by three axes, one of which is **the volume of overall capital** which specifies the “class locations”. Class locations further divided internally and create “class fractions” according to **the composition of possessed capital**. The third axis is the axis of **trajectory** which is determined by the indicators of the economic/cultural capital of the family of origin and the change in the composition of capital in the life course of the individual³⁷³. Therefore, the composition of capital and social origin are assumed as crucial keys for opening the doors of the within class divisions.

Keeping in mind the assumptions of fragmentation thesis and the tools that Bourdieu offers us for analyzing within class divisions, the aim of this part is to show the internal differentiations and to explore the patterns of this differentiation within new middle class in Ankara. In order to see whether differentiations in market or status position follow a pattern and create different fractions, further regroupings are done within the category of new middle class. And these new

³⁷¹ Roberts K, Cooke J, Clarke A and Semeonoff E. (1977), “The Fragmentary Class Structure”, Heinemann, London in Wynne Derek (1998), “Leisure, Lifestyle and the New Middle Class”, Routledge, London, p: 16

³⁷² Wynne Derek (1998), p: 17

³⁷³ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), “Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste”, Harvard University Press, U.S.A, p: 114

groups are analyzed in terms of the composition/volume of their cultural capital, economic capital and their family origin

Table 5.12: Within New Middle Class Groups

State upper ranks	Administrators/Professionals in State Sector
Categories (1-4-5)	Teachers in State Sector
	Professional Military Officers
State lower ranks	Middle Level Civil Servants
Category (2)	
Private upper ranks	Managers/Professionals in Private Sector
Category (6)	
Private lower ranks	Middle level white collars in Private Sector
Category(7)	

The size of these four subgroups is quite similar in Ankara's new middle class. However, we see that, upper ranks in state sector are slightly high when compared to other groups. Since Ankara is the capital city, it is also the center of bureaucracy therefore its employment structure is shaped by this fact. So, it is not surprising to see that, the larger categories within the new middle class are not employed in the private sector but instead public sector.

Table 5.13: The Volume of the Within New Middle Class Groups

Within NMC Groups	Percent
Public/ Upper Ranks	38.8
Public/Lower Ranks	24.3
Private/Upper Ranks	21.6
Private/Lower Ranks	20.3

The level of cultural capital that these four subgroups acquired through formal education is quite parallel with their positions. White collars in the lower ranks of private sector have the lowest level of education, whereas upper ranks in state sector

have the highest level. It is seen that, there is also differentiation in terms of sector because it is possible to hold an upper rank in private without a university degree whereas state sector mostly employs people with high educational capital.

Table 5.14: Education Levels of the Within New Middle Class Groups:

	Elementary	High School	Uni. And above
Public/Upper Ranks	0	0	100
Public/Lower Ranks	0	24.5	75.5
Private Upper Ranks	0	8.3	91.7
Private/Lower Ranks	2.2	42.2	55.6

Together with the differentiation in the volume of cultural capital, new middle class further differentiates in terms of the **volume of economic capital** within these for sub-groups. However, personal income is not directly asked to the respondent in the questionnaire of the Tubitak survey. Overall income, including indirect incomes such as rent income or income received from savings account was asked. Therefore, for making an analysis in terms of economic capital, I will use the income per capita that is calculated via dividing the overall household income into the number of household members.

Table 5.15: Income Levels of the Within New Middle Class Groups

Within NMC Groups	Below 500TL ³⁷⁴ %	501-1000TL%	1001-2000TL%	2000-3000TL%	Over 3000 TL%
Public/Upper Ranks	9.3	36	40	10.7	4.0
Public/Lower Ranks	50	38.9	5.6	3.7	1.9
Private/Upper Ranks	4.2	16.7	47.9	14.6	16.7
Private/Lower Ranks	42.2	44.4	13.3	0	0

This table shows that differentiation of economic capital has a pattern with respect to the sector and employment status. The distribution of economic capital is concentrated on higher levels in private sector upper ranks. Whereas economic

³⁷⁴ 1 euro = 2.1 TL

capital decreases significantly within the lower ranks both in private and public sector. While the mean income of upper ranks in public and private sectors is 1639.9TL, it is 697.12TL in lower ranks of both sectors. This striking difference shows us that, new middle class is extremely heterogeneous in terms of economic capital. This objective differentiation has its reflections on **subjective perceptions** as well. In the Tubitak questionnaire, the respondents asked to place themselves on a scale where 10 represents the highest economic capital and 1 represents the lowest one. By showing the place that respondent puts him/herself in; this question aims to see the respondents' subjective evaluation when s/he compares him/herself with the other groups in Ankara.

Table 5.16: Self Status Perception of the Within New Middle Class Groups

Within NMC Groups	Self Perception
Public/Upper Ranks	7.11/10
Public/Lower Ranks	5.13/10
Private/Upper Ranks	6.44/10
Private/Lower Ranks	5.47/10

People in the lower ranks of new middle class clearly place themselves in the middle of the economic stratification whereas higher ranks place themselves in the nearly two stairs upper in the economic ladder. Although the mean income of state/upper ranks (1398.5TL) is lower than the private/ upper ranks (2017.15TL), new middle class in state sector evaluates themselves in slightly higher position.

The differentiation within new middle class which arises from the employment status has increased question marks in the social class literature. Due to the relative income decline of the clerical workers, lower ranks of the new middle class is expected to experience some kind of proletarianization and a certain degree of overlapping is observed at the margins between non-manual and manual labor. The diminishing difference between working class and lower middle class is seen as a result of a dual process in which increasing technology have made a improvement of the work tasks of working class while the growth of office automation have downgraded the class position of lower new middle class. However, a recent study suggests that, lower new middle class and working class remained distinct in two

fundamental ways: skill requirements and long term career advancement.³⁷⁵ Moreover, a closer look to the lifestyles, marriage patterns and life-style choices of lower middle class are more close to higher middle class groups than manual workers.³⁷⁶ Giddens also suggests that, the declining curve of the income of lower non-manual is not enough to foresee a total overlapping between these two categories. He insists that, lower new middle class still differ in terms of conditions of work such as economic returns, job security, promotion opportunities, contractual conditions, which is denied to working class.³⁷⁷ Although, to analyze whether lower new middle class is experiencing a process of proletarianization is not the aim of this analysis, it is still important to show that, in our case this group is not that much closer -in terms of economic capital- to the working class as it is indicated in the literature.

In the case of Ankara, overlapping between lower new middle class and working class is not observed since there still is a quite big gap between working class and lower non-manual workers in terms of income and level of education. The mean income of the working class in Ankara is 305.8TL where as, the lower new middle class has a monthly income of nearly 700TL per capita. There is also a sharp difference when lower new middle class is compared with working class in terms of educational credentials. Only 1 percent of the lower middle class has received a degree below high school whereas 61 percent of the working class has only received primary and secondary education.

The above analysis has shown us that, four subgroups within new middle class vary according to the composition of their overall capital. Large amount of differentiation arises from the employment status rather than the sector of employment. But what about the **class background** of these four subgroups? Do the patterns of mobility into this new middle class differentiate as well within these four subgroups? While analyzing the features of the new middle class as a unified

³⁷⁵ Gallie Duncan (1996), "New Technology and the Class Structure: The Blue-Collar/White Collar Divide Revisited", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol:47, No:3, pp:447-473

³⁷⁶ Matheson Craig (1997), "Are clerical workers proletarian? A case Study of the Australian Public Service", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol: 58, No:4, p: 598

³⁷⁷ Giddens Anthony (1981), "The Class Structure of Advanced Societies", Hutchinson&Co Ltd, London, pp:192-198

group, I have shown that, 72.9 percent of the new middle class have the traditional middle class background. However, further analysis reveals that the patterns of mobility follow a route and it is quite different within these four subgroups.

Table 5.17: Class Background of the Within New Middle Class Groups

		Father's Class		
Within NMC Groups		NMC	TMC	WC
Public/Upper Ranks(%)		0	96	4
Public/Lower Ranks(%)		14.3	36	49.7
Private/Upper Ranks(%)		4.3	89.1	6.5
Private/Lower Ranks(%)		15.9	43.2	40.9

Mobility to upper ranks both in public and private sector achieved mostly by people with traditional middle class backgrounds. 57.7 percent of lower new middle class - including public and private sectors- have middle class backgrounds whereas 93.5 percent of higher new middle class have middle class backgrounds. Only 4.9 percent of higher ranks of new middle class are composed of people with working class backgrounds indicating that higher positions are relatively closed to working class members. On the other hand, lower ranks are more heterogeneous in terms of class background. 36 percent of lower new middle class come from working class background which proves that the upward mobility of working class seem to reach only the lower segments of new middle class. The patterns of mobility within new middle class, whether upward or downward between the non/manual- manual division, is observed as “short range” mobility in which achieved differences in the market capacity is minimized.³⁷⁸ Social mobility between the middle class and working class mostly takes place in a social and cultural “buffer zone”³⁷⁹ In other words, even the offspring of the manual workers achieve manual positions, they will be employed at the lower ranks of the non-manual work hierarchy. Supporting

³⁷⁸ Giddens Anthony (1981), “The Class Structure of Advanced Societies”, Hutchinson&Co Ltd, London, pp:179-186

³⁷⁹ Parkin Frank (1979), The Marxist Theory of Class: A Bourgeois Critique”, Tavistock, London, in Wynne Derek (1998), “Leisure, Lifestyle and the New Middle Class”, Routledge, London, p: 11

the buffer zone thesis, data suggests that the lower ranks of new middle class is more heterogeneous in terms of social background when compared to upper ranks.

5.5 Concluding Remarks on the Chapter

In the quantitative part of the analysis objective conditions of the new middle class in Ankara has been questioned. But before focusing specifically on the new middle class, an analysis on the overall class structure brought about the specific conditions of new middle class formation in Ankara. Thanks to the representative merit of the sample, the analysis yielded information on both the general profile of the new middle class in terms of age, gender, volume of economic capital, volume of cultural capital and the class background. Later on, while analyzing the inter-class differentiations, the re-categorization made on the basis of occupational status and sector of employment yielded that objective conditions differ markedly within those fractions. The research question of the qualitative analysis on the other hand, is related more with the subjective level and aims to analyze the class experience of the people who belong to the new middle class. The discussions on the conclusions of the quantitative part and a kind of triangulation of the two analyses will be done in the conclusion chapter.

CHAPTER 6

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

6.1 Introductory Remarks

In this part, the outcomes of my own field study will be discussed within the framework that “cultural turn” offers. As it is widely discussed in the literature part, the tools that this framework builds carry the individuals’ symbolic means and practices into the center of their analysis with an assumption that they have much to do with the way people experience their class position. Although the new middle class is a category that is defined with respect to the occupational structure, in the popular discourse, certain experiences, values and tastes are associated with this class position. The term “New Middle Class Culture”, by including all above mentioned variables, turns out to be a conceptual salad, and therefore makes it difficult to construct a clarified research frame. In order to answer my research question: “*How people who belong to the new middle class according to the structural definitions, experience their class position? and what elements, in what ways affect their class experience/class practices?*” , I need to clarify the conceptual tools that will enable me to make the necessary operationalizations. As it is discussed in the literature part, Bourdieu’s offers an effective tool –habitus- for studying the class practices/experiences in such a way that the attempts do not fall into the trap of vulgar economism, which implies that values and norms of a class are reduced to being the ‘effect’ of the economic class, or to the vulgar culturalism –which implies that the class practices are reduced to the level of identity politics.

For Bourdieu, habitus “has an infinite capacity for generating products –thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions –whose limits are set by historically and socially situated conditions of its production-”³⁸⁰ In his field work³⁸¹ Bourdieu

³⁸⁰ Bourdieu Pierre (1990), “The Logic of Practice”, Stanford University Press, California, p: 55

mainly reads the lifestyle patterns and internalized dispositions of the different “habitus”es by analyzing the occupier’s consumption habits. As it is widely discussed in the literature, he singles out three main patterns of differentiations with regard to internalized dispositions; the habitus of distinction of the bourgeoisie, the habitus of the cultural goodwill of the petit bourgeoisie and the habitus of necessity of the working class. However later on, so as to “enlarge or modify Bourdieu’s approach in order to enhance its capacity to comprise more aspects of complex, advanced societies.”³⁸², milieu approach is developed and begin to be applied in the German literature.

Class milieu is a concept that is used as a tool for developing typological map of class cultures and it is developed as a response to such a question: how can research on habitus be methodologically carried out? Each class milieu corresponds to a different place within the habitus types which are defined in the social space of Bourdieu. The class milieu studies in Germany, investigates not only the consumption habits but five broad realms -work and occupation; family and partnership; leisure, life style and social relations; views of society and ideologies; socio-political participation-³⁸³

Some British scholars, namely Savage and Longhurst³⁸⁴ also offer certain enhancements to Bourdieu’s approach. They argue that, solely focusing on the consumption practices of different occupational classes and then analyzing the variations within its ranks has certain limitations. Instead what they offer is to “broaden the analyses of consumption to consider the issues of everyday life, sociation and social networks”³⁸⁵ and “to stress the systematically fractured nature

³⁸¹ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), “Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste”, Harvard University Press

³⁸² Vester Michael (2003), “Class and Culture in Germany”, *Sociologia Problemas E Praticas*, no: 42, p: 26

³⁸³ Vester Michael (2003), p: 31

³⁸⁴ Longhurst Brian and Savage Mike (1996), “Social Class, Consumption and the Influence of Bourdieu: Some Critical Issues”, in *Consumption Matters*, ed.by Stephen Edgell, Kevin Hetherington and Alan Warde, Blackwell Publishers, UK, pp: 274-302

³⁸⁵ Longhurst Brian and Savage Mike (1996), p: 274

of habituses”³⁸⁶. While I was searching for a methodological solution for studying the class experiences of the new middle class by not solely focusing on the consumption habits but also by not enhancing it as much as the German tradition, I have figured out that the conceptual tools that Lamont offers while studying the American and French middle class culture would be very useful and complementary to Bourdieu’s approach. Lamont, as widely discussed in the literature part, analyzes the middle class culture by analyzing the nature and content of the symbolic boundaries -which are composed of cultural, socio-economic and moral boundaries- that they draw. She argues that “content of symbolic boundaries varies with the cultural resources that individuals have access to and with the structural conditions in which they are placed”³⁸⁷. Therefore, I have decided that I could also use the symbolic boundaries which are drawn while individuals categorize people as a conceptual tool, while analyzing how social classes and fractions differ culturally.

In other words, by following the suggestion of Savage and Longhurst –to add the everyday life, sociation and social networks to the consumption analysis-, I have limited the five realms, that milieu approach uses while analyzing different milieus placed closer to three broad habituses of Bourdieu, into two main realms: “social space of lifestyle” –composed of daily life practices- and “social relations” –analyzed by the content and nature of the drawn symbolic boundaries-. Therefore, after operationalizing the class experience/class practice in such a way, I have designed my interview guide by making use of some of the questions that Bourdieu uses to uncover the lifestyle patterns as well as the questions Lamont uses for analyzing the content and nature of symbolic boundaries. While designing the questions for scrutinizing daily life practices, I have also added the realm of “work” and posed some questions that cover the work ethic and orientations to work. However, the experience and attitudes of the respondents are observed as not differentiating meaningfully within the sample, probably because analyzing the attitudes and orientations stemming from working life experiences constitute such a wide realm that it cannot be treated as a sub-category in the research design. To put

³⁸⁶ Longhurst Brian and Savage Mike (1996), p: 296

³⁸⁷ Lamont Michèle (1992), “Money, Morals, Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class”, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p: 6

it another way, limited numbers of questions posed so as to cover the evaluative schemas of the respondents with regard to work, were not enough to observe whether there is pattern or not.

Throughout my fieldwork in the neighborhood of Ayrancı, I have made 31 interviews and decided that although there are some exceptional cases, there is a pattern with respect to differences within the new middle class' experience of the respondents' class position. I have observed that the elements such as; the composition of different forms of capital and the class trajectory, affect the class practices and creates different new middle class experiences by moving some of them on the edges of the new middle class habitus –by positioning them closer to either to working class habitus or to the bourgeoisie habitus.

By using the conceptual tools presented above, I have identified four different new middle class milieus that that coincide with the different habituses Bourdieu outlines. Although I will present my analysis of the new middle class experience with respect to these milieus, certain limitations of building taxonomies should also be considered. Taxonomies are the tools for empirical classifications which are based on identification of similarities. Therefore, they intrinsically carry the limitation of not concentrating on very different cases.³⁸⁸ However, I have tried to overcome this limitation by shortly addressing the cases that do not follow the general pattern and also by mentioning points of intersections and parallelisms within the four milieus. Also another limitation for my case is the small size of my sample. Since I have interviewed with 31 people, it was difficult to see how some very crucial variables such as gender and age, affect the new middle class experience within the different milieus.

Before passing to the analysis, I would like to shortly introduce the general pattern I have found within the new middle class experiences of the respondents. I have analyzed 10 of my respondent's new middle class experience by categorizing them as the “**cultural excluders**’ ” milieu. With the highest level of economic capital and the established tastes they have been transmitted by their families of origin, they

³⁸⁸ Kenneth Bailey (1994), “Typologies and Taxonomies”, Sage, California, p: 12

draw very strong cultural and socio-economic boundaries. I have analyzed 7 of my respondents' new middle class experience under the category of **"intellectuals"** milieu. Although they have high amount of income when compared to rest of the milieus, they do not earn as much as the cultural excluders' milieu. They have the highest level of cultural capital, however they are observed to draw anti-cultural and anti-socioeconomic boundaries. I have analyzed 10 of my respondent's new middle class experience by categorizing them as the **"trapped milieu"** since I have figured out that although they have established tastes, as in the case of cultural excluders' milieu, they do not own enough economic capital so as to realize them, therefore I have given the name "trapped" because of the tension in their everyday life due to their aspirations and lack of enough resources. They are also observed as drawing strong cultural and socio-economic boundaries. On the other hand, I have identified parallelisms in the 4 of my respondents' new middle class experiences, whose class background is from lower classes under the category of **"first generation's milieu"**. They are also observed as drawing anti-cultural and anti-socioeconomic boundaries as well as moral boundaries. The following table, both gives information on the household income, gender and occupation of the respondents and their distribution within the four milieus mentioned above. The fake names will be used in order to label the respondents, while quoting from their narrations.

Table 6.1: Descriptives of the Sample of the Qualitative Research

Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education	Monthly Income ³⁸⁹
Cultural Excluder's Milieu					
Ali	M	54	Manager	Uni. Degree	5.000 TL
Nurgül	F	35	Architecture	PhD	2.500 TL
Sema	F	27	Manager	Uni. Degree	5.500 TL
Selim	M	48	Civil Engineer	Uni. Degree	6.500 TL
Muharrem	M	55	Broker	Uni. Degree	10.000 TL
Ayşe	F	28	Human Resources Specialist	Uni. Degree	5.250 TL
Mustafa	M	42	Doctor	Uni. Degree	7.000 TL
Fatma	F	55	Industrial Engineer	Uni. Degree	7.000 TL
Şebnem	F	42	Finance Manager	Uni. Degree	17.000 TL
Bengü	F	45	Executive Assistant	Open Uni.	5.000 TL
Intellectual's Milieu					
Rüstem	M	32	Architecture/Academic	PhD	4.500 TL
Zehra	F	41	Architecture	PhD	3.500 TL
Müjdat	M	44	City Planning	M.A	4.500 TL
Feyza	F	35	Public Relations	PhD	5.000 TL
Mehmet	M	35	Architecture/Academic	PhD	4.500 TL
Nesrin	F	55	Electric Engineer/ Academic	PhD	3.000 TL
Funda	F	52	Civil Engineer	M.A	2.000 TL
Trapped Milieu					
Leman	F	50	Chemical Engineer	Uni. Degree	2.000 TL
Hatice	F	52	Teacher	Teachers school	2.000 TL
Sedat	M	29	Mechanical Engineer	Uni. Degree	3.500 TL
Melek	F	52	Architecture	Uni. Degree	2.000 TL
İlknur	F	29	Executive Assistant	High School	3.500 TL
Eda	F	52	Executive Assistant	High School	4.000 TL
Özge	F	63	Retired Teacher	Uni. Degree	2.500 TL
Elif	F	46	Executive Assistant	Uni. Degree	3.500 TL
Alper	M	53	Architecture	Uni. Degree	4.500 TL
Selda	F	26	Vet	Uni. Degree	3.000 TL
First Generation's Milieu					
İrem	F	40	Teacher	Uni. Degree	3.000 TL
Altan	M	63	Physicist	Uni. Degree	10.000 TL
Hülya	F	37	Security Specialist	Open Uni.	3.500 TL
Hayriye	F	52	Retired Bank Vice Manager	Uni. Degree	1.200 TL

³⁸⁹ 1 Euro= 2.1 TL

6.2 “Cultural Excluders’ Milieu”

Our apartment’s doorman, he wouldn’t listen to Pink Floyd or jazz even if you gave him a trillion lira. The most he will do is watch a football match. If he eats at a kebab restaurant, he may look for a better kebab ... no way will he go looking for Chinese food in Quick China, he wouldn’t like it if he found it anyway. What difference would it make even if his economic status improves? (Ali, M, 54)

6.2.1 Background and Class Origin

The new middle class members which I have figured out as belonging to the cultural excluders’ milieu, if education level is considered as a proxy for estimating cultural capital, have high level of cultural capital. They all have bachelor’s degree; only one of my respondents has received her degree from Open University. Among this milieu, only one respondent, who has completed the doctoral education, has received an education level that is higher than bachelor’s degree. The economic capital of the respondents, if the monthly income is considered as estimating the economic capital, is quite higher when compared to the monthly income of the other milieus. The mean household income of the respondents in this milieu is 7050TL³⁹⁰. However, to estimate the income as the only indicator of the economic capital could also be misleading for some cases. The current transference of economic capital from the family or the inherited real estate would definitely affect the current living conditions of the respondents. Although, those kinds of transfers did not directly ask throughout the interviews, Nurgül referred to this fact. As it can be inferred from the table of descriptives, the Nugül have the lowest level of monthly income in this milieu. However, she clearly mentioned that, her monthly income is not the only economic source for her. Indeed, as a single daughter, she admitted that she owes her current life standard more to the support of her family rather than her monthly income. She argues that she would rank her life standard as 8 or 9 over 10 with the following words:

³⁹⁰ In order to make comparison: The minimum net wage in Turkey in 2009 is 477 YTL

I see myself as maybe an 8 or 9 over 10. I don't earn too much myself, but I live this way because of my family. I earn 2500 TL per month here. I'm free and easy and don't bow my head to anyone. (Nurgül, F, 35)

Indeed, apart from the current capital, what also supports the similarity is the initial capital they had possessed. In other words, they did not experience rapture in their class trajectories, indeed their parents are mostly are either rich urban traditional middle class or urban new middle class in class terms. Moreover, they did not experience a recent upward mobility, indeed they belong to mostly to urban established middle class families. Bourdieu argues that, trajectory, apart from the amount and composition of capital, is the third element that is effective in shaping the class habitus.³⁹¹ Through the analysis, it will be also evident that how an “upper” background sustain more “established tastes” and stronger boundaries.

Apart from the economic capital, the education levels of the parents are also quite high. Only three of my respondents' parents have an education that is less than high school level. From the narrations of their childhood, I have concluded that to equip their offspring with high amount of cultural capital was the initial aim of those families. For this aim, some parents of the respondents who are richer in terms of economic capital preferred to enroll their children to private colleges. We should keep in mind that the private schools were not very common in the years that my respondents went to school as it is today. Moreover, to have a high school education of good quality also increases the probability of being successful in the university entrance exams. Therefore, to gain a private collage education has been an important privilege and a crucial tool for class reproduction for those respondents both in terms of building their networks –social capital- and also to learn foreign languages –cultural capital-. One of my respondents compared her childhood with other children in such a way:

Back then, college was a bigger advantage. We were spoiled kids – we knew English, could sing a few foreign songs, our clothes and stuff were quite westernized. But it was really hard to send two kids to college on a civil servant's salary. The civil service wasn't what it is today. Engineers

³⁹¹ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 344

got the best salaries. As a civil servant, my dad was one of the top earners. (Fatma, F, 55)

Şebnem clearly stated that her family was extremely ambitious for directing her towards higher status positions. Since education is one of the most important tool for class reproduction, her family was very much concerned with her future choices.

Our family was focused on success. We had to choose to follow subjects that would challenge us. I studied management. We never thought to study subjects which were easier to enter, such as teaching, English language or literature. We were raised to succeed, and were channeled into more challenging studies. (Şebnem, F, 42)

Apart from formal education, the transference of certain field of interests which are perceived as generating distinct tastes and capabilities are also noticed by some of the parents of my respondents.

There was cinema, there was theatre. My mother even signed me up for ballet so I could be come a ballerina. They sent me to apparatus gymnastics and I got piano lessons, too. They sent me to English classes from primary school onwards. (Bengü, F, 45)

Similar but more ambitious strategies are also adopted by the cultural excluder's milieu while they themselves raising their children. Child-rearing which is the locus of class reproduction turns out to be "project" to be accomplished with success. Even some of my respondents –especially young women- told her desires although they do not have a child yet.

I want to enroll my child to a good school. I want my child to learn lots of languages. Do I send her to a crèche, should I find a foreigner or a local woman to look after her? I wonder how I can give her the best education. I wanted to sign my child up to a private school, but in primary school they say it isn't necessary. There were those who said the state education services should be adequate, and it would be better to put the money away towards a private university. When my child starts college she could be excluded. If she only studies at state schools she won't get the foundation she gets in private schools. The ones who study at college have an advantage; they come to a certain level faster. I definitely want her to learn piano, ballet and tennis. (Sema, F, 27)

I want to speak English with my baby from the day he is born. I want to give this foundation, to equip him for life. (Ayşe, F, 28)

In the “Childrearing and Education” part of the literature review, certain assumptions regarding the motivation behind the childrearing practices of the new middle class families and their empirical confirmations are presented. For instance Lareau’s study³⁹² figures out a cultural logic which she labels as “concerned cultivation” meaning that the parents “invest” both enormous time and energy to child raising activities. This concerned cultivation of the middle class families for Lareau creates “a frenetic pace for parents, a cult of individualism within the family, and an emphasis on children’s performance”³⁹³ Other studies presented in the literature part also suggests that authenticity, personal fulfillment and individual creativity are stressed and transferred by the new middle class parents. One of my respondents, after explaining how she devotes time to childrearing practices parallel with the assumptions of “concerned cultivation” thesis, also complains about the shortcomings of this cultural logic.

I think that parents these days are making mistakes. I’m trying not to do the same as much as possible, but I think the children are raised to be egoists. On top of that, I think parents are abandoning their children to manage their own egos, which affects all their social relations. As well as spoiling children, we tend to raise children according to their own wishes and criteria. As a parent, you are forced to act this way a little if the other 20 kids in the classroom are raised this way. I avoid spoiling my children as much as I can, but it’s unavoidable that, from time to time, I fall into this too. (Şebnem, F, 42)

The following analysis regarding the lifestyle patterns of the cultural excluder’s milieu will further clarify how these early transfers determined the mental maps of my respondents through which they define what “to be well equipped” and “to pursue a life with high quality” includes.

6.2.2 The Social Space of Lifestyle

The tastes of the new middle class members in cultural excluder’s milieu have extremely sharp borders when compared to other milieus. Moreover, their relatively high level of economic capital provides the material basis of their preferences.

³⁹² Lareau Annette (2002), “Invisible Inequality: Social Class and Childrearing in Black Families and White Families”, *American Sociological Review*, vol: 67, October

³⁹³ Lareau Annette (2002), p:748

While telling their daily life preferences, cultural excluders frequently mention the brand names of the consumed products, or the names of the attended clubs and facilities. In terms of leisure time activity for example, one of my respondents stated clearly his family's distinguished taste by giving such an example:

We are picky about places: we don't eat just anywhere. We are careful that the places we go are respectable. We used to go to Karum all the time. When Migros was open we went there but it's gone downhill. After that, we started going to Armada and now we go to Panora³⁹⁴. The children have gotten used to it. We go to these places to feel relaxed. We like smart and comfortable places. We don't do barbecues and picnics, it isn't our style. Panora's ground floor is pretty luxurious. We go there to sit and eat. For a meal for four we pay 200 TL. Tribeka is the most 'in' place in Ankara. When we go, my son only wants to sit there. Other people might eat for 3-5 TL for a family of four, but we sit at Tribeka. This doesn't bother me, because we like comfort and quality people around us. We like places where we won't be bothered, where the service is good and we can relax. My son goes to Gloria Jeans for coffee. We pay 200 TL for a meal without drinks – that's how we live. If my son likes a pair of shoes from Lacoste we say "go get it". There's a brand called Abercrombie, he usually wears that. We pay the earth to Lacoste for a t-shirt that I would never wear myself – 250 TL or something like that. We say "OK son, go get it". We know that he won't wear it in a year, but we say OK. One of his coats cost 2000, he buys stuff from Tommy. (Selim, M, 48)

Here what deserves attention is not to prefer a certain place but the process that this milieu attaches that activity a meaning. In this case, those luxurious places are perceived as the places where "right men" go whereas the picnic activity of the "ordinary" men is humiliated –as it will be seen in the following parts-. As it was presented in the second chapter, Şimşek identifies the stereotype of "yurdum insani"³⁹⁵ created in the cartoons as the outcome of the new middle class' strategy of defining the "other". As they argue, the codes of Turkishness and the daily life practices of the "traditional" Turkish family –such as picnic- are constantly humiliated by the language created by the new middle class in 90s. The language of some respondents in the cultural excluders' milieu is a good example for this

³⁹⁴ *Panora* which is a shopping mall that is divergent in terms of the luxurious products and its fancy interior design. Although, it has a classic fast food court at the top floor, there is also a distinct restaurant part in the first floor occupied by high quality restaurants

³⁹⁵ Can be crudely translated as "man of the homeland"

inference because not only in the above quotation, but also in some others in the following parts, picnic activity is proudly narrated as non-participated activities.³⁹⁶

Usually the quality of the consumed products or the places is estimated with respect to the prices and the distinguished preferences are described as those “over certain standard”. As one of my respondents suggests:

I prefer orderly places that have reached a level of quality. This includes places that have a price range of above average. (Şebnem, F, 42)

We mostly go to the same places, places we know. It’s really important that they are clean. It’s also important that they are decent and the people who come are from a specific level. We don’t really look at the prices. They are mostly outstanding places. (Bengü, F, 45)

Two of the ten respondents in this milieu mentioned that they regularly do sports and they attend to the sport complex *Renewa*, which is a relatively expensive sports club in the neighborhood that works with membership principle. Like in the case of outdoor activity preferences, the sterility and high quality of both the people who attend and the facility itself is mentioned as the reasons behind their preferences.

While telling how they spend their leisure time, none of the respondents declared that they follow up or interested in the activities that are represented as high cultural consumption such as bale and opera. To go to the theater on the other hand, is a very rarely mentioned activity. Instead, cinema is the most frequently mentioned leisure time activity and cinemas in the shopping malls are observed to be more preferred. In other words, the activity of going to a cinema has become an extension of and attached to the activity of consumption.

With regard to holidays, the taste of the cultural excluders is very clear; they prefer to spend their holidays –including the Bayram holiday if the season is appropriate– in hotel complexes. Indeed, only one of my respondents in this milieu have an additional summer home and therefore he prefers to spend his holiday there. In the narratives of the remaining respondents “luxury” was associated with “comfort” and thus become the definitive characteristics of a “good place”

³⁹⁶ Şimşek Ali (2005), “Yeni Orta Sınıf”, L&M Yayınları, İstanbul , p: 108

Usually things happen the way the children want them. We never go to places that they wouldn't like. Until now, we have always been to all-inclusive 5-star hotels. I like luxury. I'm afraid of nature trips in tents with all kinds of bugs around. I go somewhere good to relax. (Bengü, F, 45)

We go to all-inclusive holiday villages in Antalya. They are not like summer houses – we just sleep there and everything is ready. You don't need to do anything. It's just my style, you see? (Sema, F, 27)

Those preferences have also spatial reflections. In other words, while spending their leisure times, the respondents whom I labeled as cultural excluders' milieu prefer neighborhoods in which they will feel “comfortable”. Indeed, as it will be discussed in detail while analyzing the symbolic boundaries, the neighborhoods of Tunalı and Gaziosmanpaşa are the places that the cultural excluders' milieu mostly spends their leisure time in.

I work at Kızılay³⁹⁷. I hate going there. It's really crowded, dirty and sad. What's sad is the composition of the crowd. I don't like to go around these areas. Besides, we don't go to places that have low income levels. I never go to the places beyond Kızılay. Anyway, we usually wander around the places in Çankaya more. (Şebnem, F, 42)

One of the important common elements of the cultural excluders' milieu is in the realm of sociability. As the social network approaches to the social class suggests, the network of social relations generates the social capital that each group has and also generates common classificatory systems. As it is discussed in the literature part, the new middle class is observed to have weaker social ties which are gained through formal associations and which are capable of generating larger social capital when compared to the close ones –such as family ties-³⁹⁸ As Bourdieu suggests, kinship is not able to provide the new middle class the needed support and protection.³⁹⁹ Although kinship and family is argued to be very important in Turkey –due to their capability of provision of social protection where state do not act as

³⁹⁷ For the information on the neighbourhood of Kızılay please see the part “Research Site, Ayrancı and the Spatial Diversity in the City of Ankara” in method chapter

³⁹⁸ Bottero Wendy (2007), “Social Inequality and Interaction”, *Sociology Compass*, vol: 1, no:2, pp: 325-326

³⁹⁹ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 337

welfare state-⁴⁰⁰, in the case of cultural excluders, I observed that much more time is devoted to those formal associations, their meetings and activities than the extended kin relations. Especially, alumni's and college graduate associations form the basic social network tie of the cultural excluders' milieu. As one of my respondents suggests, these meetings are both acts as leisure time activity and also a tool for continuing ties with people who are rich in terms of social capital.

I can't say I keep in touch with my relatives a lot. We have a college graduates club and one primary school friend's group. We haven't lost touch in 25 years. We meet somewhere every two months. We also have some important people among us. It's a part of our lives. Last year we went to Amasra for a weekend. We went to Manavgat where a friend has a hotel. We went to Istanbul where I have a friend who is CEO of Osmanli Bank. He arranged us a boat trip on the Bosphoros. (Ali, M, 54)

Apart from extended kinship relations, social ties are also weak in terms of neighborhood relations. In consistent with Ayata and Ayata's study -in which the neighborhood relations of the new middle class is labeled as "distant neighborliness"⁴⁰¹- all of the milieus –except the first generation's milieu- affirms the individualized life forms and avoid to form "arbitrary" relationships with the neighbors. To limit such "traditional" relationships is associated with possessing civilized manners by the cultural excluders.

I have almost no relations with my neighbors. Some want to get closer but I keep my distance. They even find me cold. (Nurgül, F, 35)

The neighborhood Ayrancı is preferred because the lifestyle of the people in the neighborhood let the respondents to pursue their individualized life forms. One of my respondents clearly downgraded neighborhood relations by associating it directly with gossip, disturb and intervention into the private life. Indeed she also explained why they perceive the lifestyle in Ayrancı consistent with their own.

People don't disturb each other in the evenings. They don't leave their shoes outside the main entrance.⁴⁰² There are no unexpected visitors at

⁴⁰⁰ Bernhard Nauck and Klaus Daniela (2005), "Families in Turkey" in *Handbook of World Families*, ed. by Bert Adams and Jan Trost, Sage Publications, California, p:366

⁴⁰¹ Ayata Sencer and Ayata Güneş Ayşe (1996), p: 99

⁴⁰² The habit of leaving the shoes out of the door is usually perceived as an ill-manner which represents the state of not knowing the right codes of being the "appropriate urban" or indicates the state of not being able to detach from the rural/traditional habits.

night. They are self-contained people, they don't exhibit disturbing manners. There are almost no neighborhood relations. We don't like gossip and so on. We don't wonder what's going on with whom, just say good morning and goodnight. We don't have a level of intimacy where we can invite or visit our neighbors. We maintain a level of civility. Of course, we will be there to help in an emergency, but we don't like close relations. (Selim, M, 48)

Another respondent explained his positive attitude towards the lifestyle in Ayrancı by affirming the world view that prioritizes the individualized life forms.

The people who live in Ayrancı have more or less the same philosophy of life or at least won't disturb each other. No-one disturbs anyone else in the neighborhood. There's nothing like the kind of neighborliness that used to exist. We greet each other but don't visit. People live within their own boundaries. This doesn't disturb anyone. It's enough for us already anyway. (Mustafa, M, 42)

Those set of daily life preferences, -including the preferences of the leisure time activities and neighborhood constitutes the background image of the cultural codes and the symbolic boundaries that this specific new middle class milieu forms and reproduces. Therefore, after presenting this background image, in the next part, how this specific milieu constructs their mental maps and evaluative distinctions which determine the nature of their classed identity will be discussed.

6.2.3 Symbolic Boundaries

As Lamont describes, “boundaries constitute a system of rules that guide interaction by affecting who comes together and engage in what social acts”⁴⁰³ Therefore, as we analyze the strength and the pattern of the symbolic boundaries –cultural, socio-economic and moral- we also make sense of how us/them distinction is formed. I have observed that cultural and socioeconomic boundaries are very strong within the mental map of the fraction of the new middle class which I have labeled as “cultural excluders”. Indeed I did not observe moral boundaries in the case of cultural excluders’ milieu; of course this does not mean that they do not value moral issues. What I try to mention is that, cultural excluders’ milieu does not seem to draw boundaries on the basis of moral character which are defined by Lamont as centered

⁴⁰³ Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 12

on “such qualities as honesty, work ethic, personal integrity and consideration for others”⁴⁰⁴. On the other hand, cultural boundaries which are drawn on the basis of “education, intelligence, manners, tastes and command on high culture”⁴⁰⁵ are extremely strong and associated also with family background. The way how respondents narrate about their social networks included judgments regarding whom to form or not to form interaction with and the reasons of their preferences. There were strong emphasis on the variables of intellectual capacity and command on high culture while they were estimating who deserves or worth of their friendships. As one of my respondents suggest:

It’s important to have a common mind-set and education. It gives you a common language even to be graduated from the same high school. Most of my friends are as educated as me. These are people who use their wits. As a result, it needs a certain foundation. I am friends with many people but the people I hold dear to me are those who speak the same language as I do. A shared language is a must. Education is the most important thing for this language. The films we watch, the things we do, I expect them to do something for me. We have to teach each other things, to share. Anyway, I’m very busy so I can’t spend time for empty chatter. That’s why I prefer meaningful friendships. I know the lifestyle of the cleaning lady. However close she gets to us, some things are fixed. (Nurgül, F, 35)

Another respondent clearly states what “people like us” means

I wouldn’t hang around with them if they were uneducated. Mostly, my friends are senior bureaucrats – bureaucrats with principles, honest and straightforward people. It’s not possible to have a friendship with someone having a different family structure. We should be with like-minded people to balance us. (Muharrem, M, 55)

Indeed, the way those cultural boundaries operates is perceived as an outcome of a natural process, consistent with the thesis of differential association. Similar levels of education and similar evaluative schemas are defined as necessary conditions of forming social relationships.

⁴⁰⁴ Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 4

⁴⁰⁵ Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 4

The people I call friends are all from a similar social circle. I don't believe it's possible to share common tastes with someone from a different background. It's very hard for me. For example, I go for a manicure and talk to the manicurist girl. I like them, I may sit around with them but there are limits. Every relationship, every friendship has criteria. I perceive friendship as really spending time together and taking pleasure from that. To be someone's acquaintance is different, and I don't think it's very possible. (Şebnem, F, 42)

It's easier to form relationships with people who have similar lives. The peddler in front of the hospital and taxi drivers told me "You spend time with people like you. I spend time with people like me. Not that this is a bad thing, but neither you nor I can take comfort together." That sounded logical to me. (Mustafa, M, 42)

I've been friends with people from all kinds of backgrounds, but I've always kept my distance, for example, from office boys, tea makers ... but I always kept my distance. The people we really share with are on the same scale with us, people whose conversation will benefit you. It's not like we intend to make a distinction, but you need someone you can talk to who will understand you and whose conversation you enjoy. I mustn't say "what is he talking about?" As a result, it has to be someone who matches my style, has a similar world view. These things happen naturally. You start a relationship with someone and you don't call if you feel it's not right. There are no constraints, it's spontaneous. (Bengü, F, 45)

As Lamont suggests, we should not perceive symbolic boundaries as directly leading to exclusion however, "we need to view them as a necessary but insufficient condition for the creation of inequality, and exclusion itself, as the frequent unintended effect of the process of defining self identity"⁴⁰⁶ In many cases, this necessary but insufficient condition creates a strategy of exclusion in the case of cultural excluders' milieu. Like in the case of Ayata's study of the new middle class in the suburbs, those boundaries have spatial reflections. I observed that a strong association is formed between spatial boundaries and cultural ones. As one of my respondents states,

You can observe the way people pay if you get on the Çiñin⁴⁰⁷ Demetevler minibüs. We've isolated ourselves a bit. I have relatives from

⁴⁰⁶ Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 6

⁴⁰⁷ Çiñin is a neighbourhood in the district of Altındağ, For the information on the neighbourhood of Çiñin please see the part "Research Site, Ayrıncı and the Spatial Diversity in the City of Ankara" in method chapter.

Ahlat⁴⁰⁸, I can't ignore them. There was a time when I went to their place for dinner and enjoyed it, but now I have to force myself. The way they interfere, the table arrangements, this and that ... we are detached but they are still the same. I always take the minibus to Kızılay. Ayrancı passengers don't tap you on the shoulder to pass their fares to the driver. Some others come and sit behind you, make you pass their dirty money. It's annoying. There are neighborhoods that we won't pass through just to ensure our safety. There are places we find very different in terms of lifestyle. I always stay away from undeveloped neighborhoods. The other side of the Sıhhiye Bridge is a bit like that. I was active in politics 15 years ago. I understood I wouldn't be able to become a Member of Parliament because of the door-to-door visits. I can not sit in a house where someone has stinky feet. I cannot kiss a child who walks around with dirty face and hands (Muharrem, M, 55)

As it is clear in the above quotation, certain neighborhoods are directly associated with "distasteful" lifestyles. The following one also humiliates the activities that are associated with the lifestyles that should be avoided.

I won't go to places where I don't want to go. There are lots of places I don't know. They made a Göksu park or something – I saw it. I never enjoy those sorts of places with a big sticky crowd, everyone next to each other. I hate going on picnics where they spread their barbecues out. Around these barbecues you can hear arabesque music. My friends agree with me. They wouldn't go to those kinds of crowded places too. We prefer Tunalı or Atakule. (Bengü, F,45)

The same respondent compares and contrasts the people living in Ayrancı, with the ones who hang around in Ulus, indeed it is a very striking example representing the mental map of cultural excluders which intrinsically includes exclusionary strategies.

When you get on the bus you can see the difference between the people going to Ulus and the ones coming this way. Even the drivers behave differently. Maybe they are holding back from the more cultured, better educated people. From their speech I understand that people in the bus, are retired military officers, smooth talking smart looking people. There is some timidness in the drivers towards these people. There is a difference between the Ulus and Çankaya bus. Perhaps they select the drivers according to the sector they are driving to. The people who get on at Kızılay and Ulus are of all kinds. Their quality is lower. Even the smell in the bus differs. The Ayrancı smells of beautiful perfumes. When you get on at Ulus you feel disgusted and the bus is jam-packed. (Bengü, F, 45)

⁴⁰⁸ A villige in the city of Bitlis in the east of Turkey.

For some cases, the spatial reflection is extended in such a way that it begin to carry certain connotations regarding the ethnic background. Selim, who is an engineer told me why he would prefer to be a doctor instead of an engineer as follows:

Doctors are in a good situation in terms of where they work because of the people they are surrounded with people of the same level ...we are always on the building site surrounded by workers ... the people I am involved with are different. I can count the days when I wear a tie. We work in our boots alongside Allah's workers on the building site. Is the doctor like that? They are shiny ... it's my regret. As a profession, the building trade can make you faint after some point. There are some really powerful building constructors, but they guy may not even know how to read or write. I don't want to make it an issue about his town, but you know what they say – "God's Kurd"⁴⁰⁹, can't read or talk, I have a lot of friends who work along with that guy. (Selim, M, 48)

While explaining the differences that she observes between people, Ayşe distinguishes the character of the established urban individual from someone with "eastern background". She further linked it to the way how she defines people like her and others.

This is about culture. Everything begins with the way people are raised and what they build up with their families. That sticks to their character and develops. An Eastern family's son goes to school, gets educated, and becomes a construction engineer. I call him for something I need for my work, interview him. His attitudes are very different from a boy who has graduated from the same university but comes from Ankara. I also interview him for the same job. His manners are so different. Why? The way he dresses, the eye contact is very different. This is all to do with the family structure and what they've learned from their environment. Those things can be hard to rub off. Around here I see this lot. (Ayşe, F, 28)

Especially the state of "not knowing ones place" in the structure is perceived as a threatening factor by the new middle class of the cultural excluders' milieu. One of my respondents comment clearly show how people who live in gecekondu areas are perceived as potential danger for their "orderly", "sterile" and "peaceful" lifestyle.

"Gecekondu" areas disturb me. People who live in the "gecekondu", people who couldn't find their own identities irritate me. They are neither urban or village people. They are ambitious in many ways and their ambition strikes me as threatening. They are not content with their status. The way they try to create a false impression damages society. This leads

⁴⁰⁹ Sayings beginning with "God's" have an insulting connotation.

to theft and prostitution. However, even that is a standard of living. Its better they accept themselves for who they are and say “that’s me”. (Selim, M, 48)

Another common point that is at the center of cultural excluders’ maps of perception is their attitude towards the new comers to their class position. As Ayata suggests, the new middle class perceives the city as composed of people from rude and uncivilized countryside people and therefore they prefer suburbs mostly.⁴¹⁰ Moreover, “order” and their desire for continuously “showing the class differences” are observed by Ayata as the most effective basis for defining the classed identity of the new middle class. I observed that the cultural codes of my cultural excluders’ milieu are shaped by an “othering” mechanism towards mainly to the newly upwardly mobiles rather than people who live in the *gecekondu* areas. Most of my respondents narrate their differences by comparing themselves with the people who have similar levels of economic capital with themselves but who lack “necessary” cultural resources. The phrase⁴¹¹ indicating the fact that the new upwardly mobile people, who are definitely do not belong to their definition of “us”, now have the desired material resources is mentioned frequently by the cultural excluders’ milieu. The taste of the newly upwardly mobiles are harshly criticized as being vulgar, and unaesthetic; indeed “they” are excluded because they do not have the “right” cultural codes yet. The following narration strikingly shows how cultural excluders define the “wrong” manners of the new comers.

They live in luxury houses but still leave their shoes outside. They carry that culture with them wherever they go. Their children are so noisy, shouting and screaming. No respect for other people. They don’t know how to live in apartments. He bought five flats from the apartment that was built on his land, still living the ‘*gecekondu* culture’. They can’t survive well, they want to be close to the ground. They talk loud, their lifestyles may seem to change but in essence they are the same. The people who get rich later stand out, even if they change. Maybe very few wouldn’t ... I mean, the way they dress gives it away. The attitude they talk with ... they go to the theatre and try to act as if they have always gone to such places, try to advertise themselves, these things are so obvious ... “I went there, did that, darling, sweetheart ...” they say. The errors they make in spelling matter to me, too. They say “Napiyon” instead of “Ne yapıyorsun”. It’s really important in writing, where you put the capital letter and the full stop. I get angry at people who act as if

⁴¹⁰ Ayata Sencer (2003), p: 41

⁴¹¹ The most frequently narrated phrase is “Para el deđiřtirdi”

they are sophisticated and then make those mistakes. I resist whenever someone tries to advance themselves in a dishonest way... the clothes, the hair ... wearing something shiny even when the dress itself is shiny, big earrings ... the stones may be precious but it shows poor breeding. (Bengü, F, 45)

While another respondent explains what kind of people he does not want to get into contact with, simultaneously he expresses displeasure about the lack of cultural capital of the newly upwardly mobiles.

They come from caves in the South East to the luxury villas at Oran but still they leave their shoes outside the front door. You can see it in the way they sit; the way they talk ... you just know the man is a *nouveau-riche*. Does he really know what he's talking about? It's easy to tell where he grew up. Even the second generation of those from the very low levels is very obvious, and the way they talk doesn't help them much. (Selim, M, 48)

Can a lifestyle change? Very slowly, only through generations ... lifestyle doesn't change. It's about the family ... how a child's parents live, as his friends live, that's how he will live. OK, maybe one day he may live in a better house but a lifestyle changes more slowly than changing a house. (Mustafa, M, 42)

Another respondent, who complains about the people who recently increased their economic capital, also comments on the exchangeability of the cultural codes and lifestyles. His narration also deserves attention because it not only carries the traces of exclusionary strategies towards the newly upwardly mobile, but also brings out how the category of "migrants" is negatively evaluated by his schema of perception. As it is discussed before, Turkey experienced a rapid rural to urban migration after 1950s, and especially the migration wave after 1980 had also an ethnic dimension. The "clear" and "desirable" city portrait that this respondent draws corresponds to the 1970s Ankara and his narration clearly attributes high value to the settled urbanities by directly linking this condition to be "deeply rooted". Yet such kind of a negative evaluation of the condition of being migrant has not been observed neither by the respondents of the intellectuals' milieu nor by the respondents of the first generation's milieu.

There are places I don't like, of course. Because nowadays there are all kinds of people everywhere. Anyone can go anywhere. It never used to be like this. Now you don't know who's got money, what someone's got in their pockets. It used to be that people like us would go to the

places we went to. Out of every ten people, I knew five. They were clubs where people like me went, for example Sergen and Panorama. Nobody used to come to those places from other parts of Ankara, nobody from Etilik, Mamak or Keçiören, just the people from round here. Now that's not possible. You don't know who's got money, it's changed hands. There are people like this everywhere. We are a family with roots, not some family that migrated from here to there. We knew our relatives. It's hard to change. If you listen to traditional folk songs, you can't dive into country. I haven't seen anyone turn from Turkish music to blues. Our apartment's doorman, he wouldn't listen to Pink Floyd or jazz even if you gave him a trillion lira. The most he will do is watch a football match. If he eats at a kebab restaurant, he may look for a better kebab ... no way will he go looking for Chinese food in Quick China, he wouldn't like it if he found it anyway. What difference would it make if his economic status improves. In half an hour, who he is will show up in the way he talks, you will see it between the lines. However much he acts it will show up in his accent, the way he holds his knife and fork and in his manners. (Ali, M, 54)

Although I quoted three of my respondents' narrative on the category of the newly upwardly mobiles, as far as I have observed, the new middle class identity of the cultural excluders' milieu is marked by great competitiveness with this specific category.

As Lamont suggests, the salience of the symbolic boundaries "varies with the cultural resources that individuals have access to and with the structural conditions in which they are placed"⁴¹² Those structural conditions are also determinant on the tastes and lifestyles of the particular fractions. According to my own analysis of the cultural excluders' milieu based on these assumptions, the habitus of this milieu is placed closer, in the social space, to the bourgeoisie habitus of Bourdieu. In his analysis he also mentions that the members of the new petit-bourgeoisie who originate from the upper classes "manifest the highest competence within the middle classes and they incline towards a system of choices very similar to that of bourgeoisie."⁴¹³ Consistent with Bourdieu's observation, this fraction of the new middle class, as it will be comprehensively apparent when the other milieus are discussed, has a distinct place within the overall habitus of the new middle class if

⁴¹² Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 6

⁴¹³ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 360

their relatively “distinguished” tastes and extremely strong cultural, relatively weak moral boundaries are taken into consideration.

6.3 “Intellectuals’ Milieu”

“Most of the people watch those worthless TV shows and waste their time. I observe how the doormen and his family live. In summer nights, they make tee and sit on a wall outside the main entrance therefore continue some sort of village life while the middle class watches TV in their homes. I think what they (doormen’s family) do is far more meaningful. (Nesrin, F, 55)

6.3.1 Background and Class Origin

The respondents that I have grouped as intellectuals have the highest level of cultural capital and they are mostly employed in the public sector and in the non-governmental organizations. They are holding at least masters degree, indeed most of them have also PhD degrees. However, they have relatively low level of economic capital –with a mean monthly income of 3857TL- when compared to the cultural excluders’ milieu. Their social class background is mainly urban new middle class. Although their parents, who were mostly employed in public sector, were rich in cultural capital, they were poorer in terms of economic capital when compared to the parents of cultural excluders’ milieu. As in the case of cultural excluder’s milieu, education was perceived as a crucial tool for class reproduction by their parents. As it will be discussed throughout the analysis, this milieu has a strong position against the social inequalities. This motivation was also apparent in the case of their evaluation of their schooling experience. As one of my respondents suggested,

After primary school I went to Anatolian High School. Unfortunately, the school’s atmosphere was sterile. People were from a specific level. In our primary school, half of the class were the type we call ‘doorkeeper’s children’ – you know we are a discriminatory society. AHS wasn’t like that, because if you don’t

have the money you can't get the extra tuition and so can't pass the entrance exam. (Mehmet, M, 35)

The way cultural capital is transmitted to the intellectuals' milieu differs markedly from the case of the cultural excluders. As it is discussed in the analysis of cultural excluders, the cultural capital transmission was itself turned child-rearing into a "project" by strictly organizing the school and non-school activities of the children. Moreover, it was observable that certain activities were perceived as high status symbols, typically playing the piano and the bale. However, both the parents of the intellectuals' milieu –as they have narrated- and they themselves were/are not performing such ambitious strategies.

We weren't part of any plan or project for our family. In such projects you either become a product of the project or a mental patient. They send you to courses from a small age, to piano and ballet. My dad wasn't like that. He said he couldn't socialize when he was young and that damaged him a bit, that's why he wanted us to socialize, to do what we wanted as long as we enjoyed it. (Mehmet, M, 35)

I always wanted my children to play outside. Computers were introduced to our house late. I've never been a director regarding school. I tried really hard not to control my children. Everyone is sending their kids to exams to get them into college ... I didn't want to force my kids through exams so I sent them to the local primary school, the one closest to our house and to their grandparents.(Nesrin, F, 55)

As far as my respondents expressed, although the parents follow loose strategies, the high amount of cultural capital of the parents make out a "natural" transference process of this cultural capital. Unlike, cultural excluders' milieu's narrative on how their parents equipped them with talents from outer resources, this milieu commented on how the natural atmosphere in the home shaped their future.

They didn't really direct us. My mum was a teacher in the Faculty of Architecture, I used to come and go a lot. I've always been conscious of the Faculty of Architecture and was affected by its atmosphere. Students published project magazines there and we always had them at home. I used to read those as well. You don't have any choice but to go to university in that environment, unless there is some accident or misfortune. Besides, there's no difference between starting primary school and going to university, there's no choice involved. (Rüstem, M, 32)

There were always encyclopedias at home, art, science, technology ... I used to love reading them. Even primary school passed by with questioning and understanding. (Mehmet, M, 35)

Another respondent, Müjdat, explained the atmosphere in the home and the attitude of their parents as follows:

My family never directed me regarding university, and my school life was relatively successful. I wasn't even told to study, because there was always such an atmosphere at home. There wasn't really any choice about whether to go to university or not. Anyway, we were a middle-class family and my parents knew that I had to study and go to university to be able to advance in life, so naturally I went. (Müjdat, M, 44)

These kinds of loose and relatively unambitious –when compared to cultural excluder milieu- ethos in the household mostly shaped the nature of the symbolic boundaries that this milieu draws. Moreover, the high amount of cultural capital, and the intellectual demands of their occupations have a determinant effect on their lifestyles and evaluative distinctions.

6.3.2 The Social Space of Lifestyle

As it can be inferred from the name I have given to this milieu, both the leisure time activities and preferences are organized in such a way to maximize the intellectual capacity. Unlike cultural excluders' milieu, this fraction of the new middle class engages in “high” cultural activities. The consumed products are not mentioned with reference to their brands and material costs. Theater, opera, exhibitions and activities of professional associations are the most frequently referred leisure time activities.

For sure I try to attend cultural activities. I have cinema class twice a week. I join the cinema seminars as part of a one-year programme from the Sinema Dostlar Dernegi. There's always a concert, play or film on. I try to watch a film every day, even at home. There are groups of us who do stuff together. Sometimes I go to second-hand bookstores to explore the books. I never just kill time, there is always something happening. On Thursdays there's a cinematheque at Babil Café. I follow the festivals for sure. I want to see some of the films that are currently on the movies, though not all of them. I make my plans according to who can watch with me. We also have a city planning group. We hold meetings and plan what we can do for Ankara. We have a group that is concerned with reading on spiritual

matters. I follow the state opera and ballet and go to classical music concerts. (Zehra, F, 41)

Moreover, as it will be analyzed in the symbolic boundaries part, the evaluative schema of the intellectuals' milieu is marked by a criticism towards consumerism. This negative attitude towards high level of luxurious consumption brings a lifestyle which is very different from the cultural excluders' milieu.

I like TV series' that make you think with clever humor. I love watching documentaries. I'm very interested in music. I collect toys made from tin from the Internet. I make models. I like brainteasers. We read a lot - we've got quite a library. I've started getting interested in neuro-science. How does the brain work? I read about that. Using up values quickly ... using up human relations quickly ... a consumer life could never have been my style. This isn't the only luxury consumption. When something is updated, the old one goes to the trash. That's how Turkey is. Overseas, the second hand car market is strong, but everyone here wants the newest, trashing the past for the new. Not for me. I'm opposed to the consumer lifestyle. If I earned more it wouldn't change my lifestyle. I would travel a bit more. I would go to Europe or America, and I'd mainly visit museums and street markets. (Mehmet, M, 35)

Holiday preferences are also shaped by a similar logic. Unlike cultural excluders, the intellectuals attain high status to a lifestyle marked by constant learning. This is why most of my respondents in this category mentioned the all inclusive hotel holidays with negative connotation, while attributing a higher status to holiday preferences that include culture tourism in modest places.

I am trying to go away for the summer holidays. I go abroad every year but only on holidays with an itinerary. I don't do just lying around. We like going on culturally informative holidays...we go to places that we are interested in. (Zehra, F, 41)

Generally we try to go to places that are quiet and more natural, where we are able to be alone together. I hate all inclusive holidays. I don't like hotels. More along the lines of camping or a bungalow, tents that sort of thing...more modest and ...I wouldn't want too much action or music. I prefer staying at less popular places. For years I haven't liked going on beach holidays. I prefer being in the mountains. It is important to relax, to eat natural things and so on. (Feyza, F, 35)

It should be a place where we can relax and unwind, wander around and see the nature... We don't have to go to places like Marmaris or Bodrum. In those places you find too many staff and people just

wasting money. Just a little food and a head that doesn't ache is all I need. I want to be in peaceful places. (Mehmet, M, 35)

When compared to cultural excluders' milieu, the daily life preferences of the intellectuals' milieu are not strongly shaped spatially. Although mostly they engage in activities within the district of Çankaya, at least they do not mention the names of certain neighborhoods, which should be avoided, with a strong negative attitude. Unlike cultural excluders and trapped milieu, the neighborhood of Ulus is not commented on by associating its quality with the "quality" of the visitors. Unlike cultural excluders, the neighborhood of Ulus is mentioned as a place that deserves visiting for its historical atmosphere.

I really like Ulus because Ulus is history - the lives of the Antique shop owners, the old hand-made works of art, the slopes, the fortress of the lost rulers. I like shopping at Ulus even more. I go there forget about work. (Mehmet, M, 35)

I love Ulus. I know that area well enough to show people around Çıkırıçılar and Kalearkası. I haven't been to Kızılay for a long time but now, because of the seminars, I discovered Kızılay again. I have a little bit of a tendency to be conformist and sterile but I'm trying to overcome that. (Zehra, F, 41)

As far as I have observed, what cultural excluders' milieu and the intellectuals' milieu have in common is in the realm of sociability. Neither neighborhood relations nor extended kin relations are determinant in the social network of the intellectuals' milieu. To put it another way, most of the free time is devoted to the friendships deriving from professional associations or civil society activities than the time devoted to kinship network. However, my respondents in this category did not narrate on their sociability with respect to enhancing social capital as in the case of cultural excluders' milieu. Rather than the social status of the people in their network, intellectuals' milieu emphasized the importance of the possibility of enhancing their cultural capital via their social relationships.

I have two or three real friends. We have no prejudices. We are very open to development and debate and are able to look abroad. A little further away there are those who are concerned with facing life. I learn with them and they learn with me. We pass time together and talk deeply. (Zehra, F,41)

The will to pursue individualized life forms is also evident in the intellectuals' milieu. Although their narration included nostalgia to the close neighborhood relations in their childhoods; all of them devalue the close social ties deriving from neighborhood relations today.

When I was a child we had a really friendly neighbourhood but later it disappeared. Other people bought houses there. Now I find myself staying at home much less and living a more sterile life. I keep my private life very much to myself...I don't let anyone interfere with my life. I really don't like that. Everyone starts to interfere with other people's lives. We all live in one apartment block but I will only say hello or goodbye to people upon entering or leaving. I won't even wish people a good holiday at Bayram. I am on holiday those times. I have a different life. I do not make friendly relations with in my neighbourhood. (Zehra, F, 41)

I don't believe that a neighbourhood is able to stay the same, as things change as people get older and have to work. Looking at a typical week of my own life... I get home at 8 o'clock. At 12 o'clock I go to bed. That makes 4 hours at home. I don't want to spend those 3 hours going to a neighbour's house neither do I want them coming to mine. Of course if someone needs something they should come and knock at my door. However it can't be like before. (Müjdat, M, 44)

As in the case of cultural excluders' milieu, the daily life preferences and their patterns of sociability is also effective on and effected by both the type and the relative salience of the symbolic boundaries that intellectuals' milieu draws. In the following part, the narrations of the respondents will bring out these interlinkages while discussing how the new middle classness of this milieu shaped by those mental maps.

6.3.3 Symbolic Boundaries

The evaluative distinctions that this specific milieu builds differ markedly from cultural excluders' and trapped milieu. Although the intellectuals' milieu is far more rich in terms of cultural capital when compared to other milieus, the respondents in this category do not draw cultural boundaries. Indeed, as it will be clearly presented in the analysis, I argue that they somehow draw "anti-cultural" and "anti-socioeconomic" boundaries. Needless to say, the phrase "anti" adds a different dimension to the phenomenon than the phrase "non" adds. Lamont also suggests, in

her study of upper middle class culture, that the “symbolic boundaries also can operate in a negative or reverse way”⁴¹⁴ While showing how anti-socioeconomic boundaries work, Lamont gives examples from her respondents whom “oppose to those who draw socio-economic boundaries while neglecting the moral dimension of life.”⁴¹⁵ In the milieu which I refer as intellectuals’, neither the command of high culture nor the high social status is narrated as a “must” for choosing whom to/or not to contact with.

It is important to think about the socio-economic foundation. The shiniest people turn up in the most hopeless of places. It is what they carry with them, what they think about, that is important. Their cultural level maybe low but if they are open to taking on new thoughts and ideas and if they are able to produce new thinking and ideas, I would enjoy talking to them. (Funda, F, 52)

What is strikingly common and easily observable in the case of intellectuals’ milieu is the existence of strong moral boundaries centered around such qualities as sincerity, consideration for others and honesty. People who present themselves with reference to their social status or through consumed products are criticized harshly and constitute the category of “the people who should be avoided” within the mental maps of the intellectuals’ milieu.

For me sincerity is important. I choose people that face life head-on. I stay away from all people with big egos, etc. I am not like that. If people start talking to me about their financial status.. I have all the financial standing I need in every way. It’s what is inside a person that counts. I find it difficult to deal with diplomatic people. Those who think differently about money, those who want to hold power in their hand think they will be able to do it with status. In my opinion they are seeing a false world. Illusion. (Zehra, F, 41)

The anti-socioeconomic and the moral boundaries are also very evident in the evaluation of another two respondents:

I am not afraid of forming a relationship with anyone. I like people who enjoy work, who are honest and who are open about what they feel. I don’t like being with people who think very highly of themselves and who won’t stop talking about how much they have. I especially don’t like people who look down on others and people who

⁴¹⁴ Lamont Michéle (1992), p: 82

⁴¹⁵ Lamont Michéle (1992), p: 82

continually try to sell things. It doesn't take long to see through people anyway and you just go in a different direction straight away. (Nesrin, F, 55)

I don't want to meet people who earn a lot of money, who spend money like mad, all these consumers who don't look deep enough in to life and live superficial lives. (Mehmet, M , 35)

Another respondent explains how he does not determine his social network with respect to cultural or economic capital. Indeed, since I get suspicious about the extent that these inclusive strategies are actually adopted in the daily lives of the intellectuals' milieu, I repeatedly asked whether or not they actually have those heterogeneity within their network. And this is why this respondent gave an example of social activities that he engages in with his friends from different social stratas.

It is really important to be sincere. I like people who don't try to manipulate others. Those who don't try and stick out in front. Those who don't just watch the clock. It is important for people to understand each other, I have friends that suit me. We may argue but their being there is enough. If people's characteristics go together, if there are things you share, let there be a trade, let there be music, it is best to share more. There is not a lot of that sort of thing. I don't want to be together with the very rich and uncaring, irresponsible family. I don't choose people base on what they earn or what they do, it is not that important. At my place of work I am of course friends with people from all different levels, we pass the time together. It could be a driver or a person who has only finished primary school. We also see each other outside of work and sometimes go to a match together. (Rüstem, M, 32)

Although the general tendency in this milieu is to draw anti-cultural and anti-socioeconomic boundaries, one of the respondents in this category is observed to draw cultural boundaries although it is not so strong to create harsh exclusionary categorizations as in the case of the cultural excluders or the trapped milieu. While telling the daily life preferences, the narration of this respondent deviates from the general tendency.

We have to come into contact with all kinds of socio-economic groups because of our overseas duties and ministerial duties. That's why I can't be choosy in Turkey, but of course the places you hang out at to

eat are going to be places frequented by people from a similar social educational and social background as you. (Müjdat, M, 44)

Another respondent forms the linkages between the way she draws anti-socioeconomic and strong moral boundaries with the trajectory and class backgrounds of the individuals. The people who draw cultural and socioeconomic boundaries are criticized on the ground that their social class background and the way they are raised did not equip them with diverse life experiences which will at the end yield inclusionary strategies. Moreover, her narration in detail exemplifies the patterns of lifestyles associated with the criticized evaluative distinctions.

For me, human values are more important: to be able to trust others, to have an honest relationship, openness and intimacy. Being natural is very important for me. I have friends from various groups – I don't like to be friends with the people who I don't like crossing my path in Gaziosmanpasa. It's not easy to have smooth relations with people who are lacking a certain experience in life. It makes one stop and think, how you can really relate to someone who has always had an easy life. I generally prefer (to be with) people who have similar concerns to mine, people who have struggled and are more mature. I can't easily relate to people born with silver spoons in their mouths, because I don't have anything in common with them. They look at Turkey through American eyes. They look down on community members, lower classes and cultural differences, considering themselves 'world citizens' because they travel abroad so often. They spend all their time in planes, using the latest gadgets; they are habitual consumers and very high class. I never like to be together with these kinds of people and working with them brings me down. (Feyza, F, 35)

As it was observable in the case of cultural excluders' milieu, those evaluative distinctions has unavoidable spatial reflections. The following explanation of a respondent shows us how spatial reflections may operate in diverse ways—when compared to cultural excluders' milieu- within the wide category of the “new middle class”. For example, in this case, the same neighborhoods which are attributed a sterile and preferable character in the cultural excluders' milieu, are narrated with a negative connotation because they are associated with the unapproved lifestyle of their visitors.

I don't feel at ease in Arjantin Road or Atakule⁴¹⁶. These shopping malls make me uncomfortable because of the social groups that go there. I enjoy more being around people more like me. I go to Mülkiyeliler Birliği⁴¹⁷ in Kızılay, a place where a lot of my friends go and where I can meet a lot of them. I prefer to go to places where people have more of the same kinds of concerns and shared values as you. I don't like to go to the places posh people go to. There are a lot of place that irritate me. Firstly, the people's attitudes, the stuff they talk about, even their hair styles get on my nerves. I don't like to go to places where guys wear Winkle picker shoes. I want to spend time in places where people are kind and decent, where the music volume is normal. I don't like to go to trendy places. I like Ulus a lot; I love to walk around there. I prefer it to Kızılay. I like Ulus, Suluhan and Samanpazarı – that's where I spent my childhood. As a woman it's different walking around in Ulus at night to Kızılay. According to a lot of people, strolling around Kızılay is less safe than Gaziosmanpaşa, but, to be honest, I don't think so.(Feyza, F, 35)

As my analysis suggests, the strong cultural and socioeconomic boundaries shaped the new middle classed identity of the cultural excluders' milieu as conflicting with the "new comers". Also as it will be presented in the following part, the new comers are also excluded from the "us" definition of the "trapped milieu". In this case however, the highly inclusionary strategies, the anti-socioeconomic/anti-cultural boundaries and their associated lifestyle shaped the new middle classed identity of the intellectuals as clashing exactly with the new middle class identity of the cultural excluders' milieu and also trapped milieu. In the case of cultural excluders' milieu, to be "cultured", in the case of the trapped milieu to know the "right" codes of the urban living constitutes the defense mechanism, while they were attempting to differentiate themselves with the recent economically upwardly mobile. Therefore, socio-cultural mobility is perceived by them nearly as impossible, indeed several attempts of the new comers are criticized because the attempted lifestyle does not fit into them at all. However, my respondents in the intellectuals' milieu, consistent with the anti boundaries they have drawn, perceive those kinds of upgrading as highly probable. Indeed, most of them stated that the upgrading of the lifestyles is much more feasible when compared to the economic one. The

⁴¹⁶ They are the names of places in Çankaya district. For the information on the neighbourhood of Çankaya please see the part "Research Site, Ayrancı and the Spatial Diversity in the City of Ankara" in method chapter.

⁴¹⁷ The graduate association faculty of the Political Science Department, University of Ankara

following respondent's attitude towards my question whether it is possible to change one's place within the scale of lifestyles is as follows:

It takes four years to graduate from university. That can change your life. It's an important decision. Everyone has their own circumstances, and I always believe you can start from somewhere. Education is important but our inner lives are just as important, too. As far as you can, you need to put in the effort. Education is a lifelong process. (Zehra, F, 41)

Another respondent, links it to the individual's will instead of the family or class background:

It's more possible to change your lifestyle and social status – it depends on a person's experience. The more you read, the more your tastes will change. In that sense, it is easier to develop than to just change your economic level. (Müjdat, M, 44)

Following expression also approves that, the emphasis is not on the unchangeblity of the cultural codes as in the case of cultural excluders, but rather on the possibility of personal advancement and on the disassociation of this process from the level of the possessed economic capital.

It's very possible to change your (social) position ... especially in today's information society. You can go online and get hold of all MIT's lessons for 5 lira. Becoming smarter is self-development and can change your lifestyle. (Mehmet, M, 35)

But a detailed reading will eventually reveal that, these inclusionary strategies did not keep this milieu away from developing a mental map in which lifestyle patterns are perceived within a certain hierarchy. I asked my respondents to place themselves on a 1 to 10 scale in terms of their lifestyle in order grasp what traits and qualities they value most. Apart from lifestyle, the very similar answers to this question was very determinant while detecting this group and labeling them as intellectuals' milieu. A "creative" lifestyle which permits to maximize both the intellectual capacity and the cultural capital and therefore which keeps them away from a monotonous life is narrated as the "best lifestyle". Moreover, the narrations of the respondents in this category intrinsically carry an emphasis on the importance of individuality. The following expression summarizes clearly the logic behind their evaluative schemas.

When I can't make time for myself, I don't like to fall into a routine. I can't be a typical father. I don't want my purpose in life to be merely supporting a family. That seems like an empty life to me. I want to create something. I want to make time for myself to be productive. A routine, meaningless life ... a rat race ... seems dry and dull to me. You can't discover yourself living that sort of life. You can't be with yourself. You should be able to be with yourself in solitude. You should be able to do things for yourself. I don't want to feel like a clerk with such a routine. (Rüstem, M, 32)

I see myself in the higher level of lifestyle (around 9 – 10) because we take full advantage of any small piece of information that comes our way. We live a full life. I believe we make use of everything. Intellectually speaking, I think we use our even limited resources productively. I don't know how it happens but you can go to ten times as many concerts and read ten times as many books ... after a certain point you are saturated and everything else you do is extra I think I am at that point. (Mehmet, M, 35)

Boring, ordinary, with no original ideas... The first thing that comes to my mind is a job that has no productive value and a narrow-minded life. To spend your life punching rivets in a factory, to do the same job over and over is a vicious circle ... no way for me. (Müjdat, M, 44)

And after that question, I want them to comment on the possibility of changing one's position within this scale. Although most of them commented on the possibility of upskilling, two of my respondents' answers made me see the implicit hierarchical perceptions and assumptions of the remaining respondents. Because, their evaluative distinctions were extremely inclusionary, denying the hierarchy of tastes and lifestyles. However others, by commenting on the possibility of mobility on this scale, accepted that there is a certain hierarchy which is determined by the level of cultural capital one has. One of my respondents insists on the multidimensionality of the tastes and lifestyles as follows:

I can't give a score to a particular lifestyle. It's a multi-dimensional thing, it doesn't have two sides, it's like a cloud. Style has many dimensions. (Rüstem, M, 32)

Another respondent clearly questions the process of attributing a higher value to certain tastes while downgrading others.

But you can't give a score to cultures and lifestyles. I can't put those things in a hierarchy. Even the most working class person might actually be happy. People whose lives I see as wonderful might actually have a lot of problems. The most refined hobbies such as going to the opera cannot be compared with the joy of a worker stroking his child. That's why I can't rank them – they are very unique things. I can't consider myself better than anyone else just because I read novels. (Nesrin, F, 55)

Apart from these two respondents, the dominant attitude shaped by a mental map which attributes a higher value to intellectually advanced lifestyle and “high” cultural consumption. Moreover, it is observed that gender also adds another dimension to the mental map of evaluations. There is a parallelism within the responses of the women in this category that make out clues regarding the definition of a desired and achieved lifestyle. These women, perceived their lifestyle as a “better” lifestyle due not only to their lifestyle marked by constant learning but also because they achieve to emancipate from the pressure of traditional patriarchal codes.

The foundation of our lifestyle is very family-focused, male-dominated and dependent women's devotion. Ultimately, women will only be better off if they educate themselves and resist these limiting circumstances. Sadly, many women are beaten. I would rate my lifestyle 7 or 8. Not to be constrained, to earn one's own money, make your own choices – there are worse ways to live, tied to one's husband, subject to the pressure of the community and narrow-minded people. (Funda, F, 52)

I can say 6 or 7... which is a bit better off than the economic scale. Why? Because when I think about it, we are not living in an oppressive social environment from a family point-of-view, I am freer than most. I was 33 when I got married and never felt any pressure to marry. You could say I am newly married. We haven't had a lot of experience of married life. I'm a feminist. My husband is doing a Masters on gender studies, I don't think we will distribute the roles traditionally. (Feyza, F, 35)

If we take the composition of capital, the nature of symbolic boundaries, the way intellectuals' experience the new middle classness and the categories that their new middle classed identity conflicts with, into consideration, it is certain that this milieu has a specific and different place within the social space that Bourdieu draws. Indeed the illustration at the end of the analysis, will further clarify what is meant by a “different place” since it makes the comparison with other milieus possible.

6.4 “Trapped Milieu”

I have had to reduce my cultural consumption. Anyway, the lowest and poorest spend all their income just on foodstuffs. Anyway, those are their needs; they don't need other things because they don't have that lifestyle. Our class has gotten smaller. The middle classes – we – are slipping down. The middle class is now just one level above the poor. We have given up a lot, or have lost our morals. (Melek, F, 52)

6.4.1 Background and Class Origin

The new middle class members whom I grouped under the title of the trapped milieu have less amount of economic capital –with a mean household income of 3050 TL– than both cultural excluders' milieu and intellectuals' milieu. Although all of my respondents in this milieu have middle class backgrounds, as far as I have observed through their narrations, if the within class status is considered, it is more appropriate to call their background as lower middle class. Most of my respondents in this milieu grew up in single earner households, which definitely affected the overall household budget in a negative way. While they are narrating their childhood, I listened to phrases such as the following, which was not narrated by the new middle class members belonging to the intellectual's and cultural excluders' milieu.

There was one thing about being a civil servant's child. My mother couldn't always get what we wanted. My mum would always tell me to wait till the beginning of the month, or that I could have it in two months. (İlknur, F, 29)

My respondents whom I labeled as the trapped fraction, as all other milieus, give primary importance to the education of their children. Indeed the child rearing practices and the evaluative schemas determining the qualities that the children should be equipped with, are very parallel to cultural excluders' milieu's schemas.

If our kids hadn't gone to college we would have owned our own home but we chose to send them. We wanted them to have a good education and it was good for them. (Eda, F, 52)

As I have stated while analyzing the cultural excluders' milieu, apart from parents attempt for equipping their children with high level of formal education, they also organize their out of school activities in order to transfer certain field of interests which they perceive as creating the necessary distinction. Moreover, this process brings another typical ethos that I have observed throughout my new middle class study, especially in cultural excluders and trapped milieu: child-centeredness. Depending on my observations, both the family resources and the free time are mostly devoted to the activities that children want to engage in. Although I never mentioned the term middle class through my interviews, one of my respondents diagnosed this process as the "child centeredness of the middle class".

For out-of-school times we had our older daughter learn guitar from a private teacher at our home. We sent her on a swimming course. We sent our little girl to learn volleyball. She wanted to study singing so we sent her on a private course. Firstly, people like us are very attached to their children. Everyone took their children from one course to another, that's what we all did. We were child-centered families. Above all, we, middle-class families ... whatever film our children wants to see, whatever course they want to go to, whatever they are interested in, their interests are cared for. This lifestyle isn't about the parents' pleasure. That's what I see in my circle. When I look at my own parents I only remember my father checking our school report cards. He wasn't interested in the school, parents' days and so on. We learned whatever we could for ourselves. We were educated this way almost accidentally. Now our only concern is to educate our children and make them happy. I don't know how it is for the lower classes, whether they are focused so much on their children, but for us middle-class it's like this. (Elif, F, 46)

Another respondent also linked their child centeredness to the fact that their kind of people has less number of children which definitely makes it possible to devote all the resources that is necessary for class reproduction to a single child.

He went to guitar classes. We encouraged him to go to a basketball course. We bought him a guitar for his birthday, he even chose the color herself. He goes to play basketball at school. We respond to his direction. He says 'this way, that way' and that's how we do it. Families like ours only have one child these days, not like before. My teacher friends also have just one child. Those with a second child are very rare. So what happens then, when your only child is all you have? Let him do and have whatever he wants, don't let him be disappointed

– that’s how we become child-centered. But if you have 4 or 5 kids, you can’t do the same. So, we are letting the children direct us. (Hatice, F, 52)

Although not directly asked, most of my respondents in this milieu also emphasized strongly the importance of the decision regarding whom to marry with. Actually, I have discovered that marriage is seen as an important tool for social mobility while listening to the especially female respondents’ narratives on how they decided to marry.

My family presented me with certain opportunities and I told myself not to fall below those standards. Why should I do any less for my children when my parents did those things for me? This is one of the things which affected my marriage. Of course my husband’s economic situation has an effect. Maybe that’s why I didn’t marry any of my other friends. This is why I can understand marriage to be a logical decision. (İlknur, F, 29)

I had such a lifestyle that if I married my current husband I would live in Ayrancı, if I were married to someone else I would live somewhere else. I wanted to go on with my lifestyle, economically.. My mum always warned us that if we fell below a certain level there would be problems. If you rose beyond a certain level, that worst that could happen would be that you stayed there. I didn’t want to fall too low. (Elif, F, 46)

Another respondent, whom has two single daughters, told me how she advises their daughters on whom they should marry with in order to be more “comfortable”.

A smart ambitious person with brains can reach a good status in life... I want someone who can provide well for my daughters. But there’s no-one ... the person’s family is also very important. He must come from at least our level (if not higher). (Eda, F, 52)

Although to sustain the class position is observed to be an important agenda for the middle class in general, -due to their in between position-, the specific emphasis of the trapped milieu may also not be accidental. As it will be apparent after the analysis of the other realms, the trapped milieu is the milieu that attaches importance most to sustain their position despite their relatively low level of economic capital. Therefore, although I do not argue that the importance of class reproduction through marriage is specific to the case of the trapped milieu, however, their strong emphasis may be related to the extreme effort that they have to show in order to save their class position. In the following part, I will present

and analyze the daily life preferences of the trapped milieu, which will further clarify why I argue that the ethos of my trapped milieu –indeed the main characteristic that define this milieu- is marked by a great tension.

6.4.2 The Social Space of Lifestyle

It is not wrong to assert that, not any of my new middle class milieus' experience of the new middle classness is as affected as the trapped milieu from the in-between character of their class positions. The constant tension I have observed between their established tastes and the possessed economic capital has led me to group these new middle class respondents under the same category. Their tastes and their evaluative distinctions are very parallel to those of cultural excluders' milieu. Indeed, although their occupational status is not as high as in the cultural excluders' case, their tasks and their work environment sustain the basis of their social relationships with middle class members who possess more cultural and economic capital. To put it other way, they are constantly both spatially and socially in touch with cultural excluders' milieu. However, the economic capital they possess is not enough to provide the material basis of their preferences. In other words, there is a high degree of similarity in their definition of “qualified”, “tasteful” etc but the lack of economic capital forces them to develop alternative strategies. The criteria for choosing where to go out for example is marked by parallel spatial choices like in the case of cultural excluders' milieu. The brands of the consumed products are intentionally mentioned in order to clarify the “tastefulness” and a positive quality is attributed to the luxuriousness of the places that are visited. As it will be more clear throughout the analysis of the symbolic boundaries, the district of Cankaya, especially Tunalı is preferred instead of the crowded city center;Kızılay.

We usually go out to eat. These days we go to Panora a lot, or to Ümitköy or Çayyolu. Park Road is there. It's a bit like Bahçeli. There are just high-class places there. Places like 'Sorti' have opened there. In summer we usually walk around Tunalı. I don't go to Kızılay that much, not unless I have business there. There's nothing to do there. We don't like the coffee shops there as much as the places in Tunalı, or the shopping malls. These days we prefer Panora. (İlknur, F, 29)

For instance, one of my respondents in this milieu complains about his lack of economic capital which does not give permission to realize her tastes. She argued

that a “normal” dinner for her costs 50ytl per se –indeed it is 10 percent of the minimum net wage of 2009- and this is why she feels uncomfortable with the resources she has. Actually, the most common strategy for the trapped milieu is to reduce the frequency of consumption, rather than to change the brands they like to consume or the places they like to go. This is why, the narrative on the daily life choices of my respondents in this milieu is marked by a tension; a tension of always trying to sustain the balance between the tastes and the economic capital they possess.

There’s some stuff I would like, and I’d like not to have to think about the money. It would be enough to be one or two steps higher so I could travel more. If my income was enough I could go to a holiday resort easily, but now I have to think about where to arrange which is affordable. I get so tired thinking about these things that sometimes I don’t even want to go. I can’t stand doing this on my credit card. I want to stop thinking about money a little. Even going to a restaurant is difficult. At the moment I can go once a month, but I would like to be able to go once a week and after that go to the cinema. A meal in a restaurant costs around 50 million with a glass of wine. I love ‘Mezzaluna’, it has a lovely atmosphere. It has a summer garden. The Çankaya branch is very nice. (Leman, F, 50)

Another respondent clearly explains the strategy that her family adopts while trying to balance the tastes and the sources.

We like a luxurious life. We don’t hang out in cheesy cafes. We eat at good places. We will go but the next day we will eat at home. We like to enjoy good quality and beauty, so then we won’t go out for the next 2-3 days so we can save a little. (İlknur, F, 29)

While narrating on her tastes regarding the living place, my respondent gives the example of the Bilkent residences –a luxurious housing complex far from the city center- as a preference. However, later on she concludes that, her family strategy – to consume always the luxurious but to reduce the frequency of consumption- will not be “appropriate” to the ethos of the Bilkent neighborhood. She also explains that, this tension also affects the nature of their social network.

I want to live somewhere around Bilkent because it’s in the nature. It feels both near to and far from the city as compared to Çayyolu. The people there are also in a better condition. I don’t know if I can bridge the difference or if we could ever have as much material wealth as the

people there. I could feel uncomfortable. For example, at the company where my husband works there are a lot of rich people around. Usually, we don't have much to do with them. They go here and there and we can't keep up. That's how we choose our friends. Their economic situation is another criterion. As I said, one day we will eat out somewhere up-market, the next day we will eat at home. We can't go to such places every day. If we lived in Bilkent we would really stand out. (İlknur, F, 29)

While giving example to her tastes in the realm of fashion, the narration of another respondent makes me figure out another strategy of the trapped milieu: strategic consumption:

I prefer to do my shopping at Tunalı, where I can find the brands I like: Journey, Zara, cotton stripes. When it comes to clothes, I always wait for the discount sales. I'm not extravagant and don't buy pointless things. I'm keen on high quality but wait for the right time. I would prefer to buy one good quality item than 2 or 3 cheaper ones. (Eda, F, 53)

As Bourdieu analyzes the variants of the petit bourgeoisie taste, he argues that the rising petty bourgeoisie is the men of deferred pleasure. The rising petty bourgeoisie's future dreams for his son as Bourdieu suggests, "eats up his present". Every personal pleasure is deferred to a time 'when the children are older' or 'when we have retired', in other words, very often when it is too late, when having credit on his life, he has no time to collect his "due" and must "cut his coat according to his cloth" ⁴¹⁸ The same ethos that Bourdieu reads of from his analysis of the rising petty bourgeoisie, to defer pleasure, is clearly observable for the case of trapped milieu. The following expression clearly shows how limited economic capital forces those new middle class families to limit their activities in general and how she defers her preferences –in this case 'yoga'- for meeting the needs of her daughters in particular.

One time I went on a yoga course for 6 months but now I can't spare the money for myself. First of all, I go to courses to achieve what I want. Foreign travel ... at least once a year. I even traveled by plane firstly this year. Actually, moneywise air travel isn't such a big deal but it seems big to me. In recent years, going out to eat at licensed restaurants has started to become very expensive. Now it's maybe once a year for me ... there aren't any places we regularly go to any more. We will eat at any old kebab restaurant or order a 'pide' from outside.

⁴¹⁸ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 353

What I earn, when compared to others, isn't so little, but on this money we can't do much outside so often. 4 or 5 times maybe. We don't do anything sociable. It's just doing stuff for the children that keep us active. It's always courses, always shopping – always going to stuff they like – concerts, theatre, cinema ... whatever they want. We never chose to do anything for our own pleasure. If I were to place my family on a scale of Turkish families, I'd give us 6 out of 10. I don't think we will get to do the things we want. There are always more important things to do for the children. I cancelled my yoga for Cansu's courses. I had a passport issued but still couldn't use it. It all goes to meet the children's needs. (Elif, F, 46)

As it is mentioned before, in terms of free time activity, the respondents who do regular sports in the cultural excluders' milieu prefer Reneva which is a “high quality” sport complex. As I have suggested, trapped milieu has very similar tastes, in this case, Renewa is singled out as a place where to attend is narrated as an admirable activity by the respondents whom are inclined to do regular sports. A junior medical attendant who works in a private hospital explains her admiration with the following sentences:

We buy what we want but not the highest priced ones. That can get a bit boring, of course. You have to limit everything; I don't have the freedom to do everything I want. I work for my family. If my income source was more I would make some lifestyle changes. First of all, I would change the house ... the furniture is getting old, I would change those. I want to take up some sport but it's difficult because I don't have the resources. I try to do at home but it doesn't work. The doctor who works here goes to Renewa. I'd like to go there but it's not possible. (Selda, F, 26)

Actually, these kinds of narratives on the lack of economic capital so as to purchase the items related with the taste they have developed is very typical within the trapped milieu. Indeed, the new middle classness of this milieu is very much marked by the tension of not reaching to their admirations. However, apart from purchasing of selected brands and places, the trapped milieu also suffers from the high economic cost of popular activities, such as going to the cinema. Admittedly, it is surprising to see that the new middle classness experience of some fractions is really very different than the fractions – for instance, “yuppies” in the case of Ali Şimşek's study⁴¹⁹, suburban new middle class in the case of Ayata's study⁴²⁰ - that have been

⁴¹⁹ Şimşek Ali (2005), “Yeni Orta Sınıf”, L&M Yayınları, İstanbul

analyzed so far in the Turkish context. The following expression clearly presents the picture:

I'd love to go to the cinema and theatre more often. Why do we go just once every three weeks? Because we can't afford more. Because the cinema is so pricy my mother says the films will be on TV after a couple of months, anyway. (Selda, F, 26)

The “on the edge” position of the trapped milieu also shapes the direction of decisions regarding the retirement. Since the amount of the economic capital they have possessed will eventually decrease in the period of retirement, and since it is hardly enough now for sustaining their preferences, the respondents in the trapped milieu whose age is close to retirement are anxious about future. For instance, although I did not mention the term middle class throughout the interview, one of my respondents explains why working is compulsory for meeting her “expensive tastes” and “certain habits” by linking it to her middle class position.

If I don't work my standards will fall. To be middle class is a bit like being on a thorn. You earn as much as you work. I won't starve, but there are a lot of things I can't do. I'd like to go to Bodrum each year but that costs money. It's an expensive pleasure. We stay at a hotel. When I go I want to have the best time – go to a different place every night – that's why I work hard all year. If I didn't, I couldn't afford a 20-25 day holiday in Bodrum. This is what being in the middle means. We get used to certain things. (Eda, F, 52)

Bourdieu suggests that the in between position and structural indeterminacy of the middle class makes them constantly “face with ethical, aesthetic or political dilemmas...and in order to survive in the world of their aspirations they are condemned to live beyond their means..”⁴²¹ Bourdieu's analysis indicating the difficulty of surviving in the world of their aspirations intersects with the new middle class experience of the trapped milieu. It is consistent with my empirical data that the trapped milieu is condemned to live beyond their means –or to develop alternative strategies in order to not to give up their aspirations-. However in the Turkish case the problem seems to be the condition of the “means”. In other words,

⁴²⁰ Ayata Sencer (2002), “The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia”, in *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*, ed.by: Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber, Rutgers University Press, U.S.A

⁴²¹ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 345

“means” become so smaller that it is hardly enough to sustain the basic needs. Here, the definition of the “need” is also class specific. The following expression is crucial for two reasons; firstly my respondent clearly explains how her living standards have changed and what kind of strategies she has adopted. Secondly and more importantly, her narration figures out how she feels relatively deprived as well as how her evaluative schema determines the definition and content of the “need” that is shaped by class component and awareness.

I see myself at 6 out of 10. I used to consider myself higher – around 8 – till about 2 years ago. I have a basic salary but my basic expenses have really increased. My phone costs have risen, heating costs have also increased. All the costs in my living standards have increased. I’ve started to give up certain things. You have to think twice even when you want to go to the cinema. It’s about 12 lira, and my income is about 2000 per month⁴²². My house isn’t rented. I can’t drive so much, I just fill my tank once a month. I used to travel more easily. I used to use certain make-up products which I can’t buy any more. I can’t go out for entertainment. We go to the theatre and so on, but the journey there and back has become a constraint. I have had to reduce my cultural consumption. Anyway, the lowest and poorest spend all their income just on foodstuffs. Anyway, those are their needs, they don’t need other things because they don’t have that lifestyle. They are fed on voting anxiety. Our class has gotten smaller. The middle classes – we – are slipping down. The middle class is now just one level above the poor. The highest classes have become super-rich with exaggerated spending. Our middle class has gone and is the most complaining. We have given up a lot, or have lost our morals. We have tried various ways. I surrender everything. We of my class have had to limit our cultural needs. If I had more income I would use my car more. I would furnish my house in a more modern style. I’ve had the same furniture since the 80s. I want modern style decoration. I’m interested in books on miniatures, I buy lots. I would love to buy them more easily. I would like to take private lessons on miniatures in Istanbul. As regards sport, I would like to swim somewhere close but I can’t afford it. Lower class people don’t need things like that. Their lifestyles haven’t changed. Apart from eating and heating they feel any others needs. Their way of living is not defined these finer things. Now and again these things might make them happy, but it’s not their style, so they won’t suffer for not doing these things. For me it’s hard not to do these things. I feel them as an absence. I feel my lifestyle is going down and I don’t want to make any more sacrifices. (Melek, F, 52)

The following expression also clarifies the trapped position of this milieu between their “needs” and resources.

⁴²² In order to make comparison: The minimum net wage in Turkey in 2009 is 477 YTL

From the perspective of how much money comes into the home, I would have to put us at 5 out of 10. For example, once a week to the cinema or once every 15 days to a theatre play or ... what can I say, at least once a year an all-inclusive holiday, I want a lifestyle where I don't have to think how much something costs or how I am going to pay for it and what I would have sacrifice to get it. (Hatice, F, 52)

As I have indicated before, although this milieu is trapped between their aspirations and their resources, regardless of whether they are able to realize them or not, their tastes and preferences are very close to that of the cultural excluders' milieu. The following analysis will further suggest that this parallelism also holds for the nature and the relative salience of the symbolic boundaries.

6.4.3 Symbolic Boundaries

The system of rules that guide the interaction of this fraction of the new middle class, which I have labeled as trapped milieu, is marked by strong cultural boundaries. As in the case of cultural excluders' milieu, moral boundaries which are defined by Lamont as depending on definitions of "such qualities as honesty, work ethic, personal integrity and consideration for others"⁴²³, is not easily observable. Indeed, like in the case of cultural excluders' milieu, whom deserves interaction with is defined with reference to the cultural resources one has. However, trapped milieu do not stress as strongly as the cultural excluders' milieu, the importance of command on high culture while determining whom to contact with. My analysis of the cultural excluders' milieu figured out that the "new comers" to the middle class position is the main category that is at the center of the othering mechanism of the cultural excluders' milieu. New comers is also excluded from the "us" definition of the trapped milieu, since they lack the "necessary cultural resources" although they have enough economic capital. The following quotation is a striking example for making sense of how the evaluative schemas of the trapped milieu operate.

They have a different lifestyle till they get a lot of money and move up the economic scale. Then they suddenly run out shopping for brand names. They think that's how you move up the class ladder. But sadly, it doesn't happen like that. The rest comes more slowly. Maybe the

⁴²³ Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 4

change needs a generation to take root because their children first go to good schools. Even if they don't do it, they send their children to ballet lessons because they think it makes them upper class – but only after one generation. It's obvious from how they talk because they like to market themselves. They try to show they are from a different class as much as possible. (Leman, F, 50)

The category of the new comers who lack the necessary “cultural codes” is not the only category that the trapped milieu excludes via its cultural boundaries. Most of the narratives of the respondents in this milieu surprisingly points the criteria of “being an appropriate urban” as the basis of their definition of “us”. Just like the cultural excluders emphasis on high cultural tastes and high levels of education as the hallmark of their new middle classed identity, having an established urban background is narrated with the similar connotations by the trapped milieu. Therefore the manners and the lifestyle of the people who have migrated to Ankara and who live in gecekondü areas are negatively evaluated through the mental maps of the trapped milieu. If we keep in mind that the resources of the trapped milieu is not as high as in case of the cultural excluders' milieu, “to know the right codes of the urban living” becomes a necessary and strong basis on which cultural boundaries are drawn. Moreover, the right codes of urban living are associated with various manners which are defined as “modern”. One of my respondents explains what kind of manners she evaluates as degraded and her perceptions on the people coming from the neighborhoods mainly inhabited by the migrant population as follows.

People living in “gecekondü” districts frighten me. They are neither villagers nor city people. If I find myself there I am frightened. For example, I'm scared of Sincan. If I am on my way from Eryaman, the behaviour of the passengers who get off at Meşrutiyet⁴²⁴ is very different to that of the people who are going to get off at Sıhhiye⁴²⁵. In the metro, the people who get on at Ostim⁴²⁶ behave differently to those who get on at Akköprü⁴²⁷. They don't have to be wearing brand names – that's not how I measure someone's behaviour. It's not whether someone has soles on their shoes, that's not it ... it's much more about

⁴²⁴ One of the main streets in Kızılay, For the information on the neighbourhood of Kızılay please see the part “Research Site, Ayrancı and the Spatial Diversity in the City of Ankara” in method chapter.

⁴²⁵ A neighbourhood on the way from Kızılay to Ulus.

⁴²⁶ An industrial quarter in Ankara.

⁴²⁷ A neighbourhood in the district of Yenimahalle. In addition, one of the largest shopping malls ANKA mall is located in Akköprü.

a disrespectful manner. Especially the men who approach the women like hungry, rabid dogs. They are stuck between being villagers and city people. This leads to the emergence of male domination. The women, on the other hand, instead of trying to be self-confident tend to lose themselves in gossiping and bringing each other down. That's why I avoid the "gecekodu" districts. Can you imagine yourself having a close friend from "gecekodu" districts? (Hatice, F, 52)

My another respondent, who had to live in a neighborhood near to gecekodu districts and than decided to move to Ayrancı, again explained the lifestyle she observed there with a critical attitude. According to her, the lifestyle and the "conservative" values of people living in those gecekodu areas are somehow a continuation of the "town" life, which is again strongly excluded by the trapped milieu whom draw cultural boundaries on the basis of "knowing the modern cultural codes of the urban".

The people who live there are very different, not like the people in Ayrancı. I'm not just talking about headscarves but also "gecekodu" culture. They still leave their shoes outside the front door and they beat their rugs on the balcony, and they have 4 or 5 children per family ... there are such families. The people who live in that place make a big difference. There is still construction everywhere. That's where you will still feel that thing called community pressure. I couldn't walk around there with a sleeveless blouse. No-one told me not to wear it but I've started to get a little bit affected. Wondering to myself whether I should wear these things, I started wearing a cardigan and not wearing skirts when going out. Those places are just like small towns. There's no way I would want to spend time with people from "gecekodu" areas. I don't want to look down on them and I don't usually distinguish between people but people should be clean and civilized and men should not be enemies of women. There are still men there who won't hold a woman's hand, I hate that. The place we used to live was like that. When you go out in the street you feel like you have come from outer space. (Elif, F, 46)

Especially, the conservative lifestyle, which is criticized as limiting the individual freedoms and as becoming a thread on the individualized life forms of the new middle class, is narrated as having spatial reflections. In other words, certain neighborhoods are associated with that lifestyle which is perceived as degraded by the evaluative schemas of the new middle class.

I was born and raised in Ankara but I don't know Keçiören, Mamak or Altındağı. I don't think I'm losing out by not knowing these places.

They say there is community pressure around there. I don't have any friends there.(Eda, F, 52)

The neighborhood Ayrancı on the other hand is preferred because the lifestyle and the profile of the people living there is perceived as consistent with their own. One of my respondents for example indicates the homogeneity in the Ayrancı neighborhood in contrast to the heterogeneous character of other “degraded” neighborhoods.

The people here are from the same level – there's a cultural connection you can feel. When you get on the bus it's very obvious. My husband used to live in Gaziosmanpaşa. Behind there is Kırkkonaklar⁴²⁸. While going to Gaziosmanpaşa, I observed that there are all kinds of people on the bus. In Ayrancı it's always the same type of people. Everyone looks like each other. All the young people look like the same person, all the old people look like the same old person.. (İlknur, F, 29)

Another respondent, while explaining “their kind of people” also explains the commonalities in the neighborhood. Further he adds the class component to his narration and links the neighborhood features to the middle class lifestyle.

The people round here have the same consumer habits and similar lifestyles. First of all, we are middle class. In Ayrancı we are middle class people from old diplomatic families, engineers like me, and so on. There aren't many students. There are some affluent students. Shared habits, I don't know ... here we have more liberal and well-off people in the same place. Those who live there, they all drink alcohol and are introverted. The middle class are inward looking, and don't really concern themselves with their environment. (Sedat, M, 29)

The cultural boundaries that the trapped milieu draws also shape their attitudes towards social mobility. As it is seen, the anti-cultural boundaries of the intellectual milieu bring about a positive attitude towards upward mobility. In other words, the possibility of upward mobility was not met with suspicion by the intellectuals' milieu as in the case of cultural excluders'. However, that suspicious and critical attitude is very frequently observable within the narrations of the trapped milieu. Especially, the newly upwardly mobile, who increases her/his economic capital but who do not possess enough cultural resources, is portrayed as the category that should be avoided.

⁴²⁸ It is a neighbourhood that is mostly occupied with squatter settlements. It is also located very close to Gaziosmanpaşa. Indeed, it is now in a process of urban renewal.

You can change your economic status, you can buy a ticket to the Altın Portakal film festival opening night, but there are some ways in which you show your true colors ...the “I’m a peasant with money” story. If you earn easy money in Turkey or change your economic class quickly, your cultural development will not be at the same speed. Cultural development lags behind. Also, because most of our population is poor, we only aim at economic improvement rather than real class change. (Hatice, F, 52)

I don’t want to be friends with the newly rich - spoiled, uncultured people. Those who get rich quick and think themselves something special – I can’t be with them. I can’t speak the same language as those people. (Eda, F, 52)

To conclude, although the structure of tastes and the evaluative distinctions that are analyzed here are parallel to those of the cultural excluders’ milieu, the level of economic and cultural capital they possess and their class background shapes the way trapped milieu experiences the new middle classness differently. I have argued that the cultural excluders’ milieu’s position within the social space of Bourdieu is closer to the bourgeoisie habitus; I suggest that the habitus of the trapped milieu on the other hand is placed at the center of the middle class habitus that Bourdieu defines.

6.5 “First Generation’s Milieu”

I don’t like people who try to look wise, or who read all the time and attach themselves with certain things. One has got to be sociable. You’ve got to enjoy every occasion. You have to enjoy drinking tea, sitting on a wooden stool. I don’t like people that just go to the cinema and theatre and then show off, thinking they are sophisticated. I wouldn’t like to be friends with those kinds of people. (Hülya, F, 37)

6.5.1 Background and Class Origin

I have given the name “first generation’s ” to the last milieu I have observed throughout my fieldwork so as to emphasize the importance of the class origin on the new middle class experience of those respondents. As Bourdieu clearly suggests

the relationship between the initial capital and the present capital “explains why practices cannot completely accounted for solely in terms of the properties defining the position occupied in social space at a given moment”.⁴²⁹ In other words, the “trajectory” effect –including the changes in the volume and composition of capital within a person’s lifetime- has an explanatory power over the habitus of people, indeed it may be as effective as the other determinants which are :present volume and composition of capital-. This trajectory effect is extremely observable for the case of first generation’s milieu to such an extend that both symbolic boundaries and mental maps, through which daily life preferences are made, operated with similar logics within this milieu. To put it more clearly, the class origin of the respondents in this milieu is remarkably different from all other milieus, indeed unlike others, this milieu have either rural background –coming from lower traditional middle class families- or working class backgrounds. All of my respondents in this category have small town origin and have migrated to Ankara due to either employment reasons or in order to continue their higher education. Although they have experienced remarkable upward mobility, their present volume of economic capital is lower than both intellectuals’ and cultural excluders’ milieu. Indeed only one respondent in this category have high amount of economic capital nearly as much as the cultural excluders’ milieu. However, the trajectory of the remaining respondents suggests that although they were successful of climbing the stairs, their present condition did not give them the possibility to enhance their economic capital to such a level that they will be placed at the higher ranks of the new middle class.

Related with their initial volume of capital and their class origin, their educational histories are not as smooth as all my other milieus. For instance, one of my respondents narrated on the difficulties she faced with, with the following words:

I was born in the village. I was the fifth of eight children. I studied until fourth grade at the village school. From the fifth grade we came to Ankara. I was raised in a crowded family with a tight income. My mother was a housewife, my father a farmer in the village. When we came he started at ATO as a civil servant. Eight kids ... of course, money was tight. But later, my older sisters got jobs and our economic situation became a bit more comfortable. From then on I continued to study at Ankara. I studied French language at Hacettepe University

⁴²⁹ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 111

while working at the Post Office. My father was a primary school graduate and was responsible for the heaters at ATO. As soon as I finished high school I started work and studied in the evenings. For the family income ... my mother was illiterate and finished primary school without attending, they didn't have any ideas about school. Just because I liked French...I didn't have an idea either. When I passed the entrance into university my family did not let me to quit my job because my sisters had got married before and the house needed money ... When I passed the exam and started night classes I felt the world was at my feet. I would leave the Post Office at 17.30. I worked in the import section. My class started at 18.00 and finished at 23.00. I really wanted to study.(Hayriye, F, 52)

To be compelled to work while getting higher education is not only narrated by this respondent. Indeed, if the economic and cultural capital of the parents is considered, it is not surprising that the life histories of this milieu followed a remarkably different pattern than those of other milieus –which will at the end observed to be effective in the construction of the evaluative distinctions-. For instance, one of my respondents explained how he managed to get education as follows:

My mother was a housewife and my father was a worker for the water management / administration in Istanbul. I got into METU, department of physics. I had to stay in a hotel for the first 15 days, and then I protested to my high school union. They supported me a lot and I got into the dorms. Our economic situation was really bad. They used to send me 80 lira from home and that was just enough to pay for the dorms. Sometimes I didn't even have money for the dorms. It was impossible for my father to support my education. I used to work in METU's canteen. It happened with my efforts and the union's support. My life during education was tough. The young people today are in a better situation. (Alper, M, 63)

Indeed not only their struggle for getting education but also the daily lives in the families they have grown up were also very different from other milieus. It is certain that the habitus of the family in which they have grown up, did not generate a parental attitude like in the case of cultural excluders' milieu –in which the typical parenthood included an ambition to teach his/her children English and bale-, or an attitude like in the case of intellectuals milieu –in which the typical parenthood included a will to maximize the transference of intellectual capacity-. The way Emine portrays her childhood is a suitable example:

When we were little we were always out on the streets in the village... We used to play house, play ball games. It was great. I believe

it's more healthier than having computers at home. When we first moved we were living in Samanpazarı in Ulus. We used to play ball games even when it was freezing cold. When it snowed we used to skate on the ice. Of course, we didn't have any holidays. We couldn't do anything as a family. We were really crowded. The travel alone would have cost us too much, so when they used to go around for visiting, they wouldn't take us with them. Those days my father used to take us on tours around the presidential palace. He used to take us around in small groups. Maybe not every year...I remember once when I was single. First the oldest three, then the others were taken. Once he took us around Bursa-Yalova-Istanbul. We stayed in pensions but it was only once. We mostly went back to our village in holidays. (Hayriye, F, 52)

Another respondent explained the activities she engaged in while she was a child; actually it is again a very different childhood narration when compared to the way other milieus are grown up.

I was born in Erdek in Balıkesir. We are three sisters. We lost my father when I was very little. We lived with my mother. My mother was a housewife. My father was a retired worker. I did not have an active childhood. We grew up in a village but you needed to see it to say that. It was a touristy place. I went to primary school in the village. I went to town for junior high school and high school. I have seen all kinds of atmospheres. I took advantage of being around nature. There were all kinds of vegetables and fruit around. Collecting wood, digging up the garden, carrying construction materials...I have done it all. (Hülya, F ,37)

While analyzing the cultural excluders' milieu, I have argued that the new middle class members in that milieu are deeply involved in the education of their children with the purpose of transferring certain field of interests and capabilities which they perceive as generating distinct tastes. Lareau labeled this cultural logic of the middle class' child-rearing practices as "concerned cultivation". As Lareau compares the cultural logic of the working class parents and the middle class parents in her empirical study, she observes that childrearing strategies of the working class are marked by "accomplishment of natural growth". This labeling implies that parents instead of developing certain talents of the children, they mainly perceive that to meet the material needs are enough while rearing their children.⁴³⁰ The narrations of the first generation's milieu regarding their childrearing practices resembles more to

⁴³⁰ Lareau Annette (2002), "Invisible Inequality: Social Class and Childrearing in Black Families and White Families", *American Sociological Review*, vol: 67, October, p:749

the “natural growth” strategies of the working class rather than the concerned cultivation of the cultural excluders and trapped milieu. Unlike cultural excluders’ milieu, although they are also concerned with their children’s education, as far as I have observed, the first generation’s milieu is more concerned with the transfer of the moral codes. In their narrations, rather than ambition for acquiring more skills, to equip the children with the “right” moral codes are frequently mentioned. For example, one of my respondents explained the way she educates her children as follows:

She should be respecting of her surroundings and family. I don’t want her to envy others when we don’t get her what she wants. I also don’t want my child to be too ambitious, too hardworking or a child that devotes herself only to study. I want her to look around, see the beauty in things. I don’t want to run her around courses or force her to play an instrument. I want her to do these things if she really wants to do it for herself. I never envied anybody; I want her to be like me. (Hülya, F, 37)

My another respondent explained what she gave importance to most while rearing her children, interestingly although both of her children are having their education now in METU, she did not mention about the importance of the university education in her narration. Rather, she emphasized the importance of transferring traditions and morality.

I wanted my children to have a sense of responsibility for sure. I tried to encourage them to not to lie. And I wanted them to have an understanding of our limits. We gave them that awareness. They never exceeded it. They always knew the limits of our capacity. They were respectful about our customs even if they found them strange. For example, they visited the elders. I would tell them gently when something was really necessary, that we kiss our elders’ hands at festivals, that when we have visitor we don’t disappear to our rooms that he should come down, at least say hello and sit a little. (Hayriye, F, 52)

While analyzing the daily life practices and preferences of the first generation’s milieu, it will be more clear how “trajectory effect”, -which stems from the fact that “one cannot completely accounted for solely in terms of the properties defining the position occupied in social space at a given moment”.⁴³¹-together with the volume

⁴³¹ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 111

and composition of capital, make out a remarkably different habitus. And hopefully at the end, this analysis will make it possible to place the first generation's milieu within the social space –three habituses- of Bourdieu.

6.5.2 The Social Space of Lifestyle

As it will be seen throughout the analysis, the first generation's milieu's new middle class experience should be best perceived as placed at the opposite pole of the cultural excluders' milieu. Although the economic capital of the first generation's milieu is close to the trapped milieu, as far as I have observed, those respondents do not have tastes defined by sharp borders. Depending on their narrations, I had the sense that, my respondents in this milieu did not attach importance neither to the brands of the consumed products, nor to the "quality" of the places they prefer for leisure time activity. For instance one of my respondents in this milieu explains what kind of places she prefers if she goes out for dinner in this case;

I don't go somewhere to eat, I don't just go there because it's luxurious or course it's got a name. Not just because it's famous. Taste is more important. I don't like to get something just because it is pricy. You can get a dress for 5 lira and be happy with it. I like to be happy with small things... (Hülya, F, 37)

With a similar attitude, one of my respondents –indeed he is the one who has the highest economic capital within this milieu- explained why he would not like to prefer to consume the distinguished brands as follows:

I don't follow brands. The other day my wife called me to tell that Beymen was on 70 percent sale. I did some shopping there because it is quality. Usually, I don't go to Beymen for shopping. I think it is very expensive, and it isn't worth it. Other than that there are other goods that are not brands. I usually get those. (Alper, M, 63)

As far as I have observed, the logic behind the choices of the first generation's milieu is not derived from an ethos of "stylization of life", rather it is motivated by the practical usefulness or let say it the functional necessity of the consumed objects. Actually Bourdieu's analysis of the working class habitus has very many common points with my first generation's milieu. Bourdieu suggest that since working class people are submitted to necessity, they develop a perception of aesthetic which is

pragmatic and functional.⁴³² For example, he argues that “nothing would be more alien to a working class women than the typically bourgeoisie idea of making each object in the home the occasion for an aesthetic choice, of extending the intention of harmony or beauty even into the bathroom or kitchen...”⁴³³ or to spend “two million francs on a watch, when there are so many things that come first”⁴³⁴ But what Bourdieu argues is that although those expenditures are perceived as unnecessary by the working class people, they are indeed obligatory elements for a specific style of life. In addition to the above expressions, another respondent’s narration is supporting my idea that my first generation’s milieu’s evaluative distinctions are closer to the working class habitus. Moreover, from her response, it can also be suggested that, the lifestyle and habits of the trapped milieu -with the traits of aspiration and living beyond the means- is also criticized and accused of being marked by irresponsibility. My respondent’s daughter had got married recently before our interview and my respondent explained the attitude she had while she made the wedding shopping for her daughter as follows:

There are some people that have a very low income level but by using credit cards they don’t limit their social environment and go to the most luxurious stores. They aren’t worried that someone would come to their house to take legal action to collect the debt. There are people who show off just to fit in with a class that is economically and culturally higher than them. There are people that would pay 15000 TL for some silver cutlery. I’ve seen this happen. I bought cutlery to my daughter for 120 TL, and a ceramic dinner set for 220. I hear friends saying “I bought it very cheaply, for 1500 TL”, these are friends who are in the same socio-economic group as us. That is way too expensive for me. They are both ceramic in the end, and isn’t it the function that is important? I said to my daughter if her friend won’t eat with the ones that I have bought, that’s her business, and she may never eat. (Hayriye, F, 52)

This attitude, which disengages the relationship of one’s social status and the “style” or “quality” of the consumed products, is also effective on the preferences regarding the leisure time activities of those respondents. My respondents in this milieu frequently engage in activities that are associated with degraded lifestyle and humiliated by the cultural excluders’ milieu, such as picnic.

⁴³² Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 376

⁴³³ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 379

⁴³⁴ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 375

We mostly go to Gölbaşı. Of course, picnics were more popular before, but we still go. We enjoy the open air. Eymir Gölü, Gölbaşı, those areas. We often go to Bigicik village near Çubuk, that's also a very beautiful place. ...our children play ball games there. (Hayriye, F, 52)

There is a park for walking in Keçiören that I know, as well as an animal park where I go as well. Mogan Gölü, Göksu...I love those places. But I didn't like Dikmen valley. It looked artificial to me. Göksu is much more beautiful. You can move more freely and easily. There is also Mavigöl on the way to Kırıkkale. We go there sometimes. (Hülya, F, 52)

Unlike cultural excluders' milieu, whom associates comfort with luxury in terms of holiday preferences, first generation milieu's definition of cozy environment excludes those kinds of luxurious tastes since because they perceive them as "unnatural" and "insincere". Visits to hometown, where they feel comfortable, are typical way of spending the summer holiday for the first generation's milieu. In the following expression, apart from what she prefers, my respondent also explains why she devaluates the frequently preferred holiday style of the other people.

We spend summer holidays in our village. It is peaceful and quiet. Avşa Island and Ayvalık are close by. We don't prefer to go anywhere else. If I won the lottery, I would at most get a bigger house. I don't have any interest in unusual stuff. I don't like to spend my holidays in a luxurious hotel. Even if I had more money, I wouldn't want that. I wouldn't like to go to Uludağ⁴³⁵ for a holiday. Kartepe is more natural and has a better atmosphere. When they go to Uludağ people say "I have seen this or that celebrity". That the spirit there. Kartepe is more cozy and intimate (Hülya, F, 52)

Those holidays also perceived as an opportunity to strengthen the social ties between the extended kins. One of my respondents for example, firstly explains why she does not like to spend her holiday in the all inclusive hotels and than she also narrates on how they utilize those holidays as a tool for strengthening the kinship relations.

Mostly we choose to go to the Mediterranean for holidays. Our relatives are there. They have summerhouses there, and so do we. We prefer places where my son can meet up with his nephews. We split the vacation into two parts, so that we can see all our relatives. We don't do those all-inclusive hotel vacations. It's got nothing to do with the

⁴³⁵ A popular winter holiday center.

money, i just don't enjoy it. Eating and drinking at set hours - I can't stand those kinds of places. I go to bed at 2 and wake up at 1 in the afternoon if i want to. I eat when ever I want, so it's hard in hotels with fixed times, I can't do that. They are also very crowded and insincere. (İrem, F, 40)

As far as I have observed, the trajectory effect, in other words the initial habitus my respondents in this milieu have grown up in, also affected their attitudes towards the formation of the social ties. While analyzing the cultural excluders' milieu, I have concluded that, consistent with Bourdieu's analysis of the new petit bourgeoisie habitus, they prefer to form weaker social ties through formal associations which at the end will be more effective in generating social capital. Therefore the sociability arising from extended kinship or neighborhood is not valued much. Indeed, close neighborhood relations were devalued because it is seen as interference to the individualized life form of the new middle class by all of the milieus that are analyzed so far. However, first generation's milieu's attitude towards both the neighborhood and neighborhood relations was remarkably different from others. One of respondents for instance, attributed a positive character to the close neighborhood relations in the neighborhood; of Keçiören where the associated life style devaluated by cultural excluders and trapped milieu.

I lived in Keçiören. There is more neighborliness there. They are more like your relatives, they're closer. If you have a problem, if you're sick, they come and help you. At funerals they open their homes to crowds of guests just like they were your relatives. But sometimes they can be a bit too much and get involved in your private life. They know your personal life. Relations here, where I live now, are shallower. Back there, the kids always played in the street. It was beautiful, with the squeals of children everywhere. But here, there aren't any children on the streets at all. All the kids stay home and play on their computers. There, youngsters sat on the garden walls. It's like there was more life there at Keçiören. But in Keçiören, those children that played together on the streets were not coming from the same educational level. There are some that wouldn't be able to carry what you want to give to your own children. Kids learn all kinds of stuff there. Kids swear on the street. Here they raise their children in a sterile environment at home. But I like the streets. Here only the doorkeeper's children play on the street. Sometimes the neighbors get angry with them saying they are being noisy, and then I get angry with the neighbors. I love to see children play like bees with as much noise as they want. We moved here thinking it would be a decent place but in fact it is not. It looks that way because of the social distance of people, and because nobody comes close to others or knows each other. (Hayriye, F, 52)

Another respondent also criticizes the distant relationships that is formed through neighborhood in Ayrancı and argues that neighbors should be close to each other as much as the family members:

My neighbors say “Oh, you’re working, we don’t want to disturb you” and don’t visit... I don’t like that sort of thing. In the end we all live in the same apartment, so we must be like a family – able to knock at each others’ doors, this is what intimacy is: sharing your needs and problems. It’s just our apartment doors which are separate. That’s why I always want to be involved. “Oh, but you have a child, maybe your home will be untidy” they say. So what if it’s untidy? Even so, you can still offer someone a cup of tea, it’s possible. You can offer someone a glass of water. (Hülya, F, 37)

From the narration on the daily life activities that another respondent engages in, I also detect that, social ties stemming from neighborhood are positively evaluated also by her.

My relations with my neighbors are good. There was a recent funeral and we immediately got together, prepared food, collected money and baked pide. It’s not bad at our apartment, births and deaths come and go ... we sit around the garden in summer and have long conversations. I make a thermos of tea and go down to the garden and sit and offer to those who come and go. (İrem, F, 40)

As it can be inferred from the expressions, the difference between the tastes and the lifestyles of this milieu and the other milieus are remarkably different. Unlike cultural excluder milieu and trapped milieu, first generation’s milieu does not have sharp mental maps in which specific status generating activities are valued. Although the daily life preferences of this milieu are also different than the intellectuals’ milieu whom have the highest cultural capital, the following analysis will yield that they have much in common in terms of the operation and the nature of the symbolic boundaries they have formed.

6.5.3 Symbolic Boundaries

According to the perspective that cultural turn offers us, class is something that individuals actually live, and something through which they construct their identities. In this case, the narrations on the categories that those respondent’s identities exclude or include also marked by class process. And as it is mentioned

before, the new middle class experience of the first generation's milieu is highly affected by the class trajectory of the respondents. The way symbolic boundaries operate within this specific milieu including what qualities they value most, or what kind of people they do not want to get in touch with is also shaped by their initial habitus. It is not wrong to state that the respondents in this milieu draw anti-cultural and anti-economic boundaries as strong as the intellectuals' milieu. In other words, it is easily observable that those people who evaluate the others on the basis of the possessed cultural capital are evaluated negatively. The following quotation approves the fact that the first generation's milieu's evaluative schema excludes the category of people whom themselves pursue exclusionary strategies on the basis of their cultural resources.

I don't like those who devote themselves too much to their education and those who always stress their vast knowledge. Let's say someone is talking about cinema. He'll keep asking if I know that actor or if I know this one. When it comes to books he will ask me if I know this or that writer even when he knows I don't read them. I don't even try to deal with those who try to humiliate me. Everybody wants to read good stuff but when you don't have the means you can't really learn them, you can not be up-to-date. I don't like people who try to look wise, or who read all the time and attach themselves with certain things. One has got to be sociable. You've got to enjoy every occasion. You have to enjoy drinking tea, sitting on a wooden stool. I don't like people that just go to the cinema and theatre and then show off, thinking they are sophisticated. I wouldn't like to be friends with those kinds of people.. (Hülya, F, 37)

Moreover, the same respondent criticized the way people with high economic and cultural capital socialize because she argues that they could not form any type of solidarity. She even links those people's high levels of consumption with their loneliness.

Those with a lot of money, who came from good schools – children of pashas and bureaucrats. I believe they are missing out on some human feelings. They don't have friends. Without a single friend they always feel the need and run here and there. We all need each other, both the lowest and highest classes. Their money may be able to buy certain things but it can't buy friendship. I can wander around Tunali like a rich person. Maybe I can't get what I need. Maybe there's something I really want, I can get it but it will cause me some difficulty. I won't be bothered because I don't have the desire. Because some people can't

find friends they just buy themselves these things instead of friends and their feeling of need is lessened. (Hülya, F, 52)

Another respondent criticize the lifestyle of the people with high economic capital since because she thinks that they are extremely “ambitious” for sustaining and improving their class position.

Nothing you have in life is important. You can live in a villa or live in a shack. Those who live in shacks are happier than those who live in villas because they eat when they have it. A child who sells tissues earns 5 lira. For that 5 lira he buys and eats some mince. Money makes some people dishonest, those in the villas. (İrem, F, 40)

As Lamont suggests those people who have common categorization systems to differentiate between insiders and outsiders have a shared identity which is formed through common vocabularies and symbols. And Lamont also argues that those people, even they have no face-to-face interaction, should be considered as the members of the same symbolic community.⁴³⁶ In the case of first generation’s milieu, the most commonly used adjective attributed to the categories they are willing to exclude is “phony”. The strictly ordered lifestyles together with the mental maps constructed by sharp distinction principles are negatively evaluated on the ground that they are “insincere” and “phony”. For example one of my respondent caricaturized the style of life that she would not be pursue at all as follows:

Those who see themselves as better than others ... people with lap dogs and drivers ... long fingernails ... 10 servants at home. I don’t know ... I couldn’t live that kind of lifestyle. It’s a style issue. “I get an appointment from my hairdresser and I go, my meal times are at certain hours, I make friends with people who are elite and high toned”. I don’t see myself in this picture. For me, that’s not living. You have separated yourself from other people when you only chat with certain people. Just empty talk ... “ooh, I’m flying to Paris”, whatever brand of bag ... I think it’s artificial, they are brought up that way. For me it’s hollow. (İrem, F, 40)

Another respondent also explains why he perceives the lifestyle associated with high society as unnatural and insincere as follows:

⁴³⁶ Lamont Michéle (1992), p: 15

I don't like people with high expectations and neither do I like people who try to act different. I like natural. In my relationships I don't make much distinction between rich or poor. I accept people as they are. I can't really be in harmony with those who want to live a high-society life. (Altan, M, 63)

Not only the lifestyle patterns but also the attitudes of those people are criticized, because it is believed that those people who pursue such lifestyles necessarily built strong cultural and economic boundaries which result in the formation of an insulting attitude towards the people with less cultural and economic sources. For instance, while explaining what kind of people she would like to avoid, one of my respondents portrays the category as follows:

I can't hang around with people who love themselves too much or who have big egos. They have a different way of living ... I don't have much in common with those people we nickname 'tiki'. Because they look at everything through money, they think they can buy anything. They look down on everything. They belittle the people they are talking to. When I was a student, their cars came to and went from the school. They dressed differently. Ok, you dress well and so do I ... but if you looked at them it was something different.. How can I say? They used to use their make-up to say "Here I am!". They were different groups to us. (Hülya, F, 37)

Rather than cultural and economic resources, what is inherent in the narrations of the first generation's milieu is that they take the moral character as indicative of an individual's worth. To put it another way, the evaluations are done on the basis of neither the educational level nor the structure of tastes but they operate on the basis of the moral character of the individual. "Modesty" and "integrity" are two of the most used qualities that are narrated when what traits they value most while forming their social networks is asked. The following expression is a suitable example for the analysis made above.

I don't like people who look down on people or harshly criticize others. Expressing intimate feelings ... I don't like two-faced people – their insides are one way but their outsides are another. If someone is talking bad about another, I keep my distance. I like constructive criticism. If a person's behaviour is very affected, I don't like that – they are trying to look like something they are not. I have 4-5 close friends. They also work ... for example; they come home and are very cozy. Just because my sofa cover is old, they certainly aren't going to become upset, or they wouldn't pay any attention to it. Whatever sentimental things I

share with them they treat as important and that's why they are my friends. They are not friends with me because of my material possessions. (Hayriye, F, 52)

While talking on her social network and friends, another respondent also explained how morality rather than social status is important for her friendship choices.

Of course we don't consider our social circle when choosing our friends. We have very good family circles and people who are very close to us, but I have friendships with people from cultures different to ours. I can even make friends with business people. It's just know-it-alls I can't stand. In our circle we have varied friends. One friend is an inspector, another is a businessman and we even have uncles at the highest levels of the police. It's not the labels that matter, it's the humanity. (Hülya, F, 37)

Another respondent, as he explains the way he educated his children, also mentioned the importance of transferring the anti-economic and anti-cultural boundaries.

I have tried to teach how to place the value such as I place on most people. One shouldn't descend into classing people according to their social status or economic condition. Anyway, they take this naturally. Whatever communication you establish, he will see it and shape it in that way. (Altan, M, 63)

Due to the anti-character of the symbolic boundaries that the first generation's milieu draws between themselves and others, their friendship patterns also do not follow the assumptions of the social network approaches to stratification. For instance, unlike cultural excluders' milieu's insistence on the existence of the similar socio-cultural positions for the basis of a friendship, one of my respondents explains how she builds friendship from diverse social stratas.

The doormen's daughters come to our house and we eat 'simit' (bagel) and cheese. When their mum comes we sit and drink tea. I can't discriminate between people – "oh, he's from the East" or "she's from the village". I like that part of my nature. If necessary, I can sit on the floor to eat. My doormen's sisters will often call me when they are stuffing vine leaves and I help them. (İrem, F, 40)

As Bourdieu suggests, those preferences, both regarding the daily life practices or the schemas of perception, could hardly be presented as subjective. Because,

whether we call dispositions or let say it tendencies, are objectively internalized.⁴³⁷ The case of the first generation's milieu is a good example for how objective conditions, for instance the volume of capital and the class background, affect the new middle class experience of a specific fraction. As I have indicated while analyzing the daily life practices, after the interviews I had the sense that the class habitus of this milieu has common points with the working class habitus defined by Bourdieu, as he labels it as: "the choice of necessity".

6.6 Concluding Remarks on the Chapter

The qualitative research that I have conducted in order to answer my research questions "*How people who belong to the new middle class according to the structural definitions, experience their class position? and what elements, in what ways affect their class experience/class practices?*" yielded that the class experience –as it is operationalized in the introduction, is highly fragmented. However this fragmentation does not operate via a single variable, indeed the identified patterns of new middle class experience is observed to have effected by multiple elements. Moreover, the four general patterns that are figured out have different positions within the social space that Bourdieu defines as composed of three habituses; the habitus of distinction of the bourgeoisie, the habitus of the cultural goodwill of the petit bourgeoisie and the habitus of necessity of the working class. The summary of the outcomes of the research and their significance will be discussed in the conclusion chapter.

⁴³⁷ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), p: 376

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

One of the very easily observable shifts in the class structure of Turkey since 1980s can be perceived as the change in the composition of the middle class. The overwhelming majority of the middle class is no more composed of small businessmen or shopkeepers who run her/his business with the help of the family unit, or not composed of agricultural petty commodity producers. Instead, white collar workers, who sell their mental labor to the market, do constitute the main fraction of the middle class in 2000s. The increase of the service sector at the expense of agriculture, democratization of education, rapid urbanization and technological advancements can be perceived as the major motivators behind this shift. This change in the composition of the middle class has received my attention as a student of sociology who has developed a keen interest in the realm of social class and stratification. After an initial literature review on this issue, I have realized that on the one hand the international literature has long been debating on various aspects of the new middle class; on the other hand the literature in Turkey is lacking systematic empirical studies on the issue.

Each and every approach has different views on what deserves attention in the rise of the new middle class. The research questions that are posed are also shaped differently with respect to the methodologies that those theoretical standpoints follow. Before the cultural “turn” in the class methodology, both the class agenda and the studies on the new middle class were dominated by Marxist and Weberian inheritance. Marxist approaches to the new middle class, initiated research questions by problematizing its structural location within the relations of production. Instead of focusing on its location within production relations, Weberian approaches on the other hand draw ideal type images of the new middle class by widening the scope of analysis to the multiple realms apart from production

relations. What structural approaches –both Marxian and Weberian- have in common is that the majority of the scholars who studied the middle classes, such as Carchedi, Poulantzas, Erik Olin Wright, Giddens (even Marx and Weber themselves) defined the new middle class as white collar workers. I made use of the accumulated knowledge until the “cultural turn” so as to operationalize the new middle class and defined it as the white-collar workers. Although this conceptualization was enough for the initial analysis on the objective conditions of the new middle class in Ankara, I had to make a triangulation in terms of the approaches and needed to use the tools that “cultural turn” offers for the main part of the study that focuses on the class experiences.

I made use of the database of the stratification project⁴³⁸ in order to answer the first set of research questions : “*What are the objective conditions (such as economic capital, cultural capital, gender/age composition and class background) of the people who belong to the new middle class, defined as white-collars according to structural definitions, in Ankara? How are those conditions differentiated within this new middle class category?*” Thanks to the sample’s representative merits, before focusing specifically on the category of the new middle class, I could also construct a background image including the overall class structure and socio-demographic profile of Ankara. The analysis of the three generational class schema of Ankara has yielded that the new middle class is literally a “new” class in the Turkish case. This new class included large number of women, especially when compared to other classes; new middle class is the most gender balanced class in Ankara. Moreover, as the class background of all respondents in the new middle class is analyzed, it is observed that, mobility into new middle class is mostly experienced by respondents of traditional middle class backgrounds. Although this may indicate a kind of middle class reproduction, new middle class has not achieved its demographic unity and is not reproducing itself yet. Although new middle class is largely composed of people from traditional middle class background; it also consists of people with working class backgrounds. As we take

⁴³⁸ Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, Filiz Kardam, Helga Rittersberger Tılıç, Kezban Çelik and Sinan Turkyılmaz (2008), “Ankara Kent Merkezinde Toplumsal Tabakalaşma, Hareketlilik ve Sosyoekonomik Statü Araştırması”, Unpublished Project Report, The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK), Project No: SOBAG 104 K 039, 2008

a look at how this new middle class is dispersed in terms of social status index (A-B-C1-C2-D)⁴³⁹, again a striking amount of diversity is observed. Both class background and social status analysis strengthens the assumption that the “middleness” experiences of new middle class members are also marked by great heterogeneity.

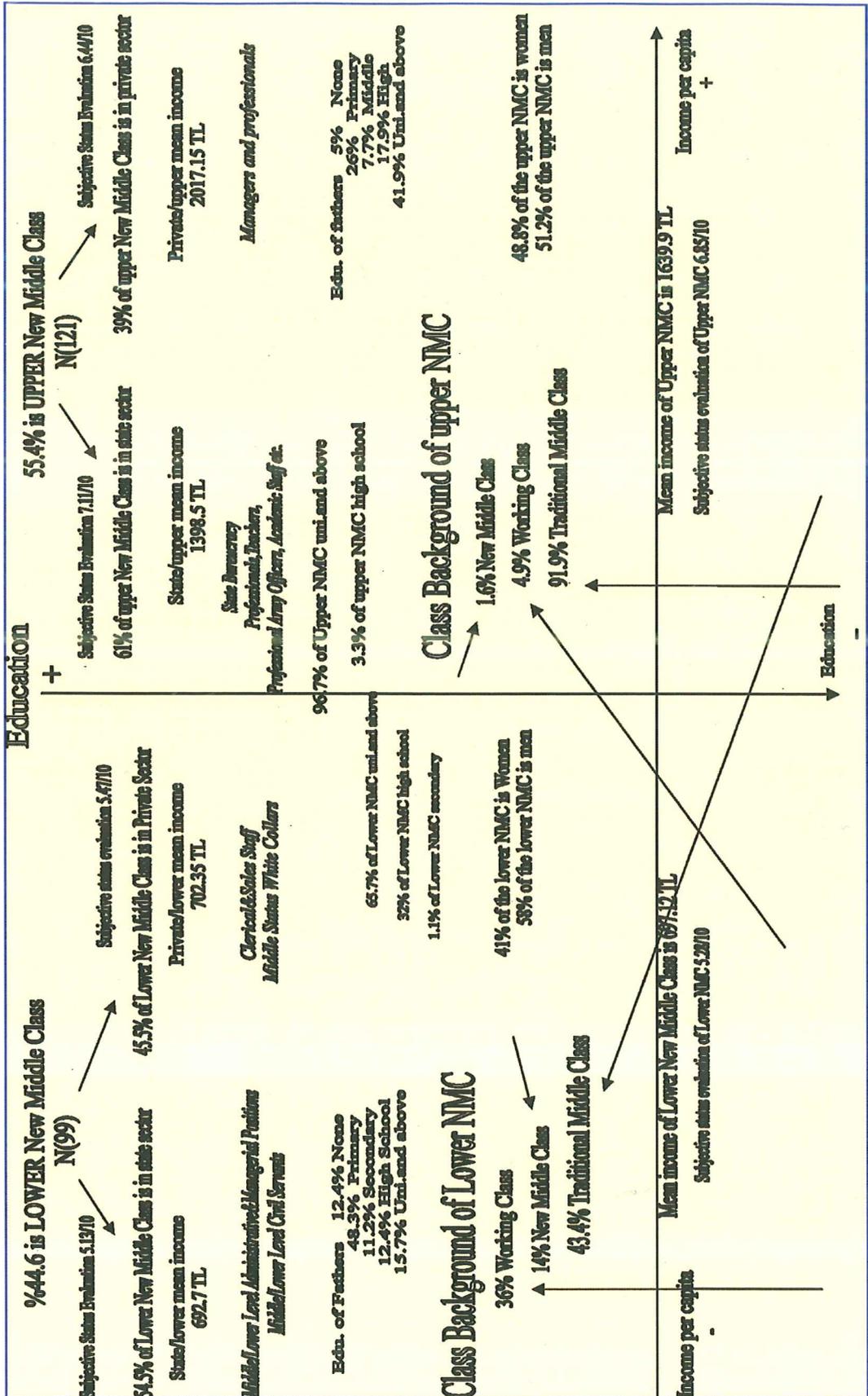
Further analysis has shown that, the differentiation within the new middle class in terms of the amount/composition of capital and social background follows a pattern. This pattern is shaped mostly the employment status and also the sector of employment. The detailed analysis of the volume of economic and cultural capital shows us that, the new middle class employed in private sector upper ranks has the largest amount of economic capital. Although public sector employees in the upper ranks, do not have that much economic capital, their self evaluation and perceived social prestige is absolutely high. As it is expected, lower ranks in both state and private sector have very low levels of economic and cultural capital when compared to upper ranks.

The most important picture that comes out from the quantitative analysis is the differentiation in terms of mobility patterns to new middle class. The class background of lower and upper ranks differs clearly proving the diversity within the new middle class. Moreover, the difference in terms of the education level of the fathers also suggest that, not only the class background but also the cultural capital of the families in which new middle class grew up in, has an explanatory power on current class positions. While mobility into upper ranks is achieved mostly through horizontal mobility by traditional middle classes, lower ranks are more open to working class members. To sum up, quantitative data has shown us that, the new middle class in Ankara is composed of two major groups: a **lower one** which is heterogeneous in terms of class background and poorer in terms of economic and cultural capital and an **upper one** which is relatively closed to classes other than middle class and richer in terms of economic and cultural capital.

⁴³⁹ For details, please see the quantitative analysis part.

The following **Figure 7.1** summarizes the important results of the quantitative analysis and draws a “social map of new middle class” in Ankara with arrows symbolizing the class origin.⁴⁴⁰

⁴⁴⁰ HOW TO READ THE FIGURE: The descriptive features of the new middle class is presented in the table within two main groups, on the right hand the upper segment of the new middle class (whom are emare employed in the upper ranks of the public and private sector with greater economic and cultural capital) is presented. On the left hand side, the features of the lower new middle class who have less cultural and economic capital are presented. These two categories are further divided into two, according to the sector of employment in order to show the differences between them.



Taken this quantitative analysis as a basis, the initial aim of my qualitative analysis is to go one step further and ask how this heterogeneity –in terms of volume composition of capital and class trajectory- shapes the class experience of the new middle class. So I have posed the second and actually the main set of research question of the study: *“How people who belong to the new middle class according to the structural definitions, experience their class position? and what elements, in what ways affect their class experience/class practices?”* in order to understand how this heterogeneity is reflected upon the daily life of the new middle class people. However, the structural approaches, both Marxist and Weberian do not offer conceptual tools for a class analysis that mainly problematize the class experience. The shift in the class methodology after 1990s, actually initialized by following the assumptions of Bourdieu’s work, has brought in new approaches to the new middle class. The proponents of the cultural turn argued that ‘closer investigation of interests and identities is required by focusing on the interrelationship of the “economic” and the “social”⁴⁴¹. Therefore the third line of approach, by combining the Bourdieu’ notion of habitus and the assumptions of the cultural turn, used different realms of everyday life experience as a tool to study the class character of the new middle class. Following the assumptions of the cultural turn, I have used the “social space of lifestyle” –composed of daily life practices- and “social relations” –analyzed by the content and nature of the drawn symbolic boundaries- for scrutinizing the class experience of the new middle class.

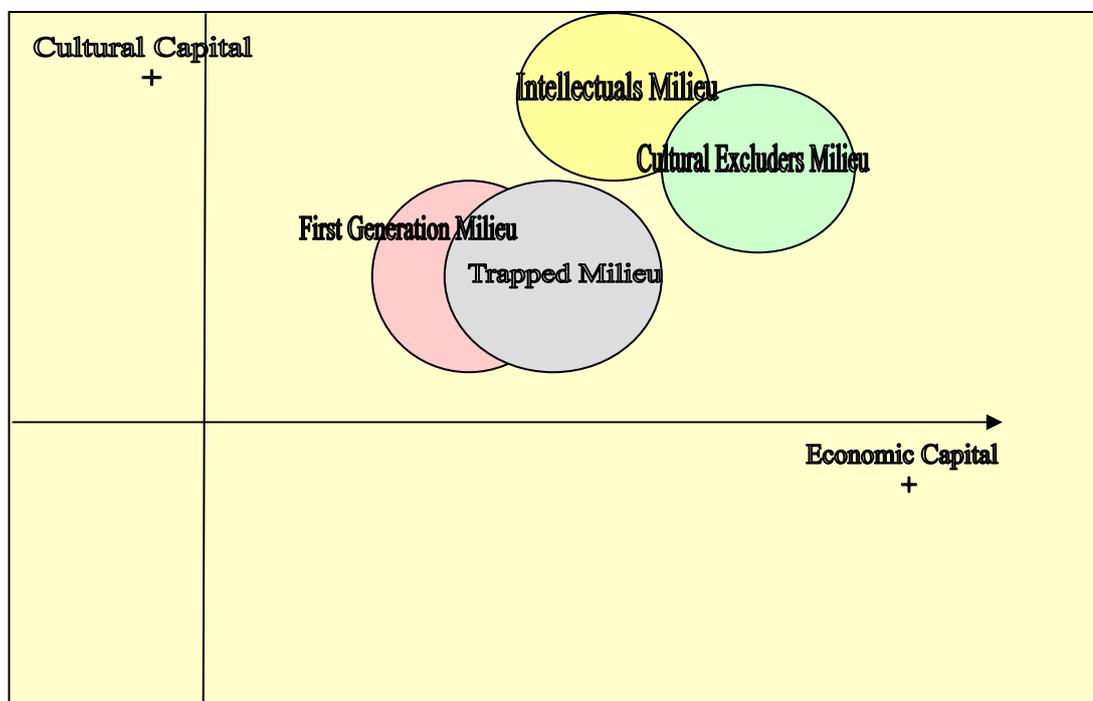
Through the interviews conducted with 31 people in the neighborhood of Ayrancı because according to the stratification project’s data base, this neighborhood in the district of Çankaya inhabits the largest category of the new middle class in Ankara. However, conducting the fieldwork in a single neighborhood has certain limitations. The neighborhood of Ayrancı is mainly inhabited by non-migrant new middle class families who are also observed to have parallel political standings. Therefore, it should be considered that the patterns and the constituents of the milieus identified in this fieldwork would probably be very different if the fieldwork was conducted

⁴⁴¹ Bottero Wendy(2004), “Class Identities and the Identity of Class”, *Sociology*, vol: 38, no: 985, p: 986

with the new middle class families in another district, for instance in Keçiören where is mostly inhabited by “conservative” and migrant population.⁴⁴²

Throughout the interviews I have identified certain patterns in terms of the new middle class experience of the respondents. The following illustration shows how the four milieus that I have figured out; cultural excluders’ milieu, intellectuals milieu, trapped milieu, and first generation’s milieu, are placed in terms of the cultural and economic capital they poses.

Figure 7.2: Placement of the Milieus on the Social Space



Throughout the analysis, I have tried to link the class experiences of the respondents within different milieus with the habitus types that Bourdieu defines. I have argued that, with sharp tastes and a high level of economic capital which builds the material basis of the purchasing of these preferences and with the stronger symbolic boundaries, the cultural excluders’ milieu could be placed closer to the bourgeoisie milieu that Bourdieu defines. Indeed, as it is mentioned in the analysis part, Bourdieu also himself was aware of the fact that the new middle class with higher

⁴⁴² For more details about Ayrancı and other neighbourhoods please see:

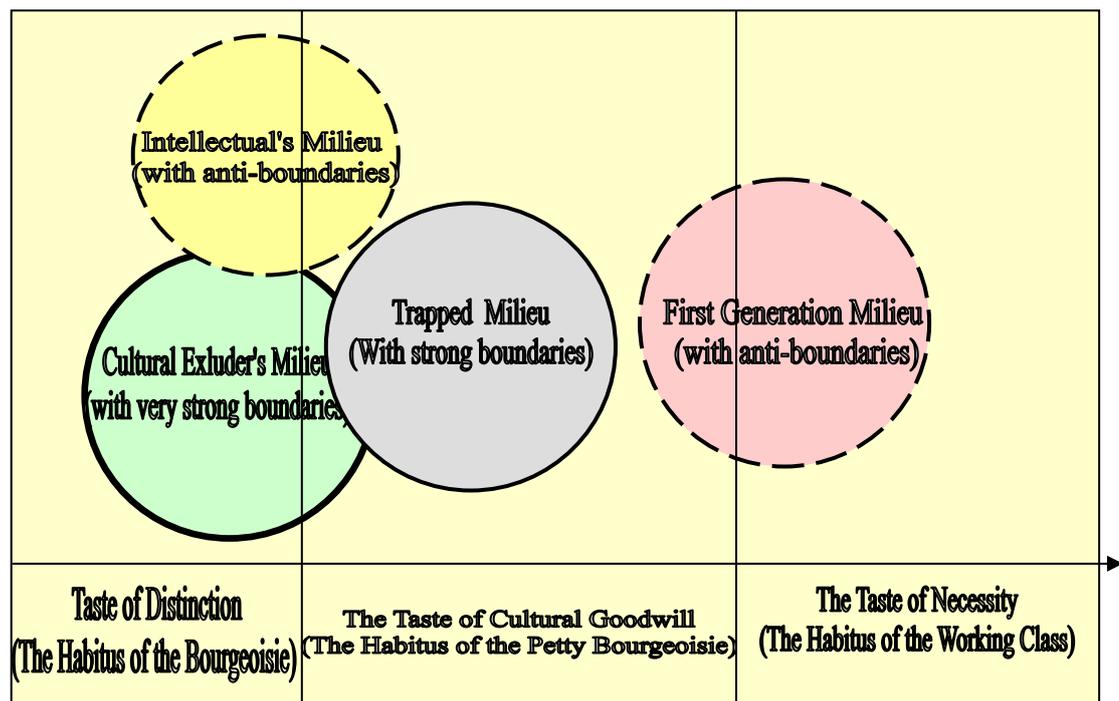
social class background may have similar tastes as bourgeoisie. Bourdieu also mentions that there are variants within the bourgeoisie habitus, for instance he singles out that there is an “intellectual fraction” who are oriented to “least expensive and most austere leisure activities and towards serious and even somewhat severe cultural practices –visiting museums for example....- is opposed to the luxury tastes of the members of the professions, who amass the most expensive and most prestigious activities...”⁴⁴³ Therefore, in the light of the analysis of the intellectuals milieu, with the anti-cultural and anti-economic boundaries they have drawn, I placed them also closer to the bourgeoisie habitus. Bourdieu also mentioned the variants of taste within the middle class habitus – especially the old declining, executant and new petit bourgeoisie- the details of which are presented in the literature part. Trapped milieu’ new middle class experience on the other hand, observed as carrying some features of the executant petit bourgeoisie and some features of the new petit bourgeoisie defined by Bourdieu. Due to their dispositions closer to the cultural excluders’ milieu but also due to the tension that arises from the lack of material resources so as to realize these dispositions, I have placed them in the middle of the middle class habitus. But also I have intersected their diagram with the cultural excluders’ milieu in order to indicate the similarities in their schemas of perception.

On the other hand, especially “first generation’s milieu” is a specific category that none of the features of its new middle class experience has been debated within the new middle class literature. As Turkey’s “modernization” process paves the way of the new comers –through rural to urban migration waves, through the spread of education-, this specific category has formed. The fact that the neighborhood of Ayrancı is known as the place of “old and settled down Ankaraians” is probably the reason behind why first generation is less frequently observed. However, since Ankara, has been receiving high level of migrants, especially through civil servant appointments due its capital city functions, the features of the first generation’s milieu would probably be more frequently observable in other neighborhoods. Yet, I have placed the first generation’s milieu between the middle class habitus and the working class habitus because the analysis showed us that instead of forming

⁴⁴³ Bourdieu Pierre (1984), “Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste”, Harvard University Press, U.S.A, p: 286

distinctions upon taste, the features of practicability and necessity are the foregrounds of the motivation in the consumption within the first generation's milieu. In order to indicate the nature of the drawn symbolic boundaries, I made use of different types of circles. The intermittent circles indicate the anti-economic and anti-cultural boundaries, while the thickness emphasizes the strength of the cultural and economic boundaries. The overall positioning can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 7.3: Placement of the Milieus on the Habitus Map of Bourdieu



Although focusing on the within group similarities is necessary while searching for a pattern in terms of class experiences, in order to overcome this limitation, throughout the analysis, not only the differences between the new middle class experiences of these milieus, but also the aspects that intersect/intertwine with the other milieus are also tried to be mentioned. Certain realms observed to be narrated similarly by different milieus, for instance in the realm of sociability there exist similar positive attitudes towards the individualized lifestyles freed from extended kinship relations. Therefore, it should also be considered that these milieus are not shaped by absolute differences which operate on each realm that is studied. This is why I strongly emphasize that the milieus I have analyzed should not be perceived as ready made class experience schemas that have the strength of applicability in each and every context. Indeed, to create a class experience typology is behind the

purpose of the study. Moreover, since the fieldwork is conducted in a single neighborhood -Ayrancı- that has its own peculiarities, and since it is conducted only in Ankara, the patterns that are identified have no claim of generalization. Yet, this study should be best perceived as an attempt to discover how within class heterogeneity in terms of volume/composition of capital and the class trajectory may affect the class experience of the new middle class members who are interviewed.

Indeed the major outcome of the research is that, it shows us how it is problematic to attribute certain values, lifestyles and attitudes, which are the molders of the class experience, to the whole new middle class category that is defined within the occupational structure. Indeed, such an argument is valid not only for the new middle class, but also for other classes. In his study of working class images of society for instance, Lockwood examines the daily life experiences and attitudes of the working class.⁴⁴⁴ He identifies three different working class milieus with respect to the perceptions of social inequality of the respondents. Indeed, further studies are definitely needed to see the patterns and the sources of differentiation and the potential effects of those differentiations on the class relations in general.

Apart from the identification of different patterns of class experiences of these different milieus, this study also highlights the importance of certain points that need further attention. For instance, although the positions in the production relations continue to be effective in the distribution of resources in general, its explanatory power on the formation of different schemas of perception seems to be decreasing. Such an argument does not necessarily suggest that work has lost its importance today, but non-work activities, or let me say it, cultural practices are observed to have an economy of their own which are increasingly effective on the self-identification and boundary making process of especially these new middle classes. Today, some Marxist activists argue and expect a potential allegiance between the new middle class and working class by following the assumptions of the “new working class” thesis of 1970s. In order to comment on the possibility or the conditions of such an allegiance, there is need for further studies on the

⁴⁴⁴ Lockwood David (1966), “Sources of Variation in Working Class Images of Society”, *Sociological Review*, vol: 14, pp: 249-267

relationship between the heterogeneity of the class experiences that is figured out and the perceptions of the different fractions of the new middle class on the existing structural inequality. Although the realm of political ideology is behind the limits of this study, symbolic boundaries partly carry the clues of such attitudes since Lamont also suggests that “political attitudes and behaviors themselves be viewed as expressions of symbolic boundaries”⁴⁴⁵ As the middle class begin to reproduce itself, the smallest category in the sample, first generation’s milieu can be expected to further diminish. Two cultural landscapes can be expected to dominate the new middle class, one is marked by a strong hierarchy of taste perception –whether they can realize it or not- and strong cultural and socio-economic boundaries (composed of the cultural excluders and trapped milieu). The existence of such strong boundaries can also be seen as a clue to the position of the majority of the new middle class’ position between capital and labor and on the possibility of long term allegiances with the working class. The anti-boundaries which the other significant fraction; intellectuals draw seem to support Lamont’s views that suggests intellectuals will continue to “contribute in a very important way to maintaining a diverse and rich collective life that is not subordinated to economic rationality”⁴⁴⁶ But it is certain that, class literature needs further studies that link the class experience of the new middle class to a larger phenomenon –for instance to political orientations-, by not treating the new middle class as a unified category and by taking into consideration the heterogeneity within its ranks in terms of evaluative distinctions.

⁴⁴⁵ Lamont Michèle (1992), “Money, Morals, Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class”, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p: 191

⁴⁴⁶ Lamont Michèle (1992), p: 190

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

A1) Would you please begin with telling your childhood years? (mother's / father's occupation, mother's father's education level, where was she/he born? what is her/his education level, what is the occupation/education level of her husband/his wife? What about her/his own children? (Probe: A short life-history until today)

A2) Would you please describe your work and work environment? What are the features you like most/like least in your work?

A3) How would you describe a "good work"?

A4) What does "work" imply to you? Why do people work? Would you continue to work if you do not have any economic concerns?

A5) If you would not get disturbed, may I ask you the monthly income of the household?

A6) What does "success" imply to you?

B1) How do you spend your time out of work, what do you prefer to do in your holidays, weekends? What kind of places do you prefer to go? (probe: would you tell me a typical weekend of you? Would you tell me a typical workday for you?)

B2) How was your daily life in your childhood within your family, how did you spend your holidays and weekends? What kind of differences do you observe when you compare the daily life in your family and now in your own family?

B3) Could you tell me about the values, habits, customs that your family tried to transfer to you? Do you think that they are important?

B4) Now how do you raise your own children? Do you continue to transfer the values, habits and customs that you family had transferred to you, to your own children? Are there any differences?

B5) What will/did you advice to your children when they were/are going to decide whom to marry with? What kind of people, you would not prefer that your children have a relationship with?

B6) How long have you been living in Ayrancı? Would you like to move? Why? Do you think people living here is somehow different then others?

B7) What features do you think are effective while you are choosing your friends? Should there be commonality? On what grounds? For instance, could you please tell me about your best friends? What activities you engage in together?

B8) Would you please draw the profile of the people that you would not like to have a friendship?

B9) Would you tell me about a lifestyle that you could not definitely fit yourself in?

B10) Do you sometimes feel yourself in a superior position when compared to other people? On what grounds, compared to whom would you perceive yourself superior?

B11) Do you sometimes feel yourself in an inferior position when compared to other people? On what grounds, compared to whom would you perceive yourself inferior?

B12) If you evaluate the economic status of the people living in Ankara over 10, when you consider your own economic conditions, where would you position your household over 1? Why?

B13) What do you think about the possibility of changing one's position in this scale?

B14) Based on your own daily life observations, do you identify different lifestyle patterns within society? What kind of differences you observe most?

B15) If you evaluate your lifestyle on a scale of 10, where would you place yourself? Why do you think you are at that point? How are the lifestyles of people whom you have placed over you? How are the lifestyles of the people whom you have placed below you? What kind of differences are there?

B16) What do you think about the possibility of changing one's position in this scale?