

**REPRODUCTION AND DIFFERENTIATION STRATEGIES OF UPPER-
MIDDLE CLASS GROUP IN ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

REPRODUCTION AND DIFFERENTIATION STRATEGIES OF UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS GROUP IN ANKARA

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The main objective of this study is to investigate reproduction strategies of upper-middle class group of people in Ankara and their differentiation propensities in the fragmentation process of urban space. Dispositions and everyday life practices of upper-middle group on Bourdieu's approach in the urban space of Ankara are analyzed on the basis of intensive interviews with upper-middle class women. In this sense, special emphasis is placed on this group's close family relations, investment strategies in education, housing and living space strategies.

Keywords: Reproduction Strategies, Bourdieu, Upper-Middle Class, Urban Space

ÖZ

ANKARA'DA ÜST-ORTA SINIF GRUBUNUN YENİDEN ÜRETİM VE FARKLILAŞMA STRATEJİLERİ

Yaran, Pınar

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

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Bu çalışmanın ana amacı, mekansal ayrışma süresinde Ankara'daki üst-orta sınıf grup insanların yeniden üretim stratejilerini ve farklılaşma eğilimlerini araştırmak. Ankara kent mekanında üst-orta sınıf grubun eğilimleri ve gündelik hayat pratikleri Bourdieu'nun yaklaşımı üzerinden üst-orta sınıf kadınlarla derinlemesine mülakatlara dayanarak analiz edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bu grubun yakın aile ilişkileri, eğitime yatırım, konut ve yaşam alanı stratejilerine özel bir vurgu yapılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeniden Üretim Stratejileri, Bourdieu, Üst-Orta Sınıf, Kent Mekanı

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Fragmentation of urban space characterized by class structure has existed since the urbanization process of the industrial cities in the 19th century. In contemporary post-industrial cities of the late-capitalist system, socio-spatial segregation of urban space is not seen as a new phenomenon for the metropolitan cities of the world. However, urban space and everyday life of cities have experienced new developments such as suburbanization process, emergence of gated communities, distinctive cultural consumption practices. Different from the previous urbanization process, recent spatial differentiations and changing cultural practices have been established in more rigid but more sophisticated and deceptive way (Christopherson 1994). Urban space is expressed with its' dual role in today's capitalist system; on the one hand providing an environment in which class interests can both interact and conflict, on the other hand urban space itself is used as a commodity. Together with post-Fordist mode of production, the organization and structure of urban space has become more dependent on the mode of consumption. Therefore, as well as the decisive role of production relations, the realm of the reproduction process has become influential on the formation process of class structure (Şengül 2001). At this point consumption oriented upper and middle class groups have an affective role in urban development.

Before enlarging the framework of this research, the main conceptions should be explained. In this sense the concept of 'urban space' is established with regard to Marxist urban studies. In accordance with Şengül (2001) the particular contribution of Engels' study is his emphasis on the realm of reproduction and space of life in terms of class conflict and formation process. In the space of everyday life, interests of class encounter and class conflict are revealed, therefore in urban space, classes are continuously reproduced through everyday life and consumption practices. In this

sense, consumption practice has become predominant for class formation in urban space. Together with concentration on financing and “loss of direct productive activities” in post-Fordist mode of production, the organization of urban space has become more consumption oriented (Christopherson1994). On the other hand urban space has become a commodity itself under the capitalist system and by means of commodification; the structure of urban space has become more complicated. At this point, instead of commodification this study will concentrate on the class formation process in urban space.

In respect to Marxist evaluations of urban space, the notion of class is established on the basis of antagonistic relations between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Accordingly in urban space, the class interests of bourgeois and proletarian encounter and there is conflict, however in this thesis the reproduction process in the urban space is approached from the perspective of Bourdieu’s ‘multidimensional fragmented social structure’. That is to say, it is accepted that besides a bourgeoisie and a working class there is also an intermediate class, and beyond this fragmentation every class might be fractioned on the basis of dominant vs. dominated antinomy. In consumption oriented urban spaces, the upper and middle classes have become a major consumer groups, therefore in the organization and development of city space, propensities and investments of upper and middle classes have become predominant.

This study undertakes an examination of the reproduction strategies of an upper-middle class group in Ankara the capital of Turkey. At this point, it is important to bear in mind the extensive theoretical debates on the definition and stratification of middle class due to its position in the mode of production, heterogeneous structure and thereby its ambiguous class interest. Do middle class have its own interests or are they only ‘lieutenant’ groups of bourgeoisie, Are they in the process of ‘proletarianization’ or bureaucratization are two of questions which deal with middle class debate. However, in relation to the aim of this study, the upper-middle class groups are taken to be major groups having impact on the organization and development of urban space.

Apart from middle class debates, this study breaks with approaches that interpret class structure as a constant and classified existence; instead it takes of class formation to be a dynamic process. That is to say, in addition to production relations, in the reproduction relations, the structure of class is reproduced continuously in every moment of everyday life. In every part of city space, agents and their embodied structure of class culture meet and they interact with each other based on their class structure, therefore they provide a contribution to the reproduction process of class formation. Thus the framework of our study is based on this dynamic and continuous structure with underlying perspective of generative structuralist approach.

1.1 Objective of the Study

In the last two decades and more, the urban space of Ankara has experienced a dynamic process of dramatic spatial and social segregation. The landscape of the city is experiencing a rapid change; decentralization of the city space, segregation of built environment based on a north-south division, increasing upper-middle and middle class suburban areas in the southern part of the city, emerging gated communities, pervasion of shopping malls and, outlet centers have influenced the everyday life cultural practices in the urban space and thereby the dynamic formation of the class structure.

This study may be useful in illuminating this development. The objective of this study is to investigate the reproduction strategies of the upper-middle class group characterized by spatial segregation and their propensities of social and cultural differentiation in the process of dynamic class formation. The main question is how this upper-middle class group in Ankara accumulates and transfers their economic and cultural capital and differentiates themselves in the realm of reproduction.

Accordingly, on the one hand it is expected that they may have a particular *way of accumulating economic and cultural capital* and a transferring strategy to provide a stable or upwardly mobile class position. In this sense, their social origin, inherited capital, length of education, choice of occupation, their investments, social network relations, cultural activities they participate in, cultural objects they have and their everyday life practices are some of the elements in this study.

Their social origin means that their father's occupation and education level could give information about their class position and their volume and composition of inherited capital. Also from their social origin may be possible to follow their upward or downward mobility in the social space by making a comparison between two the generations. The length of education, choices of occupation and investment propensities can provide data of their composition of capital and might give answers about which forms of capital they have tendency to accumulate. Social networks that they are involved can inform the general tendency of dominant groups of a class and also provide an environment to act collectively, therefore participating in a social network and its type can give information about their way of accumulating. Cultural objects, such as interior design objects, cultural activities they participate in and their way of experiencing everyday life practices can illuminate the fields that provide appropriation economic and cultural capital.

In regard to the main question of the study it is expected that they might establish their class structure on the basis of *oppositions and similarities*. That is to say, it is expected that on the basis of dominant vs. dominated antinomy which refers to inclusion of affinities and exclusion of oppositions, they might have the propensity to differentiate themselves from their opposition groups at the same time they might establish more homogenous groupings. In this sense, their spatial and social differentiation propensities may be informative. Their residential preferences, way of using the city space, preferred entertainment and recreation places might also give detail about their differentiation strategies. In this manner, it is expected that they might have the propensity to establish homogenous communities and through these communities and likewise a social network they could organize their group interests and form their collective identity via their opposites. At this point, in the light of their accumulation of capital and differentiation propensities the question can be asked about the kind of *legitimate culture* could be deduced from their discourse during this class formation process.

1.2 Research Strategies

In respect to the main question, this study aims to reveal perceptions, dispositions and practices of particular upper-middle class group in Ankara concerning their

accumulation and transfer of capital and differentiation strategies in the realm of reproduction. This work attempts to capture their residential preferences, way of using urban space, consumption practices, social relations, leisure activities, cultural tastes and everyday life practices. In this context, qualitative research was conducted in order to establish a convenient environment for investigating disposition and everyday life practices of upper-middle class groups. By focusing on a small and homogeneous group of people comprehensive and extensive data was achieved. The research was limited to a group of upper-middle class women they were selected because of their active role in household consumption and thereby in expressing social status of household (Ayata, 2002). Furthermore, this group would allow a focus on a homogeneous group in terms of volume of economic capital which they possess.

An in-depth interview method on the basis of snowball sampling was employed in the research. In the first stage a potential upper-middle class person was contacted, and from this first respondent it was possible to reach other potential participants. The sampling process was completed within eight months and small interviewee group consisting of thirteen respondents was achieved.

In depth interviews using a tape recorder were planned, and it was expected to make observations in the participants' space of lifestyle and gather substantial data that consists of the histories of respondents' families. Although methods such as participant observation may have provided more comprehensive data however financial and time restrictions limited this research to the in-depth interview method.

1.3 Outline of Chapters

In this section a basic outline of the study will be drawn. This study consists of five chapters. The motivations and objective of the study have been given in this chapter. The main theoretical framework of this study is presented in Chapter 2. Here Bourdieu's main concepts such as volume and composition of capital, forms of cultural capital, notion of habitus, taste and legitimate culture are evaluated. Bourdieu's most important contribution to social sciences can be considered to be the concepts of cultural capital and habitus. In addition to the understanding of class

formation on the basis of accumulation of economic capital in the realm of production, Bourdieu develops the concept of cultural capital that allows the establishment of a similar framework of class formation in the realm of reproduction. Apart from other types of capital in this study there is focus on cultural and social capital. On the other hand, by means of habitus Bourdieu identifies agents as bearers of their class structure therefore in the light of this approach respondents' objective positions are analyzed through an investigation of their propensities.

In Chapter 3 there is a review of the literature concerning empirical studies, on differentiation propensities and class formation concerning social and spatial segregation conducted in the UK, Denmark, the USA and France and in Turkey especially Istanbul and Ankara. These studies have informed this current research and provide comparative data.

Following a brief explanation of methodology of research, Chapter 4 contains the analysis of the in-depth interviews. To support the discussion of the thesis, the participants own words were translated by the researcher and transcribed. Tables were compiled to make clear certain information such as socio-demographic profiles and their comments about particular issues such as their perceptions about their neighborhood or their personal opinions about moral values etc. Chapter 5 offers an interpretation of the findings the research based on the research questions give in this current chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETHICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Bourdieu tries to transcend the antinomy of structure and agent by establishing a multidimensional stratified social reality within which both objectivist and subjectivist constituents could harbor. In this sense, multidimensional structure of social world arises from his concentration on “class-specific cultural practices” in his class analysis (Milner 1999, 136). Bourdieu conceives that together with class structure based on mode of production, there is a need to look into stratified social world whose class structure is embodied in social practices of agents. In accordance to his understanding, in these practices, which encompass wide ranging activities, such as the way of talking, style of dressing, entertainment manners, residence preferences, interior design etc., it is possible to find out class relations. In this sense, Bourdieu proposes a peculiar stratification model of social space; and on the basis of this framework he develops specific concepts on various types of capital, and unequal distribution of those capitals with regard to their quantity, relative density, and their changing position in relation to time.

In the light of his theoretical construction, Bourdieu has carried out a comprehensive empirical research on a sample of 1,217 people in 1963 and 1967-68, based on a method of Multiple Correspondence Analysis in France intensively in the city of Paris. Although his analysis has been made upon specifically French dominant and dominated class struggles especially among dominant class fractions, it had a remarkable influence upon numerous empirical works on social mobility and stratification issues in the world. In terms of combining vast empirical data with a strong theoretical framework, it has been tried to adapt his method to other countries such as the UK, America and Denmark. On the other side, except the works which entail large amount of budget, his concepts are still keeping their actuality in contemporary social studies.

In this sense, within the limitation of this study, Bourdieu's fundamental concepts and his approach to social structure will be discussed. Subsequently, in accordance to the objective of study it might be illuminating to explain Bourdieu's perspective on class struggle and family.

2.2 Constituting a Social Field

Bourdieu's conceptualization of social world comprises various autonomous fields which have homologous structure (Swartz 1997). The metaphor of game is prominent that establishes a divergent structuralist view on the framework of social field. That is to say, Bourdieu conceptualizes the game not as a funny and amusing activity, rather he intends a serious athlete's understanding of a game. Underlying this understanding there is an acceptance of the rules of the game and in relation to those rules there is a struggle over the athlete's own limitations and the others' in order to reach its rewards. "He means for us to recall losing ourselves in the play of a game, caught in its flow in such a way that no matter how individualistically we struggle we are also constantly are of being only part of something larger- not just a team, but the game itself" (Calhoun 2000, 696). In the light of game's construction, Bourdieu implies that social field encompasses a variety of fields that have their own rules of game and have their own rewards. Social agents depend on their condition of existence and in relation to their economic and cultural possessions, get involved in these fields. Responsive to the other agents' positioning, they act in accordance with their previously known rules of fields and struggle for the prize that is accepted as real (Duncan 1990). For instance; in the field of cinema, knowing director's, actor's or actress's names of peculiar films which maintained a legitimate approval among the authority of cinema, or participating significant film festivals might be accepted as some of the rules of the field. By means of these details, agents could construct a sense of belongingness to one group of people who shares similar tastes and could exclude the others. Consequently, the reward of this field becomes on the one hand constituting a linkage with the legitimate one; on the other hand, provide a stability of its position by determining its boundaries.

2.3 Capital

Indeed, Bourdieu's installation on social field is more complicated than what we have drawn, it is necessary to mention about the dynamic feature of social structure and to explain how he conceptualizes the mobility of agents throughout the arena of the field. Therefore, in the following section the concepts, which are involved in the social field, will be represented. In this sense, it is significant to indicate his contribution on the concept of capital.

Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world (Bourdieu 1986, 241).

No matter what form of capital, Bourdieu remarks its dependency on time; in his point of view accumulation process does not instantly occur; rather it takes time to buildup. Nevertheless, whether there is a need to elaborate mutual representation of capital; on the one hand capital is defined as a "force" in which has a capacity to profit and so as to reproduce itself and its various forms, it has a tendency to insist on keeping its being of power. At this point, it is possible to interpret that there is a correlative relation in between its tendency to reproduce itself and its becoming of power. That is to say, in order to keep its power, capital has to be consistently reproduced, at the same time so as to reproduce itself, it has to comprise power. In other words, Bourdieu's concept of capital could act as "exchange value" that provide surplus when it is revalued.

On the other hand, it is regulative "principle" of social world which means the structure of distribution of capital and its various types at a given time indicates the inherent structure of social order such as "the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices" (Bourdieu 1986, 242). With regard to Bourdieu, the notion of capital acts as a 'social relation of *power*' that becomes "valued resources" of class struggle (Swartz 1997, 73-4). Harker et al. also indicate beside the function of capital as a social relation that "the term is extended 'to all the goods, material and

symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as *rare* and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation” (Mahar, Harker & Wilkes 1990, 13).

Therefore, in addition to “*economic capital*”- “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights”- he developed the concepts of “*cultural capital*”- “convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications”-, “*social capital*”- made up social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility”- and ‘*symbolic capital*’-in his latter works he adds new forms of capital such as ‘technical capital’¹, ‘organizational capital’, ‘commercial capital’ etc. (Bourdieu 1986, 243; 2005, 194). However, in this study predominantly economic, cultural, social capitals and relatively symbolic capital will be concentrated.

2.3.1 Cultural Capital²

Bourdieu (1984, 24) states that, “aristocracies are essentialist” that is to say, aristocracy by means of its nobility there was no need to prove its mastery, yet bourgeoisie had to effort and to improve itself in order to establish hierarchy and provide its stability. The concept of “*legitimate culture*” that is stated as identified cultural practices which operate as tacit imposition of what is worthy to experience, such as which cinema films are appropriate to watch or which type of meal should be served to guests for dinner reception, intervenes at this phase as an apparatus for providing the dominance of bourgeoisie. Whereby, Bourdieu’s argument on cultural capital stems from his understanding of “taste in legitimate culture” that is not a gift of nature rather it is indicated that “cultural needs are product of upbringing and education” (Bourdieu 1984, 26-8). Therefore, he states two factors which have efficient role in the constitution of cultural capital; first is *educational level* which is

¹ In relation with neo-liberal process of production, some of working class people who working as technicians by using their technical competence gain a distinctive place among the other members of working class. Bourdieu indicates this acquisition from their occupational ability as ‘technical capital’ (Bourdieu 2005, 194).

² The concept of “cultural capital” is substituted to “informational capital” in his later works (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

measured by its lasting time and its qualification; second factor is *social origin* which consists of father's occupation and cultural capital that family had acquired in time.

The term of "*skcholè*" which is defined as a time for making speculation and thinking excluded from everyday practices and social reality, whereby the systematic process of schooling, education system functions as one of the fundamental institutions for constituting what is legitimate or dominant. The notion of "epistemic doxa" refers to a principle that comprises the whole of basic beliefs although they did not take shape of obvious and conscious dogmas. Timur states that the detachment from economy and restraint of production in everyday life, could arrange an opportunity to become free for people, however same circumstance could have diverge and restricted potential in the light of attaining social reality by creating "autonomous fields"³ such as philosophy, art and literature (Timur 2007,[Translation from Turkish by the author] 204). In this sense, today's policies of state's on 12 years compulsory education system that encompasses a great number of people, indicates how it is indispensable to inculcate legitimate culture in an adequate period of time. Accordingly, Bennett et al. while signifying function of cultural capital as a "property", they extend that... (It) "is embodied, and the educated middle classes are physically as well as intellectually socialized into appreciating 'legitimate' culture, that which is institutionalized through being venerated in the educational system and the cultural apparatuses associated with the museums and art galleries" (2009, 11).

Apart from standardized knowledge of schooling process, cultural competence which is inherited by family members is represented the other factor of cultural capital. Indeed social origin refers to a pedigree of social class within which social agent embodies previous acquisitions of his/her class conditions that provide him/her a competence of appropriating culture. Accordingly Bourdieu states that "while variations in educational capital are always very closely related to variations in competence even in areas, like cinema or jazz, which are neither taught nor directly assessed by the educational system, the fact remains that, at equivalent levels of educational capital, differences in social origin are associated with important differences in competence" (Bourdieu 1984, 19).

³ At this point, it is intended abstract and isolated from everyday reality facets of these autonomous fields for instance, interpretation of art on the basis of peculiar doxa of 'art-for-art'.

2.3.1.1 Forms of Cultural Capital⁴

In one of his essays, Bourdieu distinguishes three forms of cultural capital; “embodied”, “objectified” and “institutionalized”. At the first state, Bourdieu describes “a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time”, in which social agent in order to accumulate cultural capital, invest his/her labor and time for his/her self-improvement. The process requires precisely personal work of oneself; therefore embodied form of cultural capital is inherent in merely individual’s body, cannot be transferred to anyone. In addition, the acquisition of cultural capital could not be evaluated without the society, class condition and mark of historical period in which social agent founds. In other words, in the process of embodiment, besides their physical capacity to improve themselves and their “acquired properties”, that agents extend on their heritage; individuals depending on their social class, regional and social properties and their inherited cultural acquisitions, manifest their cultural capital in their posture, genre of speaking or style of doing particular action such as pronunciation differences in between classes or regions (Bourdieu 1986, 243).

2.3.1.2 Embodied Cultural Capital

In this sense, embodied state of cultural capital also cannot be transformed into economic capital; instead it deploys as if legitimate culture that is being perceived as “authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition”. In accordance with Bourdieu’s argument, symbolic effect of cultural capital conceals recognizing economic capital; and provides a competence of appropriating legitimate culture for dominant class (Bourdieu 1986, 245). In other words, embodied state is utilized as a source of objectification process of cultural capital, and thus at first glance, it is perceived out of the structure of social field which is constituted on the basis of “unequal distribution of capital”. Social agents who acquire high level of embodied capital could also evaluate and use objectified form of cultural capitals better than ones who do not have conditions to raise their volume of cultural capital. In this case, the favorable group of people transmits their accumulated cultural capital to their children and thus their superiority becomes extended to next generations. Hereby, the

⁴ (Bourdieu 2005, 194)

structure of social field is both constituted and reproduced by “transmission of cultural capital”. Besides objectification of cultural capital-which is represented below-, “the time necessary for it (objectification) to take place” also depends on the embodied cultural capital of the whole family. Furthermore, in the process of accumulation, previous aggregation of family provides superiority both in the process and the time of comprehending cultural capital for the agents at first, thus “the accumulation period covers the whole period of socialization”. For Bourdieu, this “logic of transmission” is the most significant principle of its symbolic effect since, as it is seen in the transmission process, it is defined as the best disguised form of “hereditary transmission of capital” and therefore it has a significant contribution to “the system of reproduction strategies” (Bourdieu 1986,246).

2.3.1.3 Objectified Cultural Capital

Secondly, objectified form of cultural capital refers to the material object condition of cultural capital, for instance “writings, paintings, monuments, instruments etc.” that could be transformed into economic capital. The most prominent property of objectified form of cultural capital is its characteristics of conversing into materiality. Nevertheless, agents who have large amount of economic capital could easily possess these material objects; this does not enough for constituting its symbolic effect. There is a need to hold embodied cultural capital in order to appropriate and utilize those objects. Therefore, without embodied cultural capital, objectified form would lose its function (1986, 246).

2.3.1.4 Institutionalized Cultural Capital

Finally institutionalized form of cultural capital is identified that the holders acquire cultural competence by means of a certification process, in which socially validated assessments are made by legal institutions. Hereby in those relative autonomous institutions, “legally guaranteed value”, such as academic qualification, is produced as institutionalized form of cultural capital by its holders at a given time (1986, 248). Swartz states that Bourdieu pays attention to the increase of the high level of education system and its contribution to the allocation of status among the higher societies. The expansion of higher education has established a “massive credential

markets” which have a determining feature in reproducing the social class structure. Accordingly, educational credentials have become significant for attaining favorable positions in the job market, for this reason it becomes fundamental for parents to purchase their money to a qualified education for their children thus they could derive ‘profit’ on that market. In this manner, economic capital is converted into cultural capital as a reproduction strategy (Swartz 1997, 76).

2.3.2 Social Capital⁵

Social capital is aggregation of probable resources which are related to the capacity to possess permanent network that operates on the basis of approximately “institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”. That is to say, social capital is acquired through unceasing interaction of members of constituted associations in which arrange supportive collectivity for its members (Bourdieu 1986, 248). The interaction in between the members of network occurs in symbolic and material exchange state. Bourdieu argues that although it is not possible to set up direct relation among the volume of capital (economic, cultural and symbolic) and the volume of social capital, its volume depends on both the volume of capital that agents have and on to what extent agents could mobilize connections of networks efficiently (1986).

Furthermore, by means of these durable relationships, networks might be socially instituted through appealing a commonly known name such as “the name of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc.” These collectivities provide establishing effective relationships in order to convert capitals that they owned and feeling of confidence by its essential feature of supporting their members’ owned capital. Accordingly, agents consciously or unconsciously intend to establish and reproduce these “transforming contingent relations”, for instance relationships of neighborhood, the workplace etc., into “relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights)” (Bourdieu 1986, 249). This

⁵ In certain articles Bourdieu uses the term of social capital instead of symbolic capital; “It goes without saying that social capital is so totally governed by the logic of knowledge and acknowledgment that it always functions as symbolic capital” (Bourdieu 1986, 57).

reproduction process is attained through unceasing interaction of its members that is continuous exchange of knowledge and producing immanent signs of recognition which simultaneously describes “the limits of the group”. That is to say, each members of network who is recently accepted, induces redefinition of the boundaries of the group at the same time, they become obliged to support and defend the limits of legitimate exchange. Bourdieu exemplifies the act of marriage that in some societies, the preparation and conclusion of marriages are known as the business of the whole group, as the limit of the group. Similarly, in recent institutionalized relationships, legitimate and illegitimate practices and identities are decisively determined, consequently through continuous exchange, the members of groups become homogenous (1986, 249).

In addition Bourdieu mentions “multiplier effect” of social capital that each delegate of groups could benefit from symbolic or material representation of that group. In other words, belonging a group, which is socially acknowledged that is constituted by people who have high level of cultural capital, may be perceived as having same signified properties of the group (1986,249). On the other side, he states that there is a competition in between members in order to delineate legitimate exchange limits of the groups. In old families, the eldest father was speaking on behalf of the whole family; similarly in modern time spokesmen arise who compete for “the monopoly of legitimate representation of the group” in this manner social capital of the whole group is represented (1986, 251).

2.3.3 Symbolic Capital

“Symbolic capital, a transformed and thereby *disguised* form of physical ‘economic’ capital, produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in ‘material’ forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effects” (Bourdieu 1977,183).

In his criticism upon “economism”, Bourdieu indicates the concealed powerful efficacy of fields which are acknowledged as non-economic or “gratuitous” practices that are not recognized as respectful for economic profit. Accordingly, positing that every activity is motivated by economic end might distort socially constituted “discrepancy” between “the misrecognized” or “socially repressed, objective truth of economic activity, and the social representation of production and exchange”

(Bourdieu 1977, 172). The notion of “misrecognition” has significant influence on his theory of symbolic power. At this point, it is possible to conceive that Bourdieu uses the distinctive relation between working and production period so as to refer ‘mystified’ character of commodity which is originated in its exchange value. In this sense, he states that “*all* the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as *rare* and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation” (ibid, 178).

Accordingly, Swartz (1997,43) associates “misrecognition” with the concept of “false consciousness” through identifying misrecognition as denotation of “‘denial’ of the economic and political interests present in a set of practices”. Swartz stresses that in regards with Weber’s concepts of “charisma” and “legitimacy”, Bourdieu asserts that legitimation becomes a requirement for holding authority to exercise power. In this sense, in order to provide legitimacy, in particular practices and resources of the field of superstructure, the underlying material interest of individual or of group of people is represented as the concept of self-interest which is “misrecognized” or taken-for-granted as “disinterest” (Swartz 1997, 43; Weininger 2005, 101; Bourdieu 1977, 183; 1986, 242). This representation entails “symbolic labour” through ceremonies, feasts, visits, exchange of gifts, marriages in everyday life practices, thus real interests underlying the relations are concealed and transformed into disinterested relations (Bourdieu 1977, 170).

In this respect, Bourdieu argues that symbolic capital is related to possessing advanced source of symbolic knowledge and recognition such as, ‘goodwill investment’ and ‘brand loyalty’ that operates as a “form of credit” which “presupposes the trust or belief of those upon whom it bears because they are disposed to grant it credence” (Bourdieu 2005, 195). In other words symbolic capital ensures to acquire reputation, prestige or dignity that gives rise to misrecognition, for the bearers.

2.4 Volume – Composition- Trajectory of Capital

In the light of these identifications above, distribution of capital among social field and, how Bourdieu constitutes class structure with respect to accumulation of capital

and on the basis of framework that he delineates, how he discusses upward and downward mobility of class will be represented. The concept of capital has a decisive role in structuring social field that capital is defined as “an energy which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced” (Bourdieu 1984, 113). With respect to this acknowledgement Bourdieu’s construction of class structure is based on a model of social space which is “a factorial space constituted by three orthogonal axes” (Weininger 2005, 87-8). These fundamental dimensions are “*volume of capital*”, “*composition of capital*” and “change in these two properties over time (manifested by past and potential *trajectory* in social space)” (Bourdieu 1984, 114).

2.4.1 Volume of Capital

Accordingly, ‘*volume of capital*’ encompasses “the set of actually usable resources and powers- economic capital, cultural capital and also social capital” which indicates the major differentiation of social “classes of conditions of existence” (Bourdieu 1984, 114). At this point, Bourdieu indicates a kind of scale, which is formed in relation to distribution of resources and power throughout different classes and class fractions, from someone providing both economic and cultural capital best to preventing someone from having and using them. Therefore the axis of ‘volume of capital’ in Bourdieu’s social space, points out agents’ positioning with regard to their classes. In addition it is remarkable that he evaluates volume of capital not only in terms of possessing overall economic and cultural goods, but also he concentrates on the capacity to consume or use of these commodities (Bourdieu 1984).

2.4.2 Composition of Capital

Besides, ‘*composition of capital*’ which refers to reciprocal distribution of economic and cultural capital in total volume of capital that agents possess indicates differences in between different class fractions. Weininger (2005, 88) states that composition of capital “differentiates positions within class location”. In this sense, composition of capital determinates positioning of agents among the arena of class locations in social space which might be asserted that it is the most convenient arena

for observing struggles for constituting legitimate culture. In other words, agents belonging dominant or upper class, such as industrialists and intellectuals, differ in accordance with their composition of capital; in general industrial employers have relatively high economic capital and low cultural capital compare to intellectuals, on the other side, intellectuals have relatively high cultural capital and low economic capital. In this case, besides Bourdieu accepts determining effect of material conditions of existence, he adds this distribution of economic and cultural capital that separates class fractions (Bourdieu 1984, 115-6).

2.4.3 Trajectory

The third axis of social space is “*trajectory*” which indicates “the change and stability they (agents) have experiences over time in the volume and composition of their capital” (Weininger 2005, 89). In *Distinction* Bourdieu states that it not sufficient to evaluate agents in terms of their “present capital”, indeed their “initial capital” has also significant on their “conditions of acquisition of the properties and the conditions of use”. Accordingly, movements in social space does not randomly occur; instead they follow a particular route that is related with besides volume and composition of capital, their formerly construction in time. The notion of “modal trajectory”, which is connected with “volume of inherited capital”, is presented as “an integral part of the system of factors constituting the class” (Bourdieu 1984, 110; Harker et.al 1990, 20). In this sense, dispositions, practices, political and religious opinions of members of particular class fractions, do not occur instantaneously; rather they are partially destined by the family and initial condition of existence (Bourdieu 1984, 111).

2.5 Habitus

In the course of transcending agent and structure duality, Bourdieu comes up with the concept of “habitus” in order to escape “*the realism of structure*”⁶. Regarding this issue he indicates the necessity to transform constituted unchanging totalities

⁶ By the notion of “realism of structure”, Bourdieu refers social structures are stationary and totally directive which are presupposed as real.

into more dynamic and productive system. He deals with “the theory of the mode of generation of practices which is the precondition for establishing experimental science of the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality” (Bourdieu 1977, 72). In the light of this case, this might be stated that the relation between agent and structure is constructed ‘relationally’. That is to say, social reality emerges both inside and outside of an agent and through this relational position it is perpetually regenerated (Swartz 1997). An agent acts regarding his/her internalized structure in a structured social field; simultaneously as a result of his/her practice he/she has become externalized his/her internalized structure. Division of social classes or principle that manages the perception of social world called “structured structure” (*opus operatum*), is internalized by agents and this principle of division is reproduced through objectively classifiable practices and judgments of agents and simultaneously their capacity to classify these practices and products of their judgments, which is used as “structuring structure” (*modus operandi*) (Bourdieu 1984, 170; 1977, 72).

Accordingly he defines habitus as;

“systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor” (Bourdieu 1977,72).

This reflexive structure in between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* that Bourdieu states is operative for all products such as “houses, furniture, paintings, books, cars, spirits, cigarettes, perfume, clothes”, and for all practices which are “sports, games, entertainments” that indicate agents’ distinction (Bourdieu 1984, 173). An agent regarding “classificatory schemes” in his/her mind, appreciate products and practices of others and classifies them in relation to his/her position in class condition and also classifies him/herself. In other words, habitus both infers a ‘sense of one’s place’ and a ‘sense of the place of others’. Accordingly, agents in

relation to their conditions of existence or class condition, form their 'taste' which functions as "the practical operator of the transmutation of things into distinct and distinctive signs", and utilize it as a source of their choices and practices in their class habitus (Bourdieu 1984, 174). They place themselves first through preferring attributions such as types of cloth, food, sports, friends etc. that conform their taste and their class position. Secondly, as a result of socialization of agents, they establish a "classificatory judgment" that they can discern the relation between dispositions and their positions in social space (Bourdieu 1989, 19).

Habitus harbors inside both material conditions of class structure and symbolic expressions of class condition therefore in accordance to "the classificatory schemes" agents make preferences and classifications which express the symbolic dimension of class relations. With respect Swartz (1997, 163) states that what is deterministic for Bourdieu is not their preferences; instead "their preferences express systematic opposition to those of other classes". Accordingly for Bourdieu this classificatory system continuously generates itself through oppositions and correlations and also through "the set of 'choices'" that constitute distinctive lifestyles which are expression of class condition of existence (Bourdieu 1984, 175). In this sense, depending on the notion of habitus, 'lifestyle' arises as product of habitus which is systematically established though the schemes and indicates "sign systems that are socially qualified as 'distinguished', 'vulgar' etc" (Bourdieu 1984, 172).

In this sense, Erving Goffman's ethnographic identification of 'sense of one's place' which is a perception of one's own position in relation to others' and is an effort in order to retain the distance of his/her place, has a remarkable effect on agents' dispositions and their constitution of lifestyles in the course of interaction in social space. Whenever agents in social space get close to each other, they could share more common traits, on the other hand; whenever they become distant their common traits will decrease therefore, in this way concealing unequal structure of social fields is reinforced (Bourdieu 1989). That is to say, agents who occupy closer positions each other in social space are exposed to similar conditions and are similarly prepossessed. Due to having similar propensities and interests, agents' possibility to produce similar practices and representations increases.

For Bourdieu, since trajectories that may bring them into similar conditions, as far as resemble each other, people who occupy similar positions have similar habitus. These objective distances are inscribed in body. Accordingly these objective distances prone to reproduce them through subjective experience of keeping distance. In other words, objective conditioning of one's class position could be embodied in agent's subjective practices and dispositions. Bourdieu states that spatial distance might have a relation to distaste and intolerance, at the same time closeness might be experienced with a complicity which is almost unconscious. This sense of one's place is simultaneously one's sense about other's standing place, and it establishes a basis for all processes of friendship, love, cooperation etc. together with habitus which is experienced in the form of personal feeling of sympathy and dislike. Therefore this 'sense' constitutes a principle of all sustainable alliances and contacts including legal relations.

Consequently, since they settle similar positions in social space (that is, in distribution of power) it is possible to define constructed classes as groups which consist of agents who are equipped similar familiarities, motivated to produce "similar practices" and because of settling similar positions, are subjected to similar living conditions and conditioning factors (Bourdieu 1987, 6).

2.6 Reproduction Strategies

Although it sometimes becomes confusing in particular sections of social mobility, on the basis of postulate that Bourdieu posits the relations of production as the fundamental determinant of class structure. His class definition is subjected to class conflict; and though class boundaries come up as an object of class struggle (Swartz 1997). In the realm out of mode of production we deal with the realm in which reproduction of exchange value occurs through the process of distribution and exchange or in other words mode of consumption. While Bourdieu's construction of social space on the basis of affinity and discrepancy of class habitus is shifting one's perspective to social mobility studies based on income distribution, his contribution of embodiment of structure in social practices breaks with those studies. In the course of class struggle, endeavor of holding authority to control constitution of legitimate culture has a crucial role since dominant class by the means of

misrecognition process, could impose their class interest to dominated class and could have legitimacy to exercise power. In this sense, class struggle on the basis of underlying class interests may be defined as struggles for symbolic power or for upward mobility in social space. From this point of view, for Bourdieu (1984) agents so as to have power to control and direct legitimate culture and therefore to maintain and enhance their position in social space in relation to their condition of existence, develop particular *reproduction and reconversion strategies*. In this context, we may gather these strategies in two main titles; first one is accumulation and transfer of capital, second one is differentiation propensities or strategies.

2.6.1 Accumulation and Transfer of Capital

These reproduction and reconversion strategies simultaneously function in the process of reproducing capital which means that agents while setting various practices in order to maintain and enhance their position in the class structure, reproduction of the system has been sustained. According to first title, we may state that agents depend on their volume and composition of capital and through the medium of reproduction such as “inheritance law and custom, the labour market, the educational system”, generate strategies (1984, 125). These strategies are related to accumulation and reconverting one form of capital to another which is provided through transforming “asset structure” (1984, 131). By means of their advantageous position, in terms of volume of inherited capital in social space, members of dominant class could easily accumulate and convert economic, cultural and social capital. Besides in order to provide upward mobility and reproduction of the system they establish convenient environment to transfer their accumulated capital to the next generation.

2.6.2 Differentiation Propensities: Classification Struggles

Secondly, Bourdieu (1984) asserts that *classification struggles*, which its capacity depends on agent’s position in class structure, also should be integrated into class struggle domain. In this sense, on the basis of the classificatory schemes which is constructed in the course of socialization and collective history of society, agents produce concepts, principle of classification and produce groups which are

associated with differentiation propensities. Therefore, struggle for producing concepts and determining the schemes modifies perception and practice of others and thus becomes effective on agent's upwards or downwards mobility.

Tastes “function as markers of ‘class’” (Bourdieu 1984, 2). Since they have different condition of existence and different overall volume of capital, agents who are subject to different class and class fractions generate their taste differentially. On the basis of dialectical relation dominant vs. dominated classes or bourgeois vs. working classes are constructed. That is to say, taste of dominant class is described based on antithesis of lifestyle of dominated class. At this point, we may state that differentiation propensities of dominant class on the basis of oppositions and similarities provide to maintain their superior position and therefore reproduction of the system.

In this sense, taste of two opposing class habitus which are taste of liberty (bourgeois) and taste of necessity (working class) are identified through antinomies such as beautiful/ugly, distinguished/vulgar, high/low, light/heavy, unique /common and stylish/tasteless etc. In the light of this relation, Bourdieu (1984,17) describes three types of taste and habitus corresponding three social classes which are “legitimate taste” for upper class, “middle-brow taste” for middle and “popular taste” for working class. Accordingly, the members of dominant/upper class establish their lifestyle on the basis of ‘sense of distinction’; on the other hand, middle class member’s choice of lifestyle is motivated by aspiration for upwards movements in social space; finally necessity, or adaptation to necessity concepts constitute lifestyle of working class (1984).

2.6.2.1 Differentiation through Spatial Distance

Spatial segregation is one of the fundamental differentiation propensities in recent developments of urban space. In this sense, according to Bourdieu (1989, 20) “social space tends to function as a symbolic space, a space of lifestyles and status groups characterized by different lifestyles”. In accordance to the logic of difference and differential spatial distance, social order, which is immanent in the symbolic system, is structured. That is to say, distance in between agents’ position in social space,

which is derived from their volume and composition of capital, could be observed in the geographical distance. As a result, in the course of studying differential lifestyles of different class and class fractions, it is crucial to look into “their distribution in *socially ranked geographical space*” (1984, 124).

Consequently we may state that reproduction strategies consist of capacity to accumulate and convert economic, cultural and social capital; and to provide a convenient environment for transferring these accumulated capitals to the next generation so as to maintain stability and reproduction of the system. Besides, social and spatial differentiation propensities which are established through class identification on the basis of oppositions and similarities are also fundamental in reproduction strategies.

2.7 Family

Bourdieu (2006, 126) has stated three predispositions of the family discourse, which are identified with the family concept. Firstly, the family comprises a shape-giving process of the individual, called as the “anthropomorphisme” family, where features of the individuals are formed through attribution. The family is considered as a main personality, which is defined as a reality beyond of its people who own a common life, common spirit and having a world-view in particular.

Secondly, within the continuous endeavor to redefine its boundaries, it is accepted that there is a separate social universe, which is inclined to idealize the internality (the opposite to the externality) as a divine *sanctum*. The internality is protected by the means of the symbolic preventions, such as the implication of the word *privacy* as symbolic boundaries from the external world, and therefore, the family may sustain its permanent existence.

Finally, the concept of the house, used in French as *demeure*, which is relative to become stable or to stay as the same, it might be specified as an existing consistent place and as a continuous entity, which could be infinitely submitted through house and household.

2.7.1 Gift-Giving Relations

The concept of the gift or the act of gift-giving may be seen as an innocent and disinterested practice and perceived as a good manner in most societies, but in fact it contains strong symbolic orders and interests. In the contemporary sociological and anthropological studies, there is an increasing attention to the theoretical structure of 'the gift-giving'. According to that, the primarily known Mauss's analysis of people's mutual competition of showing their hospitality in Northwest Native American's feast of *potlatch*, indicates that although the gifts, which are mutually given as unreturned and disinterested, are given in order to show the neighbors' hospitality and for the increase of the social status. Mauss associates the gift-giving with the term of bargaining society; he argues that the economy was based on the exchange of gift. People were exchanging gifts in order to satisfy their necessities and getting some certain services, and by this means of the exchange he argues, the hierarchy in economy and society has been established. The one who had the ability to give, the one could be able to increase and acquire his/her social status. Therefore, there may be a savage competition of "giving" between people, who want to hold a symbolic power (Saarinen 2005).

Whenever someone accepts to receive the gift of another, the giver enhances his/her status and the receiver are charged with a debt, so he/she becomes dependent on the giver (Saarinen 2005, Berking 1999). Bourdieu opposes to the bargaining issue of the gift exchange that immediate returning of an identical object might be interpreted as a refusal and a counter gift should be "deferred and different" unless it gives rise to an insult (Bourdieu 1990, 105). During the lapse of giving a counter-gift, a kind of tie that obliges the receiver to the giver is found and thus it creates a "social debt". He also states that, while little gifts provide to maintain permanent relationships, large amount of gifts, which are not easily returned, provide enhanced control over another (Cheal 1988, 21). Bourdieu defines the gift exchange as a social game, which cannot be played without the players acceptance, and its functions as "individual and collective misrecognition of the objective truth" (Bourdieu 1990, 109-10).

In such a universe, there are only two ways of getting and keeping a lasting hold over someone: debts and gifts, overtly economic obligations...or the moral obligations and emotional attachments created and maintained by generous gift, in short overt violence or symbolic violence, censored, euphemized, that is, misrecognizable, recognized violence. (Bourdieu 1990, 126)

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

Bourdieu has carried out his research in 1960s' France in which Fordist mode of production was becoming dominant throughout the world. Mass production provided to large amount of people clusters of standardized products, there was a massification of material object and therefore it was resulted with mass consumption process in societies. In such an environment Bourdieu has tried to map out a social structure of French society. In this sense, the habitus of dominant class at that time was constructed its boundaries on the basis of what is rare and in opposition to what is popular. However after the 1980s', mode of production has turned into post-Fordist term which implies producing relatively less amount but flexible; in terms of particular demands of particular consumers and therefore flexible relations of production. It is possible to see the effects of this structural change among the studies on this domain. Accordingly, in most of the recent studies it is mentioned diversifications especially within the habitus of dominant class and legitimate culture (Bennett et al. 2009; Prieur et al. 2008; Coulangeon and Lemel 2007). In this sense, in the following section, particular contributions and diversifications of recent empirical studies on mapping social space of societies, which were carried out in different countries in more than last two decades, will be discussed.

3.2 The Old Legitimate Culture

Prevailing diversifications on Bourdieu's work are usually established on the basis of restructuring legitimate culture thereby changing dispositions and practices, structure of fields and role of class habitus. In this sense, in accordance to contemporary studies Bourdieu's framework on highbrow taste in France, called as Kantian aesthetic, which identifies itself through rejecting what is popular and establishing its propensities based on rare cultural and symbolic goods is losing its importance in societies such as Denmark, Britain, the USA and also France etc. However, although

among different fields of cultural consumption there could not be observed any strong elitist taste, its principle of distinction prolongs its existence (Prieur et al. 2008).

There are particular factors which prevent to appropriate high cultural capital for dominant class. In accordance to Peterson and Kern (1996), structural change in production process, rising living standards, widening of education, access to work of art and information by means of media have provided to wider population opportunity to accumulate more elite aesthetic taste. As a result the more accessible elite taste the less effective marker of class. In addition to these factors, Peterson and Kern (1996) indicate that by means of geographical migration, social class mobility and historical factors such as the political movements against fascism after the WWII, there have emerged a diversification of taste, for that reason there happened also changes in values, art-world and status groups, and politics.

Similarly Coulangeon and Lemel (2007, 96, 106-108) also approve “the diversity of taste” in domain of art such as literature, the visual arts, cinema and music. In regards to their work in France, it is accepted that classical music, opera and jazz still keep on being high cultural patterns of dominant class, however due to structural change in high status groups there is a changing propensity among them. Accordingly rising upward mobility of people from working-class origin to upper-classes and increase of secondary-school population between the years 1985-1995 in France have become influential on the cultural behavior of the elites as an “openness of cultural diversity” and “cosmopolitan tolerance”.

“...eclecticism can be understood as a generic disposition towards culture characterized by tolerance and openness to diversity which tends to embody the modern quintessence of distinction” (Coulangeon and Lemel 2007, 93).

However this does not imply disappearance of Kantian aesthetic, in this sense being competent in particular field of art such as opera and theatre is still advantageous for the elite (Bennett et al. 2009). Besides with regards to Lamont and Fournier (1992),

this emergence of changes implies new formulation criteria determining ‘symbolic boundaries’ of legitimate culture.

3.2.1 Changing Legitimate Culture: An Omnivorous Taste

In recent environment in which continuous circulation of work of arts, artists and styles between fields is both conceived and could be criticized; therefore being competent in legitimate culture is identified as a capacity of individuals to understand and value “the flows of forms between fields” and to place themselves “as critical observers such flows” (Bennett et al. 2009, 172).

As a result, a new adaptation of dominant taste emerged which is called *omnivorous* (Peterson and Kern 1996, Coulangeon and Lemel 2007, Prieur et al 2008, Bennett et al. 2009). Accordingly, omnivorous is defined as being open to appreciate all kind of attributes through combining highbrow taste dispositions and practices with lowbrow and middlebrow origin (Peterson and Kern 1996, Prieur et al. 2008). At this point, this definition does not indicate that omnivore could like everything without discriminating, although it is established in opposition to rigid exclusionary rules of elitist taste (Peterson and Kern 1996). In this sense, as a new form of distinction cultural omnivorousness refers to an appropriation of cultural capital which is more ‘flexible and convertible between fields’, however this might not be advantageous as it is seen due to its potential to pervade in a wide range and thereby its capacity to diversify excessively. Moreover, although it is seen open to everything, omnivorous taste also has particular limits. Accordingly Bennett et al. (2009, 254) argue that those are determined by “Anglophone, British and American cultural forms”.

Besides these difficulties, they relate omnivorous taste with consumerist approach which is established based on to convert everything as an object of new gratification. In this sense, due to cultural structure of omnivorousness is constituted on a ‘liberal and egalitarian veneer’ and its being oppose to hierarchical cultural value, it provides a secure environment for the existence of middle class and consumption practices.

Regarding Prieur et al. (2008, 67-8) as quoted from Castells' concept of 'information age', mention about a new segmentation between "cosmopolitan elite" who have capacity to inhabit "'space of flows' of power and wealth" in globalized world and the local "disempowered mass of people" who are constant in 'space of places'. In accordance to the latter's restrictions to the local space, their habitus are especially configured on the basis of resistance towards the mobility of capital and values through supporting more conservative views such as religion, race and the nation state. On the other hand, elites in the network of globalized society adapt more cosmopolitan and multi-culturalist attitude. In this sense, Bennett et al. (2009, 253) indicate that although both Bourdieu's Kantian and omnivore taste could be found to some extent, among younger and more ethnically diverse "professional-executive class"-corresponds to dominant class of Bourdieu-, having predominantly cosmopolitan and multi-culturalist view is conceived as distinctive disposition in the UK. Similarly, for Prieur et al. (2008) conditions of education, which new generation of upper class has, are more cosmopolitan and multi-cultural besides the new generations are privileged about having access of information. For that reason, they could establish an omnivore culture; they are capable of universal and have knowledge of resolving the underlying messages of cultural objects or lifestyles.

3.2.2 Determinant Role of Secondary Variables in Homology of Fields

In respect to Bourdieu's work; constituting homologies between fields is significant for identification of class habitus. Shared common propensities in particular fields provide researchers to opportunity to reveal cultural structure and belongingness of class and class fractions. Accordingly, work of Bourdieu has been criticized about its evaluating independent variables such as age, gender and ethnicity as secondary variables, for Bennett et al. (2009) those secondary variables are determinant almost class factor. In this sense, in accordance to work of Bennett et al. (2009, 251), it is accepted that systematic patterns of cultural taste and practices which indicate shared styles of particular groups of people could exist within and across fields; however they argue that some fields might be more structured than others and some independent variables might be more effective on particular fields. With regard to

their study, on the one hand it is possible to group watching news, documentaries and nature programs together in opposition to this soap operas and costume dramas together. On the other hand, contrary to the fields likewise, sport, film and television they argue that the field of music is more structured in terms of age factor than others. Accordingly it is the field of music which is determined by oppositions of taste between established and emergent forms; therefore besides class positions it is also differentiated in respect to generations. Similarly the other independent variables could be effective on particular fields such as education and occupation might differentiate more in the reading books, in visual art; gender might differentiate in TV program and body formation preferences. In this sense, Prieur et al. (2008) state that there are particular fields in which variables of age and gender become a strong discriminatory factors such as in TV preferences, visual arts, sports, reading preferences and music. As a result we could state that in regard to recent studies evaluations of homologies between and across the fields have become more complicated and may be more detailed. In this sense, a study on the field of music might be illuminating.

3.2.2.1 The Field of Music

With regard to Bennett et al.'s study it is mentioned that music is one of the most structured field. In this respect, Coulangeon and Lemel's (2007) comprehensive study on musical taste of French society in recent years give an idea about structure of the field. In this sense, for Bourdieu musical taste is one of the structured fields which reveal social class of people due to it is determined mainly in a domain which is outside of school-learned culture. Accordingly people also acquire their accumulation of musical knowledge and taste through their inherited cultural capital and social network in which they are involved. In this sense, they accept its' capacity to reveal class position however they highlight that there is no direct and clear correspondence between genre of listening to music and social groups.

In accordance to findings of Coulangeon and Lemel's study, it is possible to say that particular genres of musical taste such as jazz, opera and classical music are still

correlated with social status; however there is an emerging omnivore taste especially for musical genres of international pop, pop and rock. Omnivore taste is correlated with schooling of people, that is to say whenever education has also become prevalent in lower classes, being openness to differentiations has increased thereby possibility to come across different genres of music and to like those genres increase. Additionally beyond its role in class differentiation, it is emphasized that the variable of age has an effective role in determining taste of music. In accordance to findings distribution of musical taste displays a clear-cut age inclination with classical music, techno, rap, world music (2007, 100).

3.2.3 Emergence of Different Groupings

Relative to economic, historical and social structuring of societies there might be different economic, cultural and symbolic combinations among the groups of people. With regard to Savage et al. (1992) the portrait of French society which Bourdieu has drawn may not fit every society. For instance, according to Savage et al. the concept of 'organization man', which was under protection of corporations in the USA society described by Wythe as the senior white collar workers, who use opportunities which large private or public corporations have provided to them, and make 'inconspicuous consumption', might not correspond to Bourdieu's framework. In this sense, Savage et al.'s classification of middle class lifestyle in Britain might be illuminating. Savage et al. have carried out an analytical analysis which consists of historical analysis of empirical studies on English class structure.

Briefly in accordance to their findings, groupings in middle class are associated in three types of lifestyles. The first is the ascetic lifestyle which is pervasive among the public sector welfare professionals, second one is the post-modern among the private sector professionals and specialists, and last one is the undistinctive among managers and government bureaucrats (1992, 127-8). Accordingly the group of 'intellectuals' which Bourdieu has described as the bearers of ascetic lifestyle might transform into the groups of medical workers and those employed in welfare and social service organization (1992, 109). Among those groups of people, it is possible to state that

being against to competitive individualism and market place values are prevalent propensity. In accordance to the undistinctive life-style categorization we could state that those groups who have the undistinctive life-style in Britain and the 'organization man' of the USA have similar habitus; loyalty and trust to institutions and government are dominant propensities for those group of people. At this point, the post-modern group is the most corresponding group to Bourdieu's groupings of the 'new petite bourgeoisie'. Regarding, these groups, both in France and in Britain, comprise of private sector professional middle class which has upward mobility in social space (1992, 128).

In this sense, looking into cultural structure of the post-modern groups, as relatively new emerging groups, might be useful for this study. In similar to Bourdieu's the new petite bourgeoisie, people among rising 'service class' in Britain who have the new post-modern life-style, are also more individualized, and oriented to make investment in their self-improvement, health and beauty of their body, and have a classifier role in determining what is 'low' and 'high'. They prefer doing similar activities such as skiing, surfing, squash, health clubs. In this sense, cultural investments are also directed to more 'exotic forms of consumption' such as going to Chinese, French, Greek or Turkish restaurants. Besides, through their high level education their preference is directed to more sophisticated localities in Western Europe. This 'promotion of self' is described as a cultural investment which could be converted into economic capital in domains of occupation and marriage. In this context this might be stated that qualification in profession and tendency for upward mobility induce one another; whenever their qualification increase they become more career oriented and less dependent on family ties. However, due to those group of people accumulate relatively more economic capital simultaneously they could make extravagance consumptions which might be unhealthy such as consumption of alcohol (Savage 1992, 112,115). For this reason Savage et al. define the post-modern type of culture as 'health with champagne' which refers to a combination of opposing cultures (Savage 1992, 128).

3.2.3.1 Emphasis on Individualized Life

Together with diversified and flexible production of cultural materials and therefore overemphasizing of consumption practices in post-modern societies, there existed a propensity to make identifications in more diversified way. In modern societies in which relations of production were predominantly emphasized, identities were defined in relation with individuals' class belongingness; however in recent late or post-modern societies there is a dispersion of identifications on the basis of consumption. At this point, instead of focusing diversified combinations of cultural materials, we will concentrate on identification process on the basis of individuality and cultural consumption.

In this sense, Hanssen and Danielsen (2004, 17) state that according to post-modern perspective, institutions of modern society such as "class, family and community are under dissolution" in post-modern structure, therefore the individual has to cope with creating his or her own individual identity. In other words, we might define this process that individual has experienced a kind of introversion which separate individuals from social belongingness. On the other side, according to Bourdieu's approach consumption is defined as a stage of communication in which people classify others and simultaneously they are classified by means of consumption practices; therefore according to Bourdieu's understanding instead of dissolution of class, consumption practices are formed on the basis of class habitus. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that his descriptions on more individualized propensities of new bourgeoisie and new petite bourgeoisie in *Distinction* might particularly correspond to this post-modern perspective.

3.2.3.2 Consumption of Space as a Reproduction Strategy

Considering identification based on individuality and cultural consumption we should mention about emerging propensity of living in gentrified or segregated neighborhood and constituting interior design peculiar to individuals' own taste. In accordance to Gary Bridge's study on gentrification and thereby reproduction

strategies of the new middle class, their emerging habitus is characterized by “distinction in neighborhoods, housing, lifestyle and consumption” (2001, 207). On the basis of relation with spatial segregation and social inequality; Blasius and Friedrichs (2008, 32) argue that in terms of occupational status, income level, lifestyle and friendship that neighborhood comprises, people search and find their neighborhood which corresponds to their cultural and economic capital. Similarly, in accordance to empirical study of Hanssen and Danielsen, the reputation of the district was the reason for the respondents’ preference to live in. As a result, Hanssen and Danielsen argue that money and having a house is not enough to be involved in upper-classes, instead a good and ‘true’ education, a cultural knowledge, style in order to let them to become a part of that ‘highbrow’ lifestyle. (Hanssen and Danielsen 2004)

3.2.3.3 Cultural Investment in Housing

In addition to social status which is acquired through being involved in such a highbrow space of lifestyle, interior design of house and therefore cultural objects for decoration have also become crucial for expression of cultural and symbolic capital. Accordingly Savage et al. (1992, 80) the most important social change after the WWII in Britain was the increase in middle-class population of home-owner; it was 30 % in 1945 and increased to 70% in 1990s. As a result of this transition, there emerged a considerable inclination towards ‘petty property’ and thus investment of cultural capital in housing.

Cultural assets, rather than being confined to ‘pure’ artistic or leisure fields, are increasingly invested in housing, so that the aesthetics of middle class residence plays a major part in the exhibition of specific cultural taste and values. (Savage et al. 1992, 94)

In this sense, those cultural materials are not used only for their function, in terms of volume and composition of capital that individuals have they might be exhibited as a symbol of social status identity or inherited cultural capital such as heirloom. Furthermore, we might state that associated with this inclination it is possible to observe the emphasis of private life more than public life. Accordingly besides its

role in determining cultural taste, design of interior home and cultural objects for housing are evaluated as means of self-realization.

In relation to their research in Denmark, Hanssen and Danielsen (2004) argue that individual by means of interior design creates his/her character. Regarding with home-decoration magazines, individuals design their home and by means of the commodities of home-decoration they indicate how they free, modern etc. Among the respondents what is the striking issue is that they do not imitate the magazine's they inspire from but they want to be the one who creates their own style. They can discuss and share their knowledge and opinions about interior design but they do not prefer creating exactly same style with their neighbors. As a result, in similar to Ayata's (2002) research on suburb residential area of Ankara, interior space of home has two facets; on the one side it becomes partially a place of public in which cultural and symbolic capital of household's are exhibited to their neighborhoods and friends, on the other side it becomes a private world of individuals.

Hanssen and Danielsen state that people chose big houses due to variety of materials of these houses provide to families a chance to have a wide opportunity to create their own world. On the other hand, they indicate that since some people want to feel free, they do not make investments on creating their home. In this sense, as a modern institution of family becomes a critical issue. On the one hand the home provides a realm that combines the family members, on the other hand home restricts people's freedom. At this point, for their study in upper-middle and middle class districts of Denmark, different from the old identification of family institution as a natural entity of modern society, it has become something which individuals have to struggle for establishing in order not to be alone. Hanssen and Danielsen conclude that the institutions of modern society still have their importance in home consumption simultaneously there are more individualized dispositions on interior design issues.

3.3 Literature on Social and Spatial Segregation in Cities of Ankara and İstanbul

Together with integration attempts of Turkey's economy into global economy in the 1980s, society of Turkey has experienced significant social, spatial and structural changes. In an environment in which there are continuous flow of capital and information and increasing social inequalities, emerging tension between social classes and their reproduction strategies have become remarkable for social sciences. There are considerable studies which have concentrated on after 1980s period of Turkey's economic, social and cultural structure; however studies on upper-middle class reproduction strategies and its attempt to differentiate itself from working class especially together with spatial segregation project of urban space might be called relatively new ones except one or two basic works. In this section, we will try to present methodology of some of empirical studies and discourse analyses on restructure of upper-middle class culture in the process of urban space segregation in cities of Ankara and İstanbul and will try to discuss the findings of those studies. Although in this thesis project the city of Ankara is concentrated on; due to scarce of study for Ankara on this issue it is proposed that the studies on İstanbul might be illuminating, some of the studies on İstanbul are also represented in this part. In accordance to those studies, it is possible to say that transition of urban space of Turkey subsequently urbanization, suburbanization and later emerging gated communities has happened in an overwhelming speed compare to European and American societies. Besides common features on integration global economy and segregation of urban space and social classes, there are some different dispositions and way of experiencing between the societies of Ankara and İstanbul. In this sense, it is possible to say that akin to İstanbul, Ankara has experienced similar suburbanization process except its historical and environmental deficiencies, on the other side different from İstanbul; background of Ankara's bourgeoisie consists of more bureaucratic and military elite and we could say that besides consumption, class identifications are established on the basis of political preferences.

3.3.1 Method of the Studies

In this sense, Sencer Ayata (2002) through accumulating his survey research in the year of 1993 at one of the suburb settlements of Ankara, 'Koru Sitesi' and his fieldwork study in 1998 at the same district represents a comprehensive empirical work about the new middle class of Ankara. He concentrates on social structure and culture of the new middle class suburb settlements in the city of Ankara. The new suburb spaces and structure of middle class culture are investigated on the basis of individuals' and households' experiences, new practices and implementations and changing power relations. In the light of a survey research by 116 inhabitants and in-depth interviews by 26 households he could acquire ethnographic data for the study (2002, 37).

In parallel to Ayata's study, in her PhD. dissertation Güliz Tirkeş Korkmaz (2007) has conducted a comparative empirical research in between the two districts of middle class in Ankara; Keçiören and Çayyolu. Accordingly her study is established on the basis of "dynamic process of formation of class in the urban space" (2007, 2). Korkmaz comparatively concentrates on tastes, cultural practices and life-styles of two middle class fractions on the basis of their differentiated residential preferences and use of urban space. She establishes her study on the basis of three scaled spatial analysis which is macro, meso and micro scales. Korkmaz at the macro scale constitutes her study based on factors which determine the differentiated spatial choices of different middle class fractions in Çayyolu and Keçiören. Subsequently at the meso scale she investigates their spatial choices and their way of using urban space and eventually at the micro scale individuals' personal opinions about the neighborhood and environment that surrounding themselves are focused. Korkmaz reinforces her spatial analysis by means of data of survey which has carried out in those two districts. She constitutes theoretical structure of her study on the basis of Bourdieu's main themes on social segregation and class formation.

The research of Hatice Kurtuluş (2005) on one of the gated communities- Beykoz Konakları- in the suburb area of İstanbul has been carried out in a qualitative method. The main axis of the research is established based on investigating social and spatial consequences of this settlement which is created by three pillars which are the

enclosed community inhabiting on the settlement, partners who established the project and legislation operations on permission of structuring the land of gated community. In this sense, in-depth interviews have been carried out with particular individuals and representatives of institutions, however they could not have opportunity to interview with inhabitants of the settlement, therefore inhabitants' opinions about the place that they live in are gathered from particular speeches that they had given to magazine media. Kurtuluş (2005, 171) states that throughout the study difficulties of doing research in the settlements of wealthy people has aroused, in comparison to field researches which have carried out in neighborhoods of 'gecekondu' and traditional middle class.

Ayşe Öncü (1999) evaluates how the integration process of middle class identity and 'global consumer culture' has happened on the basis of Barthes concept of mythology. She tries to analyze fragmented social and cultural space of upper-middle and middle class who appropriate the mythology of 'ideal home' which is continuously reproduced by means of media in everyday life and who escape from the center of İstanbul. In parallel to Öncü, Rifat N. Bali (1999) has carried out similar study through concentrating on semiotic analysis of gated community of 'Kemer Country' which is called as a place of industry bourgeoisie of İstanbul.

3.3.2 Transition of Urban Space in 1990s

With regard to Bali (1999) the year of 1980 is a touchstone for urbanization process in Turkey, Kurtuluş (2005) indicates that the new housing phenomenon, suburbanization and gated communities, has been observed in 1980s. Those years were the beginning years of global economy politics for Turkey; social and spatial transition of urban space has happened through a huge amount of investments on building sector, supportive legislations of state and propensity to live in segregated space of lifestyle of bourgeoisie, whose volume of economic capital has risen during two decades and more. Therefore, in the end of 20th century and recent years societies have witnessed social and spatial consequences of segregation in a more obvious way.

Ayata (2002) states that until 1990s there might be called there was a dual residential structure in Ankara; on the one hand the migrated poor from rural to urban in districts of “gecekondu” at the periphery of the city; on the other hand apartment neighborhoods of middle class at the center of city. In 1990s by increasing building activities, there has existed a wide range suburb area which comprises 300.000 households in Ankara (2002, 38-9). Similarly, Öncü indicates that ‘apartment life’ was symbolized as a modern-life for the middle class of 19th century Ottoman and then Republic history, especially for the section of public officers and professionals (1999, 29 quoted from Enlil 1994). Escaping from the center of İstanbul, the settlements of upper-middle and middle class have transformed into lifestyles which are homogenous in itself but strongly separated from each other. In this sense, for Öncü, diversity which always exists in between upper-middle and middle classes, has transformed into both spatial and cultural fragmentation in 1990s.

In 1990s the boundaries of this fragmentation has drawn in more clear-cut lines. For Ayata, besides residential fragmentation, space of everyday life has also been fragmented such as space of work, residence and entertainment. Urban population in Ankara has been segregated into two; on the one hand districts of urban population which keeps on to live in uncertain, unofficial districts in terms of property and with insufficient service of local government. Their community ties are constituted on the basis of close neighborhood and ‘klientalist’ relationships (2002, 37). On the other hand, there are settlements of upper-middle and middle class people which are fully equipped, isolated, and socially homogenous. Middle class families, whose income levels are high, are moving to suburbs in which they could differentiate themselves from people from lower classes, could avoid getting in touch with them. In the north-west zone of Ankara there have emerged lower middle class apartment types of residents, in the south-west zone there are upper class settlements with high or low apartment buildings, detached house and luxurious villas (2002, 39). In this manner Korkmaz (2007) through indicating north-south division of urban space of Ankara, states that-quoted by Günay (2005) - behaviors and intentions of people who have high level of income are very influential on urban space formation and urban facilities.

3.3.2.1 The Phenomenon of Segregation: ‘Gated Communities’

Upper middle and middle class create an autonomous world with their enclosed divine home and family which is far away from the urban center space in which intensive social and spatial segregation, tension and competition are sensed dramatically. In parallel to differentiation tendency of new middle class people who acquire a considerable accumulation of economic capital, huge investments on building sector and increasing luxurious settlement have emerged. These large-scale building companies have offered not only qualified and stylish houses they also have been selling a unified construction of “life-style” (Bali 1999, 37; Öncü 1999; Kurtuluş 2005, 167). Gated communities are the mostly known phenomenon of these processes. By means of referring the old fortress cities in order to protect surplus from outside threats of pre-modern period, Kurtuluş (2005, 163) states that due to distribution problem of surplus which is produced by urban society; gated communities as an “inner-city fortresses” of upper-middle class have emerged against the rest of urban society.

Together with segregation of these kinds of settlements, differentiated social classes increasingly do not get in touch with each other in everyday life of urban space. In her study Öncü (1999) has evaluated that effect of escaping from center of urban space on public life is another discussion subject for future. Kurtuluş (2005 179, 184) states that by enclosing privatized space from public space, gated communities do not only provide upper middle class to objectify the other, but also they close their doors to public eye. Therefore, this segregation refers the erosion of modern and civil society and disappearance of public space.

3.3.2.2 Discourse of Differentiation and Constituting Community

It could be perceived by the narratives above that experiencing fragmentation process in urban space is more comprehensive and complete. Social and cultural life is also segregated on the basis of antagonisms; upper middle class people identify their class habitus through in opposition to representations of lower class and constituting commonalities among members of their class. At this point, in the cities of Ankara and İstanbul, it is known that by rapid urbanization process and rising employment

problem throughout the country especially in 1960s and 1970s, big cities have experienced lack of residence and employing problems at the end of a large amount of migration from rural to urban. This migrated the rural poor have been conceived by upper middle class and middle class of İstanbul and Ankara as a threat towards urban way of life and modernity values. Although there are new dynamics emerging by globalization process, we could discern this perception in their differentiation discourse. In this sense, differentiation discourses are constituted on the basis of identifying heterogeneity of city as ‘crowded’ , life-style of the migrated poor as corruption of culture , “black crowded” and “dirtiness”; everyday space of urban as polluted, disordered and stressful streets (Bali 1999; Öncü 1999; Ayata 2002, 38).

Bali states that through representations of “cultural corruption”, upper middle and middle class people move to luxurious sites out of İstanbul by means of construction of sense of belonging and of *the old life of İstanbul* (1999, 38). The construction of sense of belonging have produced by the construction the image of the old style community life in those gated communities, however the life-style which was intended conceived has become an imitation of everyday life of American suburbs. Ayata points out the new middle class perception of urban space of lifestyle as dirtiness and disordered. Accordingly, life of the new middle class encompasses genre of perceiving the outside world; desire of escaping polluted street life and social heterogeneity besides emphasize on *family intimacy*, dependency on rules and ordered society. The new middle class people in Ankara feel themselves as if surrounded by lower class people who are ‘not civilized’ sufficiently, at the crowded spaces; therefore by removing contact is one of differentiation strategies of the new middle class. There is a close relation in between *obsession of order* of the new middle class and their desire to highlighting class differences, because differences and distinctions could only be protected and sustained in an ordered space in which everything is in its proper place (2002, 41).

In addition to differentiation, it is possible to mention about particular affinities which were indicated such as having similar way of accumulating economic capital or cultural capital. With regard to Kurtuluş’s study, most of property owners in Beykoz Konakları have had their economic capital accumulation after 1980; this

characteristic creates homogeneity, whether it is necessary to mention about a kind of constituting community, this community is established on the basis of the belongingness which is related to the accumulation way of capital (Kurtuluş 2005, 179). Furthermore, in his evaluation on social structure of Kemer Country, Bali states that in those new residential spaces a kind of exclusive social club or ‘community’ has been created by particular memberships and by bringing particular people who have graduated from famous qualified high school or universities such as graduates of Robert College or being a member of TUSIAD (1999, 38).

3.3.2.3 Identity Formation through Consumption Practice

Additionally it is remarkable to mention about dominant effect of ‘global consumer culture’ on identity formation. Ayata (2002) states that middle class usually identify it on the basis of consumption practices. In this sense, besides having an exclusive capacity to buy such a luxurious house of gated communities, identifying oneself via symbolic materials that he or she has consumed is as much as important.

Öncü (1999) indicates that 1980s is the beginning of spreading global consumer culture and at the same time suburbanization process. Globalization has burst established symbolic hierarchies and turned upside down established semiotic mappings (1999, 28; quoted from Baudrillard 1981). The myth of ‘Ideal Home’ is a historical construct which implies particular symbolic connotations such as *comfort*, *easiness* and *respect*. It corresponds to the end of 19th century and first quarter of 20th century in which values and desires have begun to combine with consumption. Accordingly, tradition of aristocratic culture in Europe has become an inspiration resource for symbolic value of growing bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie. Due to there was no tradition of aristocracy in the USA, the identity of middle class and the model of ‘housewife’ who has responsible for providing order, easiness, comfort of ‘ideal home’ have been formed together with the rise of advertisement sector. After the WWII, along with the pervade of television and automobile, the construction of ideal home, housewife and therefore family which comprises framework of American middle class culture has constituted its own spaces out of town and it was reproduced over and over again (Öncü, 1999).

In similar to the myth of 'ideal home', Bali mentions about the construct of missing the old İstanbul; based on perception of corrupted urban life, the new residential space of gated communities represent the old values and living practices of İstanbul. As a result it is possible to say that upper-middle class through consuming particular symbolic materials constructs commonalities.

In the light of identification via consumption we might state that the concept of 'individuality' has gained more importance among members of upper-middle class. Ayata evaluates that after reduction of social control over private life, individualization process has been observed in their way of life. Eventually, individuals focus on more body formation activities for identify themselves, and they tend to body protection and healthy life practices in order to be purified from 'dirtiness' and 'crime' which are representations of lower classes for themselves (Ayata 2002, 38).

3.3.2.4 Privacy of Family and Active Role of Women in Class Differentiation

Another kind of identification might be observed in the process of constituting interior home and thereby formation of family and family relations. In this sense, we could say that while privacy of family comprised of one or two children is increasing, close kinship relations are decreasing among upper-middle class people. Besides, interior space of home gains a dual importance; on the one hand it becomes a place in which family values are reproduced and privacy is provided, on the other hand through exhibition of symbolic materials of interior design it becomes a stage for determining social status. It is remarkable that most of the households in Ayata's research are nuclear families and have a little contact with their relatives in the city, hereby there is a considerable emphasize on '*privacy of family*'. Ayata interprets that, detachment of families from streets, relatives and neighborhood is clarified more in those suburb residents (2002, 43). In this sense, constituting a home and its representations become a crucial issue for these families. Ayata (2002, 48) states that "home is not only a place in which people escape from outside world; it is also a place in which they open to that world". That is to say the space of home could be used both for private and public life. However it should be noted that by the notion of

public is not encompasses everyone; it is comprised of particular people from same class or class fraction.

In parallel to emphasize on family and home, regarding the fieldwork of Ayata it is deduced that among the space of suburb area of the new middle class, gender roles are more crystallized especially for women. Besides increasing number of women participating in labour force, they are also associated with home and affairs about home. In comparison to their husbands and children's contributions they spend more time and energy for interior design. Ayata states that the whole space of interior home has become an 'object of consumption' which signifies household's social status. In this sense, women have a dual role in class differentiation; by means of elegant and convenient furnishing first they prove status of middle class and segregate their family from the lower classes, second is to be involved in particular categorization status in their own class (2002, 50). In this manner, Ayata states that women through their skills of being housewife and consumption activities have an avant garde role in exposing their family property and therefore determining their relative status position among other middle class families. As a result women's recognized accumulation of taste provide them to being more efficient in society (2002, 54).

3.3.2.5 Ethos of the New Upper Middle Class

Instead of oppositions between upper-middle class and lower classes, we will deal with how structure of culture is diversified in between upper-middle class fractions, is treated in the studies. In this sense, Kurtuluş states two different ways of accumulation of capital which have emerged through radical change in economy politics, way of doing politics and İstanbul's effective role since 1980s.

First domain is new investment areas, such as finance, banking, insurance, and shopping malls with foreign partners, of İstanbul's bourgeoisie which is growing up by the support of state since the establishment of republic and has become ready for international corporations. Second domain is new accumulation opportunities which are created through new legal legislations, *klientalist* politics and building plans which are directed by materialist interests (Kurtuluş, 2005, 176).

In this respect on the one hand there is the old elite who has cultural capital which is associated with modern bourgeoisie values, on the other hand there is the new elite group whose cultural capitals do not corresponds to modern bourgeoisie values but through *klientalist* relations they have a rising accumulation of economic capital. Although their volume of economic capital is similar to each other, their incorresponding cultural capitals create a representation crisis among those elite groups. For Kurtuluş they compete through different symbols in the urban space of İstanbul. This implicit representation crisis of class in itself comprises two different types of gated communities in İstanbul. İstanbul's commerce bourgeoisie whose European bourgeois values in 19th century, has transformed into industry bourgeoisie with American bourgeois values in 20th century. Global luxurious consumption culture is recent propensity among this traditional bourgeoisie of İstanbul; in 'Kemer Country' buildings are constructed in neo-conservative architecture style and all the name of streets and road signs are in English, most of the inhabitants are graduate of Robert College and business men who are members of TUSIAD (Kurtuluş 2005, 177; quoted from Bali 1999).

On the other hand the new elites, whose economic capital rising rapidly however cultural capital could not be unified with the traditional bourgeoisie by the help of cultural symbols of 19th century Ottoman government elite try to cope with this representation crisis. 'Beykoz Konakları' is a peculiar example, which means that simultaneously old traditional symbolic capitals; the place of settlement which was the land of one of Ottoman executives, and its name Konak –name of old elite residents-, are used; and it is influenced by global luxurious consumption culture as much as traditional bourgeoisie (2005, 178).

In this sense, although the group of field research in the suburb area of Ankara has relatively less economic capital we could mention about the similarities between the studies in İstanbul. Accordingly Ayata states that throughout the 1980s and the 1990s middle class is not only consists of bureaucrats and military section but also its' rising components of professional executives and entrepreneurs have become an important part of urban society. Besides identifying through global consumption of cultural materials, identity formation via political and cultural preferences in Ayata's

study is remarkable. In this respect, the new emerging middle class has embraced values such as rationality, individual autonomy, secularism, dominance of law, environmental sensitivity and openness to foreign world and they establish their space of life-style in opposition to representations of *Islamist middle class*. They identify 'the others' as "mixture who could not become urbanized" which comprises lower class, new riches, and Islamists (2002, 43). As a result, in regards with his work the space of Ankara, it is possible to indicate that although emerging the new middle class resembles the one in İstanbul, background of old bourgeoisie consists of bureaucrats and military officers different from İstanbul. Besides we might state that identity formation based on antagonism of secularism vs. Islamism is more appropriated by upper-middle and middle class people of Ankara.

At this point, according to Korkmaz, during the foundation of the Republic, identity of modern nation state was established on the basis of Kemalist principles and through opposing Islamic values. In contemporary society this opposition is signified as "variety in class structure of Turkey" (quoted by Güllalp 2000, 2002; 2007, 122). Korkmaz regarding Göle's differentiation of 'Muslim' and 'Islamic' identity points out political side of Islamic identity which refers to more collective and political consciousness. This variety in class structure is indicated in the two middle class people's tastes, ways of life and residential preferences which never interact with each other. In this sense, in accordance to her study although their accumulation of economic capital is similar to each other the middle class groups in Çayyolu and Keçiören have different cultural, social and spatial propensities. On the one hand, analogous to Ayata's findings, the group of Çayyolu prefers to live in the periphery of the city for living in the 'decent' environment which provides them to differentiate themselves from the center of the city. On the other hand for the group of Keçiören prefers more center of the city in which family ties and existence of relatives in that place are affective on their preference of residence.

With regards to their use of urban space, Korkmaz states that these two groups of people prefer to use spaces which are not coinciding and do not have common interest towards most of the activities in the urban space; people in Keçiören is attributed as immobile to a certain extent however, the ones in Çayyolu are more

clear, they do not use the northern part of the city, and use the center of the city for necessity. “In fact as seen in the spatial uses and practices of these two groups and the dispersal of the center, many enclaves are generated with the city. These enclaves cause a grouping of various classes, communities or interest groups to certain parts of the city and not interact with each other”(Korkmaz 2007, 164).

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH

4.1 The Research Method

In this study, a qualitative research method using in-depth interview was carried out. In this section, the details of this research method will be described. Snowball sampling method was utilized in order to reach upper-middle class women in Ankara. The sampling process was conducted from March to October 2009. In respect to snowball method, the most important part of the sampling was to find the first potential respondent. Therefore, through a number of pilot interviews the initial contact was made with; a professional woman with a high economic and cultural capital who has her own business and lived in one of the gated community settlements of Çayyolu. Through this first respondent other potential participants were contacted however the anticipated number of participants was not reached. Therefore, a further potential respondent was found during the sampling, thus, there were two parts to the sampling process.

In this sense, the participants corresponding economic capital refers to respondents' income levels, owner occupation and other properties that they have. Besides in relation to the correspondence of two sections in the sampling process two sisters from the separated sections have accidentally participated in the interviews. This particular case may indicate the common social network in which they are involved.

After making contact with the respondents, thirteen women agreed to participate. In the unstructured part of the interview concerning the objective of the study, respondents were informed about purpose of the research. Regarding ethical concerns, before the interview the participants were clearly told that their identity would not be revealed, they were only given a number. Furthermore, it was stated that the interviewees were not obliged to answer every question.

With respect to these concerns, although the majority of the interview focused on the purpose of our research respondents were asked some structured questions in order to

obtain the socio-demographic profile of the participant cohort. This data were also use to determine respondents' economic and cultural capital. The latter information, also called institutionalized cultural capital- refers to length of education that respondents have had.

4.1.2 Framework of Interviews

The framework of interviews were conducted on the basis of two main purposes; first, the accumulation and transfer of economic and cultural capital in the urban space of Ankara, second the formation of group identity on the basis of differences and similarities concerning spatial and social fragmentation. Regarding the time and space relations there were questions concerning the respondents' past changes in residence and predicted future changes.

In this sense, the first purpose of the interview was carried out with framework of Bourdieu's approach to the volume and composition of capital and trajectory. In this study, the economic capital of the respondents was evaluated through their income level, property ownership, occupation, and their dominant position in production relations. At this point it should be denoted that it was attempted to evaluate these data from the respondents own'- words, however most of them avoided giving clear answers about these issues therefore in some of the analysis the respondents' expressions about their economic capital and their consumption practices or expenditures might be seen as contradictory.

In addition to the institutionalized form of cultural capital mentioned above; other forms of cultural capital (embodied and objectified) also refer to the inculcation of respondents during their childhood and the cultural objects which they have accumulated throughout their life. In the light of these identifications, the way of the accumulation of capital was evaluated. Additionally, to follow the transfer of inherited capital, information was obtained on the respondents' social origin, their previous lifestyle and everyday life practices.

Furthermore, in the unity of time and space relations, data was collected concerning the respondents' experience of education, their marriage stories, occupation preferences, social network relations, housing preferences, interior design of their home, way of dressing, consumption practices, cultural activities they participate in, their aesthetic taste, child rearing styles and their future expectations. From this information it was expected to develop an opinion about structure of the respondents' class culture and to find their particular propensities about accumulating and transferring capital. For the second purpose of the interview the focus was on their residential preferences, use of urban space, perceptions of their neighborhood, places that they avoid using and the propensity to establish homogenous communities. In this way it would be possible to identify the respondents' differentiation and affinity propensities.

With respect to the interview, similar to the problems found in Kurtuluş's study, there were difficulties during the research in terms of finding participants and the location of the interviews. At the commencement of the research, it was determined to be preferable to conduct the interviews in the participants own homes, however the thirteen women were given the choice of the meeting location and time. Most of the participants did not want to meet at weekend; therefore there was limited time for the interviews which mainly occurred outside their homes, in café or in their office. Only one woman met with the interview in her own home, she was a teacher who worked until midday and the following weekend she was going away. Since twelve of the women were not interview at home, the researcher was unable to observe their domestic environment and therefore this information is reliant on the women's narratives.

Table 4.1 Socio-Demographic Profile of Interviewees

	Age	Marital Status	Educational Level	Number of & Age of Children	Neighborhood and duration of residence	Type of Dwelling	Ownership	Profession and Occupation	Place and Sector of Work	Approximate Monthly Respondents Income in TL	Approximate Monthly Household Income in TL
I-1	35	Married	Graduate	1 child – age 3	Çankaya- 8 years	Apartment- gated housing complex	Owner- occupation (Family gift)	Economist-Not working	-	-	3.425
I-2	32	Married	Master	1 child-age 17 months	Çayyolu-1 year	Apartment-gated housing complex	Owner- occupation (Family gift)	Economist- Insurance Broker and Risk Management Consultant	Kavaklıdere- Private	4.000	10.000
I-3	35	Married	PhD	2 children- ages 2 and 5	Çayyolu-7 years	Villa- gated housing complex	Owner- occupation (Family gift)	Urban Planner-Partner of Self-employed Designing Company -Part-time lecturer	Bahçelievler- ODTÜ- Private, Public	4.000	7.500
I-4	35	Married	Graduate	2 children- ages 6 and 3	Çayyolu- 7 years	Villa- gated housing complex	Owner- occupation (Family gift)	Metalurgy Engineer-Partner of Zinc-oxide Production Company	Çayyolu- Private	6.000	11.644
I-5	63	Married	Master	1 child- age 34	Çayyolu- 16 years	Villa- Site (Gated)	Owner- occupation	Judge- Head of Department of Supreme Court of Appeals	Kızılay- Public	5.300	15.000
I-6	63	Widow	Graduate	1 child-age 40	Çankaya- 15 years	Apartment- Public housing (Gated)	Public Housing	Judge-Head of Department of Penalty of Supreme Court of Appeals	Kızılay- Public	6.000	6.000
I-7	51	Married	Graduate	2 children-ages 22 and 19	Çayyolu- 2 years	Villa- gated housing complex	Owner- occupation	Pharmacist	Çayyolu- Private	5.000	10.000
I-8	43	Married	Graduate	2 children- ages 13 and 6	Bilkent- 3 years	Villa- gated housing complex	Owner- occupation (Family gift)	Notary	Macunköy- Public	8.000	20.000
I-9	48	Married	Graduate	2 children-ages 18 and 15	Çankaya- 4 years	Apartment-gated housing complex	Owner- occupation	Notary	Elmadag- Public	Did not say	20.000
I-10	58	Married	Graduate	2 children-ages 31 and 25	Çayyolu- 15 years	Villa- gated housing complex	Owner- occupation	Dietician	Kavaklıdere- Private	Did not say	10.000
I-11	34	Married	Master	None	Gaziosmanpaşa-4 years	Apartment-gated housing complex	Tenant	Sport- Partner of Self-employed Kids Club and Tourism Companies	Çayyolu- Private	2.000	6.500
I-12	55	Single	Graduate	None	Gaziosmanpaşa- 17 years	Apartment	Owner- occupation	Pharmacist-Owner of office building- executive of her own foundation	Kızılay-Private	4.000	4.000
I-13	61	Married	Master	2 children-ages 35 and 29	Çayyolu-10 years	Villa- gated housing complex	Owner- occupation	Teacher (Philosophy)	Seyranbağları- Public	1.500	20.000

Source: Field Research

* Exchange rate 1.46 TL = \$1

I: Interviewee

Table 4.2 Socio-Demographic Profile of Interviewees and Husbands

	Age	Educational Level	University	Occupation	Place and Sector of Work	Approximate Monthly Income in TL
I-1	35	Graduate	Marmara University	Economist-Not working	-	
I-1 (Husband)	34	Master	Marmara University- America	Petroleum Engineer	Oran- (Public)	3.425*
I-2	32	Master	Gazi University- METU	Economist- Insurance Broker and Risk Management Consultant	Kavaklıdere- (Private)	4.000
I-2 (Husband)	34	Master	METU- UK Warwick	Mining Engineer -Executive of Private Company	Söğütözü- (Private)	6.000
I-3	35	PhD	METU-England- METU	Urban Planner-Partner of Self- employed Designing Company -Part- time lecturer	Bahçelievler-ODTÜ- (Public, Private)	4.000
I-3 (Husband)	34	Master	METU	Chemistry Engineer- TAI	İstanbul Road- (Private)	3.500
I-4	35	Graduate	METU	Metalurgy Engineer-Partner of Zinc- oxide Production Company	Çayyolu- (Private)	6.000
I-4 (Husband)	35	Graduate	METU	Metalurgy Engineer-Partner of Zinc- oxide Production Company	Çayyolu- (Private)	6.000
I-5	63	Master	Ankara. Law Faculty	Judge- Head of Department of Supreme Court of Appeals	Kızılay- (Public)	5.300
I-5 (Husband)	74	Master	Germany	Civil Engineer- Executive of Özgür Şirketler Grubu İstış	Eskişehir Road (Private)	7.000
I-6	63	Graduate	Ankara. Law Faculty	Judge-Head of Department of Penalty of Supreme Court of Appeals	Kızılay- (Public)	6.000
I-6 (Husband)	Deceased	Graduate	Ankara. Law Faculty	Lawyer		-
I-7	51	Graduate	Gazi	Pharmacist	Çayyolu- (Private)	5.000
I-7 (Husband)	53	Graduate	Gazi	Pharmacist	Kızılay- (Private)	5.000
I-8	43	Graduate	Istanbul, Law Faculty	Notary	Macunköy-(Public)	8.000
I-8 (Husband)	46	Graduate	METU	Electrical Engineer-Manager of Planning- Aselsan	Macunköy-(Private)	7.000
I-9	48	Graduate	Ankara. Law Faculty	Notary	Elmadag-(Public)	Did not say
I-9 (Husband)	49	Graduate	Ankara. Law Faculty	Lawyer	İst.,Gürsuyu-(Private)	Did not say
I-10	58	Graduate	Hacettepe University	Dietician	Tunalı- (Private)	
I-10 (Husband)	63	Graduate	Ankara , Politics Faculty	Certified Accountant	Bilkent- (Private)	10.000
I-11	34	Master	Hacettepe University	Sport- Partner of Self-employed Children's Club and Tourism Companies	Çayyolu- (Private)	2.000
I-11 (Husband)	37	Master	METU	Electrical Engineer	Çankaya-(Private)	4.500
I-12	55	Graduate	Ankara, Pharmacy Faculty.	Pharmacist-Owner of office building- executive of own foundation	Kızılay-(Private)	4.000
I-13	61	Master	Hacettepe University	Teacher (Philosophy)	Seyranbağları (Public)	1.500
I-13 (Husband)	60	Master	METU	Mechanical Engineer- Executive of Private Construction Company (Yüksel Holding)	Söğütözü- (Private)	15.000

Source: Field Research

* Exchange rate 1.46 TL = \$1

I: Interviewee

4.2 Social Origin

According to Bourdieu's analysis in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, cultural practices or intentions are closely related to educational level and social origin, which is evaluated by the father's occupation (Bourdieu 1984). Therefore, in this research information on the previous everyday life practices of respondents and their parents' and their husbands' parents' occupations and their educational levels (See Table 4.2 and 4.3) was obtained.

Twelve respondents were married and - one was single (See Table 4.1) - there were twenty-five sets of parents. Of the fathers group (fathers and fathers in law); there were six engineers, two engineers and executives of construction corporations, one engineer and an owner of the zinc oxide production factory, one construction contractor and factory owner, one factory owner, four military officers, two lawyers, two teachers, four public officers, one psychiatrist and one chemist. The mothers group (mothers and mothers in law) comprised fourteen housewives; four teachers, two chemistry engineers, one architect, one notary, one public executive, one partner of the zinc oxide production factory and one civil servant (See Table 4.3).

The fathers' educational levels were as follows; one post-doctorate, four master's level, sixteen graduates, two completed high school and two completed junior high school. The education level of the housewife mothers, was not obtained; the educational level of the remainder of the mothers group' was relatively low and varied; two had master's degrees, seven graduates, four completed high school, one completed junior high school, one completed primary school and one lacked any formal education (See Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Transition of Education, Profession and Occupation in Between Generations

	Educational Level			Profession				Occupation		
	Mothers	Interviewees &		Mothers	Interviewees &		Mothers	Fathers	Interviewees & Husbands	
		Fathers	Husbands		Fathers	Husbands				
I-1	Not given	Post-Doctorate	Graduate		Psychiatry	Economy	Housewife	Psychiatrist	Not Working	
I-1 (Husband)	Graduate	Graduate	Master	Chemical Engineering	Chemistry Engineering	Petroleum Engineering	Chemical Engineer	Chemical Engineer	Petroleum Engineer	
I-2	High School	Graduate	Master	None	Electrical Engineering	Economy	Public Officer in Ministry of Transportation	Electrical Engineer	Insurance Broker and Risk Management Consultant	
I-2 (Husband)	Not given	Master	Master	None	Mechanical Engineering	Mining Engineering	Housewife	Owner of Construction Contractor Company	Executive of Private Company	
I-3	Master	Master	PhD	Psychology, Philosophy Education	Mechanical Engineering	Urban Planning	Teacher	Executive of Private Construction Company (Yüksel Holding)	Partner of Self-employed Designing Company -Part-time lecturer	
I-3 (Husband)	Master	Master	Master	Law	Civil Engineering	Chemical Engineering	Judge- Head of Department of Supreme Court of Appeals	Civil Engineer	Chemistry Engineer	
I-4	Graduate	Graduate	Graduate	French Education	Mechanical Engineering	Metallurgy Engineering	Partner of Zinc-oxide Production Company	Owner of Zinc-oxide Production Company	Partner of Zinc-oxide Production Company	
I-4 (Husband)	Graduate	Master	Graduate	Architecture	Civil Engineering	Metallurgy Engineering	Architect	Civil Engineer	Partner of Zinc-oxide Production Company	
I-5	High School	Graduate	Master	None	Military	Law	Housewife	Military Officer (Colonel)	Judge- Head of Department of Supreme Court of Appeals	
I-5 (Husband)	Not given	Graduate	Master	Not given	Military	Civil Engineering	Housewife	Director of branch office of Trade Ministry	Civil Engineer	
I-6	Not given	Graduate	Graduate	None	Military	Law	Housewife	Military Officer	Judge-Head of Department of Penalty of Supreme Court of Appeals	
I-6 (Husband)	Not given	High School	Graduate	None	None	Law	Housewife	Director of branch office of Trade Ministry	Lawyer	
I-7	Junior High School	Junior High School	Graduate	None	None	Health	Housewife	Owner of Soap Production Factory	Pharmacist	
I-7 (Husband)	Illiterate	Junior High School	Graduate	None	None	Health	Housewife	First Secretary of Court of Law	Pharmacist	
I-8	Graduate	Graduate	Graduate	Law	Law	Law	Notary	Lawyer	Notary	
I-8 (Husband)	Primary School	Graduate	Graduate	None	Military	Electrical Engineering	Housewife	Military Officer (Colonel)	Electrical Engineer-Manager of Planning-Aselsan	
I-9	Graduate	Graduate	Graduate	Education	Education	Law	Teacher	Teacher	Notary	
I-9 (Husband)	Not given	Graduate	Graduate	None	Not given	Law	Housewife	General Manager Assistant of Bank	Lawyer	
I-10	High School	Graduate	Graduate	None	Military	Nutrition	Housewife	Military Officer (Colonel)	Dietician	
I-10 (Husband)	Graduate	Graduate	Graduate	Education	Education	Financing	Teacher	Teacher	Certified Accountant	
I-11	Junior High School	Graduate	Master	None	Forestry Engineering	Sport	Housewife	Forestry Engineer	Partner of Self-employed Kids Club and Tourism Companies	
I-11 (Husband)	Graduate	Graduate	Master	Education	Law	Electrical Engineering	Teacher	Lawyer	Electrical Engineer	
I-12	High School	High School	Graduate	None	None	Health	Housewife	Owner of Factory- Contractor of Construction	Pharmacist-Owner of office building- executive of her own foundation	
I-13	High School	Graduate	Master	None	Mining Engineering	Psychology, Philosophy Education	Housewife	Mining Engineer	Teacher	
I-13 (Husband)	Master	Graduate	Master	Chemical Engineering	Chemistry	Mechanical Engineering	Chemical Engineer	Chemist	Executive of Private Construction Company (Yüksel Holding)	

Source: Field Research
I: Interviewee

Regarding the data from The Turkish Statistics Institute (TUIK)⁷, the percentage of the population in Turkey who graduated from higher education in 1975 was 1.8%. In respect of the respondents' age, the year their parents graduated from higher education varies from the 1950's to the end of the 1960's; therefore it could be expected that most of the parents have represented less than 1.8 % of population. By their high volume of cultural capital they were in a minority.

As a result, in accordance with the occupational and educational profile of both the parents of the respondents and their husbands' parents, it is possible to say that almost all of the respondents have an upper-middle or middle class family origin. At this point, looking at the respondents and husbands education level it is possible to observe an increase in educational capital. In this sense, it is possible to argue that investment in educational capital has provided the parents with an opportunity to convert their cultural capital into economic capital (See Table 4.1 and 4.3). Therefore, the upper-middle and middle class families seem to have managed to maintain upward mobility or stability in the social space.

4.2.1 Occupations of Male Parents and Occupation Choices of Respondents

Considering the professions of the fathers male parents of the respondents and their husbands, it is remarkable that all the men, whose fathers were engineers, chose the engineering profession (See Table 4.3). Of the 25 fathers (due to twelve married and one single respondents there were 25 fathers and fathers in law), 9 were engineers, and 5 of them had a female and 4 male offspring. All the male children and one of the female children chose to enter various branches of engineering; the remaining 4 females chose to enter professions in branches of economics, urban planning, education and sports. From the nine with engineer fathers, two were contractors in big construction companies, one of which became industrialist; four of them work in the private sector and three in the public sector.

⁷ www.tuik.gov.tr The data have started in 1975.

Reviewing the data obtained, looking at the employment history of the engineer fathers, a large part of their working life occurred during the late 1970s and 1980s in Turkey. This period was the beginning of the dominance of neo-liberal policies in state politics; which meant a decrease in the industrial sector and an increase in the sector such as real estate, land and buildings which depended on capital not production (Boratav 2005). Thus, engineering and being contractor became the preferred professions, especially in developing construction sector. Therefore, the husbands of participants' choice of the engineering profession might be interpreted as being seen to provide stable social positions in the space of the class condition and in transmitting the economic capital to the next generation.

This consistency is also significant in accordance with the gender stereotyping of males in the Turkish society. Males in a capitalist and paternalistic society are surrounded with significant and predetermined duties, such as providing the family pedigree; providing and improving family acquisitions, which are still seen as a relative responsibility of men. In the case of women, there is no consistency; however in parallel to the increase of woman labor force in capitalist economy of the 1980s, the respondents' high proportion of participation in the market economy and significant risings in their educational/cultural capital are clearly seen. Therefore, it might be argued that compared to their mothers' education level and involvement in the market economy our respondents, as the next generation, they are more active in social and cultural activities and less dependent on their husbands' economic capital (See Table 4.3).

The situation of the older respondents (50+) could be considered as being in the former generation, is different from the younger participants. In similar to upper-middle class profile of the republican period, in this study the father's of the older respondents may be classified in the military service and the public executive. However the older participants have no intention to choose their fathers occupation, instead they and their husbands have preferred engineering and becoming a bureaucrat. It is difficult here to make a generalization, but looking at the overall

tendency on the basis of the public/private sector of the respondents; there is a significant transmission from the public sector to the private sector. As a result of neo-liberal policies, the private sector was strengthened over the last three decades, the elite groups in the bureaucracy have lost their privileges and the respondents, who were children in the 1980s, have been directed to the private sector.

One respondent's father can be included in the industrialists group, originating from a landowning family and established their factories in their homeland; in Fatsa in the city of Ordu. This man developed different branch industries and established factories in other provinces in Anatolia. He began as an electrical engineer installing electric utility poles, then as a family business he established a galvanization plant, in which iron utility poles were galvanized. Later on, the family had established a zinc factory which then became a zinc oxide factory. Today still as a family business, the father and his children manage this factory. He has a high level of education compared to other factory owning fathers who have descended from landowners. He was a mechanical engineering graduate, and in this way he could manage to convert his cultural capital into an economic capital.

There are three more respondents, with fathers having landowner family origins in Gaziantep, Ankara and Siirt. A father in Ankara, who graduated from high school and worked in construction as being building contractor, had managed to build a factory and invest in various real-estate projects, including being the owner of an office building. Accordingly through the process of being involved in construction and owning real estate this participant's father has accumulated capital; but here, educational capital is seen as less important in terms of accumulation strategies.

A father from Gaziantep who completed secondary school and to the end of his life had managed his soap production factory. All his children have received university education and; they have not taken over their father's business. A father in Siirt had a tribal family origin; his father was also a chief of a tribe. He and all four of his brothers' higher education in big cities such as İstanbul and Ankara, however his five sisters were unable to access such an education. All five men chose specialized

professions such as medical doctor. This particular father pursued a career as a lawyer and married a woman, who was a notary, who also had a tribal family origin. In contrast, this lawyer had a family that invested their economic capital directly in the profession education of the male children.

All of parents of respondents had sent their children to cities such as Ankara and İstanbul to receive a good education. The respondent from Fatsa chose metallurgy engineering, similar to her father's profession; however, the participants in the study, from Gaziantep and Ankara chose pharmacy. The daughter of the lawyer became a notary like her mother.

Whenever reviewing the respondents' stories, the previous generations consist of senior civil servants, military officers and Anatolian landowners all three groups are part of the elite in Turkey at that time. It is possible, therefore to say that there was a propensity for a transition from the public to the private sector. Additionally, there has been a flow from the senior civil servant and military service to engineering especially in the private construction sector for men, senior executive of private sector and to the professional. Furthermore, the children of landowners also have a tendency to be contractor of the construction sector. At this point, in accordance with the respondents' and their husbands' trajectory, it is possible to argue that the composition of capital which the respondents' parents acquired is one of determinant factors in formation of their occupational propensities and therefore their mobility in the social space.

4.2.2 Life-Styles of Childhood

The respondents generally came from patriarchal families with two or three children. However, the home of one of the respondents, whose parents were members of tribal families, not only consisted of family members; but accommodates relatives studying in Ankara. Almost half of the respondents' mothers were housewives; some families were more dependent on the fathers' occupation. Most families moved because the fathers were posted to different state offices various Anatolian districts. Some

families, whose fathers were in the private sector, such as factory owners first preferred to stay in their hometowns then they moved to Ankara or/and Istanbul. Families who lived in housing tied to their employment had more limited relationships, generally only interacting with those people living in the same tied housing complexes. Since the accommodation is supplied by the employer then the people living in the tied housing complexes generally only interacted with others working in the same or similar occupations, such as local government officers, teachers or military personnel. Other families lived in their hometowns with other relatives, although this was likely to be a more cosmopolitan neighborhood, they would mostly meet their immediate family and relatives.

For all the families' rituals, such as having brunch and dinner with all the family members together were part of daily life. Since for the older respondent's families there was no television after the evening meal the family members would talk to each other or read books or magazines. They have used to have their meals at home instead of eating out. For vacations, the families living in tied housing would visit their families in their home town. Seaside holidays came later; the younger respondents' families stated that they had summer houses on the coast, usually in Bodrum and Antalya. The children's educational achievement was a substantial issue for all the families; in order to ensure academic success they sent their children to schools with good reputations in İstanbul and Ankara. In contrast to the older respondents' families, the younger participants encourage their children to participate sporting activities such as playing tennis.

Due to the limited market, in the past, consumption was not a dominant behavior for the older respondents, for example clothes would be made at home, but younger respondents would shop for their clothes and younger respondents had their own automobiles earlier than the older respondents. In terms of leisure activities' going to the cinema was the favorite for the older participants in the study. For younger respondents, the cinema has lost its' importance and they prefer strolling down particular shopping streets, such as Tunalı Hilmi or visiting the shopping mall in Karum, and later the shopping center of Atakule.

Going to the theatre and classical music concerts were supported by parents and the schools of the older respondents in some schools this was compulsory. The parents of younger respondents had also encouraged their children to take part in cultural activities, but they did not impose this behavior, instead, it is possible to say that, they intervened in their children's decisions less than their parents had done.

The older respondents' parents were more conservative therefore; in their youth the older respondents flirting was more limited. However, while dating; they used to go to the cinema or bars of famous hotels or attend balls in those hotels. In Ankara, going to Ulus and Kızılay were the popular spaces for strolling and cafés. For the younger respondents together with their boyfriend they would go to shopping malls, the cinema, cafés, pubs and restaurants in particular places such as Gaziosmanpaşa in the evening. They would also go on holiday with their boyfriends and travel to İstanbul to attend foreign rock or pop concerts.

Consequently, from these accounts of the lives of two generations of upper middle class families, it is possible to observe continuous and transforming propensities and practices in the changes in the legitimate culture. Accordingly, it is obvious that on the basis of the neoliberal economy the practice of consumption encompasses predominantly a wide range in everyday life which dominates the lives of these families to a great extent. In this sense, it is not possible to mention about the dissolution of the family ties. In this context, the family ties are not dissolving, on the contrary, the institution of the family is perpetuating itself strengthening its existence via the transfer of its accumulated economic and cultural capital to the successive generations. Whenever one generation's popular places have become heterogeneous, new places are found. In the past, Kızılay, Ulus and later Çankaya which are positioned around government buildings such as the Turkish Grand National Assembly or the Prime Minister's Office, were popular, today instead of the city center the younger generation prefer suburbs and shopping-malls. The consumption of spaces has provided them with a variety of a more separate and 'autonomous space', indeed, through diversification of consumption goods, class identification

through consumption has increased. As a result, upper-middle and middle classes' propensity to distinguish themselves and their intention to provide stability of the class position in social space are seen to be permanent.

4.2.3 Close Family Relations

Family with its legitimate definition is a privilege, which is institutionalized in the form of the universal norm. Being married, having a child, having a house and a car are perceived as normal and universal norms. This 'normality' consists of symbolic privilege which has benefits. As experienced in Turkey and in most of societies, if one does not conform to the implicit norms there are implicit penalties such as social isolation and not be accepted as a serious member of the community. According to Bourdieu (2006) this 'privilege' is one of the basic requirements in accumulation and transfer of economic, cultural and symbolic capital. The family is not predominant only in biological reproduction; it is also affective in the reproduction of the social space structure.

Bourdieu states that in order to understand, how the concept of family transforms itself from a construction into a real social group; it is necessary to focus on all the 'symbolic and practical attempts', which are devoted to transform 'the obligation of loving' into an inclination of loving such as 'mother love' or 'brotherly love', and which equip each members for producing sacrifice, generosity, and solidarity. These 'symbolic and practical attempts' such as visiting and maintaining contact with immediate and distant family members, celebrating religious and other festivals, helping and caring for each other, giving without expectation of reciprocity, are fundamental for the stability of the family and for transferring capital to next generations and thus for the reproduction of the social structure. By establishing relationships on the basis of sacrifice, generosity and solidarity, family connections and ties are protected and the underlying of the reproduction of the structure of social space, is concealed. Therefore, for an accumulation of economic and cultural capital and for transfer of them between generations, the family is the best place (Bourdieu 2006). At this point Bourdieu comments that women in particular are perceived as

responsible for providing dynamic family relations and, implementing these symbolic and practical attempts.

In parallel to Bourdieu's argument, in this study, it is possible to argue that most of the respondents' basic motivation is to conduct such 'symbolic and practical attempts' by providing dynamic family relations in their space of life-style. By means of frequent family visits, economic supports, generous gifts, caring for grand children, and helping in domestic affairs, they provide a convenient environment for the accumulation and transfer of capital.

Although the respondents have departed from their family home, and most have married, the majority have kept strong family ties. Almost all the respondents' parents live close by and they meet at least three times a week, especially at weekends. In one case, Interviewee-4 (age 35) and her parents' houses are located side by side and dinners are prepared by her mother, but the meals are eaten in the respondent's house. Interviewee-4 tells her story as a family tradition; when she was a child, all the family members used to go to her grandmother's home for the evening meal, today she perpetuates this tradition, however she makes a little change in the location of the meal. The reason why she prefers her house is that she wants her children to feel connected to their house. In addition the interviewee explains how each year she and her family used to go to her home town to visit her grandmother and for her children and the grandparents to be together.

Interviewee-3 (age 35) described how in order to host her grand children, her mother has decided to retire and to buy a summerhouse. So in the holidays, the interviewee explains that they visit her parents and her husband's parents for a week. Interviewee-2 (age 32) says that although they have a live-in child minder in their home, her mother and her mother in law come separately to her home with their cleaning lady to care for her 17 month old daughter, and organize domestic affairs of her house. Interviewee-5 (age 63) and Interviewee-6 (age 63), whose parents are dead, have married children, who live close to them and both these interviewees look after their grand children and they see their children frequently.

As shown in the instances given above, the respondents provide a dynamic relationship with their parents and their children's family. Although the younger respondents have departed from their family home, they have established dependent relations. Accordingly these continuing and dependent relations may be seen mutually profitable for both sides. For instance, the practice of caring for the grand children has a dual contribution; through the regular meetings of the generations, it provides the transfer of inherited cultural capital, on the other hand through giving, sacrifice and generosity; it strengthens the dependency of respondents on their parents.

4.2.3.1 Gift Giving

In this sense, beyond being perceived as a generous act, gift giving is a strategy which conceals the real relationships; and an acceptance of a 'social debt' that obliges the receiver "to the magical exposure of enduring symbolic violence" (Bourdieu 1990). The gift-giving stories show how these activities establish a convenient environment for transferring accumulated economic and cultural capital. In this sense, it can be argued that the house as an inherited economic capital, the space of the house as a place of transferring inherited cultural capital are embodied in the practice of giving houses as a gift. Furthermore, by receiving the gift of a house, the recipients, the children, become involved in a 'social debt' relationship and therefore more dependent on the givers, their parents.

While 5 respondents were telling their story of setting up a home, they mentioned that during the search for a house after they got married, their husbands' parents had either offered them the house in which they had recently lived or provided them economic support to buy a house. At first, most of the husbands did not want to accept the gift, but in the end they accepted:

Interviewer: Why did you decide to buy the house in Çayyolu?

Interviewee-3 (age 35): We didn't buy a house, it was already owned by my husbands' parents' house, they invested in cooperative project, and they didn't live there. In fact as we were getting married, Burak has denied much in living there,

because there was no road, but actually the idea to move there later didn't satisfy me. I said, if I will live in somewhere, I do everything so far as to there, I organize my life so far as to there...I want to be older in there...In this issues, I am a bit conservative... On the day when we went to choose the wedding rings, my fiancé's mother, said that, Burak's father wants you to live in this house, but Burak doesn't want to, if you wish, we can have a look at the house". We said ok and we saw the asphalt road was being constructed, I mean, there had been a lot of development on the site... [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Interviewer: How did you choose this house?

Interviewee-4 (age 35): My father in law had joined a cooperative housing scheme and he asked me if I would like the house when it was completed. At that time there was no interior to the house and the area was undeveloped, so I didn't want to live in the house...Later, suddenly the area began to be developed and we liked it, the house was also beautiful. Later we completed the interior and moved there. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Although it was not possible to observe the giving and counter-giving relationships between respondents and their families, it is possible to argue that their parents and their parent's accumulated capital, both economic and cultural capital, are very significant and influential on the respondents' decisions concerning their lifestyle. Furthermore, it can be argued that there is a continuous transmission of capital between family members and there is an endeavor to institute strong economic, moral and symbolic ties to create enduring stability and the development of a social position in a social space.

4.2.3.2 Women's Active Role in Close Family Relations

In respect to women's active role in the maintenance of symbolic and practical actions, especially in keeping relationships alive, they are actively involved in gift-giving. Respondents, who are younger and have children aged from 0-6, have their mothers' support for child care and for domestic affairs. When asked about their marriage story, the married women explained that they wanted the marriage more than their husbands. Interviewee-1, (age 35), said that she was the one who wanted the child, although her husband also wanted a child, but she was concerned about her age. This woman was 27 when she got married and she was pregnant at 30.

Related to the interviews, it can be seen that although the role of maintaining family relationships is imposed and sublimates the women, they are proud of this role. They act as if they have the responsibility to create a secure, trustworthy and appropriate environment in which their children, themselves and their parents can connect with each other and easily develop strategies for future projects. Although some of respondents have very young children, they already have determined various projects for their children, which will be discussed later in this chapter. When is the participants in the study were asked about the kind of future they imagine for themselves; those with older children describe a place where they can retire, rest and see their grand children, on the other hand, the respondents with young children, firstly have a concern for the future of their child, then most describe an imaginary place, especially in their current home, where they could continue to see their parents and their children with their husbands:

Interviewer: What kind of future do you imagine for yourself? Where do you imagine yourself in the future?

Interviewee-2 (age 32): To have a certain social status to have ensured certain things for the children and to make sure that their future is secure. Then after retirement, I may have time for leisure.

Interviewer: For example, what would you like to do?

Interviewee-2: I would like to travel all over the world. I could still live in Ankara, being in Ankara isn't much of a problem but my husband wants to move to another city, to a coastal region, to Kalkan. I prefer Bodrum, because everything is there, it is on the coast and it is a summer resort, also healthcare, schools, shopping facilities and, everything is within easy reach. Of course, my husband would be with me, I wouldn't be upset if my mother and father were there too, but this is a dream. Primarily, I want all of us to be in good health. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Concerning Bourdieu's third presupposition of the family discourse, the home as a place of stability, continuity and transference, almost all of the respondents think of their current home as an heirloom and a permanent place for them. While Interviewee-3 (age 35), who wants to grow old in her own house, relates her dreams of the future which include, having a bookstore and her career plans; she emphasizes that "the place where I want to live and stay is Ankara. I want to reach a social status in Ankara...I have never thought of a life without my husband and my family in my

life in my life”. Similarly, when Interviewee 4 (age 35) was asked, “Where you do want to live in the future?” she answered “Now I live like this, I suppose that it will always be this house and in this way”.

4.2.4 Marriage

In accordance with the framework of a social space that Bourdieu (2006) mapped in *Distinction*, he argues that this framework defines the predictable distances of encounters, familiarities, sympathies and also desires. That is to say, the possibility marriage between the agents, who have close proximity in the social space, is greater than between agents where there is a greater distance because primarily they have no physical opportunity to encounter each other and secondly, if they meet it would be accidental. They would not be able to understand each other and they would not like each other. However, agents who have similar positions have propensities to like each other and therefore the propensity to become close to each other.

Besides, for Bourdieu (1996), however the family and family relationships are seen to be founded on the base of disinterestedness; the intention is to maximize the family’s volume of capital. At this point it is noteworthy that in this study all the married respondents and their husbands have a similar volume of cultural and economic capital. These leads to the concept of “*elective affinities*” (Bourdieu 1984, 243); all but one of the respondents and met their prospective husbands at university (See Table 4.2). Regarding Bourdieu’s argument, the space of universities is the most appropriate place for encountering people who have similar institutional cultural capital. It is notable that all the respondents and their husbands have similarly high education levels. Of the 25 individuals; 14 are graduates, 10 have a master’s degree and one has a doctorate (See Table 4.2).

When requested to tell how they met their husbands, the younger participants in the study explained that they met them in their friendship communities in particular through the “Kolejliler”, which is a society of people who graduated from the high school foundation; TED (Türk Eğitim Derneği) in Ankara. Through this society, after

high school graduation, the alumni establish a social network which continues during and after university. Three of the respondents met their husbands during these meetings; and after sufficient time to get to know each other, they began dating.

The older respondents met with their prospective husbands in the 1970s and although there are differences in the way they met and their dating practices, they married men who were members of their social group. These common societies or friendship communities have provided them with an opportunity to encounter and share information about one another. Consequently, the 12 married respondents married to men with a similar volume of economic and cultural capital; and thus who have similar predispositions, common friends, backgrounds and world-views.

4.3 Education

Together with the support of higher education, the stratum which involves the so called ‘new middle class’ was expanded in Welfare State period throughout the world (Şimşek 2005). According to Bourdieu, after the changes in the social structure, changes in educational systems including the ‘schooling boom’, there was increasing “competition for academic qualifications”. He argues that the dominant class and the middle class fractions had higher economic capital and converted their economic capital into educational capital for their reproduction strategies (Bourdieu 1984, 132).

In Turkey, the ‘schooling boom’ was not as evident as in the developed countries. Nevertheless, Turkish society was affected by the global change in social structure. Between the years of 1975 to 2000, the percentage of people in Turkey who completed higher education rose from 1.8 % to 7.8 %; with the major acceleration occurring in the 1990s⁸. Although this increase was not equally divided between women and men, the former’s participation in higher education is also increasing.

⁸ www.tuik.gov.tr data collection began in 1975.

In the 1970's the older respondents and their husbands were part of 1.8 % of the population, and the other respondents were part of 5.1 % of the population in the 1990's. The respondents reported that their parents' paid special attention to their education and ensuring their success; their parents, in particular, their mothers motivated them to study and created a positive environment for studying. Some of the respondents were sent to a big city for a 'better' education (See Table 4.4). Being successful is significant in the respondents' lives; they declared that they were very successful students at school. Interviewee -3 (age 35) gave information about her family's standardized rules in her childhood; when she arrived home after school, homework had to be finished first and then they could have their dinner together; after the meal, after sitting and talking for a while she took a shower and at 9:30 she went to bed. In summer, after 16:00, she was not allowed out; this participant in the study now says that she agreed with her family's rules. She explains in her own words:

Strolling on streets all day, saving nothing; instead, my parents were directing us to read books, listening to us, tidying our rooms, doing something different. Moreover, there was a mosque in the housing complex, all my friends were going to Koran lessons, and I was very upset, because parents didn't allow me to go. They put the Koran in front of me and said that if I wanted to learn so much, I could learn it at home. My grandmother was a teacher in the Kuleli Military School, my father and my mother attended boarding school; my father graduated from the "Fen Lisesi"-a science high school, and my mother is graduated from the "Kandilli Kız Lisesi"-reputable girls' school. We were like this; we were a little rule based family. I am also still like that and I behave in that way with my children. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

As a result, in respect to the respondents' and their parents' education levels, and their emphasis on success in school, the strategy of converting economic capital into educational capital and then converting educational capital into economic capital can be seen as one of the most important accumulating ways of capital.

Table 4.4 Institutions of Education from Primary School to University

	Primary School	Junior High School	High School	University
I-1	Ankara Bahçelievler Primary School	İstanbul-Etiler High School	İstanbul-Etiler High School	Marmara University
I-2	Yükseliş College	Yükseliş College	Yükseliş College	Gazi University- METU
I-3	Samsun Özel Altınkaya Primary School, TED Ankara College	TED Ankara College	TED Ankara College	METU (Master)
I-4	Fatsa Public School	Arı College	Atatürk Anadolu High School	METU
I-5	Ankara-Sarar Primary School , Kars- Fevzi Çakmak Primary School	Kars-Fevzi Çakmak Primary School	Diyarbakır- Ziya Gökalp High School	Ankara University the Law Faculty
I-6	Hopa Primary School	Ankara- Yenimahalle High School	Ankara- Yenimahalle High School	Ankara University the Law Faculty
I-7	Gaziantep- İttahi Ahmet Ağa Primary School	Gaziantep College	Ankara- Cumhuriyet High School	Ankara Gazi University
I-8	Batman	Gaziosmanpaşa Junior High School	Kocatepe Mimar Kemal High School	İstanbul University the Law Faculty
I-9	Şirinyer Tuğsalı Primary School	İzmir Public School	İzmir Public School	Ankara University the Law Faculty
I-10	Kars- Fevzi Çakmak Primary School	Kurtuluş High School	Kurtuluş High School	Hacettepe University
I-11	Ankara-Bahçelievler Primary School	Yükseliş College	Yükseliş College	Hacettepe University (Master)
I-12	Ankara-Atatürk Primary School, Sarar Primary School	Namık Kemal Junior High School	Yükseliş College	Ankara University Pharmacy Faculty
I-13	Kütahya Değirmisaz Primary School	Kütahya Değirmisaz Junior High School	İstanbul Kandilli Girls High School	Hacettepe University (Master)

Source: Field Research

4.3.1 ‘Kolejli’ as Social Capital

Reviewing the respondents’ attitudes towards their children, especially the younger ones, it is possible to argue that their attention to the notion of success and qualified education has increased. They research the best education for their children when they are little more than babies (See Table 4.5). For instance, Interviewee-1’s (age 35) child is 3; after intensive research, she has decided to send her child to a very specialized Montessori preschool, which has a very specialized curriculum. For primary and high school education, she is planning to send her daughter to TED, Ankara, and she explains that because TED is a well known foundation school; her daughter can be a member of the TED Alumni after the graduation.

From all the respondents, there is a notable propensity to send their children to TED (See Table 4.5). They consider that TED to be a ‘qualified’ educational institution; they generally believe that TED offers a friendship network which provides a social status. The respondents who emphasize this network, either they and/or their husbands graduated from TED and called themselves as ‘Kolejli’ (Collegiates)- although this term refers to students of college, it only applies to TED. For instance Interviewee -3 (age 35), who together with her husband graduated from TED explains about being ‘Kolejli’:

Interviewee-3: In fact, when I became ‘Kolejli’ I was in the 11th grade, I became a full Kolejli at that time. Until that time ... I was studying my lessons.

Interviewer: What do you mean by ‘Kolejli’?

Interviewee-3: There is a type of ‘Kolejli’ in people’s minds this is student who goes out, has fun, participates in every kind of activity, and has lots of friends. We used to stroll along Tunalı Avenue every day, Kolejliiler used to sit in front of Ertuğ Passage and when we went there, it was like the corridor of our ‘Kolej’; everyone saying ‘hi’, ‘what’s up’, everyone was used to go there to see each other. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

On the website of TED Ankara College, the final item on their quality policy page is “To preserve its ethos by passing on the tradition of ‘Ankara College Identity’”⁹. Consequently, being ‘Kolejli’ is not only being a TED graduate and having a high quality education, it comprises a particular lifestyle space which consists of the experience of specific cultural practices, being seen in certain places and socializing with the other members of the alumni. Therefore, being known as ‘Kolejli’ indicates a social capital that their permanently established social network provides them with an environment and to exchange their accumulated economic and symbolic capital.

The annual tuition fee of the TED preschool is 16.000 TL¹⁰ or 32.000TL, and for the primary and high school the cost is approximately 10.000-12.300 TL¹¹ per year. They have a limited quota for registration; they take children, at 5 years old,

⁹ <http://www.tedankara.k12.tr/english2/index1.asp?ID=quality>

¹⁰ For the children whose parents are graduated of TED.
<http://www.tedankara.k12.tr/kampusteyasam2/kayit/5yas.pdf>

¹¹ http://www.tedankara.k12.tr/kampusteyasam2/kayit/1_12.pdf

afterwards they only accept children dependent on their grades in certain examinations¹². These restrictions and high tuition fees, those families with a low volume of economic capital are eliminated. However, TED's selection process does not consider the cultural capital of the applicant children.

Accordingly, Interviewee -3 (age 35), does not want to send her children to Turkish schools because of the examination based education system, explains:

I don't want the children to attend Turkish schools, but Burak (her husband) is insisting on Kolej; he says you are Kolejli, I am also Kolejli; everyone is a Kolejli...now everyone will send their children to the Kolej. I am resistant. I want to send them to the French school Charles de Gaulle. It is inside of the French Embassy... Moreover they approve 50 children a year at age 3, after that age, they are not accepted. They speak only French and the education is mainly social science based; geography, history... it is more 'European'...if I persuade Burak we will send them there, if I cannot, the children will go to Kolej too, because the family profile of Turkish schools. One of the reasons why I choose Charles de Gaulle, is these families' cultural level, I am not talking about their economic level or social level, because the 'türbanlılar'¹³ fairly expanded the social network, they are very social people, they exist in foundations, executives etc., but their cultural life is not the same with mine, neither their lifestyle nor their view point of life etc. When you go to a place like Charles de Gaulle, you already eliminate these people; it is a definite and very small group.

Interviewer: What about the situation in Kolej?

Interviewee-3: There are lots of children whose families are 'türbanlı', they accept 800 students in a year, how they investigate is their business,...but in Charles de Gaulle, first you apply, then they evaluate you and they call you for an interview, if they like you, they will accept your child. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

In relation to the reconversion strategies, the foundations schools such as TED and the embassy schools allow the upper middle class people to differentiate themselves, to convert their economic capital into cultural and symbolic capital and to establish a social network that will guide them their further strategies and investments. Indeed, most of the respondents have a tendency to send their children to the TED Foundation schools, however there is a rising propensity among a specific group of

¹² <http://www.tedankara.k12.tr/kayit2009.asp>

¹³ Term used for the group of people whose women cover their heads as a sign of their Islamist based lifestyle and world view.

people to differentiate themselves from those who have the same economic capital, but have different habitus and occupy a different space of a lifestyle.

Table 4.5 Education Plans for Their Children

# of Children	Gender	Age	Planned/Planning Schools and Reasons of Preferring These Schools
I-1	1 Female		Montessori- Pre-school education; "I have investigated too much. Their system is very different, An Italian woman psychiatrist had established this system, it is widespread in Europe. For the primary and high school: TED; It is known and fundamental foundation. It is a school in which she can grow up with the realities of Turkey. We have chose it for having a 3 society after graduation".
I-2	1 Female		Montessori; for its system. Embassy of England or Aykan Pre-school; for foreign language in primary school. For high school we have chose TED; 1,5 for having a social status and a good friendship
I-3	2 Female		"I want an international school because I do not want them to have examination stress". Her husband prefers TED, she wants CharedeGaule. " The family profile and their cultural life in public schools does not accord with mine, by Chare de Gaule you can eliminate these".
I-4	2 Female and Male	6 and 3	METU College; "The profile of parents consists of lecturers in university, I want that they grow up with people who are qualified in culture and intelligent."
I-5	1 Male		34 TED; the best institution of education at that time.
I-6	1 Male		TED; "It was the most appropriate, serious and the best school. I have motivated him to become an engineer, engineering was popular occupation of our times but it did not, he graduated from the department of Tourism in Bilkent University".
I-7	2 Female		22 and TED; "more serious in comparison to Bilkent and for its foreign language 19 education".
I-8	2 Female	13 and 6	"TED; for foreign language lessons, there are very different benefits of being graduated from TED. But I send my little daughter to Bilkent because in TED she was disappeared, it is very crowded. Although my first child is very talented, her skills were not seen in TED; Bilkent is like a boutique school, social features become more dominant".
I-9	2 Male		"TED; for foreign language lessons, strong friendships because my husband's uncle and aunt all had graduated from TED and their 18 and friendships still continue and are very good. We did not want him to go 15 the law faculty like us but he has chose it willingly".
I-10	2 Female and Male		"Both of them have graduated from TED; because it was the best school of that time, later both of them have graduated from Bilkent University and have their master degree in America. We have motivated both of them, 31 and they did not want engineering but we have oriented them to economy and 25 management".
I-11	None		They are planning to have a child. If they have they are planning to send their child to special schools. "I think the neighborhood of school should be good, and family profile should be proper and like our type of people, I do not want TED; it is either crowded or they said that it has lost its old environment".
I-12	None		
I-13	2 Female		"The older one went to TED, the little one went to first Yükseliş College later Büyük College. Between TED and Yükseliş we could not have any 35 and benefit from Yükseliş. In their occupation tendencies their father's 29 occupation has become more influential".

Source: Field Research
I: Interviewee

Table 4.6 Use of Urban Space

Frequently Used Places	Preferred Shopping Malls	Household shopping	Entertainment	Cinema/Theatre	Dining Out	Places never / rarely visited
I-1 Çankaya	Panora, Forum Ankara	Migros, Carrefour, Kipa	At home, Çankaya	Panora Shopping Mall	Çankaya-Köşebaşı, Tike, Oran- Antep Lokantası	Kızılay
I-2 Çayyolu, Bilkent	Bilkent, Kavaklıdere, Çayyolu	Supermarkets in Çayyolu, Oran	Bilkent, Çayyolu, Çankaya	Bilkent	Bilkent, Çayyolu Park Caddesi, Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa	Kızılay, Ulus
I-3 Kızılay	Çayyolu, ODTÜ, Bahçelievler, Panora	Migros, Carrefour (Cepa)	Çayyolu-Kıtır, Ayrancı-North, At home	Arkadyum, Bilkent	Panora- Midpoint, Shipa, Çankaya- Mezzaluna, Quick China, Çayyolu, Bilkent	Mamak, Keçiören, Pursaklar, Yenimahalle, Sincan
I-4 Çankaya	Çayyolu, Bilkent, Armada, Cepa, Panora, Karum	Supermarkets in Çayyolu	Weddings	Arkadyum, Bilkent	Çayyolu-Park Caddesi- Bucha, Big Chef, Marmelad, Çankaya-Tike, Yakamoz, Oran- Adana01	Keçiören, Aydınlıkevler, Ulus
I-5 Çayyolu, Kızılay	Çayyolu-Tansaş, Arkadyum	Migros	None	CSO Concerts-Ulus	Hacettepe- Beyaz Ev, Ümitköy	Keçiören, Yenimahalle
I-6 Tunalı	Çankaya, Kızılay, Panora, Armada, 365	Çağdaş, Migros	None	Shopping Malls	Çankaya: Starbucks, Budakaltı, Sheraton	Çayyolu, Ulus, Keçiören, Yenimahalle
I-7 Çayyolu	Panora, Armada	In past -Çankaya Şömine Custom Butcher, Migros, MakroMarket	Zeki Bar, Agora, Galeri	Sera, Armada, Arkadyum	Çayyolu- Giritli Balıkçısı, Barbekü, Şalgam, Park Cad. Tike	Ulus, Yenimahalle
I-8 Bilkent, Macunköy	Bilkent, Cepa, AnkaMall, Gordiyon	Çayyolu Pazarı	Sheraton, Hilton Bar	Bilkent, AnkaMall	Park Caddesi, Minesera BigChefs	Mamak, Nato Yolu
I-9 Kızılay, Çayyolu	Çankaya, Elmadag, Cepa, Armada	Çetin Emeç-Migros	None	None	Uludağ İskender, Sushi-Co, Quick China, Trilye, Kumsal, Boğaziçi Lokantası	Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Demetevler, Abidinpaşa, HüseyinGazi
I-10 Tunalı	Çayyolu, Çankaya, Tunalı, Cepa	Supermarkets in Çayyolu	Cocktails in Embassies and hotels	Does not go	Tunalı-Cafes des Cafes, Tapas, Turunç, Çayyolu- Marmelad	Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Ulus
I-11 Tunalı, Oran	Kavaklıdere, Tunalı, Panora	Migros, Kipa	Tunalı	Panora Shopping-mall	Gaziosmanpaşa, Çankaya, Çayyolu Park Caddesi, Laterna, Hox, Kalbur, Mezzaluna, Kıtır	Etlık, Keçiören, Eryaman, Batıkent
I-12 Kızılay, Çayyolu	Gaziosmanpaşa, Yurtdışı, Amerika, İstanbul	Kızılay, Peynirci, Migros, 365	İstanbul; Tünel, Nişantaşı	Rarely to Armada	Gaziosmanpaşa, Thrilye, Gökusu Restoran, Hose Café, Kitchennette	Ulus, Yenimahalle, Keçiören
I-13 Çayyolu	Gaziosmanpaşa, Seyranbağları, Arkadyum	Supermarkets in Çayyolu	None	Arkadyum	Gaziosmanpaşa; Homestore, Big Chefs	SolFaSol, Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Sincan

Source: Field Research

I: Interviewee

Table 4.7 Profile of Residential Movements of Interviewees

	Childhood	Junior & High School Period	University Period	After university and before leaving home Period	Post marriage/leaving family Home
I-1	Ankara- Bahçelievler- America (3 years)	İstanbul -Etiler	İstanbul-Etiler	İstanbul- Gayrettepe	Ankara-Oran
I-2	Ankara- Gaziosmanpaşa	Ankara -Yukarı Ayrancı	Ankara -Y. Ayrancı	Ankara-Yıldız, Oran	Ankara- Çayyolu
I-3	Samsun, Ankara- Çankaya- Kennedy Cad.	Ankara- Çankaya-Kennedy Caddesi	Ankara- Çankaya, Çayyolu	Ankara-Çankaya-Çayyolu	Ankara- Çayyolu
I-4	Ordu- Fatsa	Ankara-Kurtuluş, Kavaklıdere	Ankara-Kavaklıdere	Ankara-Kavaklıdere	Ankara Kavaklıdere, Çayyolu
I-5	Ankara- Maltepe, Kars	Kars, Sarıkamış, Diyarbakır	Ankara-Kurtuluş, Maltepe	Ankara-Demirtepe	Ankara- Bahçelievler, Germany, Çankaya (2 places), Çayyolu
I-6	İstanbul-Emirgan, Yeniköy, Artvin-Hopa	Ankara-Yenimahalle	Ankara- Kızılırmak Sok.	Ankara- Kızılırmak Sok.	Ankara- Kızılay, Küçüksesat, G.O.P.
I-7	Gaziantep- Nizip	Gaziantep- Nizip, Ankara- Emek Yeşiltepe Evleri	Ankara- Emek Yeşiltepe Evleri	Ankara- Emek Yeşiltepe Evleri	Ankara-Yukarı Ayrancı, G.O.P., Çayyolu
I-8	Siirt-Batman	Ankara- G.O.P., Kızılay	İstanbul	Ankara-Kızılay	America California, Ankara- K.Esat, America Dallas, Çayyolu (2 places), Bilkent
I-9	Fethiye, İzmir-Buca	İzmir-Buca	Ankara- Yenişehir, Yıldırım Beyazıt	Ankara-100.Yıl	Ankara- Tandoğan Mebusevleri,
I-10	Kars, Sarıkamış, Diyarbakır	Ankara- Kızılay, Demirtepe	Ankara- Kızılay, Demirtepe	Ankara-Kızılay, Demirtepe	Ankara-Kızılay, U.K Çankaya- Kavaklıdere, Çayyolu
I-11	Ankara-Bahçelievler	Ankara-Bahçelievler	Ankara-Çankaya	Ankara-Çankaya	Ankara-Gaziosmanpaşa
I-12	Ankara-Ulus Anafartalar	Ankara-Kızılay, Demirtepe- Beşevler	Ankara- Beşevler	Ankara-Beşevler	Ankara- Gaziosmanpaşa
I-13	Kütahya-(Emet-Değirmisaz)	İstanbul-Üsküdar	Ankara-Yenimahalle	Ankara- G.O.P	Ankara-G.O.P, Antalya, İzmir, İstanbul, Samsun, Ank - G.O.P., Çayyolu

Source: Field Research

I: Interviewee

4.4 Spaces

With respect to reproduction strategies, the segregation of space and spatial differentiation propensities of the middle and upper-middle classes on the basis of class structure have significant and reproductive role in the contemporary urban space. In the text “the Condition of the Working Class in England” Friedrich Engels while describing living conditions of working class in the city of Manchester in 1845 states that “the members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the labouring districts to their places of business, without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and left” (1987, 49). That is to say, the city was established in a way that the capitalists did not have to witness the awful conditions and the poverty that the working class experienced “which might affront the eye and the nerves of the bourgeoisie” (1987, 50). Although more than a century passed since Engels wrote these words, it can be argued that the designs of urban spaces have not change to any great extent.

In this context, observing the respondents residential propensities and use of urban space from their childhood to today, there is an increasing propensity towards distinction by means of living in suburban areas, homogeneous gated communities and using exclusionary city spaces (See Table 4.6 and 4.7). In the next section the trajectory of respondents’ residential movements and their spatial differentiation propensities will be described.

4.4.1 The Previous Lifestyle Spaces of the Respondents

Some of the respondents’ childhood was spent in various provinces of Anatolia such as Samsun, Kars, Gaziantep and Fatsa (See Table 4.7). This was mainly due to their fathers being appointed to different positions in different locations, particularly the soldiers and engineers. Other respondents had a more settled childhood but almost all respondents relocated to Ankara or İstanbul for high school and university. Almost all of the respondents talk of a childhood where they could play games *securely* in the street with their friends until dinner time. They comment on how happy and peaceful life was; According to most of the respondents; this was because

neighborhood relations were more genuine than today, people from different classes could share a common living space without disturbing each other and also there were appropriate spaces for children's games. Here the concept of 'security' does not only pertain to vehicle free places, but also indicates that they and their parents did not perceive the neighbors and neighbor's children from other classes as a threat to their lifestyle. Thus, although the respondents' space of everyday life was less segregated at that time, they did not feel disturbed by this. Interviewee-3, (age 35) tells of how she misses her childhood and would wish the same experience for her children:

I miss the time when I was living in state housing which was near a village in Samsun. There was a playground, where the children of workers and engineers could play together, to the south was the workers' housing; single storey, at the north there was the engineers housing; two storied, it was sheltered, away from vehicles it was a special place, on one side, there the Kızılırmak river and , on the other there was a village... I wish my children could have this; I mean it was the most beautiful childhood that any child could have. We used to go to school on foot and have our lunch at home. We used to ride bicycles all day long, everyone knew and trusted each other, but there are no such things today. Thank God, this 'site'¹⁴ where I live consists of 32 houses, everyone knows each other, nevertheless you cannot exclude the outside world, and when they deliver the bottled water or the repairmen come, willingly or unwillingly you feel disturbed, nowadays, no one trusts anybody. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Similarly Interviewee-4, age 35, talks about her childhood in Fatsa:

We used to play on the street; most of my friends were boys...this continued until I finished primary school at Fatsa. After that, every summer I returned to Fatsa, I feel I'm lucky due to have grown up like this, because we had very different friends; those who sold 'simit' or friends who lived in the village. We were at the same school...When you experience this in your childhood, you have a different view of life; you learn to contact all sorts of people and you see that they are just like you; actually they are no different from you. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Interviewee -13 (age 61), whose father was a mining engineer, had a "happy and beautiful childhood" living in housing provided by the Turkish Coal Services (TKİ) in Kütahya.

Interviewee-13: Areas for people with different status, for example the engineers lived in one storied detached houses near the Emet stream and middle income groups lived in a neighborhood called Tırak and opposite neighborhoods, there was a village, but all the children went to the same primary school... At that time, prisoners working in the domain of TKİ, there were open-prisons, and the prisoners

¹⁴ In Turkish 'site' means a gated estate of houses, sometimes with security guards, cameras etc.

used to work in our garden, had a happy and fortunate childhood... Among those prisoners were some petty criminals, some of them whom were musicians and the children took accordion lessons from them. I had a happy and fortunate childhood.

Interviewee -5 (age 63), 6 (age 63), 10 (age 58), all with fathers in the army, had a childhood in more homogenous and isolated places. When asked what she missed (“remember” sounds better) about her childhood, Interviewee-5 instead of describing the friends that she had, she talked in detail about the natural features of places such as; Kars and Sarıkamış, and mentioned her success at school.

Most of the respondents spent their childhood in relatively secure gated state or military housing. Apart from those who lived in military housing, the other respondents lived together with people of different classes and they referred to this situation as one of happiness and peace. Whenever they mentioned the past, they indicated that something is missing today; and it was not possible to return the genuine neighborhood of the past, where they could trust their neighbors and there was no threat to their lifestyle space. Nevertheless, in respect to their discourses about the past, there is a paradox with the way they live now. Although one of the things, that many respondents missed, was to be able to share a common place of life with working class people, but they have chosen to live in exclusive places, in which working class people can only be seen as an employee or tradesperson.

4.4.2 Living Spaces of the Present Day

Regarding Lefebvre, Engels foresaw that slums that the working classes lived in allowed them to associate when they were not working; therefore a living space might provide the working class with the opportunity to organize and to become a union. However, instead of the working class, the capitalist class benefited from its opportunities. Contrary to Engels’ expectation, the space was used as a commodity for managing the crisis of capitalism (Şengül 2001). Concerning their establishment on the basis of consumption, the spaces of cities have become more segregated and controlled in opposition to the situation in the industrial cities of 19th century. Furthermore, identical to Engels’ portrayal, the districts, in which working class people lived, were places of deprivation. By planning city spaces on the basis of

segregation, the bourgeoisie class could easily live without confronting the unpleasant conditions and poverty of the working class.

Turkey's cities, without passing through the industrialization process, as it was experienced in Europe and the U.S. in the urbanization of Turkey, as a result of the neo-liberal policies the segregation of urban space, which began in the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s, and continues to increase. The more polarized the society, the more segregated places emerge. Particularly for big cities such as İstanbul and Ankara this urbanization and the subsequent suburbanization happened occurred over a very short period of time. Therefore, it is almost possible to observe the process on a daily basis. Most of Ankara is a construction area; being reconstructed and segregated day by day. Thus, those who live in suburbs of Ankara are able to continue their daily lives without any contact with the inner city.

In Engels' industrial cities, the bourgeoisie and the working class could meet each other in the production process, based on today's consumption cities, the bourgeoisie and the working classes are mainly in contact during consumption practices. According to the interviews, the respondents state that unless they work in the inner city, they do not need to go to places such as Kızılay and Ulus. They are able to fulfill the requirements of their everyday life in the suburbs. They generally use particular places such as Çayyolu, Bilkent and Çankaya (See Table 4.6), which are known as the settlements of the upper-middle class of Ankara. Çankaya is known as the first settlement of the bureaucratic elite and upper- middle class. Later, Çayyolu and Bilkent emerged as suburban settlements. The Eskişehir highway integrates the suburban areas with Çankaya and also the inner city. So it is possible to go to Çankaya without passing through other settlements and the crowded inner city. The respondents use these spaces for shopping, recreational activities and for meeting with friends in restaurants and cafés; others use Kızılay, Bahçelievler and ODTÜ because of the proximity to their work place. Most of the participants in the study avoid using places in the inner city and the settlements of middle and working classes like Kızılay, Ulus, Mamak, Keçiören, Yenimahalle, and Sincan. When the respondents were asked why they preferred not to visit these places, generally they

relied that there would be parking problems, since virtually all of them do not use public transport, using their own cars (See Table 4.8). Furthermore, they stated that they do not frequent the settlements of the working and low-middle class, since they have no connection with these kind places, in terms of work, social or family life. In fact most of the respondents have no idea about the people who live in these places and their living conditions. According to Bourdieu’s argument, people from different classes have little opportunity to meet and get to know each other; their spatial distance prevents them from interacting.

Table 4.8 Ownership of Automobiles and Use of Mass Transportation

	Brand of Automobile	Brand of Husband's Automobile	Use of Mass Transportation
I-1	Volkswagen- Golf 99 model	Audi	Never uses
I-2	Peugeot 307	Volvo	Never uses
I-3	Honda CRV 98	BMW	Never uses
I-4	BMW 3.20	BMW 5.20	Never uses
I-5	Does not have own car- Uses civil car of Supreme Court of Appeals	Mercedes	Never uses
I-6	Volvo S60		Rarely uses
I-7	Landrower	Mercedes Vito (He wants to have classic car)	Never uses
I-8	Toyota Raw4 Jip	BMW X5 Jeep	Never uses
I-9	Fiat Doblo	Mercedes	Rarely uses
I-10	Honda CRV	Mercedes	Never uses
I-11	Honda Jazz	Ford Focus (Company Car)	Never uses
I-12	Ford Focus (In past she has used to have specially produced cars)		Never uses
I-13	Audi Q5	Mercedes, 54Chevrolet (In past he has used to have Jaguar and Mercedes)	Never uses

Source: Field Research
I: Interviewee

4.4.2.1 Neighborhood of Çayyolu: Living ‘The Way I Live’

Since the 1980’s Çayyolu has been one of the suburban districts of Ankara the 1990’s, this district has expanded and diversified. This suburb was planned to as a response to an increasing demand for housing from the bureaucratic elites in Ankara. The development of housing cooperative attracted professionals such as doctors and teachers and as a result the residents of Çayyolu are upper-middle and middle class

who wanted to live in a ‘decent’ neighborhood. Thus, Çayyolu is now a large scale segregated district where people with similar lifestyles congregated and lived in various “site” or gated communities.

Interviewee-4 (age 35) associates Çayyolu with the European suburbs and says that a part of the people live here who have materially top purchasing power of Ankara, but in fact it was it like Ayrancı in the past. There are also very sophisticated families from the middle level. The only thing is that those people living here still behave as if it was the old Çankaya. She said that when she was young, she could easily go out at night in Tunalı Street and as a young girl was not afraid. According this interviewee, Çayyolu is also like the ‘old’ Tunalı; “I mean nobody here disturbs you, whenever you go out, anywhere and at any time”. Drawing a line from the respondents’ first homes in Ankara, to their marriage and post marriage settlements, shows a direct connection between Çankaya to Çayyolu. For the older respondents they moved to their former homes before the suburbanization process, so their first settlements in Ankara were in today’s trivialized inner city, districts such as Demirtepe, Yenimahalle and Emek (See Table 4.7). In this sense following the line that is drawn it is possible to see that similar propensities of living in particular places in particular time-periods have been established by middle and upper-middle classes in order to distinguish themselves.

Therefore, it can be assumed that there is a common perception between respondents in the suburb of Çayyolu. For them, people in their neighborhood have similar tendencies and lifestyles. The respondents, who live in Çayyolu, live in closed walled ‘gated communities’, with high security systems, various recreational services, with limited traffic flow and a very low density of people. Access is limited with private security guards at the entrance who only allow non residents to gain access after the residents give permission. Of the thirteen respondents nine live in gated communities, of the remaining four, all but one, live in a ‘site’. At this point, it is notable that these people voluntarily prefer to live with the people who have the similar way of life and therefore they intend to exclude people who may disturb them. Interviewee-3 (age 35) states her sensitivity to outsiders in her living space:

Thank God, this ‘site’¹⁵ where I live consists of 32 houses, everyone knows each other, nevertheless you cannot exclude the outside world, and when they deliver the bottled water or the repairmen come, willingly or unwillingly you feel disturbed, nowadays, no one trusts anybody. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

In Çayyolu, there was a tendency to construct an “exclusionary enclave” (Marcuse 1997, 229) of bureaucratic elites, later the ‘gated communities’ were created not only for the bureaucrats, but also for the upper-middle and middle class who have affinities in their socio-economic and cultural status. For instance Interviewee-4 (age 35) defines why Çayyolu does not disturb her: “People in here live the way I live”. In this manner respondents emphasize on homogeneity of lifestyles. Having a similar social, economic and cultural status is significant in the period of the globalization of cities. In this sense, Interviewee-5’s (age 63) story of moving is very salient. Before Çayyolu, she lived in Çankaya, in one of the first mass housing estates (Me-Sa Site). She explains the reasons for moving;

Our first house was a mass housing estate, I loved its’ layout, it was very beautiful...but my husband was disturbed by the number of people in the apartment. He said that every day I meet someone else in the elevator. Moreover, behind the estate was Yıldız; it was then a slum yet and a safe area. We heard gunfire that made us anxious. For that reason, we moved to a nearby apartment building to a flat. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Afterwards due to ‘disturbing’ neighborhood relations, the respondent and her husband decided to move to a detached house in Ümitköy in Çayyolu. Although the respondents was anxious about the safety of the adjacent area it seems that the predominant reason for moving was connected to the heterogeneity of people who live in the housing estate. Furthermore, when the respondents preferred living spaces and type of house are considered, it seems that they have a propensity to live in more and more homogeneous, more detached and more segregated places.

With respect to this trend, it is possible to investigate the kind of strategies they developed in order to establish such homogeneous enclaves. While evaluating her neighborhood in Çayyolu, one respondent gives a significant example:

¹⁵ In Turkish ‘site’ means a gated estate of houses, sometimes with security guards, cameras etc.

Interviewee-3 (age 35): We live in a secular neighborhood. Both my house and my mother's are in gated housing complex, the people living there generally have the same political views and lifestyles. When someone wants to buy a house in our complex, they will be subject to a small investigation. We would not accept radical (sivri) types of people nor people whose will disturb us or who will be disturbed by us and our children.

Interviewer: Can you explain this investigation?

Interviewee-3: One of our neighbors had a friend who was a real-estate agent. When houses were being sold, we gave all of them to that agent, because the cooperative had been selling them through various agents. When one real-estate office is handling the sales then, it is easier to control. You can get rid of people through bidding high prices when you want and we have done that. Now, all the people living here have high socio-economic level, their cultural levels also are high, almost all the women are working, they are mostly doctors...There is one "türbanlı", in fact they do not live there they come occasionally. She is also not a much younger woman; I don't know if she wears a scarf for political reasons or because of her general lifestyle. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

It is obvious that because of the high purchase price of the homes and necessity of having a car because it is a distance from the inner city, Çayyolu provides its inhabitants with the means to exclude people who have low volume of economic capital. However, for certain groups; there is a need for something beyond socio-economic differentiations, the need for something more cultural and symbolic to ensure the exclusivity of their enclave. Interviewee-3's neighborhood is established precisely restrict access to those who have taken the opportunity to raise their volume of economic capital in the last two decades and are known as having anti-secular political views and pursue an Islamist way of life.

Table 4.9 Perceptions on Their Neighborhood

Perceptions about the District	Satisfaction with house and neighborhood	Perception of Security	Services	Neighborhood Relations	Profile of People Living in immediate neighbourhood	Duration of Residence	Plans to move to another area
I-1 Çankaya: "It is central and close to everywhere."	"Normal, nice and not conspicuous; I live in a place for me"	Not secure	Sufficient	"Moderate, cosmopolitan, flexible; we can communicate everyone very easily".	"Varied and cosmopolitan"	8 years	She is planning to move Çayyolu which is for herself more secure, comfortable and has less parking problems.
I-2 Çayyolu: Secure, modern and place in which most of her friends live.	"It is a house for our style of life, it is an apartment flat but like a villa house.in the garden floor, appropriate for the child."	Not secure	Sufficient	"Our windows and doors are always open, all children have a good friends. There are people who I can say to 'hello', how are you' and who I am pleased to share... We used to have grill parties every weekend".	"There are people whose social status very high"	1 year	Not intending to move
I-3 Çayyolu: "It is not proper to evaluate in general"	"I am very pleased with the house (site), we manage ourselves".	"Although there is a security system and officers, we have security problems since it is at the center of farm, distant from urban life and construction of buildings have started".	Sufficient	"I am pleased with; since everyone is working nobody disturb noone, it is the ideal one for me".	"Secular, high socio-economic and cultural level"	7 years	Have no tendency to move.
I-4 Çayyolu: "Everything is there, it is like suburbs of Europe, like the old Ayrancı and Çankaya; there are lots of qualified people from middle level families and it is a secure place".	"I am pleased with; it is appropriate for the child".	She finds there secure.	Sufficient	"We have good neighbors, we used to do sport together three days a week".	"There are people who live the way I live"	7 years	Not intending to move
I-5 Çayyolu	"I am pleased with; distant from intimate neighborhoods, detached house is more appropriate for my disposition".	She finds there secure.	Sufficient	"I am pleased. There is no contact with anybody, half the site has become a business center so there is no meeting inside of the site."		16 years	Due to old age they are planning to move less spacious house in Çankaya.
I-6 Çankaya: "I like its' environment, there are variety of people".	She is pleased.	"No it is not secure; there is a restaurant at the center of the site so the entrance is not controlled".	Sufficient	She could not participate in but according to her observation there is a good neighborhood in the public house.	"There are people above the middle level; at least two cars for each house...they are like us"	15 years	Due to retirement she has to move from the public house, she is planning to move her house in Çankaya, since her child also lives there.
I-7 Çayyolu: "I like here because its' being calm and quiet".	"I am very pleased; it satisfies our desires; its being detached provides us freedom, we can have a pet in our house, we have a swimming pool, it is like a summer house".	She finds there secure.	Sufficient	She does not have any knowledge about neighbourhood.	"In terms of quality of people there is no difference between Çankaya and Çayyolu. People who live here have a world".	2 years	She is planning to move Bodrum in her retirement.
I-8 Bilkent: She thinks that it is a place in which her children could participate in social activities without any security anxiety.	She is pleased.	She finds there secure.	Sufficient	She conceives that she could have more genuine relations in Çayyolu Koru Sitesi in comparison to Bilkent.	"I find people in Bilkent more spoilt, they are people who earn money easier, however the people in the Koru Sitesi is not like that".	3 years	She is planning to move more spacious house in Bilkent.
I-9 Çankaya: It is very consistent with our life-style, it is both inside and outside of the city".	She is pleased.	She finds there secure.	Sufficient	She is pleased. "A friend of my husband lives there, also I used to participate in meetings which are organized by the wife of Hikmet Sami Türk".	"Their socio-cultural level is high"	4 years	She wants to move more spacious flat at the same apartment.
I-10 Çayyolu	She is pleased.	Not secure	Not Sufficient	There were qualified neighborhood relationship in her previous housing complex in Kavaklıdere.	"Cosmopolitan, they are richer in comparison to Kavaklıdere but their socio-cultural level is lower".	15 years	Have no tendency to move.
I-11 Gaziosmanpaşa: "I do not know, we do not have enough time"	She is pleased.	Not secure	Sufficient	"There is no one we can communicate with , we do not have time".	"They are like middle and upper middle"	4 years	They are planning to move to their house in Çayyolu after its construction is finished.
I-12 Gaziosmanpaşa: "It was a decent neighborhood of Ankara but later it has lost its quality; cafes, bars, business offices have come..."	"I am not pleased with traffic and parking problems, it is no longer a living place".	Not secure	Not Sufficient	She has no neighbors.	"There are people from upper middle level".	17 years	Not intending to move
I-13 Çayyolu	"I am pleased with; close to my daughters".	She finds there secure.	Sufficient	"There are 32 houses in the 'site', I know everyone. Half of the women are working, when we meet we have perfect relationships".	"Most graduated from university, working people. According to their income level and education, they are above particular level of status".	10 years	Due to old age, she is planning to move less spacious house which is close to her children's houses in Çayyolu.

Source: Field Research
I: Interviewee

4.4.2.2 Segregation in Çayyolu

In the interviewees' discourses, it is possible to observe the two faces of Çayyolu; on the one hand, Çayyolu is perceived as a European neighborhood, with its organized and planned space, houses with garden, clean streets, children's playgrounds, social facilities, security systems and with its professionally qualified and civilized inhabitants who have a high social, educational and cultural status, respect and not disturb each other's way of living (See Table 4.9). On the other hand it is perceived there is another part of Çayyolu that is becoming a place which is becoming heterogeneous, cosmopolitan and crowded.

Concerning homogeneous side of Çayyolu Interviewee-2 (age 32) describes her perceptions of her lifestyle space as follows:

We liked the project (building project of their house) very much, this is an apartment block but they are maximum 4 storey and we on the ground floor with the garden all around it is like a villa. The garage for the cars is underground; it is convenient for a child... In our building and the one opposite the residents all have very high social status, most are doctors, but there are also two VIP pilots who fly the planes for the president and prime minister. Our windows and doors are open; the children are already friends with each other. Almost every weekend we give barbecue parties until 2-3 o'clock in the morning... [Translation from Turkish by the author]

One of the respondents living in Çankaya will finally move to Çayyolu because in her view "the city is moving towards there". Moreover, due to their plan to have a second child, they think that they will need a house with a garden and which is more comfortable for their children. From outside Çayyolu, Interviewee-1 (age 35) tells about her contradictory position; she states her dislikes of the place which is perfectly designed, but has no history and is not alive; on the other hand, she cannot be unresponsive to the emerging tendency of living in 'gated communities' in the suburbs which encircles her space of life-style. According to her, there is no comfortable place in the city center which has parking and security problems, In Çayyolu there are people who are in the same social network as her; for that reason, she has to move to Çayyolu.

The area that Interviewee-1 (age 35) perceives, and imagines will move to is the 'gated' and more segregated part of Çayyolu; the other side of this suburb it is perceived as transforming. Primarily, those respondents who have been living in Çayyolu for fifteen years or more are experiencing this transformation. Interviewees-5 (age 63) and 10 (age 58) were among the first inhabitants of the Çayyolu district; both of them mention the time when there was a lack of infrastructure and transport. At first, both respondents settled in an estate (Hekimköy Sitesi) which was established in an isolated space and far from the center of the district. Over course of time, new housing complexes, shopping malls and business offices surrounded the housing estate and therefore Hekimköy Sitesi has found itself in the center Çayyolu. It is not an isolated place anymore; in the housing are there is public transport, and most of the detached houses of Hekimköy Sitesi have been converted into offices private teaching institutions and children's clubs. Interviewee-5 (age 63) who was disturbed by the proximity of apartment block life in Çankaya and wanted to live in a detached house; moved to this area sixteen years ago. When asked about the neighborhood relationships where she lived, she replied;

In general, people don't get in touch with each other it has become equally a business and private teaching institute site, and it is not possible to neighborly with them. Neighbors have a style of life peculiar to themselves, everyone maintains their previous lifestyle. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Similar to Interviewee-5 (age 65), Interviewee-10 (age 58) had also moved from Çankaya, from a housing complex in Kavaklıdere, about fifteen years ago. When asked to compare Kavaklıdere and Çayyolu, she stated that:

Çayyolu is more cosmopolitan, I mean, I don't measure the quality with money; certainly there are very rich people who live there but in terms of quality, I prefer the complex in Kavaklıdere. I am very pleased with the place I live, but in the villa type houses, friendships or fellowships do not exist. Actually I think of here being lower in quality, although they are richer, but in fact I don't have enough knowledge about all of them. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

In contrast to the others, Interviewee-5 (age 63) and Interviewee-10 (age 58) concern is that Çayyolu is a cosmopolitan neighborhood and they generally do not have contact with their neighbors since their lifestyle are not similar especially for Interviewee-10. People who live in Çayyolu may have a high economic capital but

their level of the cultural capital is not sufficient. Their perception of Çayyolu differs from the others. Over time, Çayyolu has experienced segregation within itself; it has also expanded with new gated communities with a lower density of inhabitants and therefore there are more homogeneous life-style spaces; on the other side, the old settlements have been transformed into a business sector. The density of the inhabitants who live in the center of Çayyolu has increased therefore the heterogeneity has increased.

From the respondents comments about their spatial differentiation propensities and use of urban space it can be deduced that in accordance with segregation of city space their inclination to live in more segregated and distant places has increased. In the 1970s the inner city was a popular and preferred space for living and everyday life practices, today suburban areas such as Çayyolu and exclusive places such as particular shopping-malls have become middle and upper-middle class people's favorite space of life-style. According to their stories about previous settlements, almost all of the participants in the study have followed similar residential movements over similar time periods, therefore it can be stated that they are a particular social network and thereby constructed particular differentiation propensities.

4.4.3 Class Identification based on 'Secular' Perspective

Throughout the interviews it was observed clear tendency for the respondents to distinguish themselves from the Islamist group of people who are close to their life-style space. That is to say, instead of the lower class, they predominantly identify themselves in opposition to their class fraction which has similar interests in the social space. In this sense, Bourdieu's argument on 'the closest groups in a social space' can be seen in this example (1984, 60). Groups in social spaces determine their aesthetic choices in opposition to the closest one; especially the group which has an upper position in relation to the other and has an intention to distinguish themselves from the group in the lower position. Therefore their competition is more direct and explicit; they mark clear distinctions (1984).

In the case of exclusionary strategy of Interviewee-3 (age 35) against the Islamist group of people and also the other interviewees' dispositions; their differentiation is established on the basis of political fields. Positioning oneself in terms of secular way of life in opposition to religious way of life is one of the most determinant marks of the difference among the particular upper-middle class groups. Accordingly they establish their class habitus identity as 'secular', modern, intellectual, urban, elite and having high cultural level. However, the Islamist groups are defined as vulgar, new rich, rural with low cultural level. At this point, in similar to Ayata's and Korkmaz's argument about the 'secular' identification of class structure of middle and upper class groups in Ankara it is peculiar to the city, that the political perspective of respondents has a significant role in the identification of their class habitus.

Table 4.10 Social and Cultural Activities

	Way of accessing social & cultural activities	Social & cultural activity preferences	Sports Activities	Club membership
I-1	Internet; Membership of Ankara State Opera and Ballet	Jazz, Electronic Music Concerts, Ballet, Theatre (for her child), Cinema, Clubs	Fitness	Sport Club, TED Ankara Kolejliler (Husband), ODTÜ'lüler Derneği(Husband)
I-2	Internet, printed media, friends	Cinema, Rock Concerts	Fitness, Pilates, Swimming, Tennis	Lions, Yelken Club (Husband)
I-3	Membership of Ankara State Opera and Ballet, friends	Concerts, Recitals, Cinema,Clus	Yoga (in past)	TED Alumni, TEV, METU Alumni
I-4	Internet, printed media (Biletix)	Cinema, Pop Concerts, Music & Dance performances	Planning to have tennis and golf lessons.	None
I-5	Club membership & work related invitations	Theatre, Concerts, Journeys	Fitness	Kavaklıdere Sport Club (Husband), Atılı Spor (Husband), Club of people who have their graduate degree in Germany (Husband), Members of the Supreme Court of Appeals, Alumni of Ankara University the Law Fac.
I-6	Work related invitations	Cinema, theatre, CSO concerts	Swimming, running, step class (in the past)	Ankara Tennis Club
I-7	By her children	Cinema, Turkish Pop Concerts, Music & Dance performances	Tennis, aerobic	None
I-8	Internet, printed Media, Membership of Ankara State Opera and Ballet	State Theatre, Cinema	Walking, tennis	Lions (Husband), TOBB Sport Center, Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği, Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği
I-9	Internet, Printed media	State Theatre, in the past visited art galleries	None	Reneva Sport Club, Bilgi Güvenliği Derneği
I-10	Printed media, television	Wine tasting	Pilates, gymnastic	Rotary- Wine Club-Golf Club(Husband), Group of Wood Painting
I-11	Internet, Printed media	Theatre, Concerts, Ballet	Fitness, swimming	Mars Athletic Club, Hacettepe Mezunlar Derneği
I-12	Bilboard, printed media	Fairs	Fitness	Ankara Pharmacy Alumni, Ankara Tennis Club, Binicilik İhtisas Atılı Sporları (in past)
I-13	Husband's work related invitations	"In the past we have used to go theatre".	Walking	Bilkent Sports Int., Ankara Fen Lisesi Alumni (Husband), Group of Yüksel İnşaat (Husband)

Source: Field Research

I: Interviewee

CSO: Presidential Symphony Orchestra

Table 4.11 Aesthetic Taste of Interviewees

	Music Genres	Music genres they dislike	Favorite Musical Group/Singer	Favorite Type of reading matter	Favorite Author	Other Art interests
I-1	All kinds of music; jazz, electronic	Popular Music (Partner)	Depeche Mode, Duman	Thrillers, Detective stories, Best-sellers	Jean Chritophe Grange, Orhan Pamuk, Buket Uzuner	Cinema; European Film Festivalss
I-2	Pop, Rock, Jazz, Classical, Soft music	Folk Music, Underground, Metal	None	Biography	Best Selling Authors; Twilight Series	Cinema
I-3	All kinds of music; Classical, Turkish Folk Music, Metal, Club, Jazz	None	Monica Molina (Jazz)	Scientific Research, Best sellers	Adam Feavor	Cinema
I-4	Classical, Folk, Soft, Pop	Arabesque (except Orhan Gencebay's music)	Joan Baez, Supertramp, Duman, Yüksek Sadakat	Adventure, Detective, Best-sellers	Ahmet Ümit	Cinema
I-5	Classical Turkish Music, Jazz	Metal	None	Mythology, History, Politics	Emre Kongar	None
I-6	Easy listening, Classical Turkish Music, Clascal, Folk, Arabesque	Rap, Metal	None	Law, World Classics	None	Painting exhibitions
I-7	Classical Turkish Music	Folk	Sezen Aksu	Has no habit	None	None
I-8	All kinds of music	Metal	Avril Lavigne	Self-Improvement, Psychology, Politics, Best-sellers	Elif Şafak, Ahmet Ümit, Ayşe Kulin	Cinema
I-9	Turkish Pop Music	Rap, Arabesque	Candan Erçetin, Nükhet Duru, MFÖ	History, Biography, Russian Literature	Puşkin	Painting exhibitions
I-10	Turkish Pop, Rock'n Roll	Folk, Arabesque	Sezen Aksu, Beatles	Fantasy, Best-sellers	None	Wood Painting
I-11	All kinds of music	Arabesque, Folk, Metal, Hard Jazz, Classical Turkish Music	Norah Jones, Şebnem Ferah, Teoman	Biography, Best-sellers	Ayşe Kulin, Pınar Kür, Zülfü Livaneli	Cinema
I-12	All kinds of music	Rock, Metal	Sezen Aksu, Nilüfer, Kayahan	All kinds, politics, Best-sellers	Elif Şafak	Interior decoration; she goes to fair furnishing fair in Milan. Cinema, Art Galleries. Connection of paintings flowers & womens figures at home. Dancing. Attending Ahmet Inam's philosophy lectures.
I-13	All kinds of music	Metal	Cem Karaca	Best-sellers	None	philosophy lectures.

Source: Field Research
I: Interviewee

Table 4.12 Household and Interviewees Expenditure

	Household Expenditures	Interviewees Expenditures
I-1	Domestic; food, cleaning etc., expenditure for the child; toys, clothing etc.	Eating outside home, book, clothing
I-2	Domestic, salary of cleaner and babysitter, private insurance, electricity, heating, eating outside etc.	Clothing, Hairdresser, self-care
I-3	Domestic, transportation	Private insurance, Health
I-4	Domestic, eating outside, garden expenditures, salary of cleaner	Clothing, CD's, cosmetics, shoes, eating outside
I-5	Heating, Domestic	Clothing
I-6	Travel, Domestic, Clothing	Travel, Domestic, Clothing
I-7	Domestic, Electricity	Clothing, cosmetics, footwear
I-8	Domestic, expenditure for children	Clothing
I-9	Domestic, heating	Clothing
I-10	Domestic, expenditure for the children education abroad	Food
I-11	Domestic	Food
I-12	Interior decoration	Clothing
I-13	Heating, annual site maintenance fee	Jewelry, Clothing

Source: Field Research

I: Interviewee

4.4.4 Interior Design of the Houses

Among thirteen respondents seven of them live in houses with gardens, which are called “villa” in Turkish when asked why they prefer this type of houses; they stated that they wanted to create a beautiful home for the next generation, to provide privacy for their close family relationships and activities. Thus the choice of this accommodation has less to do with their need to demonstrate their creativity and individualism in terms of living style but more to do with isolating themselves from immediate neighbors. Most of the respondents who live in apartments state similar propensities about their homes. In this sense, most of the respondents (See table 4.1), stated that they spent extra time and energy on the interior design of their home in order to maintain a warm and secure environment for their family and show their social and cultural status through particular symbolic and inherited materials. Only one of the women was interviewed in her home therefore this section just presents the respondents’ perspective of the interior of her house.

In the interviews, gender and age were determining variables for the interior design. Although most of the respondents said that they chose decorative items together with their husbands; with one or two exceptions, they confessed later that generally they determined the objects first and finally their husbands trusted their wives and approved their choice. Compared with their husbands the respondents said that they spend much more time and energy on acquiring information about home decoration; and they regularly bought home decoration magazines, visited showrooms of home stores in shopping-malls, attend fairs including interior design therefore, they mostly stated that they had become more competent at decoration.

In addition to their competence, the variable of age has a decisive role in the differentiation of tastes among the respondents; there was a significant difference between older and younger respondents. The participants in the study appeared to choose more classic and durable furniture and objects, and the younger respondents said that they prefer more modern, functional and innovative objects. However, it is possible to say that interior design for both generations is not a simple act of placing the furniture. It entailed comprehensive, continuous and elaborate work, additionally almost all respondents share particular common notions about designing objects such as being exclusive and of high quality, if possible unique and mostly from Europe or America. Interviewee-5 (age 63) tells the story of her first house:

In our first house in Çankaya, I have to point out that since both of our parents had supported us financially when we got married; our furniture came from the most expensive stores in Ankara. When friends came to our house, they asked if had robbed a bank like. My ideas about decorating developed in Germany, and because my husband works in the constructing sector, he has books such as *Das House* and *Schönen Vonnent*. My first home was like a model, really, sometimes in my dreams I see myself in that apartment. My son was born in that house, I loved it very much, it was furnished very beautifully, and all my friends still say that. I even had one wall of my bathroom surrounded with flowers, one day the water from the bath overflowed into the downstairs flat, and the woman who lived downstairs stopped our cleaning woman and said “I think that (...) your lady has left water in bathtub and it has over flowed”. Our cleaning woman replied “Have you seen her (...) bathroom? The woman said no. The cleaning woman told her that first she had to go upstairs and see my bathroom to be able to say anything... At that time we brought a television from Germany, since there was only limited broadcasting in Turkey and no one had a television. My sister and her husband were used to come to watch football matches. One day my sister said that she was disturbed from the tidiness of

the house, because at that time I had a young child at that time. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

It might be deduced from Interviewee-5 (age 63)'s story, that the notion of uniqueness, having elegant and stylish goods, accumulation of knowledge, being cultivated and tidy, as a result having a significant reputation among friends and family members make up the characteristics of her taste of habitus. Other interviewees' narratives are similar for example. Interviewee-3's (age 35); who had furniture chosen before they married.

Interviewee-3: One of our chairs and the lamps were from, Finnish and Danish designers. The chair was produced in the 1950's, called the 'Egg', it was very beautiful; when you sat in it you felt isolated from the outside world, it surrounded you like an eggshell, we liked it very much. The lamps were not like that, they were Arko, a newer design, we liked that, and the architecture of our house made it important for us to use that lamp; one part of our living room was two floors high, approximately four meters and hanging a light there would be very problematic, as this was a standard lamp and it could bend over the dinner table. We had problems in finding the other furniture, in 2002 there wasn't that much available. We drove to İstanbul, to see if we could find something, but we couldn't. We've bought some things, the dining chairs. I designed and had my dinner table, chairs and sofa made. I brought one of my chairs, sofa, bed and my desk from my mum's house and the chair was covered with leather... I didn't spend an enormous amount of money; nevertheless, it was a serious expenditure. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Interviewee-2 (age 32) describes how she decorated their home:

Interviewee-2: Ankara is very limited in terms of interior decoration, we have tried to do our best, in accordance with our budget, as much as possible we tried to buy comfortable, functional but quality items. If we want to buy something, we try to buy the best. I bought my sofas from Casa; I had my coffee table custom made. For my daughter's room I had my design made by a luxury boutique which creates baby rooms. It is Laura Ashley style, like a princess baby room; it is white. I have our friend, who is an architect, made the bedroom as I imagined it. I planned it in detail; we had a lot of time, because we didn't prepare the house in the hurry of the preparation for the wedding. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Interviewee-12 (55) who put her interior decoration costs in first in her household expenditure (See Table 4.12). While talking about where she does her shopping, stood up during the interview and brought us a big red file. This contained particular

places in which to be seen in Istanbul and some reduction of print pastes and various pictures of interior decoration objects cut from home decoration magazines. She said that she really enjoyed interior design, that she carried out a lot of research and she was as competent as many of the experts about home decoration products. Once every two years, at fashion weeks, she used to go to one the most famous fairs about design and furniture in Milan (Salone Internazionale del Mobile¹⁶) and she follows the new trends and innovations of interior design:

Interviewee-12: In order not to miss the trend, I spend four or-five days in Milan, it is my hobby. I have decorated the whole of my house from Italy, because 1991-92, Sitelera was very expensive, and the exchange rate for the Italian Lira was good, so I brought furniture from Italy at half of its cost and furnished my house. Like I said, I always follow up. But over the last 15 years Turkey has developed substantially, mass production has begun, chain stores like Casa have emerged, and furniture is cheaper of course. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

In addition to their common propensities, they are dissociated in particular ways such as the ones who like classical or semi-classical furniture and the ones who like modern or post-modern furniture. The age factor in the formation of the taste has been previously mentioned; in this section, the focus is on their perception of their style of interior design.

Interviewee-13 (age 61) was the only one who was interviewed in her house, therefore an opportunity occurred to make an observation and to compare them with her description. She had been living in a four storey detached house in a 'gated community' in Çayyolu for ten years. This might be regarded as an isolated place although there are new gated housing complexes being built, it is very difficult to travel there by public transport. The researcher went there by a car; the security officer stopped the car at the gate and asked who I was visiting and the reason for my visit. He contacted with the respondent and took the license plate number of the car and then he let me in. There were no other settlements around the estate and the only sound came from the access road. Inside the gated complex, there was absolute silence, the streets were clean, narrow and empty, the inhabitants cars were in the

¹⁶ <http://www.cosmit.it/tool/home.php?s=0,2,67,71,75>

garage, and all that could be seen were therefore one could only see a few identical villa houses with different landscaping.

As the researcher knocked the door, the cleaning woman welcomed the researcher and led her to the lounge which was decorated in a dignified and elegant style and was very clean and tidy. It was separated into two sections; a dining area and a seating area in the latter, there were three classical English style upholstery chairs and dark colored furniture. In the middle of, there was a large wooden coffee table and there were two smaller coffee tables, near the chairs, and all tabletops covered with various copper or glass objects. The chairs were placed facing each other, so people could see and talk each other when they were sitting. However, they were not comfortable; you could relax or sit in them for a long time. All the walls were hung with paintings of flowers and women's portraits, and on the floor Iranian carpets.

After waiting in those chairs; the respondent appeared and suggested that the interview took place at the dining table. Throughout the interview, she offered Turkish-delight and roasted hazelnuts served in copper inlaid pots, and Turkish coffee in traditional cups of the respondent, she described her interior decoration as a classical English style. She bought the furniture from a store of *Strongbow*, which is known for importing English style furniture for an elite society. It is stated on its website that their furniture is not for those who "care about temporary trends", but for those who "consider furniture as a long term venture"¹⁷. Indeed, none of the furniture and material in Interviewee-13's (age 61) house seemed to be temporary; instead, it seemed to be strong, long lasting and durable.

In this sense, it is mentioned previous sections that the space of home is constituted as a place for the transmission of an inherited culture to the next generation, therefore, the durability of the home and its accumulated cultural capital is crucial for the stability of family. It obviously possible to be seen in Interviewee-13's (age 61) future plans; spending time with her grandchildren is fundamental, for instance she bought a summer house in order to be with her grandchildren in the holidays she has

¹⁷ http://www.strongbownet.com/sirket_eng.html

also bought two paintings to give her grandchildren . At least once a week, she hosts her daughters' family and thus her grandchildren; thereby, her living space of the house provides the means to transfer their inherited capital by means of place, objects and inculcation to the new generation.

It is possible to argue that the notion of durability is commonly recognized for all respondents, that is to say both classical and modern or post-modern furniture must be permanent and exclusive; however the main difference occurs in the comfort and innovativeness of modern furniture. In this sense, all the younger respondents state that they prefer functional, comfortable and modern furniture for. They generally buy some of their furniture from companies such as Casa and Koleksiyon, are considered to produce furniture of high quality, original designs, comfortable and functional. For instance, in Casa's slogan, "New Life-Style Images"¹⁸, the notions of innovation, imagination and, comfort are underlined. Although there has been no opportunity to observe the younger respondents' homes, regarding their narratives and postures throughout the interviews, an evaluation breaking with classical design and turning to modern designs seemed to be their taste. Interviewee-3 (age 35), described her home as being:

Modern, but not minimalist furniture is not classical, not like English style, we have a modest but crowded house. There is a Hereke carpet on the floor, but on the other side, there is a very modern pebble deigns carpet. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

In her lounge she had three sofas, one chair and one dining table. She states that she does not have any other furniture like cupboards near a dining table etc. - Her specially designed chair and lamp were mentioned before. They have a which opens into the lounge. She relates that before they had children, they frequently used to invite their friends to the house. In the intersection of the kitchen and the lounge, there is a breakfast bar; Interviewee-3(age 35) did not have to leave her guests in order to prepare a meal or drinks. Also her guests could participate in the preparation process of. Now she has young children and she notes that the design of the house

¹⁸ www.casa.com.tr

allows her to keep an eye on the children while she prepares their meal. “having a kitchen which is not isolated, is an advantage for a housewife like me”.

In the light of Interviewee-3’s (age 35) descriptions, two transforming propensities may be discussed. First of all, the classical style of taste concentrates on ‘forms’ compared to function, in contrast modern style emphasizes both ‘form’ and ‘function’. Related to this, according to the interviews, the dispositions, postures and discourse of the respondents who have classical style of taste, were formal. They were kind but relatively distant and their speech was slow and formal. On the other hand, those respondents’ who chose more modern style of interior although they were still distant, they were relatively more sincere relaxed spoke faster and more informally. In this sense, the emphasis on being functional, comfortable and relaxed realized itself in the interior space of house. In Interviewee-13’s (age 61) lounge, elegant objects and polite service appeared to be fundamental for her; she stated that “when I receive a guest, I offer a full service, when I am a guest I expect the same maximum service”. However Interviewee-3 (age 35) had explained how pleased she is when a guest participates in the preparation of the meal, therefore she could save time and, interact more with all her guests and due to the collectivity in preparation, the notion of the form could lose its priority.

Secondly, besides the representations of the modern style being modest, functional, technological and more industrial furniture, the younger respondents sometimes liked to use objects which were of a more traditional or ethnic design or items with more detail. Interviewee-1 (age 35) tells:

I have antique copper plates inherited from my father; I hang them on the wall, above a modern sofa, I don’t like to choose just one style, just one style, new or old I like to mix the styles, integrate them. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

Similar to Interviewee-1 (age 35), Interviewee-3 (age 35) also mentioned above, how modern and traditional carpets are placed side by side in her house. Interviewees-2 (age 32) and 4 (age 35) mention their romantic tastes, which contrast with their modern furniture. For instance, Interviewee-2 (age 32) tells that besides modern and functional furniture, she likes detailed and flowered objects which her husband

dislikes; Interviewee-4 (age 35) says that she uses dolls or baby ceramic objects in her house. At this point, it is interesting to note that while Interviewees-2 and 4 were talking about these details, they lowered their voices; as if they did not consider these ideas appropriate to the legitimate culture. Modernity and modern style objects represent more intellectual and adult worlds and rationalities. Objects such as dolls and flowers may be considered as childish, irrational and might decompose the unity of modernity.

In contrast, Interviewees-3 and 1 were pleased with their decomposition; the integration of old and new, the mixture of modern and traditional which is associated with the mosaic of everyday life, the past and present, rationality and irrationality, modest and pretension. In this sense, this occurring propensity of integration could be seen in other aspects of their lives, for instance, Interviewee-1 liking to visit Ulus for its old buildings, learn about traditional foods and to taste them. When Interviewees-1 and 3 go on holiday besides visiting popular international places, they also prefer to visit local areas around the holiday districts. Similarly Interviewee-1's preference for certain TV programs echoes her way of thinking:

There is 'Lost', that I download from the internet and there are Turkish series that I really like; well there are normal, classical series which everyone detests and asks if I watch those (!), 'Yaprak Dökümü', 'Aşk-ı Memnu'. I watch both of them, series like those, even my husband Cüneyt says that 'you are totally out of your mind' but I like that kind of program, I mean some people say that, they consider that those things are as "kıroluk", it seems perfectly normal. Aren't we Turks? There are also issues of being a 'White Turk', I never like it. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

At this point, watching series like 'Lost' and the "*Film noir*" series on the CNBC-E and DigiTürk channels (Bennett et al. 2009, 143) may be considered to have more cultural and educational capital than watching Turkish series like 'Yaprak Dökümü'. In order to watch series such as Lost, one should be familiar with English or have to read the subtitles and one should be acquainted with the life-style of the streets of New York America or British or European cultures. These foreign series are usually 30 to 60 minutes, and they are written and directed by an experienced team. On the

other hand, the Turkish series, usually concern traditional Turkish life-style they last approximately 90 minutes including advertisements. They are also prepared by an experience production team, but the story lines are more simplistic and emotional. Interviewee-1 (age 35) differentiates herself from what she calls ‘White Turks’, who prefer to watch more sophisticated and short series and look down on people who watch more emotional and traditional Turkish serials. Interviewees-3 and 2 do not differentiate themselves so strictly they watch mostly CNBC-E or Digiturk series, but also said that they watch Turkish series (See Table 4.13).

Table 4.13 Preferred TV Programs, Newspapers and Serials

Age	Occupation	Frequency of Watching TV	Preferred TV Programs and Series	News Channels	Newspapers	Magazines / multi part publications
I-1	35 Economist-Not working	Frequent	Okan Bayülgen's Programs, Discussion Programs, Lost, Yaprak Dökümü, Aşk-ı Memnu	NTV, CNNTürk	Hürriyet	
I-2	32 Economist- Insurance Broker and Risk Management Consultant	Sometimes	Series of Lost, 24, CNBCe's series, Turkish series	NTV, Kanal D	Hürriyet, Sabah, Vatan	Maison Française, EvDekor, Brava Casa
I-3	35 Urban Planner-Partner of Self-employed Designing Company -Part-time lecturer	Sometimes	Programs related with her occupation, Digtürk; Doctors, Detective series, TürkMax; BirKadınla Bir Erkek, Beyaz Gelincik, BBC Antique furnishing programs program			Natura, 21, Designing Magazines, GEO, Atlas, Maison Française, Leman, Uykusuz, Penguen
I-4	35 Metalurgy Engineer- Partner of Zinc-oxide Production Company	Sometimes	Binbir Gece, Aşk-ı Memnu, Bıçak Sırtı, İhlamlar Altında, Çemberimde Gülöya, Okan Bayülgen'in Programları, Teke Tek, Nihat Ekşi	NTV, HaberTürk, Kanal D	Hürriyet	None
I-5	63 Judge- Head of Department of Supreme Court of Appeals	Rarely	Elveda Rumeli Series	HaberTürk, Kanal B	Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet	Ev Bahçe
I-6	63 Judge-Head of Department of Penalty of Supreme Court of Appeals	Frequent	Discussion and Politics programs, Competition program of Kelime Oyunu, tDawson's Creek		Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Vatan	Homeart
I-7	51 Pharmacist	Frequent	ıprak Dökümü, Aşkı Memnu. Ruat Mengi and Tuncay Özkan's programs	Show, Star	Hürriyet	Decoration magazines, Şamdan
I-8	43 Notary	Frequent	NTV Halkın içinden, Hanımın Çiftliği series	NTV, TRT3	Hürriyet, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet	Güncel Hukuk, National Geographics, Home Beautiful
I-9	48 Notary	Frequently	Canım Ailem, Akasya Durağı, Avrupa Yakası, Kurtlar Vadisi, Aşk-ı Memnu, Hanımın Çiftliği. İrfan Değirmenci's news program.	Star, Haber Türk	Hürriyet, Akşam	None
I-10	58 Dietician	Frequent	News and various series	Star, Kanal D, Show	Hürriyet, Haber Türk	Elle, Decoration magazines, Penguen, Uykusuz
I-11	34 Sport- Partner of Self-employed Kids Club and Tourism Companies	Frequent	Lost, Digtürk's series, CSI	NTV	Hürriyet, Vatan	Voyager
I-12	55 Pharmacist-Owner of office building- executive of her own foundation	Frequent	Ezel, Binbir Gece, Yaprak Dökümü, Aşk-ı Memnu series	Haber Türk, CnnTürk, KanalD, ATV	Hürriyet, Haber Türk	Maison Française, Gastronomy serials
I-13	61 Teacher (Philosophy)	Sometimes	Competition program of Var Mısın Yok Musun, Mesut Yar's news program	NTV	Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet	Home decoration magazines

Source: Field Research

I: Interviewee

4.5 Leisure

4.5.1 Style of Clothing

Similar to the interior design, as an embodied form of taste, clothing is one of the ways of making a classification and being classified. In the course of research, since all but one of the interviews was made at the respondents' office or in particular cafes, therefore, most of the respondents were wearing their business clothes. In this sense, there are similar differentiations and commonalities in clothing as well as in interior design. That is to say, the age factor constitutes basic differentiations in classical and modern style. Beyond this main demarcation, there are classifications such as modern, sporting and elegant. Within these classifications, being a career woman and having an exclusive taste of clothing might be their common points.

In this sense, Interviewees-5 (63), 6 (63) as executives in the Supreme Court of Appeals and Interviewee-13 (age 61), who is a philosophy teacher in a public school, prefer classical style of clothing, such as tailored coats and skirts while they are working. They have their business clothes custom made; these clothes are generally matched coats and skirts, which are designed, specifically for work use and are not worn on other occasions. They prefer classical to elegant, but mostly comfortable clothing in their casual life. Marks and Spencer, a British international retailer known in Turkey for its classic and comfortable clothing for older people, is the preferred label for casual wear for this age group. Some of the respondents leaning towards classic style for work may be due to their being senior civil servants. Until 2001, there were women working in public offices, were prohibited from wearing various items of clothing such as trousers or short sleeved shirts. However Interviewees-8 (43) and 9 (48), who are notaries, work in autonomous public sectors, prefer classical style, high quality elegant suits. They do not have their clothing tailor made. They tend to buy from exclusive stores such as Yargıcı, Roman and Beymen.

Beyond working for the public sector, the preferences of Interviewees-5 (age 63), 6 (age 63) and Interviewee-13's (age 61) for elegant custom made clothes, thus have become more valuable and durable but more *démodé*. In this sense, older respondents usually wear clothes appropriate to particular events and places; their

stylish and formal suit is appropriate for work but may not be suitable for shopping mall, therefore it seems that older respondents have more explicit identifications in terms of the different spaces of the everyday life.

Most of the younger respondents prefer stylish, quality and at the same time more functional clothes, which may conform to the different spaces of everyday life. They prefer shopping in Beymen, Zara, Mango and Vakko these stores cater for the modern, urban and self-assured business woman. For instance, Beymen appeals to city woman, who are modern and independent. They offer an 'effortless elegance' and an 'accessible luxury'¹⁹. Almost all of the younger respondents wore modern, comfortable and fashionable clothes; however there are some details which differentiate them. Interviewee-3 (age 35), an academician and a partner of an urban planning company, Interviewee-2 (age 32), a broker of an international insurance company, and Interviewee-11 (age 34) a partner of a children's club and a tourism company, were wearing clothes which are elegant, comfortable, and can be worn in areas which extend outside work. These women compared to former generations are more competent in their use of the space of the city and the spaces of consumption. They do not have a routine of going to work and returning to home; they go to work, in lunch breaks they meet with their friends in a café or restaurant, after work they can go to a sports club, or they can take their children and meet their friends and their children of similar age, in a shopping mall, or they have their dinner outside with their husbands. If they do not have children, in the evening they can go to a nightclub or pub. In the space of city life, which accommodates a rapidly flowing stimulus, they work, engage in leisure, enjoy themselves in particular places and in a limited time an exclusive way. Therefore, their clothing projects the image of trendsetting, exclusive, practical and individual woman.

Related to their way of dressing, their preferred stores, restaurants and shopping malls provide them a convenient environment to experience various activities in one place. Shopping-malls provide them with more comprehensive services in spacious and secure places containing recreational facilities, restaurants and cafes, cinemas, expositions of art objects play areas for children and exclusive stores. Interviewee-

¹⁹ www.beymenclub.com.tr

3(age 35) states that Bershka in Panora has the style that she likes, this type of international retail stores not only sell clothes, they offer a space of lifestyle for the consumers. On the website the Spanish company, Bershka describes the stores thus:

The interior design of the stores is conceived to give maximum prominence to the fashion display. The layout, music, lighting, furniture, wall-prints and materials used are carefully conceived to offer the greatest freedom to the customers while they discover the latest trends in fashion. Bershka stores are designed as comfortable spaces that will appeal to young people, thereby turning shopping into a fun experience. Whilst they browse around the shop, selecting and trying on the clothes, they can also listen to the hottest sounds and check out the latest trends in urban art with the graphics and photo sessions featured in the store décor.²⁰

Similar to Bershka, there are megastores with restaurants and various departments such as home decoration, accessories, clothing for customers all of these constitutes more differentiated spaces of lifestyles inside of stores on the basis of consumption.

From the range of shopping outlets respondent can select those that suit their habitus. Interviewee-3(age 35) states that

I buy night attire and shoes, from Beymen, I never look in Vakko. I found Beymen is closer to my style, whenever I go to Vakko, it looks tasteless, and I don't like the people who go there. I associate them with a type of person who are building contractors and became rich later on. It seems to me more 'türbanlı', and most people who want to buy a scarf go there. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

In contrast to her intention, Interviewee-4, who is partner in a family zinc oxide production company, prefers Vakko, but she does not make a clear distinction. She says: "I don't go to Beymen, I don't know why. I only buy my husband's ties from there...if I buy night attire, I buy it from Vakko. If it's Vakko, it really makes a difference". Although there were no dramatic differences between way of life of Interviewee3 (age 35) and Interviewee4 (age 35), their clothing was different. Interviewee-4 (age 35) was interviewed in her office in Çayyolu, she wore a white shirt, jeans and high heeled boots which although appearing casual, but were of high quality and complemented with luxury accessories such as expensive sunglasses and a wristwatch. She states that she wore skirts and jeans, and she preferred brands such as Tommy-Hilfiger and Polo. Skirts and jeans may be more functional for city life;

²⁰ <http://www.bershka.com/english/nosotros-ci.php>

however their forms do not have pretension to being original. Instead, differentiation is achieved through the exposed brand labels on the clothes. Therefore, Interviewee 4's casual but elegant style represents comfort and luxury in a less sophisticated way.

4.5.2 'Autonomous Spaces' for Pleasure

As mentioned above respondents generally prefer to use particular places in their everyday lives; the preferred restaurants and cafes are also located in the districts of Çayyolu, Çankaya and Bilkent. In this sense, Interviewee-12 (age 55) who does not go to the Anka-Mall because it is crowded with people from Ulus, states that “we live in a very small neighborhood, moreover we do not want to give them (people from Ulus) the time of the day”. Almost all of the respondents frequently go to shopping malls such as Armada, Panora, Cepa and Arcadium, to shop meet and talk with friends, or to have dinner with their family or friends (See Table 4.6). If they have small children, they leave them in secure play areas in the shopping malls, then go shopping and meet their friends in restaurants or cafes in shopping malls; or they go to particular restaurants or cafes where there are spaces for their children can play together while the mothers are eating or having coffee.

When the respondents were asked about the restaurants they liked to go were asked, they generally gave similar restaurant and cafe names such as Tike, Köşebaşı, Big Chefs, Quick China, Midpoint and Starbucks, which are located in Park Street in Çayyolu, Çankaya and in shopping malls in these districts (See Table 4.6). These restaurants and cafes are a part of their place of lifestyle; that is to say they provide the woman with 'autonomous spaces' with quality, healthy and aesthetic eating pleasures in a comfortable ambience. The common features of these restaurants and cafes is that they target people who have a distinctive lifestyle; for instance the Midpoint Restaurant chain identifies its restaurants as the place where everyone can meet and they imply that this 'everyone', are those with the most exclusive taste.

It is not possible to argue that there is a specific propensity to a specific cuisine among the respondents; food might be traditional Turkish or from the world cuisine. Respondents chose places in which chefs are specialized in their field of interest,

where customers can easily watch the process of preparation in open kitchens, food is cooked in an appropriate, hygienic standard and in a sophisticated way; where fresh and tasty meals are elegantly presented and the customers can eat in comfortable and peaceful environments away from the city chaos²¹.

In respect to the conditions of 1960s' France, Bourdieu (1984, 190) states "embodied form" of taste of class, that is to say, for instance the taste of food; in terms of their material condition of existence and their class culture, people determine the way they eat; working class men generally have an intention to appear physically strong therefore they generally prefer cheap and nutritious foods, on the other hand professional people prefer tasty, health-giving and light foods in order to appear slim and healthy. "It follows that the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste, which it manifests in several ways" (Bourdieu 1984, 190). Regarding the respondents' openness to variety of different cuisines, it is possible to mention about their omnivore characteristic of taste in the field of food. However this does not mean to be open to heterogeneity of people in those spaces. Beside their comfortable ambience and elegant decor, these restaurants and cafés distinguish themselves by means of particular strategies which entail high economic or cultural capital such as high priced meals, menus written in a foreign language, meal names which entails knowledge of gastronomy etc.; thereby customers do not feel disturbed by other classes of people. As a result, in the period of consumption, having a competence in various cuisines might be supported among respondents and their social network. However it is possible to say that this propensity does not remove 'taste of distinction'.

²¹ <http://www.quickchina.com.tr/en/flash.html>, <http://www.budakalti.com.tr/ENG/budakalti/>,
http://www.tike.com.tr/turk_index.asp,
<http://www.kosebasi.com.tr/Content.asp?sCode=Home&Lan=En>, <http://www.bigchefs.com.tr/>

4.5.3 The New and Old Legitimate Culture

Considering the taste in art and the art objects, the most appropriate intermediaries which signify legitimate culture, the respondents' tendencies to attend art events, their preferences concerning social and cultural activities, taste in music, painting and literature are examined (See Table 4.10 and 4.11). Also the respondents were also asked about their television viewing preferences (See Table 4.13). In this sense, it is possible to see that going to classical concerts, theatre, opera and ballet, initiated by state, are gradually losing their legitimacy, and simultaneously there is an expansion of popular activities such as going to shopping malls, consuming interior or garden objects, going to rock or pop concerts and going to abroad more frequently. This may be the development of a new legitimacy, which is more consumption oriented, more international and more dependent on the dominant trends of the world.

In relation to the respondents' preferences in social and cultural activities in Ankara, there are two main differentiations among the respondents. The first group in means of their inherited capital acknowledges and recognizes the old legitimate culture; they go to the State Opera and Ballet, State Theatres and concerts by the Presidential Symphony Orchestra. However, their frequency of engaging those activities is decreasing however, since the younger respondents wish to transfer their accumulation to their children they try to perpetuate this tradition by taking their children to the theatre and ballet and they encourage their children listening classical music beginning from the mother's womb. Interviewee-13 (age 61) said "we used to go to State Opera and Ballet frequently in the past, but now I rarely go and I don't want to go anymore... In the past, there was a particular dress style for the opera and ballet, today I see people who are wearing sportswear". On the other hand, the second group, which appears to have a relatively low inherited cultural capital, is not interested in high culture; they go to popular, ostentatious and more commercial concerts and shows such as "Anadolu Ateşi", which is organized by commercial companies.

Furthermore, in terms of the expansion of popular culture which includes the choice of television programs the majority of the respondents tend to watch Turkish series and popular news channels (See Table 4.13). Although in the past some of them did not like watching such series, now like them. According to Interviewee-12 (age 55), “generally housewives watch those Turkish series”. At first, she had distinguished herself; she did not watch this type of program but later she said that the quality of those series has changed and was now better.

Of respondents, four could be differentiated; these are younger respondents and may be bearers of a new rising legitimate culture. They mainly prefer programs broadcast on CNBC-E and Digiturk, which call for people who use time rationally and are familiar with American and European urban lifestyles and have a high cultural and education capital-. By having an advanced level of English and having experienced European or American everyday life practices in various European and American cities, they can recognize and codify dominant cultural practices of the world; they can appropriate a worldwide legitimate culture. They are also familiar with the old legitimate culture, but at the same time they can recognize global legitimate culture. The dispositions of these women were self-assured, determined and relaxed. Through healthy and natural skin without make-up and a fit body, their posture appeared strong, healthy and distinguished. Their clothing was modern, elegant but not conspicuous.

Interviewee-1 (age 35) is the only one who does not work after having a child. While she was working, she also had to wear business suits, but in everyday life she prefers unpretentious casual clothes. Different from the other respondents, Interviewee-1 states that she is happy to live in a heterogeneous and cosmopolitan apartment building.

There are very sweet people; there is the daughter of a French woman and a doctor she worked in France inherited a fortune. She is divorced, has a daughter and a son. Her son lives in Istanbul... My other neighbors are from Kayseri a husband and a wife with three children ...the woman cooks all day, she makes Kayseri Manti. It is a very varied cosmopolitan apartment building... It is quiet positive and moderate, there are lots of people that I like very much. For example there is a working family with twins. I have a neighbor downstairs whose ethnicity is different and one of her

children is the same age as our child, and she has two older children, I also get on with her, I mean we communicate with everyone quiet easily. [Translation from Turkish by the author]

In this sense, there are not dramatic differences in terms of the values of cultural and economic capital; however Interviewee-1(age 35) is differentiated by her father's occupation and education capital in comparison with the other three younger respondents. Her father is a psychiatrist, who gained his post-doctorate degree in America, the fathers of the other younger respondents are engineers and two at the same time were executives of construction companies, and one of the engineers had a master degree. In addition she is differentiated by education apart from three years primary school education in America, she had her primary education in a state school of Ankara and her junior high school and high school education in state schools of İstanbul; the respondents mainly had their education in Ankara. In relation to these diversifications, she was disposed to be more tolerant to heterogeneity, more modest and less dependent on family ties. In this sense, it is possible to state that although the volume of economic and cultural capital was similar, the composition of this capital might differ.

In relation to the respondents' television preferences, it is notable that their political views were related to the type of news programs that they followed. They usually prefer more liberal and right-wing news channels such as NTV, Haber Türk, Kanal D, Show, Star. (See Table 4.13). Similarly, their newspaper preferences point to analogous propensities for papers such as Hürriyet and Milliyet. Four respondents also read Cumhuriyet, which is known for its Kemalist line and being relatively close to the left-wing. There was a common and strict viewpoint concerning religious channels with all respondents stating that they detest those channels. When asked why they felt this way, they usually gave indirect answers with saying that they found the programs on these channels partial or biased.

4.5.4 Musical Taste

According to Coulangeon and Lemel (2007, 93) taste in music is the most complicated field. They underline that there is not a clear and simple conformity between the genre of music preferences and social groups. Bourdieu also states that due to most musical knowledge not being taught in schools like literature, it is formed in a social and cultural domain. For Bourdieu, musical taste reveals the social class of the people. In accordance to the respondents' musical tastes (See Table 4.11), it is possible to see that the age factor is determinant in particular distaste for musical genres such as Metal, Techno and Rap music. On the other hand, it is not possible to determine a prominent differentiation among the respondents musical taste, even the musical genre of Arabesk was associated with the 1970s and '80s lower class people who migrated to city suburbs, was not strictly excluded. Almost all the respondents said that they could listen to all kinds of music; classical, jazz, pop, folk etc. Interviewee-6 (age 63) states that "after the spread of private channels in TV and of the radios, we had the opportunity to listen various kinds of music, thereby I became familiar and then I began to like them". In this sense we might mention that most of the respondents have an omnivorous consumer character in musical taste, most also show their ability to understand high-brow genres such as classical and jazz.

Similar to the musical taste, the respondents do not have sharp-cut lines about reading matter (See Table 4.11). However, it is possible to look at the frequency of reading. Almost all respondents liked reading books, however respondents who are factory or business owners are interested in reading less were less interesting in reading. In relation to the spread of popular culture, such as reading the bestseller books, it was found that almost all of the respondents' favorite authors are writers of Turkish or foreign bestselling books. Only one or two respondents who much more interested in reading. Their preference was for historical, mythological and detective novels, also Russian literature and thriller.

4.5.5 Sports and Diet

The respondents named tennis, riding, sailing, skiing and golf as the sports that their husbands and children are most interested in, especially. The women were interested in health and fitness sports such as aerobics, walking, swimming and body exercises (See Table 4.10). Gender and the age are important variables in this field. Instead of sports which entail more physical effort such as tennis or sailing, or of 'bourgeois sports' for the 'retirement age' such as golf, they prefer sports for healthy life and fit appearance (Bourdieu 1984, 208). Younger respondents usually prefer sports for fitness; and the older respondents tend to do health maintaining sports.

Almost all respondents care about their bodies, the younger ones regularly go to sports centers and engage in cardio and various fitness exercises with the help of sport consultants in those centers. They also care about their diet; they try to eat light meals, and if they put on weight, they go on a diet, often supervised by a dietician. During the interviews all respondents indicated that the appearance is crucial for them and they believe that people's first impressions of them are important.

With respect to the definition of an "alienated body", which Bourdieu quoted from Sartre, it "is a generic body, as is the alienation which befalls each body when it is perceived and named, and therefore objectified by the gaze and the discourse of others" (1984, 207). Most of the respondents have a particular image of a woman in their mind, and they continuously try to fit themselves that image. Most of mentioned how much they have put on weight after their pregnancy and how much weight they ought to lose. In this sense Interviewee-5 (age 63), has a remarkable story. She said that her life is a diet; when she was a child, at dinner her father had used to take breadbasket, and he had used to distribute bread to the women in a limited number. She said that "we learned that the body of woman should always be slim and delicate".

Table 4.14 Vacation and Activities

Domestic			Abroad			
Preferred Places for vacation	Type of Vacation	Type of Accomodation	Preferred Countries/Cities	Type of Vacation	Type of Accomodation	
I-1	İstanbul-Güzelce, Bodrum	In coastal region discovering small bays	Summer House (Site)	Norway, Venice	with family visiting local regions	Friends house/hotels
I-2	Kalkan, Bodrum-Yalıçiftlik, Yalıkavak	In coastal region resting and swimming	Hotel of her husband's parent (Kalkan), Hotels	USA, UK, Spain	with family visiting local regions	Hotels
I-3	Bodrum-Gündoğan	In coastal region resting and swimming	Time sharing summer house (Site)	London, Norway...	with family visiting popular regions	Friends house/renting a house/hotels
I-4	Fatsa, Antalya, Fethiye	Visiting grandparents and relations, in coastal regions resting and swimming	Hotels; Papillon, Rixos, Fethiye- Letonya	Germany, Norway, Finland, Vienna, Budapest, Paris, London, Amsterdam, Rome	After business meetings visiting popular regions with family members	Hotels
I-5	Ayvalık, Bodrum (Gümüşlük), Manavgat, Kuşadası	In coastal region resting, swimming, walking, reading newspapers	Summer House (site), timesharing house (site), Public house of Supreme Court of Appeals, Friend's or Mother's House	France, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia	Participation in Supreme Court of Appeals' tours with her son or daughter	Hotels
I-6	Antalya-Konyaaltı, Domestic voyages	In coastal regions resting, swimming, meeting friends	Summer house (Site)	Europe, UK, East European Countries	Participation in Supreme Court of Appeals' tours	Hotels
I-7	Bodrum-Gölköy	In coastal region discovering small bays	Hotels	America, Italy, France, Spain, Rhodes	Touristic Tours	Hotels
I-8	Datça, Southern Coasts, Bleaksea region	In coastal regions resting in luxurious vacation villages, cultural trips	Mother's summer house, vacation villages	America Orlando (every year)	By renting a car travelling with family/friends	Renting villa house
I-9	Bodrum, İzmir	In coastal regions visiting historical places	Apart Hotel, Friend's Hotel	America, Paris, London, Greek Islands, Athens, Salonica, Brussels, Amsterdam	By renting a car travelling with family/friends	Friends house/renting a house/hotels
I-10	İstanbul, Bodrum	In coastal region resting and swimming	Summer house (site)	Çok fazla seyahat ettiklerini ifade etti	Participation club organizations; tasting wine tours and golf tournament	Friends house/hotels
I-11	Antalya-Kemer, Kaş	In coastal region resting, swimming and meeting friends in particular restaurants and cafes	Hotels, Timesharing house, Friend's house	Rome, Barcelona, Paris, London, Budapest, Athens	Together with friends visiting popular regions	Hotels
I-12	Antalya-Fuğlalı, Bodrum-Türkbükü, Gümbet	In coastal region resting, swimming, walking, reading newspapers	Summer house, Parent's Hotel, renting a house	The whole Europe, America, Africa, Far-East, Asian Countries	Touristic Tours	Brother's house/Hotels
I-13	Bodrum-Gündoğan, Didim, Datça, Antalya, Hatay, Bleaksea region	In coastal region resting, swimming, walking	Summer house (site)	Vienna, Prague, Budapet, Berlin, Rome, Paris, America, London(every year)	with family, friends visiting popular and local regions	Renting a house/hotels

Source: Field Research
I: Interviewee

Table 4.15 Moral Values

	Age	Sexual Experience Before Marriage	Her Own Perspective	Attitude to Her Child/Children
I-1	35	Has	"It is quiet normal, related to the persons' own decision; it should not happen or happen as a result of constraint".	"It is her decision. For me it should be, if it is not I think there is a problem".
I-2	32	Has	"It is possible; it is not a taboo for me".	"It is possible if she is not too young".
I-3	35	Has Not	"If you are not pregnant, there is no problem, because men cannot understand until the baby born. If you are not married you may not persuade the father so yes to sexual relation but no to have a baby".	"I do not have any opposition to them but their father does not have positive view on this issue".
I-4	35	Has Not	"I am against sexual intercourse before marriage. If you experience everything before, there has left only the responsibility of marriage so they do not want to take that responsibility".	"I do not want for my children, but it is not valid for men. Our society has particular rules, men are created different, and they have more inclination to sexual relations".
I-5	63	Has Not	"It is quite normal in today's circumstances".	Of course
I-6	63	Has Not	"It was a taboo in our times, today I do not know, it is related to the partners' decisions".	"It depends on partners".
I-7	51	Has Not	"I am against it. I think it is degenerate".	"I am against also for my children. Of course they will have boyfriends but their relations should be in particular degree".
I-8	43	Has Not	"I have no positive views on that for myself but I find it natural for people who experience it".	"I do not know, they are ahead of us so I cannot make prediction for the future".
I-9	48	Did not answer	"It is possible".	"It is quiet normal".
I-10	58	Has Not	"In our times we could not imagine such things, but now I observe the youngsters there is no one who suffers or is hurt".	"It is normal".
I-11	34	Has	"It is normal, if he/she is not too young".	"It is normal, if he/she is not too young".
I-12	55	Has Not	"It is normal. I have a very conservative family so I had constraints but in theory I think it is natural".	"If I have, I have more moderate view".
I-13	61	Has Not	"I am against. I do not understand how people do today. I think, it should be experienced only in marriage. I am conservative on that issue".	"I have thought the same things for my daughters".

Source: Field Research

I: Interviewee

4.5.6 Holidays

Regarding the respondents' propensities and practices in terms of holidays, in keeping with their inclination to live in segregated spaces, they chose exclusive places in Turkey and globally (See Table 4.14). Coastal districts in Bodrum and Antalya are the most preferred holiday spaces among the respondents. They generally stay in their own or their parents' summer houses which are mostly in gated complexes, or they stay in luxurious hotels in these places. On holiday they like to swim and relax, meet their friends and go to exclusive restaurants for dinner. However, their favorite holiday is to go abroad; almost all of the respondents have ties with relatives or friends living in Europe and America, some respondents rent a house in places such as London or Orlando. They also go on organized tours to Europe and America, however, there is less interest in Africa, Asia, Australia and the Far East. The respondents can be said to be more mobile and visit the major cities in Europe and America, thus they are more familiar with the life in Europe and America.

4.6 Moral Values

Concerning moral values of the respondents, they were asked about previous relationships, opinions about marriage and having sexual intercourse before marriage. It was found that gender roles and conservative values are dominant among respondents. Most particularly, the older respondents said that their husbands were their first relationship; the others, except two younger respondents said that before marriage they had a one relationship, usually from university.

With respect to marriage, most respondents agreed with the idea of getting married, where there is a longstanding and sound relationship between the two people. Having a child is a more crucial issue for respondents. For the most of them, in accordance to the social values of Turkey, raising a child without getting married is very hard for a woman and if there is a child, they think that marriage is obligatory.

According to the respondents' opinions on having sexual intercourse before marriage, these are affected by both gender and age (See Table 4.15). Accordingly all but three respondents stated that they did not have sexual intercourse before they have got married, giving reasons such as the situation in Turkey or because in terms of their values it is 'wrong'. The respondents, who have daughters, interpret sex before marriage as a corruption of the moral values. Older respondents, with sons are more tolerant and say that it is quite normal in respect to the changing conditions. Respondents who had sexual intercourse consider this to be natural. Interviewee-1 (age 35) defines her opinion for her daughter as; "it is her own choice.

Consequently, it is possible to argue that conservative values have a greater effect on the respondents' behaviors and their influence on gender roles is perpetuated. In this sense, the older respondents perceive sex before marriage as a forbidden act, therefore they never broke 'the rules'; and younger respondents, who are against sex before marriage, do not perceive it as a prohibition, but they approach the issue as their personal decision.

4.6.1 Respondents' Perspectives on Raising Children

In relation to the new generations' significant roles in providing upwards or downwards mobility or stability of household's position in the social space, having a child and raising the child is crucial for the interviewees (See Table 4.5). In this respect, in order to ensure that they are able to afford a good quality education almost all respondents only have one or two children. The younger respondents who have young children can remember their lifestyle before the child. They intend to answer the questions by making a comparison of their lifestyles before and after having a child. With respects to have a child, their budget and everything in their life is determined in terms of the expenditures for their child and their time is organized to fulfill the child's needs and education or entertainment program. All the respondents spend a large amount of time and energy on their children's education and accumulation of cultural and informative capital.

Beginning from the mother's womb, in order to provide their child with the most healthy, hygienic and peaceful environment, they think about every detail, such as determining what kind of music they will listen to in pregnancy or in what kind of environment in which they should play, eat and sleep, who they will be friends with, when and how much television should they watch, and the kind of pre-school and school they should attend. At this point, we may argue that respondents, who have children, have inclinations to raise them as self-assured, well-cared for, athletic, successful, social, intellectual, cosmopolitan and elite individuals with high economic, cultural and social capital and thus high occupational and social status.

Consequently, respondents usually choose schools which offer high quality and sophisticated expensive education, which inculcate children into a cosmopolitan and elite way of life. This education will provide the children with a social network established on the basis of commonalities and distinction. In this sense, the case of TED and about being 'Kolejli', as mentioned above, this educational institution is becoming densely populated and therefore heterogeneous and that there is a propensity among the respondents to distinguish themselves, not only in terms of volume of economic capital, but also in terms of the composition of that capital. For that reason, there is a transcendence of tendencies towards more homogenous and more distinctive schools, such as the embassy schools.

4.7 Future Plans

In the final part of the interview the respondents were asked to predict how their lives would progress in the future. Both the older and younger respondents were hopeful and optimistic for the future. Although some of the older respondents were at retirement age, they were not tired of working. The older respondents appeared to be more relaxed about the future since they said that they have realized most of their future plans. The younger respondents were determined and self-confident about their future plans. They were more interested in upward mobility and providing stability.

In this sense, the respondents' career plans, close family relations and living in a durable and detached house in an exclusive lifestyle space were the issues they focused on. In relation to their career plans, most of the respondents want to advance in their professions; therefore, they planned to make investments in their educational capital. On the other hand, having a durable house and establishing strong family ties go hand in hand. Younger respondents, who live in their detached house and frequently meet with their parents, never think about moving or living in another city or country. Similarly, older respondents who live close to their children want to keep in touch with their children and grandchildren. In this sense, when asked about moving from her current house, Interviewee-13 (age 61), who lives in a four story detached house in Çayyolu, answers that she might move to a smaller house due to her age, but it would be in Çayyolu, close to her child's house. According to her, she and her husband have looked after their children, now their children should look after them. Although it is not deduced from most of younger respondents' opinions about the future, it is possible to observe that they have an aspiration to have a close relationship with their children. In addition, the younger respondent who lives in an apartment in Çankaya wants to move to Çayyolu and own a detached house. At this point, there are few respondents who do not want to establish strong ties between their living space and family members. Interviewee-12 (age 55), a single woman, wants to have three houses in Ankara, Istanbul and Bodrum because of her future career plans. Additionally, Interviewee 1 (age 35) who lives in a cosmopolitan apartment in Çankaya, and has a relatively independent relationship with her family, states that she does not want to live in a one place, in the future she wants to travel the world.

As a result, it can be argued that as an upper-middle class group of women, almost all of them make a great effort in order to reproduce their superior position in social space. They maintain close family relations, live in segregated and exclusionary urban spaces, emphasize their self-developments and make extensive investments in the next generations' accumulation of capital.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this study the dispositions and everyday life practices of group of upper-middle class women living in upper and middle class districts in Ankara were examined. The analysis is based on Bourdieu's concepts and time-space relations, in order to reveal their reproduction strategies in the process of class formation. In this context, the ways of accumulating and transferring their economic and cultural capital and their differentiation propensities in the realm of reproduction were investigated.

In this chapter, the findings are evaluated on the basis of our main objective under two main headings; first their ways of accumulating and transferring economic and cultural capital, second their differentiation propensities.

5.1 Ways of Accumulating and Transferring Economic and Cultural Capital

Within the perspective of dynamic class formation in the space of everyday life, on the focus on the changing reproduction strategies of the target group of women during the fragmentation of the urban space of Ankara. Changing production relations and accumulation strategies in post-industrial cities has also become influential on reproduction relations and thereby the dynamic class formation process. The debates on 'new middle class' or new petite bourgeoisie, have emerged in accordance with this process. It was we expected that, they may have a particular way of accumulating and transferring economic and cultural capital. Accordingly the important factors were considered to be respondents' social origin, inherited economic and cultural capitals, length of getting education, investment propensities, social network relations, cultural activities and cultural objects they have. Regarding the findings of this study, in accumulation and transfer of economic and cultural capital, strategy of constituting 'family' and providing its' stability are positioned at the center of this part. Subsequently, issues of investment in educational capital and involving in a particular social network come as the reproduction strategies.

5.1.1 Strategy of Constituting the ‘Family’

Almost all the respondents have upper-middle class family origin; their parents and their husbands’ parents have a high volume of economic and cultural capital. When we compare parents and respondents’ volume of economic and cultural capital can be argued that they could have sustained stability in the social space. There is a notable increase in their educational capital especially in comparison to the level of their mother’s education; therefore there is an upward mobility in their cultural capital.

The notion of ‘family’ is perceived as fundamental for the respondents. In accordance with the respondents’ discourse, creating a family and having a child are taken for granted; all but one of the respondents is married and has children. Through constituting family they provide an environment to transfer their inherited capital to the next generation and to reproduce social relations.

In this study, this transmission relationship was observed through three generations; parents of the respondents and their husbands, the respondents and their husbands and their children. The parents transmit their accumulated and inherited economic and cultural capital to their children and grand children. The respondents as being both children and parent have a dual role; on the one they receive the inherited economic and cultural capital, on the other hand they become intermediaries in the transmission of inherited capital from their parents to the grandchildren. Eventually the children receive the inherited capitals.

The stability and continuity of the transmission and reproduction relations are maintained by means of ‘symbolic and practical attempts’ such as close family relationships and gift giving practices. Almost all of the younger respondents live in houses that were gifted by their parents, have their mothers support for child care and domestic affairs and they frequently interact with each other. In this sense, through these generous gifts and sacrificing relationships the respondents and their husbands accept their involvement in a ‘social depth’ relationship. It is through this relationship that the transmission of inherited economic and cultural capital is established. Accordingly the respondents, through close family ties and gift-giving

relations maintain a dependent relationship with their parents and this dependency is concealed by generosity and sacrifice.

The house and its interior provide a place for transmission and are used as inherited cultural capital through cultural objects of interior design. In accordance to the respondents' future plans, for most of them the house was a gift and they perceived it as durable and to be passed on the next generation, therefore the house itself and its interior can be considered as one of the means of constituting stability and the continuity of transmission relations. Corresponding discourses were observed in the respondents' moral values and attitudes towards their children. Some of have identified themselves as conservative in those issues and accordingly, the discourse of being conservative corresponds to stable and continuous family ties. However, it should be pointed out that this conservatism only consists of symbolic attempts to provide stable family ties, indeed especially in the consumption practices of respondents such conservative attitudes were observed.

5.1.2 Education and Social Network

Apart from the 'family' issue, investment in education is another fundamental strategy for accumulating and transferring capital for the respondents. Accordingly, converting their high educational capital into economic capital is essential in determining occupation and therefore, in accumulating economic capital. As mentioned above in comparison to the previous generation there is an upward mobility in cultural capital; therefore, can be argued that there is an increasing propensity to invest economic capital to convert into educational capital.

In addition to the conversion function, respondents perceive educational capital as social capital. Thus they send their children to exclusive and expensive schools not only for the quality of the education but also for the name of those schools. Therefore, by making an investment in education they also appropriate the social capital of those educational institutions. In addition to the social capital, this education also provides a supportive social network which offers the alumni of these schools a collective identity. Often it is through this social network that some of the respondents met their husbands.

5.2 Differentiation Propensities

The differentiation propensities it should be mentioned about class identification process on the basis of particular exclusion and inclusion. Considering the spatial and social fragmentation of the urban space of Ankara, the respondents' lifestyle space is established via this basic fragmentation. Their residential preferences, ways of using city space, cultural and social activities and consumption practices are constituted based on exclusion of oppositions and inclusion of similarities. Most of the respondents establish their differentiation propensities in accordance with this context. In this section, the spatial differentiation tendencies of the respondents will be evaluated and in the light of this fragmentation, their class habitus and legitimate culture will be explained.

The respondents live in upper-middle class neighborhoods; most in gated communities and they use a specific part of the urban space, thus they almost never encounter the disorder and misery lower class districts. A residential movement of spatial segregation from the inner city places to more segregated outskirts of the city among generations was observed. Therefore, it can be argued that in parallel to the fragmentation of the urban space their reproduction strategy of establishing distinctive space of life-style has increased. In this sense, an indifferent attitude towards lower class people and their settlements was seen. However it was observed that whenever lower class people exist in the space of their lifestyle the respondents tended to identify these people as a threat to their homogeneous space of lifestyle. As a result, by means of living in distant suburban neighborhoods like Çayyolu they establish a strict distinctive space of lifestyle in which lower class people are physically eliminated.

However, it is possible to say that they predominantly establish their opposition discourse against the life-style of people who have a similar volume of economic capital and similar class interests but a different level of composition of cultural capital. This kind of identification is found in respondents' school preferences for their children and also in their residential preferences especially in gated communities. In this sense, for most of the respondents, people who have an Islamist way of life are their opposites. While establishing their homogeneous space of

lifestyle, the respondents could develop strategies to eliminate these people. Also there was opposition discourse in respondents' consumption practices, and in their newspaper and TV channel preferences. Thus they have a propensity to constitute homogenous communities through social network and enclaves in order to eliminate different class fractions.

Furthermore the respondents' political perspective is one of their basic motivations of their class habitus. They establish their collective identity via opposition to the Islamist way of life; therefore, their space of life-style is oriented by anti-Islamist identifications. In this sense, it can be stated that most of the respondents clearly described themselves in their telling as secular.

In relation to the observations of respondents' dispositions, cultural activities and consumption practices it can be said that there is a transforming legitimate culture. In this sense, it is possible to discuss that on one hand, the legitimate tastes of going to classical concerts, theatre, opera and ballet, are gradually losing their legitimacy. On the other hand, simultaneously there is an expansion of popular and post-modern taste which may be the appearance of a new legitimate culture that is more consumption oriented, more international and more dependent on the dominant trends of the world. As a result, it can be seen that some of the younger respondents, are familiar with the old legitimate culture, but as the bearers of this new culture they are also competent to recognize this new emerging legitimate culture.

In this study the reproduction strategies of upper-middle class women in the city of Ankara were investigated. It was found that constituting strong family ties for the transmission of inherited capital, investment in education and establishing distinctive segregated space of life-styles are some of basic strategies of upper-middle class people. Since they have active role in expression of household's social status and consumption practices women were chosen as the participants. However, due to financial and time limitations the number of interviews was small, it would be useful to use the same framework and methodology with a large number of participants which would encompass a wider range of households and include up to three generations. Additionally it would be interesting to carry out a study on several

different cities to explore potential differences in accumulation and transfer of capital.

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Socio-demographic profile of household

Familiarity	Age	Gender	Marital status	Education status	Occupation	Place and sector of work	Sector type (private/public)	Monthly income

II. Time-Space Relation

Social-Origin-Space Relation

1) Could you describe your childhood environment?

- Occupation of father and mother
- Story of parent's marriage
- Everyday life- domestic activities
- Time spending habits
- Use of city space, entertainment, restaurant cafe, shopping, sport, culture arts...
- Description of family house
- Interior design
- Family's motivation for education
- Participation in sport ,arts, cultural activities
- Number of household
- Description of previous neighborhood
- Recent occupation and neighborhood of the family members
- *What is missing from old memories?*

Educational-Cultural Capital

2) Could you describe your education circumstances?

- Education of primary-high-graduate...
- Places of school
- Environment of friendship
- Activities outside the school

Marriage

3) Could you tell about the story of meeting with your husband and your decision of marriage?

- Places of meeting
- Places used before marriage
- Decision of marriage
- Family of your husband and his parents occupation
- Husband's accommodation
- Educational status of your husband
- The place they start living after marriage and the reason for choosing that place
- During marriage how is the inner design of the house is made

Work life-Space relations

4) Could you describe us your work life?

- The features of previous job
- The places of previous jobs
- The place and sector of the recent job
- Position in the work place

5) Do you invest and what kind of investments you make?

Everyday life-Space

6) Could you describe your previous neighborhood and the reason for moving?

- The reason for choosing the previous places
- The reason for choosing the recent place
- The difference of the recent neighborhood from the others

7) *For you what kind of people are choosing to live in this neighborhood and what are their social, economical and cultural situation?*

8) Are you satisfied with your neighborhood?

- Neighbor relations
- Security
- Services
- Are you planning to move? If yes why?

9) Could you describe how did you chose your house and how did you design it?

- How is the decoration made
- The importance of decoration

- Who has chosen the households
- Description of inner design (modern, functional etc.)
- How did you chose the households and where did you buy it from
- How is the households are placed in the living room
- How do you use the house (the usage of living room, kitchen and other rooms in everyday life)

10) Could you describe your everyday routine in the house?

11) How do you manage the chores of your house?

12) Could you list the spending of your house and what is the main?

Private spending

Use of space in city life

13) In your daily life which district of the city you use the most?

- For shopping clothing and the needs of the house
- For food and cleaning supplies
- For roam or spending time
- Cinema/theatre or cafe/restaurant
- Places for entertainment

14) Is there any place you avoid going where are they and why?

15) How do you evaluate Ankara as a city?

- The advantages in living here
- The main problem of the city

16) Do you use public transportation in the city which one and for what reason?

Material Culture

17) When you buy a car what do you take into consideration do you have a car if yes what is it and the features of it?

- The brand names of previous cars
- The reason for the change

18) Does the other members of the family has cars if yes what are the brand names?

19) Do you use the internet if yes what is your main use of it?

- Which sites do you browse and for how long?

20) Do you like jewelry if yes what kind?

21) Where do you prefer to buy your clothes and is there a brand you prefer?

- The importance of appearance

22) How much do you take care of your personal hygiene, form and physical appearance and why?

- What do you use to keep hygiene?
- The activities preferred to keep in shape
- If in a diet what kind of diet

Social relations

22) Could you tell us about the family or friends you frequently see and how did you meet them and what is your usual activities?

- Who are does friends or family?
- Their occupation and educational status
- The place of meeting
- When did u meet them
- Times of meeting
- The places used when together

Socio-cultural Life

23) Can you follow the social, cultural and art events in the city?

- If yes with what kind of media
- Usually which kind of event you prefer to attend in?

24) Do you like music and what kind of music you prefer to listen?

- Who is your favorite singer or band
- Is there any kind of music you don't like?

25) Is there any type of art you are interested in other then music such as art, theatre etc.

26) Do you like reading book? What kind of books do you like science fiction, love etc and why?

- How often
- Do you have any favorite author or book and why?

27) Is there any newspaper or magazine you follow and what are they?

28) Which TV and radio programs do you follow?

29) Are you in to sports what kind of sports do you like and how often you do it?

30) Is there any club you are a member of if yes which ones and why?

31) Where do you prefer to spend your vacation?

- A place they mainly chose for vacation
- What kind of place is it a site/house etc?
- How do they prefer to spend their vacation?
- Usually who they prefer to go a vacation with and what do they do together?
- Which foreign countries they prefer how often they go abroad and why?

Moral Values

32) Could you tell us about your first date when and where did you meet?

33) Is marriage is necessary in a relationship?

34) What do you think about divorce and what can cause it?

35) What do you think about sexual intercourse before marriage?

- Did she have sexual intercourse before marriage?
- What is her thought for her children?

Future Generations-Future Plans

36) Do you have any orientation for your child's/children's education?

- What is the importance of your child's/children's success in school for you?
- Does your child/children have any other activities that you support?

37) What kind of future do you plan for yourself? What do you want to do in future and where do you want to live?