

AN ATTEMPT OF MEASURING ART TASTE OF A GROUP OF MUSIC
STUDENTS IN ANKARA

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OZAN EREN

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Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

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

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

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

Assist. Prof. Çağatay Topal
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu (METU, SOC) _____

Assoc. Prof. Kezban Çelik (19 Mayıs Uni. SOC) _____

Assist. Prof. Çağatay Topal (METU, SOC) _____

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

Name, Last name : Ozan Eren

Signature :

ABSTRACT

AN ATTEMPT OF MEASURING ART TASTE OF A GROUP OF MUSIC STUDENTS IN ANKARA

Eren, Ozan

MSc., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Çağatay Topal

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Since its publication in 1984, Pierre Bourdieu's prominent work called *Distinction* has been admired, imitated and discussed. Based on the research question of how tastes are shaped within relation to cultural capital, social capital and economic capital, this study aims to develop a descriptive analysis to measure different tastes of baglama students, regularly attending an urban-based music house, in Kızılay, Ankara. In order to trace the original study conducted by Bourdieu in 1980s to measure the tastes and stick to the later study in Britain which is more applicable and easier to operationalize, this study aims to question tastes of young people attending baglama courses, based on a long-lasting interview including sub-sections observing social/cultural/economic capital and tastes of interviewees. The most important contribution of this thesis in the field of sociology of art is that it aims to develop a methodological tool adapted to Turkey in order to assess cultural consumption and taste. More explicitly, it is the first attempt in Turkey to measure art taste of music students in an urban based music house.

Keywords: ArtTaste, Social Capital, Cultural Capital, Economic Capital

ÖZ

ANKARA'DAKİ BİR GRUP MÜZİK ÖĞRENCİSİNİN SANAT BEĞENİSİNİ ÖLÇMEYE DAİR ÇALIŞMA

Eren, Ozan

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Çağatay Topal

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1984'de yayımlanmasından bu yana, Bourdieu'nun öncül kitabı olan Distinction beğenilmiş, taklit edilmiş ve tartışılmıştır. Beğenilerin sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik sermayeyle ilişki içinde nasıl şekillendiği araştırma sorusundan yola çıkarak, bu çalışma, Ankara Kızılay kent merkezli bir müzik evinde bağlama dersi alan öğrencileri değişik beğenilerine betimsel bir analiz getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Beğenileri analiz etmek için, Bourdieu tarafından 1980lerde yapılmış ilk orijinal çalışmayı odak alıp, daha sonra İngiltere'de yapılan çalışmayla operasyonel hale getirerek, bu çalışma, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel sermayeyi ve beğenileri ölçen alt başlıklar içeren uzun süren mülakatlarla genç öğrencilerin beğenilerini sorgulamayı hedeflemektedir.. Bu tezin, sanat sosyolojisi alanındaki en önemli katkısı, kültürel tüketim ve beğenileri değerlendirmek için Türkiye'ye uyarlanmış bir metodolojik araç geliştirmeyi amaç edinmiş olmasıdır. Daha açıkça ifade etmek gerekirse, bu

tez, kent merkezli bir mzık evindeki mzık đrencilerinin mzık beđenilerini lmek iin Trkiye’de bir ilk giriřimdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sanat Beđenisi, Sosyal Sermaye, Kltrel Sermaye,
Ekonomik Sermaye

To My Sister Ezgi Eren...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Those who have the chance to be educated in social sciences are very lucky since they will learn how to evaluate and analyze their observations of daily life by conducting scientific investigations. I was always interested in observing the society I live in through direct contact with the public. However, without adequate scientific knowledge, it wouldn't be possible to observe the societies on valid empirical grounds and analyze in a coherent way both theoretically and methodologically. Furthermore, as a musician, I always believed that an artist is not the best player, but the best observer, thereby, becoming a careful and sensitive observer is not just the key to become an artist, but also a sociologist. In the light of what I have said, I now may introduce my thesis. I have developed a keen interest in the realm of tastes and cultural capital while I have been working as a classical guitar teacher in different music houses. After I have realized that since the mid 1980s, the number of academic works concentrating on tastes and cultural consumption has been increasing at an accelerating pace, I developed a strong tendency towards measurement of tastes and cultural consumption of young people. Therefore, taking the advantage of being a musician and a future candidate in sociology, I have decided to observe the relationship of economic, social and cultural capitals of young students in an urban based music house, according to their musical preferences. Inadequacy of academic works and competent books in this field also attracted me to contribute in this area. In those books¹, written by Turkish sociologists or authors, the boundaries of art and/or the relationships between art and social structures were discussed. However, they lack the most important discussions held in the last two decades about the art and art receivers, cultural

¹ For instance: Ulusoy Demet (2005), "Sanatın Sosyal Sınırları", Ütopya Yayınları, Ankara; Erinc Sıtkı (2008) "Sanat Sosyolojisine Giriş", Ütopya Yayınevi, Ankara; Tezcan Mahmut (2011) "Sanat Sosyolojisi", Anı Yayıncılık, Ankara

consumption or tastes. In addition, the lack of adequate field work in Turkey to assess taste and cultural consumption also encouraged me to conduct a research in this field.

Although cultural consumption with regard to musical taste still hasn't been much studied and written about in Turkey, starting from 1990s and increasing in the number of studies in 2000s, this field has become one of the major areas of 21st century sociology. Respectively, important studies were conducted in France, America and the Britain. Therefore, I couldn't stay indifferent to such an important field of sociology as it gains importance in the last decades.

The most important contribution of this thesis in the field of sociology of art is that it aims to develop a methodological tool adapted to Turkey in order to assess cultural consumption and taste. More explicitly, it is the first attempt in Turkey to measure art taste of music students in an urban based music house. In this attempt, firstly, I thought to base methodological and theoretical foundations posed in *La Distinction* by Bourdieu. "In personal terms, *Distinction* proved the key work in establishing Bourdieu as the most prominent sociologist in France since Durkheim, and in 1981 he was elected to the prestigious chair in sociology at the College de France." (Bennett et. al., 2009:14). It is definitely true that this book enabled Bourdieu to be a more renowned sociologist. However, more important feature of the book to me for the sake of my thesis is that this book was a ground-breaking one discussing tastes by questioning how different classes show up different trends in their preferences. However, after realizing that some drawbacks and critiques about *La Distinction*, which I have also discussed in the section related to Bourdieu and *La Distinction*, may hinder the methodological application of my thesis, I have decided to trace the original study conducted by Bourdieu in 1980s to measure the tastes and stick to the later study in Britain which is more applicable and easier to operationalize. Briefly, the main criticism against Bourdieu is expressed in the following statements:

Bourdieu received robust criticism for the methods that he employed, typically for the ways in which he manipulated quantitative data. Both European and American scholars of stratification found the survey flawed in

various ways, disparaged his preferred technique for survey analysis, and suggested that the statistical associations that he reported were weak and unreliable. (Silva, Warde & Wright, 2009:300)

Thus, I have decided to benefit methodological framework posed in *Culture, Class, Distinction* (2009) by Tony Bennett, Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde, Modesto Gayo – Cal and David Wright. The main idea behind this book is as the following:

Culture, Class, Distinction is one of the central outcomes from an Economic and Social Research Council funded project, *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion: A Critical Investigation*, which commenced in 2003. The project aimed to revisit the methodological and theoretical relevance of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's conception of 'cultural capital' for understanding the relations between cultural taste and consumption and social class in contemporary Britain. (Gibson, 2009:1)

In the methodological appendix to *Distinction*, Bourdieu tells us that "the design of his questionnaire was based on the hypotheses of the unity of tastes" (Bourdieu, 1984: 596). On the other hand, although *Culture, Class, Distinction* aimed to revisit methodological and theoretical foundations of Bourdieu, it was more than a repetition. "The project aimed to replicate Bourdieu's study, reported in *Distinction* (1984), while also extending and qualifying it to take account of its shortcomings and contemporary social and political historical contexts." (Gibson, 2009:1). As highlighted by Bennett et. al. "their survey, as opposed to designed by Bourdieu, conforms fully to modern sampling techniques." (Bennett et. al., 2009:37). Thus, when preparing my questionnaire, I have benefited from questions developed by Bennett et. al. I tried to explore my respondents' relations to music, cinematography, paintings and spare time activities.

To continue, in my thesis, although I have benefited from methodological framework discussed in *Culture, Class and Distinction* and mainly used theoretical framework from Bourdieu, namely, conceptualizations of taste, social capital, cultural capital and economic capitals, I have tried to make contributions at some points.

My first contribution is related to assessment of economic capital. In *Culture, Class and Distinction*, in order to assess economic activity of the respondent and relative

partner, job status, the sort of works, training qualifications, description of the job and similar questions are asked. When explaining the basic idea behind deciding questions to assess economic capital, Bennett *et. al.* alleges that “a set of question exploring not just income but economic assets more broadly than Bourdieu attempted was included in order to generate more precise measures of economic capital” (Bennett *et. al.*, 2009:38). However, when assessing economic capital, I believe that a separate socio – economic status questionnaire previously designed, implemented, and giving significant results in a large sample should be integrated into main questionnaire to yield more consistent findings. For this reason, I have benefited SES study which is a recently developed measurement tool to measure socio economic status in Ankara.

My second contribution highlights the importance of rhythm analysis in the musical field. The reason of giving more importance to music is related to its distinctive characteristic underlined by many researchers and sociologists. “Music is very distinguished from other cultural forms. Music can stand for, symbolize and offer the immediate experience of collective identity. Other cultural forms, - painting, literature, design- can articulate and show off shared values and pride, but only music can make you feel them.” (Frith, 1987: 140). For this reason, in one of the questions assessing the appreciation of different songs of different types, I have proposed to ask rhythm of a song which is culturally inherited in Thrace and also highly appreciated in Turkey. I have to note that my field work was conducted among bağlama students who are informed about rhythm and notes. Whether the appreciation of the rhythm of the song in 9/8 time signature is related to be the recognition of the rhythm or it is just because of the cultural familiarity of this rhythm is crucial to observe. “The embodied state refers to cultural capital in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1984). My question proposing to ask rhythm of the song is very important to understand whether embodied cultural capital is developed consciously or unconsciously.

My third contribution is to offer a motivation analysis. I believe that, in order to detect similar dispositions and preferences, finding same response from different students wouldn't be enough. In order to clarify how motivation analysis is

necessary to reach exact judgments about same preferences among students, I have used two scoring system. The gap between obtained scores and the actual scores illustrates us how motivation analysis is essential. Distinctively, the study conducted in Britain suggests of implementing discussion groups. The reason of this is that “the wide-ranging nature of the focus group discussion allows us to make some robust claims about its utility as a marker of the discursive terrain of contemporary notions of cultural divisiveness, which are of particular use in deepening understanding of the cultural map.” (Silva, Warde & Wright, 2009: 304). However, my purpose in my thesis is not to draw cultural maps and extract meaning from those. Rather, I intend to measure how strong taste groups are formed in relation to social, cultural and economic capital.

The last but not least, I have converted questions in the original survey conducted in Britain into Turkish context. This effort was achieved with the help of two people professionalized in the field of art and cinematography. One of these persons is Deniz Artun who has been operating Nev Art Galery in Ankara. Lecturing the course called ‘*Sociology of Art*’, she was also my teacher in METU for a while. After my request, she thought similar Turkish painters to the ones in the original survey showing similar trends, similar degree of popularity and artistic stance. The other person is my friend Yiğit Küçükkibar directing movies and documentaries. Although I wasn’t informed about the actual conversion methodology in terms of painters, I have explained what my director friend proposed in order to convert directors in the original survey to the Turkish context accurately.

Moving onto different sections, the first chapter of the theses initially aims to introduce the subject of my theses as well as explaining its methodological importance in Turkey, provides a quick overview of my subject and its related field and how I have developed a tendency towards this subject.

To continue, the second chapter is organized in such a way that it will uncover the literature to understand how the perception of relationship between sociology and art has evolved in the history. After giving a brief definition of sociology of art, I have traced the history of sociology of art as a discipline and I have explained in

details how sociology and art firstly have become the subjects of thinkers, critics, historians, authors and many others in their works. Starting from sociological perspectives in literature, I have examined the developments in this field. Hereafter, when mentioning the relationship between art and society I have provided information about four main approaches called as ‘reflection approaches’, ‘shaping approaches’, ‘sociology of art according to casual approach’, ‘sociology of art according to narrative approach’ and the purpose of art. After talking about the first attempts to develop sociology of art as a field and providing the history of this field, I have mentioned the main drivers of the sociology of art nowadays. As many researchers and sociologists emphasize, Paul Dimmagio, Howard Becker and Pierre Bourdieu have made the most important contributions to sociology of art recently. However, I have talked about Bourdieu and his eminent work, *Distinction*, in a separate subsection because of his relevance and importance in my thesis. Cultural turn in this section might be considered as a bridge relating previous literature review with a turning point in sociology of art. As the name of this subsection emphasizes, a cultural turn starting from Bourdieu and continued by studies applied by Bennett *et. al.* (2009) is explained historically. This part underlines initially the requirement of systematic analysis concentrating on art worlds and cultural production together, beyond the search for cultural context of art works only. Then, a pathway is drawn through Bourdieu and the most valid operationalization of him in Britain by a research conducted and published by Bennett *et. al.* (2009). The final subsection in this chapter illustrates the lack of studies in the field of sociology of art in Turkey by examining various informative books, coedited books, researches and some thesis.

The third chapter starts by defining my research question and problem. What I have written in this chapter forms the skeleton of my theses, because, my thesis provides a methodological contribution. After defining my research question and problem carefully, I move onto my intended conceptual definitions to elucidate my field work. Because of writing from a perspective of Post – Bourdieun cultural theory, I have tried to stick to the assumptions of Bourdieu as much as possible. Therefore, after deciding the major conceptualizations, I have provided a detailed account for

my theoretical framework. For this purpose, I have concentrated on *taste*, *social capital*, *cultural capital* and *economic capital* since they hold an important place in the art analysis of Bourdieu and will form the basis of my thesis. As the next step, I have defined my sample and elaborated in what conditions I have conducted my field work by considering time issues, availability of place and helpfulness of students and the boss of music house.

Continued in the third chapter, how to operationalize is the most important question to which I ask by myself due to the importance of my thesis as a methodological contribution. This subsection aims to explain how I will embody my theories on a practical ground. By following careful steps, on a gradual basis, I have explained how I will operationalize my findings in my field work. For this purpose, stuck to my conceptual definitions, I have detailed how I have formed my taste groups. In this subsection, I had to narrow down the scope as much as possible to link the rationale behind these questions to the motivations of taste behind each answer. Therefore, I have determined 3 major and significant questions to analyze each taste from each type of capital. Finally, in this chapter, I have specified the limitations of my field work in order to avoid causing inaccurate generalizations in the further studies.

The fourth chapter includes two interconnected analysis focusing on six different taste groups specifically. First analysis is a micro analysis which aims to examine students by observing their answers from the questions related to social, cultural and economic capital in order to detect similarities and differences within each taste group. Then, based on these detailed findings, each taste group is aimed to be graded based on the similarities regarding social, cultural and economic capital. Although the second analysis, suggesting obtained scores (graded after finding out same answers in the answer sheet) and actual scores (graded after finding out same answers motivation analysis) seems sufficient enough to draw a comprehensive framework, it wouldn't be possible to combine all of my findings regarding motivations of the students without a former analysis. Therefore, for the sake of my combined analysis, I had to make a previous analysis.

The last chapter includes my final remarks and observations about my long – lasting theses. Although there are many signs of the highlights of the thesis in the previous chapters, I have specified the most distinctive findings of my thesis in the conclusion chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Sociology of Art Taste

2.1.1 A Definition of The Sociology of Art

“What I have said about art worlds can be said about any kind of social world, when put more generally; ways of talking about art, generalized, are ways of talking about society and social process generally...” (Becker, 1982: 369)

Definitions allow us to handle perspectives. Perspectives, on the other hand, allow us to grasp methodologies. So, how we define something (for instance, the sociology of art or art taste) is related to how we study it and how we try to grasp it. From this point of view, definitions become more important for the sake of the theses.

Although there is a high correlation between sociology and art, these disciplines were evaluated separately for a long time. However, art as a descriptive component of the society and the individual is an explicit domain of sociologist, thus, sociology as a discipline. At this juncture, a necessity to interweave sociology and art together occurred. For this purpose, sociology of art as an interdisciplinary area has evolved in time. According to Tezcan (2011: 39) “sociology of art is an area emerged in the early 20th century and it aims to bring a sociological perspective on the relationship between art and society by the sociologists”. Nevertheless, it wouldn’t be inaccurate to claim that the sociology of art still hasn’t acquired enough importance and appreciation in the academic field. Zolberg (1990), on the other hand, discusses about the sociology of the arts as the following:

[T]he sociology of [the arts, as an intellectual field] is more like a field of flowers than a field of battle. It [has] produced impressive theoretical

assertions, brilliant but isolated insights and rich veins of research findings, but [it has not coalesced] as a proper field...

However, recent academic studies about sociology of art are promising.

2.1.2 Development of the Sociology of Art

In order to trace development of the sociology of art, primarily, we need to follow up the relationship between society and art. Art can be found in even the most primitive societies. Even, relationship between society and art goes back to before Christ. This relationship is also common in Platon, a Classical Greek philosopher and mathematician lived around the 4th century, B.C. According to Platon, *mimesis* is the presentation of the nature and self and simultaneously it refers to imitating, copying. To Platon, art and the creation is also an imitation; *mimesis*; thus, the artists are far from the realities and let people away from the reality by making the copy of appearances. However, “both of Plato, both the interest of philosophers interested in the relationship between society and art, has been mostly a legislator, the regulatory style and this interest has shown itself in the context of an aesthetic and ethical.” (Soykan, 2005: 74)

Before the establishment of the sociology of art as a discipline, casual relationship and mutual interaction between art and culture and art and the community had been a keen interest of thinkers, critics, historians, authors and many others. On the other hand, Robert Nisbet, an American sociologist, points out relationship between sociology and art forms, when discussing about themes and styles in art:

In the literary writings of Madame de Staël, in the philosophical works of Maistre, Bonald, Coleridge, and Southey, as well as in the earliest sociological writings, those of Saint Simon and Comte, there is the profound and obsessive sense of style as something going well beyond any individual artist, thinker or craftsman, as being rooted in the social science, in the social landscape, and thus helping to give identity to the individual (Nisbet, 2004: 29).

Throughout these prominent figures, Madame de Staël keeps a separate place by her work. When observing literary works as a part of the art, remarkable work of Madame de Staël, *Literature Considered in Its Relation to Social Institutions*, might be considered as a striking work, because this work deals with mutual relationship

between literature and society. What Madame de *Staël* wrote in his work in 1800, might be considered as an early attempt to illustrate the relationship between literature and sociology in specific sense, and art and sociology in a wider sense: “My purpose is to examine the influence of religion, custom, and law upon literature, and the influence of literature upon religion, custom and law.” (Staël, 1987: 172).

This is a significant purpose statement by Staël since it highlights double sided interaction between literature, art and sociology. However, although Staël’s work is promising in its time and Staël comes up with an assertive purpose statement to trace sociology of literature in her work, as mentioned indirectly by her, her work cannot be considered as a part of sociology of literature properly. “Staël, instead of embarking on literary phenomenon, tends towards abstract ideas such as “virtue”, “liberty”, “happiness” and attempts to demonstrate the role of these concepts in literature history.” (Soykan, 2005: 175)

Another important figure who made a similar study with Staël is French positivist Hippolyte Taine. The book called by *Philosophie de l’Art* written by Taine in 1882 is accepted as a first book about sociology of art by some authorities. This book focused on generally art of painting and sculpture. In another book by Taine, published in 1863, *History of English Literature*, Taine searched about the relationship between literature and society. “With the principle of the idea that art works reflect the thinking and feelings of societies over time of a particular environment, Taine observed leading representatives of British literature from 16th century to 19th century such as Shakespeare, Swift, Milton and Byron.” (Soykan, 2005: 175). At this point, “Taine’s claim is that literature is a transcript of contemporary manners, a type of a certain kind of mind and one can retrace, from the monuments of literature, the style of man’s feelings and thoughts for centuries back” (Taine, 1971: 609).

According to Taine, three important factors influencing the artistic product are “race”, “milieu” and “moment”. In a positivist approach, Taine used this triangle regarding the artists in specific societies.

“Regarding race, the term racial includes the heredity, soil and climate.” (Barnett, 1976: 623). On the other hand, “race takes its character from climate, soil and living history events. This character develops a spirit and a certain sense of beauty.” (Henning, 1976). However, it should be noted that “race” defined by Taine isn’t conceived as a superiority dominating over other nations. What Taine implies is that each nation has its own national and innate characteristics separate from other nations.

Considering milieu, milieu has a crucial role and meaning to explain literature. Relationship between climate, soil, geographical location and human personality is similarly reflected in literature. As Northern climates and weathers are generally rainy, heavy, cloudy, foggy and cold, melancholic themes are dominant in literature in these countries. However, sunny and hot weather in the South enables a more joyful and hopeful themes in literature. Hauser criticizes Taine’s conceptualization of ‘milieu’ as the following:

For Taine, the concept of “milieu” serves as a crude and mechanical subsumption of natural – especially geographical – climatic – cultural, and interpersonal conditions; it ignores the interaction between the diverse factors present in the processes concerned. Wherever there is an effect, Taine immediately talks of causality in the scientific sense. (Hauser, 1982: 96)

Focusing on moment, a work of art cannot be independent from pervious works. However, when talking about “moment”, a specific time period is considered. Nevermore, this is not very clear in Taine’s triangle.

On the other hand, Taine, in his system, doesn’t take into consideration the artist’s personality and creativity. The work consists of the artist’s initiative and effort. As Tezcan has also emphasizes, “it would be wrong to count human creations as a result of certain conditions and states.” (Tezcan, 2011: 44). Both the contributions of Staël and of Taine are limited to the research for cultural context of art.

In addition to these prominent figures, Giambatista Vico, Herder and Hegel lived in the 18th and 19th century also pointed that culture of the societies are reflected in the art works.

In the 20th century, Heinrich Wöllflin, Arnold Hauser, Theodor Adorno, Leo Lowenthal, Erwin Panofsky, Elizabeth Helsinger and Will Wright are some of the prominent figures positing the idea that societies are reflected in the art works within their social and cultural contexts.

2.1.3 The Relationship Between Art and Society

When discussing about the relationship between art and society, Victoria d. Alexander, the author of the pioneering book called *Sociology of the Arts: Exploring Fine and Popular Forms*, sets out two approaches which are called as “reflection approaches” and “shaping approaches”.

Before mentioning reflection approaches, the following narrative from a newspaper is meaningful:

The toothy grin, every politician's gleaming weapon, was considered a sign of dementia until the exhibition of a radical painting [by Elizabeth Vigee - Lebrun, a self portrait of herself with her daughter; the little one smiling with lips slightly parted] in 1787... A study by Colin Jones [2000] . . . uncovers the birth of the modern smile. Until Mme Vigee-Lebrun, icons such as the Mona Lisa had preferred to stay tight-lipped, for good reason. Baring one's teeth was considered rude, lower – class and a possible sign of madness.

Dental care was also of such poor quality that few wished to be depicted with rotten teeth. Professor Jones said: "Teeth quality was at its lowest ebb in the 18th century because all classes were drinking tea or coffee and eating chocolate"... Nevertheless . . . many significant French figures began to allow their portraits to reveal their teeth. Professor Jones believes that this was due to the radical transformation in the practice of dentistry and a consumer boom in the range of dental products available... (The Times [of London], 2000: 10).

As reflection approaches emphasize, undoubtedly, there is a dual relationship between art and society which is reflected in art as the product of society and society as the product of art. The passage above illustrates how the perception of smiles in the paintings and dental care changed throughout the history and how the paintings played a crucial role in this change and transition.

When concentrating on the roots of the reflection approach, according to Victoria d. Alexander, Marxist cultural analysis and Adorno as a Marxist cultural critic, are pioneers to this approach.

To continue, there are different types of analysis under reflection approaches. When exemplifying *Interpretative Analysis*, Alexander points out Elizabeth Helsinger's work, *Turner and the Representation of England*, which observes engravings of landscape painter J.M.W. Turner in the 1820s and 1830s with respect to the aspects of British national identity. When positing Helsinger's work as an interpretative study, Alexander supports her opinion as the followings:

Helsinger has taken a number of art works and examined them in detail in order to extract their meaning, and, thereby, she has shown that elements in the paintings reflect certain aspects of society. Her study shores up the interpretation of the visual objects with a historical analysis, in which she matches the stylistic elements in Turner's work with aspects of the political and economic climate of Britain of the time (Alexander, 2003: 25).

Another approach is called as *Content Analysis*. As an example to this analysis, Alexander (2003) illustrates Lowenthal's work in 1961, *The Triumph of Mass Idols*, which focused on the biographies of popular figures between 1901 and 1941 in America and is considered as a significant work demonstrating how subjects and thus, selected figures in these biographies changed over time. The main distinction between heroes whose biographies were published in magazines was that before World War I the heroes were the idols of production, whereas after World War I the heroes were cogs in consumption. Alexander expresses her views about the methodology of Lowenthal's study as the following:

Lowenthal's study, while drawing inspiration from critical analysis, is based on the method of content analysis from the positivist tradition. In content analysis, the researcher chooses a sample of materials and then codes them for a variety of factors. Lowenthal chose two popular magazines published in the US from 1901 to 1941 and coded the professions of the subjects of biographies into such categories as politics, business, professional and entertainment. (ibid, 26)

Structural Semiotics is another type of analysis. Examining of Will Wright over financially successful American movies, between 1930 and 1972, serves as a model to this approach. "Wright's argument is based on Levi – Strauss's (e.g. 1967)

structural study of myths. The idea is that stories with quite different “surface” appearances can actually have the same underlying narrative (or mythic) structure.” (Alexander, 2003:26).

Understanding rituals is also used to make analysis. Erving Goffman’s distinctive work, *Gender Advertisements*, exemplify how rituals are reflected in the relationships among people and afterwards in the advertisements. This work has remarkable findings about the relationship between authority/ power and gender with a specific representation of physical appearance, especially height, in the advertisements. For instance, the taller the person, the more authority he/she represents. As Goffman examined in the advertisements, although men are generally represented taller than women, there are some special cases about women’s height.

Combining methods is the last type of reflection approaches. Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki’s work, *Representation of race in American society*, is illustrated as an example to this method. “To uncover representations, they do content analysis of a variety of popular arts.” (ibid, 29). Alexander again illustrates one of the interesting findings in Entman’s and Rojecki’s work as the following:

Their content analysis of 1620 advertisements demonstrates that whites were shown in “contact” with the audience (e.g. speaking to the audience or appearing in a close – up) or interacting with each other (e.g. speaking to or touching other characters) three times as often as blacks... In general, Entman and Rojecki’s work demonstrates what they term the liminality of black people in American society. (ibid, 30 – 31).

Moving onto Shaping Approaches, it might be said that shaping approach posits the idea that art is influencing the society. However, rather than positive effects of art on society, this approach focuses on negative effects.

In Marxism, the superstructure which serves as a tool for control develops not only in politics and economics, but also in art. Based on the ideas developed by Marx, Alexander, states what another pioneering figure, Antonio Gramsci claims by discussing hegemony:

Regarding hegemony, as a contribution to this line of thinking by Marx, hegemony as discussed by Antonio Gramsci develops through a variety of means, but what is important for the sociology of art is that elites are instrumental in the creation and distribution of cultural products. They are, therefore; able to place into art ideas favorable to their own interests. (ibid, 44 – 45).

The Frankfurt School and Critical Theory is also important to explain under shaping approaches. A group of scholars from Frankfurt School pointed out the popular arts and the term “culture industry” was coined by Adorno and Horkheimer. Culture implied by Adorno encourages critical thinking. However, the term, culture industry, imposes conformity rather than consciousness, cultural commodities rather than appreciation of true art set apart from mass culture and thus, it creates a citizenry which is uncritical. Adorno and Horkheimer’s depiction of mass culture states that “the whole world is passed through the filter of the culture industry, by being nothing other than style, it divulges style's secret: obedience to the social hierarchy.” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2000: 98). Thus, the more the culture industry dominates, the more standardized cultural products and art occur. Scholars and writers from Frankfurt School realized the threat of mass culture, because the elites were gaining strength in this way and cultural industries were becoming more powerful while masses were still powerless. Thus, the fine arts with their uplifting mechanism are more valuable than popular arts which are aimed to consume by masses.

On the other hand, *the Cultural Critique* should be considered. Mass culture theorists and media effects both play a vital role in the cultural critique. The cultural critique of mass culture has been a long-standing criticism continuing over half a century. Mass culture is criticized by a number of theorists since it has been producing standardized cultural products, homogenizing culture, creating passive audiences and viewers. Some theorists focusing on the subject accept the use of mass culture as synonymous with drug addiction. People addressed by mass culture inevitably become addicted to it, such as TV addicts, Hollywood movies’ addicts or romance novel addicts.

On the other hand, media has been affecting our daily lives to such a degree that we can't think the rest of a day without it. What is represented, illustrated or raised by media is taken as a model by citizens. Media has both effects on individuals and societies. Media can distort the facts, mislead people through biased movies or information or easily change perception of the masses. On the other hand, media has impacts on the imposition of popular arts through culture industries. Although there are many invisible reasons behind this imposition, the most important reason is to increase profit of business people in culture industries.

Critiques against shaping approaches also need to be considered. Studies about media effects are criticized in many ways. Some argue that studies about these effects don't reflect consistent results, because they lack an accurate or authoritative measurement technique. On the other hand, laboratory experiments about violent behaviors resulted by media effects are arguable because of artificiality of laboratory environment which makes significant changes to social contexts to which people belong. Due to the fact that Adorno and Frankfurt School do not present the data about their assertions related to media effects, they are also notably criticized.

Another critique about shaping theory is that it generally views audiences as passive people who are uncritical and unconscious rather than approaching them as active audiences. It overlooks the fact that audiences are the consumers of cultural products. Therefore, in order to realize and observe the effects of cultural products, observations about the audiences and cultural products are equally important. Alexander (2003), on the other hand, states the views of other writers and their reasons to reject the critique of popular culture as the following:

Other writers reject the critique of popular culture, because they reject the elitist purveyors of the theories. They believe that the cultural critique is merely a *moral panic* – the situation that arises when elites worry about other people, couching it in terms of the degradation of the popular arts and therefore society. The cultural critique, in this view, is a form of submerged class conflict. Andrew Ross, in his book called *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture (1989)* links the cultural critique to the waning of the cultural authority of America intellectuals. (Alexander, 2003: 51)

After explaining *Reflection* and *Shaping Approaches*, now I can move onto Sociology of Art According to Casual Approach. According to Marx, different social classes play different roles regarding the appreciation of art works. For instance, Turkish folk music is appreciated by Turkish villagers more than the appreciation of Turkish art music. This case can be adopted differently within relation to different social classes in different nations. The British aristocrats and peasants, for example, also differ significantly considering their likelihood of enjoyment from British folk songs. Marx also asserts that changes in the mode of production affecting social change also have a significant impact on the nature of art works. Besides, Marx also believes that economy influences art to a certain degree. Class conflicts directly or indirectly are reflected in the style of format, style or expression of any art works.

“To Weber, the presence of music finds its own expression in religion. Religion has warned the creation of arts and crafts products.” (Ulusoy, 2005: 90) Therefore, the roots of art works need to be sought in religion and religious institutions.

“According to Durkheim, in the rites and ceremonies, implemented by primitives for their totems and during the periods of representation, imitation, sacrifice, suffering and mourning, the basics of poetry and music are realized.”(Tezcan, 2011: 48) In other words, he refers to the origin of art with the religious ceremonies. Therefore, considering the inevitable relation between art and the religion, we can say that Durkheim has an opinion close to what Weber argues.

Another approach in the Sociology of Art is *Narrative Approach*. According to this approach, art works as perceived as a reflection of social conditions are affected from the mentality of the current culture and the period. Pitirim Sorokin is known to be the main representative of this approach. Narrative approach has been mainly classified in three different approaches. To continue, Tezcan (2011) states the characteristic of *Functionalist Approach and Art* as the following:

According to *Functionalist Approach and Art*, art can be seen as a social institution. The reason of this is that art is believed to be established to serve for basic and societal needs. This point of view plays a role supporting dominant values. For instance, artistic forms play a significant role

regarding political rituals, celebrations and religious practices. (ibid, 48 – 49).

In other words, functional character of art is emphasized in this approach. Especially during rituals and ceremonial meetings, art plays a crucial role to bring people together.

“*Confrontational Approach and Art* defines art as the hegemony and, searches for the role of hegemony in art.” (Aydm, 2008: 241). Hegemony is an established superiority of a certain group over the other group. According to Antonio Gramsci, “this concept is defined as a form of cultural control.” (Tezcan, 2011: 49). Briefly, this approach emphasizes the effect of art as a means of protest against dominating culture and powerful elite.

According to *Hermeneutic Approach and Art*, there are three basic features about art. Tezcan states these features as the following:

First of all, social systems, groups, families, communities, individuals and structures have mutual bonds. Meanings and actions consist of these processes and decomposes. Secondly, hermeneutic approach treats art as semiology. Lastly, this approach also defines art as an identity. According to this perspective, art explains what they are and what they want to be. (ibid, 50)

On the other hand, for whom and what purpose art is for has been long debated. There are two well - known approaches widely discussed what and whom art is for. “The first approach, first learned of every human kind, is the one asserting that the art reflects the social/societal preferences. The second approach covers works of art accepted by the history of art.” (Erinç, 2008: 11). However, we can realize that even today, for whom art is made is still a matter of debate.

When we think of art in general, the first thing that comes to our minds is the perception and/or explanation of a feeling in certain specific rules. However, considerable attention has been paid to the primary goal of art. What is art for? For whom or what purpose we are producing art? “In 1804, Benjamin Constant has been the first person using the slogan of “art for art’s sake”. Then, Victor Cousin

has adopted this idea to art. According to this perspective, art is only for the art's sake and it doesn't have any other purposes." (Tezcan, 2011: 44)

According to the view called *art for the community*, the subject of the art should be exactly the life itself. In this perspective, the primary importance is to describe the reality rather than the beauty. Art is treated as a reflection of the society; therefore, it is believed that "art for the community" approach closely examines the relationship between the art and the society.

On the other hand, according to Janet Wolf, the sociology of art involves critical judgments about art. The solution to this, however, is not to try even harder for a value – free sociology and a more refined notion of aesthetic neutrality.

2.1.4 Drivers of The Sociology of Art Nowadays

Paul Dimaggio, Howard Becker and Pierre Bourdieu might be regarded as the most prominent drivers of the sociology of art nowadays. However, Bourdieu has a different significance than Dimaaggio and Becker regarding his discussions in his massive book called *La Distinction* discussing tastes by questioning how different classes show up different trends in their preferences. I will also primarily build up my theoretical background, which will be discussed in details later on, based on capitals posed by Bourdieu. Therefore, because of his significance and contributions regarding measurement attempts to cultural consumption and tastes of different classes and being central in my thesis, I will talk about Bourdieu in a separate subsection.

The most significant contribution of Dimaggio to the sociology of art has been his research related to the creation of high culture in the late 19th century Boston focusing on the Boston Brahmins since they form a distinctive urban upper class of this period. Then, Dimaggio deals with his explanatory models illuminating the question of how this art world in Boston has differentiated from the other art worlds in terms of the degree of culture presented or implied. Boston was not an arbitrary choice for Dimaggio's analysis. The main reason to focus on the emergence of high

culture in Boston was that the city had become the major central area of cultural life in America by the end of the Civil War.

To Dimaggio, “while high culture could be defined only in opposition to popular culture, it is the process by which urban elites forged an institutional system embodying their ideas about the high arts.” (Dimaggio, 1982: 374). Before 1850, the most highlighting characteristic of cultural life in Boston was the indistinctness of entertainment and art or commerce and culture. In other words, there was a self – unconsciousness when evaluating art works. Commercial entrepreneurs were dominating over the art worlds in Boston during this period. The first noteworthy distinction between the true art and entertainment in Boston was realized with the foundation of the Museum of Fine Arts. Later, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the emergence of high culture – based institutional structures strengthened the distinction between high culture and popular culture. Within the framework of high culture recognition, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Museum of Fine Arts made a sharp distinction between art and the popular culture. These efforts eventually resulted in the creation of an art world separating high culture and low culture both physically within institutions and symbolically within new recognitions.

Recently, Dimaggio has been concentrating on his researches about Internet as a cultural phenomenon. Lately, he has been attempting to draw a comprehensive comparison between the emergence of the Internet and the rise of television corresponding to almost a half century before.

To continue, Becker’s book, *Art Worlds*, has been attributed as a very important book in terms of sociology of art. Becker, a jazz musician, a photographer and sociologist, has benefited from his interdisciplinary background in his works. However, in his book called “*Art Worlds*”, he has mainly utilized the advantage of being a sociologist. According to Becker, “an art world is the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that the art world is noted for.” (Becker, 1982). In other words, coordination and cooperation of many

individuals play a crucial role when forming art works. However, these efforts cannot be separated from the whole system. In order to draw a comprehensive and accurate framework, we have to consider both the system and the artist in the production process. This means that art should be treated as a collective activity, not an individual effort. In addition, Becker believes that the appreciation of art legitimizes the existence of art. If an art work doesn't attract any audiences and receivers or not admired by certain people, the existence of it is suspicious. At this point, Becker underlines the importance of the process of the art work starting from the production and ending in the distribution channels.

On the other hand, an *aesthetic system* plays an important role to help us understanding the art work. Although we sometimes doesn't question aesthetic systems since they are generally standardized, as Becker also noted as the things we perceive as granted, the classification and the presentation of the works of art such as "classical music" or "still life paintings" affects the choices of the receivers or audiences.

To continue, Becker emphasizes the division of labor in two different components. Core personnel are the ones in higher status having special skills and taking a creative part in the work of art, while supporter personnel are the ones in lower status helping the design of the art work in different stages, treated as less respectful and enabling the work of art to reach the potential audiences. The extension to which a certain work of art is composed by a certain divisions of labor depends on the type of the art world.

Other insights affecting the art work are *constraints* and *possibilities*. These include changes in the availability of materials to produce artistic outputs, different persons involved to perform different compositions for artistic pieces, differences between the goals of support personnel and the core personnel and conventional or unconventional materials chosen to design artistic work.

"When Becker wrote about art worlds in 1982, his work contributed to a way of seeing art that had already developed into the production of culture approach." (Coser, 1978). Related to this approach, "Richard Peterson identifies four areas in

which the production of culture approach has been most fruitful, (1) gatekeepers, (2) reward systems, (3) market structures, and (4) artists' careers." (Alexander, 2003: 76). A gatekeeper serves as the authority that filters a certain product before it displays itself in the system of art such as the editors as the publishing authority.

A reward system is designed to motivate the artists. According to Crane, "there are four types of reward systems: (1) independent, (2) semi - autonomous, (3) subcultural, (4) hetero - cultural." (Crane, 1976, 55 - 72).

Regarding independent reward systems, symbolic rewards such as prestige and material rewards related to monetary terms are both decided by the artist himself/herself. In semi - autonomous systems, the autonomy of the artist is more restricted compared to independent systems. In these systems, artists control the symbolic rewards, but it is in the hands of the consumers to decide material rewards. Considering subcultural reward systems, they serve similarly to semi - autonomous systems in terms of the allocation of symbolic rewards and material ones. However, in case the creators and audiences unite exemplified in folk arts, rewards may lose material base and strengthen its symbolic existence. Lastly, hetero - cultural systems are the systems where the business systems serve as the controlling mechanism over artistic product deciding financial aspects and setting the standards for the art work. Diane Crane establishes a similarity between these systems and Bourdieu's concept of *artistic fields*. Regarding market structures, Crane argues persuasively that:

In place of the traditional division of high culture and popular culture, a better way to understand and categorize the current art scape is to look at the context in which the arts reach the public. They can be disseminated by for - profit cultural industries, non - profit organizations, or local networks. (Alexander, 2003, 88 - 89).

By focusing on artists' careers, Becker suggests to observe both the artists and the other various persons affecting the produces art world. Solely concentrating on the talent or the success story of the artist would simplify the process of the production of the art and thus, let us miss the whole picture.

Becker also emphasizes the role of conventions, distribution systems and art and artists. After discussing Becker and Dimaggio, explaining the contributions of Bourdieu to the sociology of art will enable us to extract meaning about how the sociology of art works have evolved in time.

2.2 Bourdieu

Bourdieu has been a pioneering sociologist regarding his contributions to the measurement of tastes and cultural capital of people demonstrating differences according to different social classes.

Bourdieu is a well – known sociologist especially appreciated by his prominent book called *Distinction*. However, before focusing on *Distinction*, it would be better to concentrate on previous works by Bourdieu. The previous works of Bourdieu tend to explain the social conditions of the appreciation of art. *The Love of Art* (1966) aims to provide statistical data about visiting art galleries in Europe, besides, it purposes the differences regarding appreciation of high art in different socio economic classes. According to Bourdieu, those who represent working class are less likely to visit art galleries because of their lack of necessary knowledge to appreciate art works exhibited in the art galleries. In *the Love of Art*, Bourdieu addresses high art and culture as a practically outstanding character. In *Photography: A Middlebrow Art*, Bourdieu attempts to make correlations between the choice of pictures taken and the social class of the related photographers. At this point, it is crucial to note that as opposed to the perception of art in the Middle Ages, today, the beauty and aesthetics have independent characters from the interest and benefits of certain groups and/or structures corresponding to the understanding of Kantian aesthetics. In *Photography: A Middlebrow Art* (1965), Bourdieu concentrates on the different pictures taken by various social classes. For instance, working class people prefer to take functional pictures to illustrate certain situation such as baptism.

The idea that sociology can only deal with cultural consumption, but not of cultural production has been long debated. However, Bourdieu has persistently alleged that

the production of value cannot be solely depended on the cultural consumption or cultural production. Together, they are both important. On the other hand, what is asserted by Bourdieu about the attempts of Lukacs and Goldmann regarding inclusion of literary works into the social characteristics of the class is remarkable:

I shall hardly discuss the tradition of Lukacs and Goldmann, which tries to relate the content of the literary work to the social characteristics of the class that is assumed to be its privileged audience. This approach, which, in its most caricatural forms, subordinates the writer or artist to the constraints of a milieu or the direct demands of a clientele, succumbs to a naïve teleology or functionalism, directly deducing the work from the function that is alleged to be socially assigned to it. (Bourdieu, 1993: 97)

Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste (1979) might be considered as a more massive and important book affected by the other previous works mentioned. Therefore, it needs to be analyzed more deeply. Alexander exemplifies different questioning of Bourdieu based on differences in the tastes of people representing different social groupings:

In his prominent book called *La Distinction*, Bourdieu demonstrates that there are differences in the tastes of people based on their social class. For instance, when asked which of three pieces of music people preferred, upper – middle – class respondents preferred Bach's *The Well Tempered Clavier*, middle class respondents chose Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, and those who were working class chose Strauss's *The Blue Danube*. (Alexander, 2003: 230)

Since its publication in 1984, Pierre Bourdieu's prominent work called *Distinction* has been admired, imitated and discussed while also being criticized in many aspects, primarily based on theoretical and empirical grounds. He has been mainly criticized by following a reductive sociology and overemphasizing elite tastes.

Regarding his pioneering book *La Distinction*, first of all, Bourdieu has been criticized for his overemphasis on internalization of habitus. Some sociologists such as Ann Swidler have assumed that people can learn different cultural patterns through their life span. On the other hand, many authors find Bourdieu's ideas in *Distinction* difficult to operationalize in a different surrounding, especially regarding heterogeneous societies where social mobility is higher than France. Bennett *et al* also points out some difficulties in Bourdieu's work:

Another difficulty concerns Bourdieu's tendency, discussed at length by Lahire (2004: 160 – 165), to focus his attention almost exclusively on those aspects of the tastes or patterns of cultural participation that most distinguish a particular class from other classes at the expense of other tastes or practices its members share with members of those other classes. (Bennett et al, 2009: 27)

2.3 Cultural Turn

Traditionally, a neglect of artworks constitutes a basic feature of the sociological approach to art. The institutional division between the humanities and the social sciences prescribes it as a task for the humanities to pay attention to the content of artworks, whereas the social sciences, on the other hand, are expected to be concerned with the social relations around cultural products, not the products themselves. (Strandvad, 2009, p.12).

Madame de Staël and Hippolyte Taine have made the first remarkable contributions to the sociology of art in the 19th century. However, their observations are limited to the research for cultural context for art as mentioned before. Giambattista Vico, Herder and Hegel lived in the 18th and 19th century and Heinrich Wöllfin, Arnold Hauser, Theodor Adorno, Leo Lowenthal, Erwin Panofsky, Elizabeth Helsinger and Will Wright in the 20th century has also made valuable contributions to the sociology of art. However, these contributions go no further than the perspective of traditional sociology of art. To make further observations about the relationship between art and sociology, an urgent need to make systematic analysis concentrating on art worlds and cultural production together, beyond the search for cultural context of art works only, occurred starting from the second half of the 20th century. This view also necessarily requires the evaluation of artist, art work, transmission of a work of art and art receiver all together. This requirement also indicates a turning point in the field of sociology of art.

According to Bourdieu, “what is called ‘creation’ is the encounter between a socially constituted habitus and a particular position that is already instituted or possible in the division of the labor of cultural production”. (Bourdieu, 1980/1993, p. 141). At this point, it might be helpful to define *habitus* put forward by Bourdieu:

A system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions,

appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarity shaped problems. (Bourdieu: 1968)

When evaluating the process behind the cultural production, Bourdieu doesn't ignore the importance of predispositions, possible social structures and positions. Mutual relationship between transposable dispositions and particular positions especially enables the researchers and sociologists to make the most accurate observations when analyzing the creation process with relation to art works and cultural production. This view, opening new horizons to analyze cultural production, is still valid today.

Another crucial figure, Howard Becker, highlighting the importance of network of people behind the creation of art works, alleges that "works of art, from this point of view, are not the products of individual makers, 'artists' who possess a rare and special gift. They are, rather, joint products of all the people who cooperate via an art world's characteristic conventions to bring works like that into existence". (Becker, 1982, p. 35). Therefore, cooperative activity to produce any art works should be carefully observed. This perspective, rather than focusing on the cultural production as an individual creative effort, emphasizes the role of division of labor in the production process. This approach is similar to what Bourdieu mentions about the 'creation' since he also underlines the great impact of the division of labor on the cultural production.

Peterson also argues that "the production of culture perspective focuses on how the symbolic elements of culture are shaped by the systems within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved". (Peterson & Anand; 2004, p. 311). This perspective also resembles to what is indicated by Bourdieu and Becker regarding the division of labor and social processes. This means that an art work or cultural production should be thought as a result of a collective activity. Either defined by 'the encounter between socially constituted habitus and a particular position' (Bourdieu, 1980/1993, p. 141) or defined as 'joint products of all the people who cooperate via an art world's characteristic conventions' (Becker, 1982,

p. 35), it doesn't change the main idea that the art work shouldn't be treated as an individual effort anymore.

As emphasized by Bourdieu, Becker and Peterson, social structures, predispositions and division of labor behind the cultural product should be examined deeply. The cultural products themselves aren't sufficient solely to draw comprehensive analysis. This perspective illustrates the foundation towards a new sociology of art.

Without doubt, Bourdieu has a special place among sociologists and researchers in the field of sociology of art regarding his prominent work called *La Distinction*. "Considered in historical perspective, *Distinction* was unprecedented in sociological research in using such a wide range of questions on such an extensive battery of cultural items." (Bennett et.al., 2009). However, *Distinction* as a massive work needs to be considered as a result of an accumulating process and it is built upon the accumulation of previous works of Bourdieu. Therefore, before his striking book called *Distinction* alternative approach to the studies of culture consumption posed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1968) need to be considered:

In contrast to the early Frankfurt school and mass culture theorists, alternative approach to the study of culture consumption (i.e. Bourdieu, 1968) was both resolutely empirical, and unabashedly sociological. It rejected the early mass culture attempt to draw up totalizing theoretical generalizations disconnected from empirical evidence about the allegedly noxious effects of commercialized culture on the modern psyche. It also rejected the Frankfurt School and mass culture theory penchant to rely on an inconsistent and poorly specified blend of crypto psychoanalytic psychology and a behaviorist account of the formation of consumer preferences. (Lizardo & Skiles, 2008: 3)

This view by Bourdieu is a seminal understanding for the sake of future works investigated by Bourdieu and causing other sociologists to construct new models based on this breaking point. This highlights the inspirations of the new sociological research and therefore inevitably emphasizes the cultural capital paradigm:

The new sociological research inspired by the cultural capital paradigm broke with this view by emphasizing the *socially* mediated nature of demand for the arts and the role of other institutional domains—in particular the family, occupational groups and the educational system—in the formation of culture-consuming publics. (Lizardo & Skiles, 2008: 4)

Returning to the contributions of *La Distinction*, most significantly, it is a pioneering book, an empirical study, discussing tastes by questioning how different classes show up different trends in their preferences. “In his classic work, *Distinction*, Pierre Bourdieu (1984) argues that class structure is reproduced through the accumulation of cultural capital, which can provide access to high-status occupations and social circles. A class society is reproduced because upper-class students are more likely to have the cultural capital favored by the education system (itself an agent of the upper class).” (Kane, 2003: 404). However, when analyzing class – specific trends, just focusing on cultural capital to extract meaning about the preferences of the certain classes is not enough. When determining the preferences and trends by different class structures, totalizing characteristic of cultural, economic and social capitals to shape class structure is crucial to examine. Another point to be considered is the merger of these three different forms of capital. For instance, a class structure formed by the individuals from high cultural capital, but low economic capital is different than the class structure formed by the individuals from low cultural capital, but high economic capital. Some sociologists, without any hesitation, stated that Bourdieu should be regarded as the pioneering person of ‘cultural turn’:

His extensive empirical research in the fields of art, literature and photography, also positioned him well in relation to ‘the cultural turn’. So despite having only a short lived interest in cultural studies and having no time for postmodern thought, his substantive contributions to the analysis of cultural production drew his work into the field of the fine arts, and indeed also into some of the more popular arts (Silva & Warde, 2010:6)

As also discussed before, although *La Distinction* by Bourdieu might be regarded as a groundbreaking work, it is also open to criticism for many reasons such as overemphasis on internalization of habitus, difficulty to operationalize in a different surrounding than France, ignorance of the idea that people can learn different cultural patterns through their life span and hierarchical distinctions and the ruthless exclusion of lower tastes. Although these problems will not alter the book’s premise, they shouldn’t be ignored to make further and more valid studies in this field. “Pierre Bourdieu was probably the most eminent sociologist of the final quarter of the twentieth century. He was also probably the most controversial.

(Warde & Silva, 2010; p.1). In order to internalize the most important critique against Bourdieu's work, the findings of Peterson and his colleagues are meaningful:

In the beginning of the 1990s the American sociologist Richard A. Peterson and colleagues argued that empirical surveys of American taste (especially musical but also other forms of cultural taste) showed significant changes in high status taste. Contrary to what Pierre Bourdieu and most of the sociology of art had taught us since the 1970s, they found that cultural consumption was no longer characterized by hierarchical distinctions and snobbish exclusion of 'lower tastes' but by omnivorous appropriation. While traditional snobs preferred highbrow culture and avoided both middle and lowbrow activities, the new omnivores seemed open towards appreciating them all. (Eriksson, 2011, p.476).

After Bourdieu's striking work, *La Distinction* (1984), there have been many studies aiming to operationalize the measurement of cultural tastes. Considering these struggles, *Culture, Class, Distinction* (2010) is probably the most significant and valuable contribution to Bourdieu's findings. As a ground breaking book built on a theoretically strong structure, it provides a sophisticated analysis to measure cultural consumption in contemporary Britain. More broadly, this study aims to examine social class in Britain based on methodological and theoretical foundations of Pierre Bourdieu regarding his conceptualization of 'cultural capital' with relation to taste and cultural consumption. For this purpose, a questionnaire was administered to 1791 people living in the UK. In her book review, Gibson (2009) has summarized the examinations in the book:

The study examined aspects of consumption and participation in the cultural fields of music, reading, visual art, television, film and sport in order to find out: 1. whether it is possible to detect cultural capital and, if so, what form it takes; 2. whether there are homologous sets of distinctions between different cultural fields (if you like opera are you more likely to eat French food, for instance); and, 3. to what extent particular classes are advantaged by the organization of cultural resources and how do similar processes operate on the relations between gender and ethnic groupings. (2009, 12-14)

The most important finding stated in the book by Warde et al (2009) is the emergence of cultural omnivorousness among different social classes. This is exactly in opposition with high and low culture distinction claimed by Bourdieu. In other words, "rather than a divide between high and popular culture, we find a

primary cleavage between those who appear culturally active and engaged in a wide variety of activities, and those who seem relatively detached with a more limited range of cultural interests and activities” (ibid, 43). Instead of making distinction based on high and low culture, separating social groupings into culturally active and engaged in diverse activities or involved in narrowly defined taste patterns allow us to eliminate hierarchical distinctions and the ruthless exclusion of lower tastes. Bennett et al doesn’t ignore the benefits and seminal structure of *La Distinction* (1984), however, this doesn’t mean that Bourdieu’s pioneering book is valid and is able to be fully operationalized in different geographies rather than France. This is best exemplified in the outcomes of the project conducted in Britain:

Bourdieu’s theory of distinction argued that confident consumption and participation in a particular range of cultural forms and activities – legitimate culture - gave a social advantage which could be converted into economic advantage. Bennett *et al.* do not find a widespread operation of the relations between social groupings and legitimate culture. However, they do find strong evidence that Bourdieu’s ground breaking theorization of the relationality of cultural consumption and cultural resources (cultural capital, cultural field and social group) is useful in understanding social relations in contemporary Britain, but through an analysis which recognizes the intersection of age, gender and ethnicity with class. (Gibson, 2009, p.4)

2.4 Studies In Turkey

There have been several studies and books written in Turkish to observe the relationship between sociology and art. Mahmut Tezcan, M. Sıtkı Erinç, Demet Ulusoy and Ömer Naci Soykan have written books about Sociology of Art. According to Ömer Naci Soykan, “the first work which might be considered as a basis for sociology of art is a part from the book called *Sociology* written by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu.” (Soykan, 2009:11) On the other hand, *Sociology of Literature* and *Art and Sociology* are joint publications which aim to bring the works and/or articles of several Turkish researchers. Levend Kılıç, with his book called *the Social History of Photography and Cinema*, and Halil İnalçık with his examination called *A Sociological Study On Poetry, Art and Patrimonial State*, also contributes to sociology of art in Turkey. Except these studies, there is also a recent master thesis

called as *Introduction to Sociology of Art: Concepts, Approaches and Basic Distinctions*.²

Mahmut Tezcan, starting from the historical development of art and sociology of art explains the relationship between art and social structure, social life, science, social change, democracy. According to Tezcan, “in many cases the interest of art is societal and caused by the community.” (Tezcan, 2011:39)

M. Sıtkı Erinç, in his book called *Introduction to Sociology of Art* again emphasizes the inevitable relationship between art and sociology and therefore, art and social structure. According to Erinç, “the thing that gives the title of art to an object is nothing more than a social judgment. The more social structure and social judgments change, the more the definition of art and the location of art change.” (Erinç, 2008:48).

Another Turkish researcher, Demet Ulusoy, in her book called *Social Boundaries of Art* provides explanatory definitions and models about the relationship between art and politics, economics, religion, family and technology. In addition to write a book, Ulusoy has also tried to make contributions to this intact field by conducting a field work in Hacettepe University Faculty of Fine Arts. The aim of this research is to determine whether there is a correlation between students' professional preferences and families' socio - artistic features. According to the findings, 55.6 % of the students' families are dealing with art as professional or amateur. % 82.1 of the students' families has a variety of art materials. However, Ulusoy hasn't mentioned about the attitudes and preferences of the families towards the art and art styles. She limits her study within the boundaries of the role of families in the choice of artistic professions.

To continue, Ömer Naci Soykan who has searched for possible ways to establish sociology of art and sociology of literature in Turkey alleges that “art is an expression of life style”. Soykan, 2009:11). For Soykan, “sociology of art should

² I have found this thesis after searching in Tübitak: Centre of National Theses. This database provides many theses written In Turkey. Theses are free to download in this website. *Introduction to Sociology of Art: Concepts, Approaches and Basic Distinctions* is a master theses submitted to Uludağ University Sociology department in 2010.

analyze four components of art which are known as the artist, art work, transmission of a work of art and art receiver.” (Soykan, 2009:11). This approach shows affinities with Becker, DiMaggio and Bourdieu to a certain degree, since they also give importance to these four components. For instance, as mentioned earlier, Becker (1982) tells that “an art world is the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that the art world is noted for.” Soykan also draws an informative framework about the development of sociology of art historically and mentions important figures such as Madame de Stael, Hippolyte Taine, Marx, Adorno, Plehanov as the contributors to this field. However, similar to what other researchers in Turkey miss in their books, he also overlooks the contributions of Bourdieu, Becker and DiMaggio to the sociology of art. Soykan underlines the importance of examining the artist, art work, transmission of a work of art and art receiver all together. However, he doesn’t explain explicitly how to examine these four components all together. For this reason, he lacks theoretical foundations in his book.

The common feature of the books mentioned is that they all focus on the functionality of art and relationship between social structures and inner characteristic of art works. Although these books might be regarded as informative studies in Turkish about mutual relationship between art and social structure tracing successfully the development of sociology of art, they lack the most recent discussions about Sociology of Art. The most importantly, they ignore the drivers of Sociology of Art nowadays, namely Paul DiMaggio, Howard Becker and Pierre Bourdieu. Without explaining the contributions of these prominent figures, it wouldn’t be possible to make sense of the development of Sociology of Art. Instead, they only mention the pioneers of classical sociology, namely Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim and their perceptions of art.

After briefly mentioning the books written on the sociology of art in Turkey, I can talk about works which might be also included within the field of sociology of art indirectly. Firstly, *the Social History of Photography and Cinema* written by Levend Kılıç provides an informative background about the history and

development of photography and cinema. Kılıç relates the developments in the photography, movies and new social order as the following:

Photographs and films should be considered as products of the industrial revolution and the modern era. Starting with the change in the economic structure, changes have spread to the field of cultural and social structures and consequently affected lives of people; therefore resulted in the new social order. (Kılıç, 2008, 9 – 10)

In the section of photography, Kılıç mentions the newly formed social structure by commemorating the names of Comte, Tocqueville, Stuart Mill and Marx. However, Kılıç doesn't explain how we could relate the development of photography and the ideas of the thinkers mentioned. In the other section, related to movies and cinematography, when talking about the emergence of cinematography he again mentions some prominent figures such as Freud, Sartre and Lenin. However, he again doesn't say anything about how we could relate the ideas of these figures and photography and how we could operationalize the evaluation of photography from a perspective from sociology of art. The book unfortunately limits itself to the technological accumulation behind filmmaking and photography.

Regarding *A Sociological Study On Poetry, Art and Patrimonial State*, the study focuses on institution of patronage in the Ottoman Era and the influence of this institution on art. According to Halil İnalçık, “the artist is necessarily included in a power network. From this point of view, support of the rulers and the elite groups is of vital importance to the artist.” (İnalçık; 2003:9)

Moving onto joint publications, *Sociology of Literature*³ is a book searching for possibilities of sociology of literature in Turkey. It also gives voice to important figures enabling the development of sociology of literature worldwide such as Robert Escarpit and Leo Lowenthal. However, the book mostly emphasizes the lack of sociology of literature as an established area in Turkey.

³ Alver, K. (2006) *Sociology of Literature*, Ankara, Hece Yayınları

Another joint publication, *Art and Sociology*⁴, might be regarded as the most promising book collecting different presentations in a conference. For instance, *A Sociological Perspective Examining Art Galleries In Turkey* is a master theses and a paper presentation which is successful to operationalize Howard Becker's conceptualization of 'art worlds' when observing 214 art galleries in Turkey via calling by phone and conducting 40 in depth interviews with the gallery owners. This book has been successful to collect some rare but important studies in the field of sociology of art in Turkey.

Finally, the thesis called *Introduction to Sociology of Art: Concepts, Approaches and Basic Distinctions* examine the development of sociology of art and the contributors to this field. In addition to mention world-renowned figures in the field of sociology of art such as Theodor Adorno, Pierre Bourdieu, Howard Becker and Paul Dimaggio, the thesis observes and questions researchers and authors in Turkey contributing to this field. Most significantly, the thesis highlights the lack of studies in this field in Turkey.

As mentioned in the studies above, the books, articles and works related to the Sociology of Art are mostly inadequate to observe the artist, art work, transmission of a work of art and art receiver all together. Most importantly, they don't provide us a meaningful and valid methodological formulation in Turkish context to observe art works and art receivers with regard to their cultural, economic or social capitals. Books written in this field in Turkey either limits their scopes within the ideas derived from classical sociologists, namely Marx, Weber and Durkheim or only mentions the relationship between art and family, social structure, economy, technology and similar institutions and/or structures.

⁴ This book was published in 2003 after the conference called "Art and Sociology" held in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Problem

Based on the research question of how tastes are shaped within relation to cultural capital, social capital and economic capital, this study aims to develop a descriptive analysis to measure different tastes of bağlama⁵ students, regularly attending an urban – based music house, in Kızılay, Ankara. Most importantly, this study aims to contribute a methodological contribution in Turkish context to measure art taste of students. In the micro analysis, each taste groups are aimed to be examined by observing their answers from the questions related to social, cultural and economic capital. In this analysis, if possible, similarities and differences within the members of each taste groups are also intended to be detected. In other words, this analysis enlightens the question of whether we can find out homogenous taste groups or not. Then, based on these detailed findings, each taste group is aimed to be graded based on the similarities regarding social, cultural and economic capital. At this point, whether there is a gap between obtained scores (graded after finding out same answers in the answer sheet) and actual scores (graded after finding out same answers motivation analysis) is another question to observe. This gap is very important to validate or invalidate obtaining scores without motivation analysis for further studies. Actual scoring system emphasizing the importance of motivation analysis enables us to internalize how strong taste groups are shaped within relation to cultural capital, social capital and economic capital.

Another sub – question is to assess whether embodied cultural capital has developed consciously or unconsciously in the musical field. In order to assess this question, a song representing 9/8 time signature which is inherent to Thrace and common in

⁵ Bağlama is a traditional stringed instrument commonly used in Turkish Folk Music.

Turkey will help me to answer this question. Whether students appreciate the song because of the quality or because of the culturally familiar rhythm effect is of great importance for further studies in this field.

3.2 Conceptual Definitions

In this sub – section, taste, cultural capital, social capital and economic capital need to be defined in order to make sense of further analysis based on the research question of how tastes are shaped within relation to cultural capital, social capital and economic capital among bağlama students.

3.2.1 Taste

When we think of taste as something to measure the degree of enjoyment in our daily lives, for instance, whether we enjoy a dinner at a restaurant or a rock concert, it is not easy to define exactly on what grounds these tastes are shaped or what taste is. Can we think of an average taste or a differentiated taste? As a starting point, the term “*taste cultures*” coined by Gans is as the followings:

Consist of values, the cultural forms which express these values: music, art, design, literature, drama, comedy, poetry, criticism, news, and the media in which these are expressed-books, magazines, newspapers, records, films and television programs, paintings and sculpture, architecture, and, insofar as ordinary consumer goods also express aesthetic values or functions, furnishings, clothes, appliances, and automobiles as well. (Gans, 1999:11)

As Gans assert, it is valid to come across examples of different tastes for different cultural forms. At this point, another crucial question arises: Is it possible to define a universal perception of taste? Holt clarifies this question as the following:

Tastes are assumed to take the same form and to be expressed in the same manner in the United States of the 1990s as in 1960s France. Cross-cultural differences in self-representation need to be considered. Lamont’s American responses. . . are exactly what one would expect in a country that has been most susceptible. . . to the cultural dominance of populist, egalitarian ideals. (Holt, 1997:106)

Arguments about the application of taste have started to occur after being affected from Bourdieu's theory of taste. However, it should be noted that tastes argued by Bourdieu, significantly in his prominent book called *La distinction* reflect the perceptions of urban French context.

On the other hand, in the beginning of the 1990s the American sociologist Richard A. Peterson and colleagues argued that empirical surveys of American taste (especially musical but also other forms of cultural taste) showed significant changes in high status taste. Contrary to what Pierre Bourdieu and most of the sociology of art had taught us since the 1970s, they found cultural consumption was no longer characterized by hierarchical distinctions and snobbish exclusion of 'lower tastes' but by omnivore appropriation. (Eriksson, 2011: 476)

To continue, when discussing *tastes*, Bourdieu states the following expressions about taste and classifiers:

Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed. (Bourdieu, 1984:6)

In other words, Bourdieu emphasizes functioning characteristic of taste as a social orientation. At this point, distinctive characteristic of appreciation and classifications made by art receiver depending on different educational backgrounds, social networking opportunities shaping the dispositions of a person and many similar reasons need to be analyzed in a broader sense. However, the more we think of factors shaping tastes, the more detailed and complicated description for taste need to be defined. Therefore, considering different cultural forms, different manners in appreciation and self – representation, in order to escape long – lasting discussions about taste, for the starting point, thinking of taste as a preference can provide us the most comprehensive description.

3.2.1.1 Highbrow Taste & Lowbrow Taste

Taste cultures can be traced to the American tradition of “highbrow” and “lowbrow” culture. High culture is also labeled as “elite”, “intellectual” or “established” or “selective” cultures. These conceptualizations dividing high culture

and popular culture sharply have also let to distinguish different class cultures by using three definitions called as “highbrow”, “middlebrow” and “lowbrow”. When applying to musical field, highbrow taste implies the appreciation of classical music, poetry, or any other style requiring intellectual knowledge. Although the first appearances of highbrow and lowbrow are not exactly obvious, we know that the word middlebrow first appeared in a weekly British magazine called *Punch* in 1925:

“The BBC claims to have discovered a new type — 'the middlebrow'. It consists of people who are hoping that someday they will get used to the stuff that they ought to like.” (McGee, 2008: 106)

Especially, the seminal work of Herbert J. Gans is remarkable. According to him, “every major taste culture has its own art, music, fiction, nonfiction, poetry, films, television programs, architecture, favored foods and so forth.” (Gans, 1999:93) From this perspective, the appreciation of music tastes resembles to the interaction of cultural capital and habitus to which taste dispositions are unified or organized.

In contemporary studies, the concept of ‘taste pattern’ has, however, become more commonly used than ‘taste culture’. For instance, Gerhard Schulze dissociates himself from treating taste patterns or schemas as hierarchical and directly class – related by conceptualizing them more like horizontally organized lifestyle milieus. “Yet even they resemble significantly the traditional highbrow/lowbrow pattern, as the basic taste schemes for Schulze are highbrow, trivial or popular entertainment, and excitement or action” (Schulze, 1992, 142 – 167). After explanations of Schulze, some scholars and researchers have referred to his claims. For instance, Koen van Eijck, especially interested in investigating patterns of musical taste, has labeled taste patterns as “highbrow”, “folk” and “pop” tastes.

3.2.1.2 Omnivore/Univore Dicothomy

Recent researches and studies have focused on a historical shift from highbrow snob to omnivore. This means that there has been a shift in the preferences of people from high art to high and popular art. In their notable research called as ‘Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore’, published in 1996, Peterson and Kern,

in their analysis, have concentrated on the musical field when expressing the omnivore thesis. They have assumed that measuring taste in musical field is easier to measure taste for other types of art, because musical field includes a wide variety of contrasting alternatives.

The term ‘cultural omnivore’ was coined by Peterson (1992) to address an anomaly observed in the evidence revealed by his work with Simkus (Peterson and Simkus, 1992), which showed that people of higher social status, contrary to elite – mass models of cultural taste, were not averse to participation in activities associated with popular culture. Indeed, high – status people were adding diverse practices and cultural forms to their cultural repertoire at an accelerating rate: they were omnivores because they were developing a taste for everything. (Bennett et. al., 2009: 182).

To continue, “Highbrow is operationalized as liking both classical music and opera, and choosing one of these forms as best – liked from among all kinds of music. Among highbrows, the snob is one who does not participate in any lowbrow or middlebrow activity, while the omnivore is at least open to appreciating them all.” (Peterson & Kern, 1996)

While the concept ‘omnivore’ is characterized to define broad taste pattern of the members of the higher status groups, univore is exactly the opposite of ‘omnivore’. Univore is narrowly defined taste pattern measuring the taste of the lower status groups. It seems that discussions about taste patterns, starting from Bourdieu and continued in Britain, will long be debated.

3.2.2 Cultural Capital

Bourdieu is the founding father of the concept known as “cultural capital”. He has developed this concept in the early 1960s. Since much of Bourdieu’s analysis is centered around “cultural capital”, firstly, it is essential to define clearly what cultural capital is in Bourdieu’s understanding. Education, one’s own expression style, reading habits, musical and artistic preferences and many other factors need to be evaluated when measuring cultural capital. However, according to him, there are three forms of cultural capital existing: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state. Bennett et al discusses embodied cultural capital as the following:

Regarding the first definition, cultural capital 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 museums and art galleries. Yet, cultural capital is different from property: since it is embodied, and does not exist independently of people's dispositions and perceptions, its role is systematically and necessarily misunderstood by social combatants. (Bennett et al, 2009: 11).

“The embodied state provides us the characteristics of long- lasting dispositions occurred in the mind and body.” (Bourdieu, 1984) In other words, embodied state might be treated as the reflection of habits to a certain degree, since it is more than current trends. Investment of time to increase learning or training also becomes important to empower embodied cultural capital. Second form, the objectified state, focuses on owning cultural goods and physical objects such as books, instruments and pictures. The last type, the institutionalized state, as the name emphasizes, concentrates on the institutional recognition. Educational and academic qualifications play crucial role to assess the efficacy of institutionalized cultural capital. For instance, certifying individuals' skills by various certifications exemplifies a certain type of institutionalized cultural capital.

In his book called *Distinction*, Bourdieu suggests that as social groups vary in the amount of economic capital they control, so too do they vary in the amount of their cultural capital. *Cultural capital* is a currency based on taste. It involves knowledge about high art and culture, a high degree of sophistication and know – how, and an appreciation of knowledge in general and of speaking knowledgeably. Elites in society are able to use this capital to do two things, first, to maintain an invisible boundary between themselves and lower classes, and second, to perpetuate class distinctions inter – generationally. (Alexander, 2003: 228 – 229)

On the other hand, for Bourdieu, musical field is the most obvious one manifesting the relationship between the cultural capital and the taste. Social relationships and socio – economic status also play an inevitable role when shaping different taste patterns. Therefore, social capital and economic capital need to be defined in Bourdieu's terms.

3.2.3 Social Capital

According to Bourdieu, “social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 118 – 119). When developing the idea of social capital, he hasn’t thought these ideas independently from his theoretical ideas about class and inequalities. On the other hand, social capital needs to be considered in relation to cultural capital and economic capital. Mediation of symbolic capital also plays a crucial role to assess the other types of capitals including social capital.

When focusing on social capital, firstly, it should be considered its connection with group memberships and social networks. “The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent ... depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize.” (Bourdieu, 1986:249). In addition, “it is a quality produced by the totality of the relationships between actors, rather than merely a common ‘quality’ of the group.” (Bourdieu, 1980:2). In addition to actors’ perspectives, social capital also needs to be treated as a capital effecting collective identity. Social capital empowers the sense of belonging. The sense of belonging to a certain association or group is also related to increased solidarity, integrity and harmony influenced by reciprocity and corporation opportunities. Therefore, combining what I have said all together, it might be asserted that social capital is a collective form shaped between the actors and networks, associations or within different actors based on the spirit of solidarity, integrity and harmony.

Another characteristic of social capital is mutual cognition and recognition. These features enable social capital to easily transform to symbolic capital. According to Bourdieu, “symbolic capital ... is nothing other than capital, in whatever form, when perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the internalization (embodiment) of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident.” (Bourdieu, 1985:2004). In other words, materialization of social capital is possible through the actualization of symbolic

capital. In this way, internalization and then recognition steps enable social capital to be effective since symbolic capital exists only in the eyes of the others.

3.2.4 Economic Capital

Bourdieu goes on to define economic capital as follows: Economic capital is the one which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights... Cultural goods can be appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital ... (Bourdieu, 1986, 241 – 258).

On the other hand, conversion between economic capital and cultural capital is a very frequent process. Academic qualifications and years of schooling also play inevitable roles in this conversion. Bourdieu clarifies this conversion as the following statements:

Depending on the field in which it functions and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu, 1986:47)

Since cultural capital is convertible into economic capital and education plays a crucial role to assess cultural capital in Bourdieu's analysis, when measuring economic capital, an advanced socio – economic status measurement tool including different variables such as education, ownership status and per capita income all together will enable us to assign valid socio – economic status from different social groupings.

According to Turkish researchers, in SES study, a measurement tool that can be used to measure socio – economic status is aimed to develop. As frequently highlighted in SES study, how to develop such a measurement tool, which criteria to use and the measuring strength of the criteria used point to an important debate:

The lack of an available occupational prestige scale in Turkey and the difficulties to embody categories such as “retirement”, “unemployment” and “income” are explicit. SES study has developed a measurement tool, taking into account of such working difficulties. (Kalaycıoğlu et.al, 2010:214)

In SES study, after gathering sufficient data from 1725 households from the eight central districts of Ankara city center, a formulation for measuring SES in Ankara has been developed. While measuring socio economic status of target group in the field work, the following SES formula developed for Ankara city center will be based on:

$$\text{SES} = 30.978 + (\text{Average Years of Education} \times 0.775) + (\text{Per Capita Income} \times 0.003) + (\text{Inhabited House} \times 1.975) + (\text{Second Home} \times 1.975) + (\text{Car} \times 1.975) + (\text{Warming Conditions of House} \times 1.775) + (\text{Dishwasher} \times 1.775) + (\text{Second TV} \times 1.775) + (\text{DVD Player} \times 1.775) + (\text{Internet Connection} \times 1.775) + (\text{Household Work Status Score} \times 6.446)$$

3.3 Sample

This research was conducted among bağlama students regularly attending an urban – based music house, in Kızılay, Ankara. The main reason to choose this music house as the focus of the research is its name which bears one of the most famous bağlama artists called Musa Eroğlu. Since this study aims to conduct a town center analysis of Ankara, Kızılay was the most appropriate district. The same amount of payment for the course among bağlama students also allowed me to study in a clear, representative sample of which fees are fixed. On the other hand, in the music house, students are educated in a way that they could learn note reading and recognize different rhythms in the songs. This educational process is also very significant for me in order to make rhythm analysis when assessing cultural capital.

When deciding the sample, people taking bağlama courses have been considered as the most appropriate target group. “During the 1990s, an increasing number of studies have appeared that consider the significance of music-making for young

people.” (Bennett, 2001:5). On the other hand, when highlighting the importance of investigating tastes of young people, Danielle Kane specifies three reasons:

As Lamont and Lareau (1988: 161) noted, frequent cultural innovation will probably lead to a redefining of hierarchies of signals, implying that younger people might be more likely to have more flexible boundaries. Moreover, if cultural stratification is tied to the education system, as Bourdieu contends, the dramatic expansion of higher education could also have implications for cultural hierarchies. Finally, this expansion of higher education could result in a radical redefining of cultural hierarchies in the future, as more young people play a more active role in the dominant culture. (Kane, 2003: 408).

As a result, consideration of young population as a group of consumers over a period of 20 years, having flexible boundaries, the effect of education, having active role in the dominant culture, has encouraged me to take young population as the center of analysis.

3.4 Field Study

Between June, 2012 and February, 2013, I have conducted 20 interviews among bağlama students in Musa Eroğlu Music House in Kızılay lasting about 2.5 or 3 hours. Kızılay is the town center of Ankara. The reason to choose this music house is that I have been working as a classical guitar in this music house for more than three years. Therefore, I wanted to take advantage of conducting field work in a music house which I have been familiar with. The boss of the music house, Figen Eroğlu, was also very helpful to find willing students to conduct my interviews. Majority of the students were very understanding, because they knew that I am a classical guitar teacher working there and as well as a master degree student in sociology whose thesis will be related to the cultural consumption and tastes of bağlama students. I suppose, knowing this brief information about me and the topic of my thesis has made them more excited, because they became aware of the fact that they would be a part of a thesis which is untried before in this music house as well as in Turkey. A vast majority of interviews were conducted in the kitchen of the music store. On the other hand, due to time issues, a few students were unable to finish their interviews in one day. Therefore, I sometimes had to go to the music house a couple of times in order to conduct just one interview. Actually, this process

was sometimes tiring, because I live in an area which might be considered as upstate.

Aside from the SES questionnaire, the main survey was shaped by 7 main headings which are classified as “Television”, “movies and directors”, “reading habits”, “types of music and specific Turkish song names”, “visual arts and the name of the prominent Turkish painters”, “recreation and leisure activities”, “physical appearance” and “the attitudes towards cultural consumption”. Although there have been preliminary questions and theories before going to the field work, some of those were also shaped during the field work. Therefore, this study might be labeled as both a deductive and inductive one.

3.5 Operational Definitions

“Considered in historical perspective, *Distinction* was unprecedented in sociological research in using such a wide range of questions on such an extensive battery of cultural items.” (Bennett et. al., 2009). In order to trace the original study conducted by Bourdieu in 1980s to measure the tastes and stick to the later study in Britain which is more applicable and easier to operationalize, I have decided to take the conceptualization of taste as the starting point.

First of all, I have assumed that taste is a preference. Based on this assumption, I intend to observe the tastes of different groups of young population that in the field of music. Although the study group to which I have examined is considered as a homogeneous group, the individuals show different attributes. Therefore, not only tastes but also cultural capital, social capital and economic capital of interviewees in the field of music need to be carefully analyzed. This approach also reflects the assumptions of Bourdieu:

A general science of the economy of practices that does not artificially limit itself to those practices that are socially recognized as economic must endeavour to grasp capital, that ‘energy of social physics’... in all of its different forms... I have shown that capital presents itself under three fundamental species (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 118 – 119)

When assuming taste as a preference, I have decided to group students according to their musical preferences. 6 different groups have occurred, after classifications. The first group of students is formed by students “enjoying one type of music/but like it”. The last group of students is shaped by a student “enjoying 5 types of music.”

After deciding to take taste as a preference, another crucial decision is to decide how I will approach tastes; on which hypothetical grounds. In order to eliminate hierarchical distinctions and the ruthless exclusion of lower tastes, differed from Bourdieu, “Omnivore – Univore” taste hypotheses will be adopted when measuring tastes of certain habitus groups in the field of music.

In the methodological appendix to *Distinction*, Bourdieu tells us that “the design of his questionnaire was based on the hypotheses of the unity of tastes.” (Bourdieu, 1984:506). About Bourdieu’s notable work, Bennett *et al* draws out attention to the methodological framework:

Although Bourdieu does not reflect at length on the issues that are involved in placing different kinds of data side – by – side with one another, his practice is clear enough: he places statistical data, interview material, or photographs together when these reinforce each other to demonstrate the existence of clearly differentiated and internally unified lifestyles that are interpreted as the effects of different class – based habitus. (Bennett et. al., 2009:25).

To continue, I need to clarify that the study conducted in the UK between 2003 and 2005 and later published by Tony Bennett, Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde, Modesto Gayo – Cal and David Wright is more attractive to employ in many aspects than Bourdieu’s prominent study. It has more modern sampling techniques. The questions are more representative to various people. The distinction between the “popular” and the “mainstream” works and genres are deliberately asked to analyze the distinction between different tastes. In addition to measure tastes, it also attempts to measure cultural capital, economic capital and social capital all together which Bourdieu did not attempt in *Distinction*.

Regarding cultural capital, when conducting interviews, what is aimed at asking too many questions is to draw a comprehensive framework related to cultural capital of

the participants. Based on this perspective, chosen questions from the interview related to the cultural capital are as the followings:

Questions about tendency to watch leading Turkish film directors (A 117 – Q 122)

Questions about acclaimed musicians in Turkey (Q151 – Q159)

Questions about following Turkish prominent Turkish painters (Q162 - Q168)

Based on the definition from Bourdieu, chosen questions from the interview related to the social capital are as the followings:

Question asking with whom the participants watch TV most often (Q 96)

Questions related to general recreation and leisure (Q 185, Q 198)

To continue, in order to assess socio – economic status of the target groups, apart from the original interview questions, a separate SES questionnaire, originally designed by a group of researchers to develop socio-economic status index aimed to be a representative sample for Ankara, was conducted. This questionnaire was developed by Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, Kezban Çelik, Ümit Çelen and Sinan Türkyılmaz.

Although the original SES questionnaire is a lengthy one, I have only asked the significant questions which are necessary and valid to materialize SES formulation, as illustrated in the formulation before. However, at the end of my SES questionnaires, I have separated SES measurement to 3 parts: Educational Status, Per Capita Income and Ownership Status. I asked all of these questions to include all household members.

When assessing educational status, I have calculated years of schooling (based on actual years to attend school) for each individual in the family, in accordance with the student's answers. Then, I calculated the average years of schooling for each family. Until 8 years of schooling, I labeled “very low” for educational status. Because, eight years of education corresponds to primary education in Turkey which was mandatory for the time period in which my target household members were educated. Until 10,5 years, I labeled “low” for educational status. In this labeling, I considered two things. Firstly, average years of schooling is 12,21 for my

target students. On the other hand, 105, years only correspond to “before high school, but after primary school education” degree. I assessed (12-14) years of education for middle educational status. Those years of education correspond to a high school graduation, but only attend or left from university level. Finally, bachelor and master level students were considered as “high educational group status”.

Regarding “per capita income” status, I found the average income of all 20 students as 1477,4 TL per month. So, I have designed “low – middle – high” status, according to this indicator.

Considering ownership status, I divided ownership items into two: high valued property and high valued goods. Students, at least having 2 high valued property, was labeled as “high status ownership”. Students with only one high valued property, was classified in “middle status”. Students, having at least 4 high valued goods were considered in upper low status. The other ones were though in “(lower) low status”.

Lastly, when assessing socio – economic status based on educational status, per capita income and ownership, I labeled “high” socio economic status if educational status of the student is high and the student has at least 1 “high status” for per capita income and ownership status. For the students having “middle” educational status, I have classified them as having “middle socio – economic status”. The rest of the students were included in the “low socio – economic status”. The reason to make “high – middle – low” socio – economic status groups mainly based on educational status, might be related to assumptions posed by Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, “success in the education system is facilitated by the possession of cultural capital and of higher class habitus. Lower-class pupils do not in general possess these traits, so the failure of the majority of these pupils is inevitable.” (Sullivan, 2002:144). So, in order not to ignore the importance of educational status of the pupils and relationship between educational and cultural capital, I have valued educational status most to form socio – economic status groups.

To continue, I will use omnivore/univore dichotomy to assess how taste patterns show up themselves in different taste groups. I will classify students of higher socio – economic status groups having a tendency to appreciate at least 3 different music types, 3 different directors and 3 songs of different musicians as “cultural omnivores”. On the other hand, I will classify students of low socio – economic status groups having a tendency to appreciate at least 2 different music types, 2 different directors and 2 songs of different musicians as “univores”. Because of difficulty, lack of adequate resources in Turkish context discussing tastes and a high probability of making a mistake, I won’t classify “highbrow, lowbrow and middlebrow” taste patterns.

When assessing tastes groups and then answers to different types of capitals, my criteria will be to look at highest - ranked response wherever possible.

Based on the survey design, administrated to a national random sample of 1791 respondents in Britain and subcontracted to the National Centre for Social Research which was later published by a book called “Culture, Class and Distinction”, a national survey was developed. Research methodology and design of the questionnaire conducted in Britain is defined as the following:

The quantitative research instrument comprised an hour-long questionnaire of 511 questions administered to a main representative sample of the UK population of 1564 individuals and to an ethnic boost sample of 227 individuals. The design of the questionnaire was informed by the evidence of cultural tastes and practices derived from a prior discussion of 25 focus group involving 143 participants. Follow up household interviews were conducted with 28 respondents from the survey, 2 focus group participants and, in some cases, their partners, yielding a total of 44 interviews in 30 households, for which participant observation notes were also produced. (Silva, Warde & Wright, 2009:301)

On the other hand, in order to identify and understand preferences in depth, discussion topics are assigned in the study conducted in Britain:

Each group was given two specific topics to discuss, relating to various aspects of cultural life. In addition each group was asked to reflect on various forms of cultural participation within and around the home, a topic which tended to evolve around television but also brought out some discussion of radio, gardening and DIY. (Silva, Warde & Wright, 2009:304)

By sticking to the original questionnaire, some questions were changed in order to measure the tastes based on national and cultural heritage and dispositions of the participants. First of all, I have asked one of my friends, working as a director, to find the similar Turkish directors to the ones on the original survey, representing the same trends and artistic stance in his/her movies. Secondly, I have requested to one of my teachers who has been lecturing the course called Sociology of Arts at Middle East Technical University to replace Turkish painters representing similar trends in their paintings to the ones on the original survey. In this effort, many criteria such as popularity, artists' works, content of the pictures or movies has been considered. The following table provides the conversion of the painters and directors in the original survey conducted in Britain into Turkish context.

Table 1

Conversion of Painters

List of Painters	
Original Survey Conducted In Britain	Conversion Into Turkish Context
Vincent Van Gogh	Mübin Orhon
Frida Kahlo	Hale Asaf
Pablo Picasso	Nejad Devrim
JMW Turner	Nazmi Ziya
Tracy Emin	Şükran Moral
Andy Warhol	Bedri Baykam
LS Lowry	Yalçın Gökçebağ

Although I wasn't informed by my teacher about the exact methodology and criteria when finding similar Turkish painters, my director friend sent me a long e – mail explaining how he could convert the directors' names in the original survey into Turkish context. First of all, it would be better to provide the table illustrating corresponding directors.

Table 2*Conversion of Directors*

List of Directors	
Original Survey Conducted In Britain	Conversion Into Turkish Context
Pedro Almodovar	Atıf Yılmaz
Ingmar Bergman	Zeki Demirkubuz
Alfred Hitchcock	Ömer Kavur
Stephen Spielberg	??
Jane Campion	Yeşim Ustaoğlu
Mani Ratnam	Yılmaz güney

My director friend has stated that Pedro Almadovar might correspond to Atıf Yılmaz. To him, especially, second period of Atıf Yılmaz's movies might be considered as showing similarities to what Almodovar has done. This period corresponds to a time line starting from 1978 and continued until the death of Atıf Yılmaz. My friend claims that in this second period understanding of the issues discussed and cinematography by Yılmaz has changed totally. Women's influence, repression of women and life style of gays also appeared as the topics in the movies. For instance, Gece, Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar is one of the movies in these themes.

When I ask about Ingmar Bergman, my friend considered him as Bach of Cinema. Bach had composed a unique Baroque music in his time with distinguished harmony and melody in his compositions. Therefore, it was not easy to find any other person similar to Bergman. However, my friend told me that movies of Zeki Demirkubuz and Bergman resembles to a certain degree since they both focuses on themes such as death as superhuman, conscience and human emotions. Therefore, from this point of view, Demirkubuz was chosen in Turkish context.

When I ask his ideas about Alfred Hitchcock, he was very sure that Ömer Kavur would best match to him. Mystical world of Ömer Kavur and Hitchcock is similar in each director's movies.

He was unable to think any directors' movies resembles to Spielberg's ones. At this point, I have thought that Sinan Çetin, because of his popularity, would be written in my survey.

To continue, when considering Jane Campion, to address women as the main theme in her movies, the search for happiness, the importance given to psychoanalysis let my friend think about Yeşim Ustaoglu.

Lastly, according to my friend, in a ridiculous industry such as Bolywood, the only person making directing meaningful movies is Mani Ratnam. Due to the systematic and political understanding in his movies, Yılmaz Güney might be considered as an appropriate director in Turkish context.

After all, I have changed the other questions to the national context by my own efforts. These questions were the ones related to music. In this process, I have benefited my knowledge and professional experiences in musical field. In this section, rather than converting musicians one by one, I have chosen musicians according to three categories: The most popular, unpopular but outstanding and pioneering musicians. The original survey in the Britain also aims to provide a wide range of musicians, representing highbrow and lowbrow tastes.

When assessing social capital, I have asked the same questions in the original survey assuming that it won't alter the findings in any context if I ask the same question since they are universal habits such as TV watching preferences, spare time activities and frequency to eat out.

This questionnaire is much shorter and different than the original one since it only aims to provide a descriptive account of different tastes in a specific music house. This is the music house to which I have been working as a classical guitar teacher for more than 3 years. However, the focus group of this survey, rather than classical guitar students, is the baglama students. By doing so, I have aimed at measuring tastes of students who are desirous to learn a traditional Turkish instrument.

To continue, this study was aimed to reinforce open ended questions in order to understand different motives behind different tastes, therefore, all applicants were requested to specify the reasons behind the chosen answers. This characteristic of the questionnaire, rather than a survey design, is similar to the structured interview technique which is shaped by not only preliminary questions but also the interaction

between the interviewee and the interviewer. During these face to face interviews, written on interview sheets at the same time, applicants were forced to think about three main questions while thinking about their motives behind their chosen alternatives: “Why?”, “Is it a cause to feel yourself connected to a particular social class or group?”, “Are there any cultural, intellectual or economic reasons behind this choice?” The second question was strongly emphasized to let the participant think about, because it enables to analyze the own “field” and “habitus” practices of the relevant participant. After ending 20 interviews, the most frequent answers from each sections and sub – sections were found and then, respectively, the main motives behind those were written.

After I have separated my questions from the interview according to the different types of capital and taste preferences, a few questions in the sub section called “attitudes towards cultural consumption” were chosen to support my arguments. I was unable to consider these questions under my evaluation for social capital, cultural capital and taste of the interviewees. So, before starting my analysis, I will firstly focus on my supporting arguments regarding the questions in the section called “attitudes towards cultural consumption”. This will provide us a general framework to begin with.

3.6 Limitations

This study only represents a small group of students in an urban based music house in Ankara. The findings cannot be generalized to any place outside the examined music house. Even the findings cannot be generalized to the music place, because it doesn't represent all students taking bağlama courses in this music house. Besides, identified cultural engagement and consumption patterns as the result of the conducted interviews in the music house are determined by asking only three questions from social and cultural capital. Therefore, the results obtained only stand for a limited set of preferences by students. Beyond these preferences, estimates cannot be executed.

To continue, the research process has been very challenging for me because of the lack of previous studies conducted in this field. As discussed in the subsection

called *Studies In Turkey*, studies in Turkey don't provide us a meaningful and valid methodological formulation in Turkish context to observe art works and art receivers with regard to their cultural, economic or social capitals. Therefore, it was very difficult to operationalize a measurement tool to assess art taste of bağlama students. For this reason, I had to reduce the number of my questions in order not to lose the methodological emphasis of my theses.

On the other hand, before operationalizing my methodology, I had to limit my conceptual definitions related to taste. This is again because of the lack of previous studies in Turkey. The uncertainty of how I will classify *highbrow*, *lowbrow*, *middle brow* and *snob* tastes regarding cultural consumption in Turkish context let me think about only focusing on omnivore and univore taste patterns which are much easier to operationalize since omnivore/univore types are defined more precisely and objectively than low/middle/highbrow taste patterns. This was another limitation for me; the necessity to ignore some intermediate taste patterns in my analysis.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Taste Analysis

When analyzing the tastes of a particular group, it is very important to decide carefully the best field to define and make sense of tastes. When I think of musical field and appreciation of different music types, I mean something more than aesthetic value; since it socially constructs the individual.

First of all, “musical taste is a social phenomenon, it is socially conditioned, it is born and dies within the social life to which it belongs and is.” (Silbermann, 1963: 25). On the other hand, “music is very distinguished from other cultural forms. Music can stand for, symbolize and offer the immediate experience of collective identity. Other cultural forms, - painting, literature, design- can articulate and show off shared values and pride, but only music can make you feel them.” (Frith, 1987: 140). For these reasons, I have decided to focus on only musical preferences as the indicator of different tastes.

Musical preferences have been used ever since in many studies as a main determinant of taste (Bryson 1997, Peterson 1992, Van Eijck 2001); sometimes they have even been considered as an equivalent for taste. One of the reasons for this stream of research might be that Bourdieu has argued that the differences in taste occur and can be detected most easily in musical preferences (Bourdieu 1984; Rahkonen 1995, 13). (Virtanen, 2005)

In the light of what I have discussed, in order to assess tastes of bağlama students, taking musical preferences as the main determinant of taste, 8 different types of music, namely “Rock, Modern Jazz, Anatolian Rock, Classical Music, Country, Turkish Art Music, Heavy Metal and Turkish Folk Music” were asked to the students. Students were asked to evaluate these types of music according to their level of enjoyment. Then, I have grouped the students by the number of types of

music enjoyment. The only criteria to group students, was to consider the ones marking “Like it very much indeed” for the musical types mentioned. As a result of this grouping, 6 different types of music appreciation occurred. (See Appendix A).

To keep anonymity of respondents participating in interviews, rather than talking out of names, interviewees were named starting from “A1” to “A20”.

Regarding the most significant trends, it should be noted that 8 interviewees told that they enjoy 1 type of music very much. 2 interviewees said that they enjoy 1 type of music, but only like that type. 3 interviewees stated that they enjoy 2 types of music very much. 4 interviewees told that they enjoy 3 types of music very much. 1 interviewee told that he/she enjoys 4 types of music very much. Lastly, only 1 student stated that he/she enjoys 5 types of music very much.

The findings illustrate us that more than half of the interviewees don’t listen to a broad range of musical types. Considering 8 interviewees, only liking 1 type of music very much indeed, can be related to having univore musical taste since they are very exclusive in their musical preferences. Considering 2 interviewees, again, only liking 1 type of music, can also be related to having univore musical taste. The other half of the students, liking a broad range of musical types, demonstrate us omnivore musical taste.

4.2 Social Capital Analysis

Before analyzing the questions related to social capital, I think it would be useful to talk about preschool and primary school systems in Turkey to constitute strong ties between students, peers and teachers. This will help us to make sense how social network and relations of the individuals in Turkey develop over years through education system since childhood. The reason why I insist on the effect of primary and preschool education system in Turkey is that I believe social capital is constructed since early childhood.

In Norway and Turkey, the preschool and primary school systems require children to stay with the same teachers and classmates for several years, thereby optimizing children’s opportunities for developing multi-year extended relationships with peers

and teachers. We assume that such macro features of educational organization (products of history and sociological forces) influence parents' ideas about how children should learn to deal with people outside the extended family.⁶

From the preschool and primary school systems in Turkey, we can deduce the meaning that this education system provides the opportunity to share the same social network within the students over a long period of time and it influences the early formation of social capital within cohesive and integrated groups of friends and between teachers and students. So to say, a sense of sharing the same social environment through education from a young age also shows the effect when the child grows. When moving onto questions, the effect of the group lessons on baglama students will be also obvious.

4.2.1 Question Related to TV preferences

The first question assessing with whom the interviewee watches TV most often showed the impact of domestic habits and sharing to form social capital within the family. In this section, I have also measured average hours of watching TV during weekdays and weekends. According to Radio and Television Supreme Council of Turkey, average hours of watching TV during weekdays are 3.7 hours while people prefer to watch TV approximately 3.5 hours at the weekends.⁷ Therefore, I have labeled high levels of watching TV if a student watches TV above the average of Turkish citizens. At this point, I need to clarify that Turkish citizens are known by very high rates of TV viewing all over the world. So, what I have labeled as "high levels of watching TV" corresponds to "extreme levels" considering TV viewing hours in the other countries. According to this measurement, one or two student from each taste group, apart from the 4th group, was determined to be included in the level of above average watching TV. A20 from the first group, A1 and A10

⁶ Young children's close relationships outside the family: Parental ethnotheories in four communities in Norway, United States, Turkey, and Korea. *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 2003, 27 (6), 481-494. Copyright © 2003 The International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development.

⁷ "Türkiye'de TV İzleme Oranı Düştü" <http://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr>

from the second group, A14 from the third group and A15 of final group are extremely watching TV. To measure actual hours of watching TV by students will be important to observe since it also shapes on of the distinctive character of social capital, because “social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 118 – 119).

From the 1st group of people, enjoying 1 type of music, but only like it, while A9 stated that she watches TV by herself, A20 told that she watches TV with other family members.

From the 2nd group of people, enjoying 1 type of music very much, 4 students, A1, A2, A10 and A13 said that they prefer watching TV with other family members. A5, A8 and A18, on the other hand, stated that they watch TV by themselves. Only 1 student, A7, told that he likes to watch TV with his friends. The answer of A7 was very interesting. He stated that although they seem like they all watch TV, they come together and talk in front of the television. This means that TV only serves as a tool for them to let them come together. So, we can conclude that for 6 of the students, watching TV with other family members or friends, TV plays a crucial role to increase integrity and harmony between the individuals to form a unity of taste. Putnam blames the technological changes that are responsible for the privatization or individualization of leisure. “The main obstacle for the construction of social capital during free time is, however, television and its supremacy in the competition over the uses of leisure.” (Putnam, 1995, 74 – 75). However, watching TV with other family members, as exemplified by 4 students in this group, prove us that social capital might be also upgraded by the impact of domestic habits and sharing within the family and TV is the most efficient tool to bring people together inside the home. On the other hand, the other 3 students, preferring to watch TV by themselves, said that living alone or having different tastes than the other family members or friends were the main reasons to watch TV alone.

Regarding the 3rd group of people, enjoying 2 types of music very much, while 1 student stated that he prefers watching TV with other family members, the other 2 students said that they like to watch TV with their husbands and/or children.

Considering the 4th group of people, enjoying 3 types of music very much, 2 students said that they prefer watching TV with other family members, while the other 2 students told that they prefer watching TV alone.

Focusing on the 5th group, the only person in this group stated that he prefers watching TV with other family members. However, rather than the similarity of taste between household members, the reason for this motivation is the necessity to share TV since it is the only one at home.

Finally, concentrating on the 6th group, the only person in this group told that he prefers watching TV with other family members. The reason for watching TV all together is the unity of taste among members.

After analyzing the impact of TV on domestic habits and sharing to form social capital within the family and friends, a general framework occurs, according to 6 different taste groups. (See Appendix B)

From the overall picture, 11 students told that they would prefer watching TV with other family/household members because of habits or similarity of tastes. 2 students stated that they like to watch TV with their husbands and/or children in order to comment together or share their ideas about their tastes. Only 1 student told that he likes to watch TV with friends. From the each different taste group, at least half of the certain group demonstrated significant evidence regarding the importance of watching TV with other family members, friends or husbands/children.

4.2.2 Questions Related to General Recreation and Leisure

The other determining questions to measure social capital includes some questions related to general recreation and leisure. The first question to ask was: If you had to choose one of the phrases on this card, which best describes what you like to do in your spare time or leisure?

From the 1st group of people, enjoying 1 type of music, but only like it, both 2 students stated that they like to do something creative in their spare times. A9, a Math teacher, told that she likes to do something with members such as brain teaser. Actually, this is also related to her job. A20, on the other hand, said that she likes to paint in her free time as a creative activity.

From the 2nd group of people, enjoying 1 type of music very much, 4 students stated that they would prefer having a laugh/larking around in their spare times. 2 students said that they would like to relax. The other 2 students told that they prefer doing something useful. It might be alleged that this group has been divided to 2 parts. The first groups of people, giving importance to having a laugh in their spare time, are open to socializing through their friends or family members. This means that they are likely to share an increased social capital. By contrast, students choosing relaxation or doing something useful in their spare times, are tend to isolate themselves from the other individuals and tend to spend time by their owns.

Regarding the 3rd group of people, enjoying 2 types of music very much, each student answered differently from each other. Four different answers were as the following: "Having a laugh/larking around, relaxation, doing something creative and none of these". However, when reading the motives behind the answers, it is obvious that they all treat spare time as a chance to materialize individual relief. Escaping from the fatigue life, having something in the face of time spent such as learning to play a song, travelling, physical relaxation were the answers from the students. None of these are related to increase networking opportunities or institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. So, it would be accurate to claim that individual efforts are more important than strengthen social capital, for this group.

Considering the 4th group of people, enjoying 3 types of music very much, again, almost each student answered differently. 2 students stated that they would prefer to relax. Entertainment and having a laugh were the answers from the other 2 students. In this group, 2 trends occurred. While 2 students stated that they would like to socialize with their friends, the other 2 students stated that the most important thing for them is to throw occupational fatigue over them.

Focusing on the 5th group, the only person in this group stated that he likes to do something useful in his free time. He said that he feels responsible for the society and the world he lives in.

Finally, concentrating on the 6th group, the only person in this group told that he is interested in developing new interests. In this way, he thinks he can increase his intellectual capacity.

4.2.3 Question Related to Eating Habits

From the 1st group of people, enjoying 1 type of music, but only like it, while A9 told that she prefers to go somewhere to eat out at least once a week, A20 told that she eats out less often but at least once a month. For A9, motivation behind eating out is a sense of belonging towards Turkish cuisine. However, for A20, coming together with friends is the primary motivation for eating out. Still, both of the students from this group share the same sense for eating out: A sense of belonging, whether to Turkish cuisine or to friends...

From the 2nd group of people, enjoying 1 type of music very much, all of the students said they dine outside at the same frequency. They all prefer to eat out at least once a week. For A1, it is a necessity since he is out of my home town. For A7, it is a necessity since he is a student. For A10, he eats out because of his enjoyment from eating. For the rest of the group, different networking and social conditions such as coming together with friends, course conditions and social status/marital status play crucial role to form consciously or unconsciously social capital.

Regarding the 3rd group of people, enjoying 2 types of music very much, only A3 specified that he eats out once a year or less. The other 3 students told that they eat out at least once a week. Motivation for A3 is to adapt to friend environment or strengthen family ties. For A11, school conditions are the driving for to eat out. For A12, spending a lot of time outside affect dining out frequently. For A14, lack of time to cook because of working conditions is the primary reason to eat out. Of four students, the most striking motivation is the one for A3. Although A3 eats out once a year or less, she cares a lot about integrity between family members and strong ties between friends. Even though she doesn't eat out that often, she tries to strengthen social capital.

Considering the 4th group of people, enjoying 3 types of music very much, A4 and A19 eats out less often but at least once a month. For both of them, peer influence has an important effect for eating out. A16 and A17, on the other hand, eat out at least once a week. For A17, dining out with friends is something really valuable. For 16, participation of non – business courses push to eat outside on a mandatory basis. For the 4th group, we can say that 3 students give importance to increase social capital among peers, while eating habits of only 1 student from this group is shaped by the participation of some courses, but not the effect of social capital directly.

Focusing on the 5th group, the only person in this group, told that he eats less often but at least several times a year. According to A6, eating at home is more affordable and he says that he has no concern for socialization.

Finally, concentrating on the 6th group, the only person in this group is also influenced by friends to shape the habit of eating out.

4.2.4 Methodological Contributions to Social Capital and Overall Findings

In the study conducted in Britain, focus groups were held in order to deepen understanding of the patterns of cultural life. However, because of concentrating on limited sample size in the theses, I only asked three types of questions to measure

preferences related to TV, spare time activities and somewhere to eat out. Elizabeth, Warde and Wright (2009) state their formation of focus groups as the following:

Each group was given two specific topics to discuss, relating to various aspects of cultural life. In addition each group was asked to reflect on various forms of cultural participation within and around the home, a topic which tended to revolve around television but also brought out some discussion of radio, gardening and DIY.

In order to deepen understanding of the patterns of social life, I have conducted motive analysis and concentrated on the widely recognized motives. This technique was also used to analyze cultural capital and economic capital.

When focusing on the TV preferences and related findings, it might be said that regardless of the different taste groups, we can conclude that watching television is an activity that strengthens the social network and therefore, empowers social capital among family members or friends. In the findings of the study conducted by Bennett *et al* “social attitude towards watching TV is more likely to manifest themselves in the adoption of a pedagogic relation to television, treating it as a source for self –education or self – improvement linked to the forms of self – mastery associated with not watching television” (Bennett et. al., 2009: 137). This proves us that TV serves as a different tool in different social groupings. Contrary to the findings of Bennett *et al* TV serves as a tool to increase social capital among students.

Assessment of spare time activities revealed two distinctive motives to form social capital. When focusing on the general framework of the interviews, we can conclude that 6 interviewees told that they would like to have a laugh, while 5 of those would prefer relaxation. (See Appendix D) At this point, a sharp distinction between having a laugh and relaxation occurred. Regarding having a laugh, most students thought that they are forming a durable network of relations with close friends which is an essential part of constituting social capital. However, relaxation was treated more isolated and personal than laughing. What is meant to be by relaxation by students was related to relief by one’s own mind and body apart from social capital formation.

Lastly, when I ask how often the interviewees go somewhere to eat out, a vast majority of those, corresponding 15 students, said that they go somewhere to eat out at least once a week. According to the answers, social conditions, business conditions and the influence of friends and the idea to be included in a group of friends have a great impact to eat out that often. Especially, reciprocal relationship between friends might be related to the perception of trust as a creative force for reciprocity within increased social capital:

“Trust creates reciprocity and voluntary associations, reciprocity and associations strengthen and produce trust” (Putnam, 1993: 163 – 165). On the other hand, “the more social capital is used, the more it grows.” (Coleman, 1988: 98 – 120).

In order to escape from being a stranger from each other or fear of exclusion from the group, friends prefer to spend more time with each other. Therefore, they trust the solid foundation of their friendship in a stronger sense. From this perspective, we can assert that eating out at least once a week strengthens the friendship ties and creates more trust towards each other; therefore empower social capital shared within group of friends.

4.3 Cultural Capital Analysis

According to Bourdieu, although cultural capital has three types; embodied, objectified or institutionalized cultural capital, I will focus on cultural capital as embodied, in my analysis. “The embodied state refers to cultural capital in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1984). On the other hand, according to Bourdieu, “embodied cultural capital is the external wealth converted to an integral part of the person, into a habitus, and therefore cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange.” (Bourdieu, 1986: 244 – 245) Lifelong process of socialization plays a crucial part in the formation of embodied cultural capital.

To assess cultural capital of the interviewees, three types of questions were chosen. These are the questions related to the leading Turkish film directors, preferences about music and musicians and prominent Turkish painters.

To begin with, I have to note that none of the directors, musicians or painters was chosen randomly. The most important factor in the selection process among many directors, musicians, books and painters was to determine the long lasting effects of the chosen ones. In the selection process, while the most prominent ones were chosen, popular and unpopular ones were mixed. Therefore, analysis of the answers will be also an inquiry about how media has impacts on the imposition of popular arts through culture industries. Among these directors, political and apolitical art/movie producers were also mixed to draw a comprehensive framework.

4.3.1 Questions Related to Turkish Directors

First of all, a list of current film directors (Q117 – Q122), namely Sinan Çetin, Ömer Kavur, Atıf Yılmaz, Zeki Demirkubuz, Yeşim Ustaoglu and Yılmaz Güney was asked to the students. Then, students were expected to answer according to four choices: “Would make a point of watching”, “might watch”, “would probably not watch” and “haven't heard of”. For each director, it was asked to the students about how they knew and learned the mentioned director. In case of answering the first choice from the answer sheet, the students were expected to give the names of the other films directed by the same director. The following answers from 6 different taste groups only focus on the chosen directors as a preference considered as “would make a point of watching.”

From the 1st group of people, enjoying 1 type of music, but only like it, while A9 told that he would prefer watching movies directed by Sinan Çetin, Atıf Yılmaz and Yılmaz Güney, A20 stated that he would prefer to watch movies of Yılmaz Güney. The most striking commonality between two students is that they became aware of the director(s) from the social media.

From the 2nd group of people, enjoying 1 type of music very much, the most appreciated directors were as the followings: Sinan Çetin by A1; Sinan Çetin, Atıf

Yılmaz, Yılmaz Güney by A2; none of those by A5; Sinan Çetin, Atif Yılmaz, Zeki Demirkubuz and Yılmaz Güney by A7; Yılmaz Güney by A8; Atif Yılmaz, Zeki Demirkubuz, and Yılmaz Güney by A10; none of those by A13 and finally Yılmaz Güney by A18. First remarkable feature of this group is that while some students doesn't prefer to follow any mentioned directors, some prefer 1 or more directors. This analysis will also be shaped when discussing omnivore/univore dichotomy in Analysis Chapter 2. The other characteristic of this group is that Yılmaz Güney fans feel a sense of belonging to Güney's political stance and easily could give names of the movies directed by him.

Regarding the 3rd group of people, enjoying 2 types of music very much, we can say that it is the most heterogeneous group among all. All of the students had different variety of directors as their preferences. None of the directors by A3; only Sinan Çetin by A11; Atif Yılmaz, Zeki Demirkubuz and Yılmaz Güney by A12; Atif Yılmaz and Yılmaz Güney by A14 were stated as preferences. Again, according to A12 and A14, the reason to follow movies of Yılmaz Güney is related to his social realist narrative approach in his movies.

Considering the 4th group of people, enjoying 3 types of music very much, they are more homogeneous than the 3rd group. Every student in this group follow at least 2 directors. Again, the most common motivation is the driving force behind following Yılmaz Güney. 3 students in this group stated that social realist narrative approach reflecting societal issues influenced them. On the other hand, Sinan Çetin was treated as a director illustrating Turkish reality in his movies, by 3 students in this group.

Focusing on the 5th group, the only person in this group, told that he likes movies by Zeki Demirkubuz and Yılmaz Güney. Student stated that class approach and political stance of Güney is close to his understanding of world view.

Finally, concentrating on the 6th group, the only person in this group said that he follows works of Sinan Çetin and Yılmaz Güney. The student told that he doesn't like political stance of Sinan Çetin, but of Yılmaz Güney.

4.3.2 Questions Related to Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey

In the following set of questions, a list of Turkish acclaimed musicians regarding their mentioned song names, namely “Benimle Oynar Mısın?” from Bülent Ortaçgil, “Rapstar” from Ceza, “Nazım Oratoryosu” from Fazıl Say, “Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk, “Bir Ömürlük Misafir” from Erkan Oğur, “Gidersen” from Jehan Barbur, “Geri Dönüş Olsa” from Murat Boz, Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ, “Olsun” from Halil Sezai was asked to the students. Then students were expected to answer according to four choices: “have listened to and like it”, “have listened to and did not like it”, “have not listened to (but heard of)” and “have not heard of”. I have focused on the first answers: “have listened to and like it”

From the 1st group of people, enjoying 1 type of music, but only like it, both A9 and A20 stated that they like Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ, especially rhythm... However, they said they don't know how to measure the beats. This is a song composed in 9/8 time signatures. This will be discussed in detailed later on. Additionally, A20 also told that she likes “Geri Dönüş Olsa” from Murat Boz, because she finds something from herself in the lyrics.

From the 2nd group of people, enjoying 1 type of music very much, all of the students in this group told that they like Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ and they either ritm or both ritm and melody. However, similar to the first group, they said they don't know how to measure the beats. While A1, A8 and A10 only likes Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ, the other students stated that they like at least two songs mentioned in the interview. A2 and A7 told that they like “Bir Ömürlük Misafir” from Erkan Oğur, because they feel a sense of belonging to Anatolian music. I should also note that “Bir Ömürlük Misafir” album is a distinctive one since it is recorded by fretless guitar. When I ask whether A2 and A7 have heard of Erkan Oğur as an inventor, they replied me that they know him as the inventor of fretless guitar. This proved me that they were conscious art receivers. On the other hand, A7 and A18 stated that they like “Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk because of cultural attraction or the effect of Turkish Classical Music.

Regarding the 3rd group of people, enjoying 2 types of music very much, again Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ was the most appreciated song; rhythm and melody were driving forces for them. Only A14 told that she knows the time signature of the song; 9/8 time signature. The reason of this is that she is a Thracian, as she claimed. Kalamış was the other most appreciated song among the group members. Nostalgic stance of the song, fasıl atmosphere in Turkish nights and reflection of İstanbul in the song affected the students to love this piece. Every student in this group has a tendency to like at least two of the mentioned songs.

Considering the 4th group of people, enjoying 3 types of music very much, again all of the students stated that they like Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ. Only one of those told that he knows that the song is composed in 9/8 time signature. All students in this group also said that they like Kalamış from Münir Nurettin as a song reminding a definite place or old days and past or just because of lyrics. On the other hand, 3 students told that they like Nazım Orotoryosu from Fazıl Say. They emphasized the effect of Nazım Hikmet on poetry and Fazıl Say as a great composer.

Focusing on the 5th group, the only person in this group, also told that he likes Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ and know it is a 9/8 time signature song. Benimle Oynar Mısın, Kalamış and Bir Ömürlük Misafir were the other appreciated songs by this student.

Finally, concentrating on the 6th group, the only person in this group, again told that he likes Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ but don't know time signature of the song. Nazım Orotoryosu, Kalamış and Olsun were the other appreciated songs by the student.

4.3.3 Questions Related to Prominent Painters

In the following set of questions, a list of Turkish prominent painters, namely Mübin Orhon, Nejad Devrim, Hale Asaf, Nazmi Ziya, Şükran Moral, Bedri Baykam and Yalçın Gökçebağ was asked to the students. Then students were expected to answer according to four choices: “have seen works by him/her and liked”, “have

seen works by him/her and did not like”, “have not seen works by him/her (but have heard of him/her)” and “have not heard of”.

In this part, unfortunately, I will solely focus on the effect of social media influencing students’ preferences rather than concentrating 6 different taste groups. Only A9, A12 and A14 told that they have seen works of Bedri Baykam and liked. Popularity of Baykam and visibility of him as a famous person in the social media provided easy recognition, according to these three students.

4.3.4 Methodological Contributions to Cultural Capital and Overall Findings

First of all, in this section, I have to note that converting the names of directors, musicians and painters in the survey conducted in Britain into Turkish context enabled me to understand the answers and extract meaning from the preferences of students more easily. The reason of this is that long – lasting dispositions as defined in embodied cultural capital is more applicable in local culture since our dispositions are shaped within our culture rapidly and we have seen the effects over years.

In the first part asking the preferences of Turkish directors, regarding the whole taste groups, we can tell that social media has affected art receivers to a certain degree which cannot be ignored. On the other hand, Sinan Çetin and Yılmaz Güney were the most appreciated directors. However, there is an inconsistency when considering the motivation behind choosing Sinan Çetin as the first preference. While some students tell that they don’t like his political stance, but his movies; the others told that they find Sinan Çetin as a qualified director representing Turkish realities. By contrast, all of the followers of Yılmaz Güney, regardless of different taste groups claimed that he is very successful as a representative of social realist narrative approach and class contradictions in the society.

In the second set of questions, related to prominent Turkish musicians in Turkey, I have suggested a rhythm analysis which was not attempted in the survey conducted in Britain. The finding was interesting.

From the overall picture, it seems that “Ele Güne Karşı” is the most appreciated song by all students. A vast majority of the students stated that they like this song because of its rhythm. At this point, the effect of 9/8 time signature in Turkish music needs to be considered. 9/8 time signature is the one Turkish people inherently know the beats, but don’t know how to count it. Whenever I went to concert in Turkey, I always thought that the songs composed in 9/8 ritm is so easy to be famous, not because of quality but because of the culturally familiar ritm effect. That’s why I obstinately asked whether the students like the ritm of Ele Güne Karşı. As expected, most students told me that they love the mentioned song because of rhythm, but don’t know the rhythm. This song might be also discussed in terms of “culture industry” and popular songs. The more the culture industry dominates, the more standardized cultural products and art occur. What the importance of culture industry is not the quality, but quantity. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, “man as a member of a species has been made a reality by the culture industry. Now, any person signifies only those attributes by which he can replace everybody else; he is interchangeable, a copy.” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2000: 11). Ele Güne Karşı is a song easily recognizable and appreciated from the beginning. The rhythm of the song is so effective to make the song famous, without any doubt. Many students stated that they like rhythm of the song more than the lyrics. The lyrics of the song are also so simple that any citizen suffering from unrequited love can express his/her feelings in the same way. Both the lyrics and the music of the song prove us that this song is an easily interchangeable one. If we change the lyrics but remain within the same rhythm and similar suffering themes, it won’t change the effect to attract its audiences. What we experience in the soap operas is the same. For instance, Pinhani, a Turkish alternative rock band, also became so famous with some of their songs played in soap operas. They were also the songs composed in 5/8, 7/8 and 9/8 rhythm. These rhythms are also inherent and familiar rhythm types for Turkish people.

In the last section, aiming to assess the preferences of important painters in Turkey, it was revealed that the field of painting is beyond the interest of the students, therefore, it doesn’t have an impact on shaping cultural capital. The only figure,

appreciated among painters asked in the survey was Bedri Baykam. However, rather than his paintings, he was recognized by students because of his popularity.

4.4 Economic Capital Analysis

Positive correlation between educational status and per capita income is remarkable. Out of 20 students, 12 students provided positive correlations. 2 students provided positive correlations regarding per capita income and ownership. Again, only 2 students provided positive correlations considering educational status and ownership. (See Appendix H). Therefore, it wouldn't be accurate to claim that six different taste groups are homogenous regarding their educational status, per capita income and ownership status. Taste groups show different tendencies within themselves. Even two students from the same taste group seem to have the same socio economic status overall, they may represent different educational status, per capita income and ownership. For instance, A10 and A13 from the same taste group, exemplify totally different status ratings in three components. 3rd group has the most consistent results if we think about sameness in rankings in different components. A3 and A11, and A12 and A14 have the same educational status and per capita income.

When analyzing the economic capital depending on the different taste groups, relationship with regard to social and cultural capital is also very important to draw a comprehensive framework.

4.4.1 Methodological Contribution to Economic Capital and Overall Findings

When assessing economic capital, I have suggested a different measurement tool than the one applied in Britain. In the study conducted in Britain, a broader measurement tool to assess economic capital than Bourdieu attempted was applied. When explaining the technique, as mentioned before, Bennett *et. al.* alleges that “a set of question exploring not just income but economic assets more broadly than Bourdieu attempted was included in order to generate more precise measures of economic capital” (Bennett *et. al.*, 2009:38). However, when assessing economic capital, I have based the SES study which was mentioned in details before. A

measurement tool aiming to measure socio – economic status in Ankara enabled me to generate more precise measures of economic capital.

4.5 Combining Findings

In this subsection, I intend to combine my analysis from each capital discussed above and draw a comprehensive and comparative framework between 6 different taste groups. Firstly, separated into three different types of capital, namely social capital, cultural capital and economic capital, I will assess how 6 different taste groups themselves are similar to each other. After finding similarities on capital assessments, I will apply my previous analysis in Chapter 1 to find out how motivations behind 3 different types of capitals are similar to each other. When measuring each types of capital, I will give grades from 1 to 3 since I have asked 3 different questions to assess each capital. For example, in case of having only 1 same answer to any kind of capital, social capital assessment grade of certain taste group will have the grade of 1 which indicates the lowest grade. A taste group, which has the same answers and motivations to a total of 9 questions in 3 different capital assessments, may have an overall grade of 9.

From the 1st group of people, enjoying 1 type of music, but only like it, the grades of A9 and A20 together respectively according to social, cultural and economic capital are, 1, 2 and 1. Although A20 might be considered as a student who has a “univore” taste, A9 cannot be identified as a cultural omnivore or univore. Regarding social capital, both A9 and A20 stated that they prefer to do something creative in their spare times. However, their motivation behind doing something creative was very different from each other. While A9, a Math teacher, preferring to play with numbers in a creative way, A20, a philosophy student told that she likes to paint. Considering cultural capital, both of the students stated that they like Yılmaz Güney as a director and Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ as a great song. Again, motivation behind following Yılmaz Güney is different in each student; while A9 emphasizes the effects of middle school A20 referred the impact of social media on shaping preference. However, the motivation behind enjoying MFÖ is the same for both students: the power of rhythm. The reason of this is that “music, particularly

popular music, plays a central role in the lives of young people” (Christenson & Roberts, 1998). These both students also represent a high ownership status. So, although it seems that they have a grade of 4 of 9 regarding their answers for different types of capitals, they have exactly 2 points to illustrate their sameness regarding different capitals.

From the 2nd group of people, enjoying 1 type of music very much, of 8 students, A1 and A2 in between themselves and A1 and A10 in between themselves showed most similar patterns in their capitals. The grades of A1 and A2 together respectively according to social, cultural and economic capital are, 2, 3 and 2. Regarding social capital, their motivations are very different than each other. While A1 watches TV with other family members because of being a fan of the same team, A2 only watches TV because of habits.

Table 3

A1 & A2: Social Capital Assessment

A1	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: To be fan of the same team with my both brothers; similar tastes	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Family atmosphere enables laughing	At least once a week Motivation: It is a necessity since I am out of my home town
A2	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Habit	Relaxation Motivation: Himself to be alone	At least once a week Motivation: Coming together

			with friends
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Their motivations behind following the same director called Sinan Çetin is also very different from each other. While A1 follows Sinan Çetin because of his famous movie called “Propaganda”, A2 respects to Sinan Çetin because of knowing Sinan Çetin as a student of a great director in the past. Both of these students don’t follow painters because of lack of knowledge and interest. Both of these students like to listen to MFÖ’s song because of the effect of rhythm. Lastly, considering economic capital, they have both middle status of ownership and low status of per capita income. So, actual grade of A1 and A2 to illustrate sameness of their motivation is 4 point.

To continue, the scores of A1 and A10 together respectively according to social, cultural and economic capital are 3, 2 and 2. Regarding social capital, motivation behind A1 and A10 are totally different from each other as indicated below in the table:

Table 4

A1 & A10: Social Capital Assessment

A1	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: To be fan of the same team with my both brothers; similar tastes	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Family atmosphere enables laughing	At least once a week Motivation: It is a necessity since I am out of my home town
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A10	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: A sense of belonging towards family	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: To relax	At least once a week Motivation: Because of my enjoyment from eating
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Regarding cultural capital, again MFÖ’s song because of the rhythm is appreciated by A1 and A10. And again, because of lack of interest in painting, they don’t follow any of the painters. Low status of per capita income and middle status of ownership are other sameness in these students. So, actual score to assess sameness in different capitals, after motivation analysis, is 4. In addition, although 3 students from low socio – economic status exist in this group, none of the students in this group illustrate us the patterns of cultural universe tastes. We cannot search for cultural omnivores in this group, because they don’t like more than 1 type of music. By fixing A1 as comparison point, actual scores between members in this group after motivation analysis are as the followings: 2 points between A1 – A5; 3 points between A1 – A7, 3 points between A1 – A8; 4 points between A1 –A13; 5 points between A1 – A18

Regarding the 3rd group of people, enjoying 2 types of music very much, total grades of A3 - A11, A3 - A12 and A3 - 14 together respectively according to social, cultural and economic capital are as the followings: (1, 1 and 2); (0, 1, 0); (0, 1, 0). However, actual grades of commonalities behind different capitals will become obvious after motivation analysis. The only commonality between social capitals is come across between A3 and A11. The other groups of two don’t show up any same features.

Table 5

A3 & A11: Social Capital Assessment

A3	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: run away from the fatigue life	Once a year or less Motivation: Adaptation to friend environment or because of family ties
A11	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Only 1 TV and similarity of tastes	Doing something creative Motivation: To get something in return for the time spent	At least once a week Motivation: Due to school conditions

When observing motivations, it is realized that actual points are as the followings: 4 points between A3 and A11; 1 point for A3 and A12 and 1 point for A3 and A14. Besides having 4 same motivations, A3 and A11 also exemplify univore tastes. When readdressing the definition of univore, we can say that while the concept ‘omnivore’ is characterized to define broad taste pattern of the members of the higher status groups, univore is exactly the opposite of ‘omnivore’. So, A3 and A11 coming from low socio – economic status groups and showing a tendency to appreciate at most 2 items from mentioned musicians, directors and songs exemplify univore taste patterns.

Considering the 4th group of people, enjoying 3 types of music very much, total grades of A4 - A16, A4 - A17 and A4 - 19 together respectively according to social, cultural and economic capital are as the followings: (1, 3 and 1); (0, 3, 0); (1, 3, 1). However, again, actual grades of commonalities behind different capitals will become obvious after motivation analysis.

Table 6*A4, A16, A19: Social Capital Assessment*

A4	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Living alone	Entertainment Motivation: She has an exhausting profession	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Peer influence
A16	Watching TV by himself Motivation: Because of everyone sleeping	Relaxation Motivation: He has an exhausting profession	At least once a week Motivation: due to the participation of non-business courses
A19	Watching TV with other family members Motivation:	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Having time with friends	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Peer influence

Regarding social capital assessment and motivations, only A4 and A19 provide us same motivations by dining out less often but at least once a month because of peer influence. Yılmaz Güney, on the other hand, is the only director followed by all students in this group with the same motivation. Representation of societal issues in Güney's movies and political stance of Güney has attracted all students. Actual grades of A4 - A16, A4 - A17 and A4 - 19 together respectively after motivation analysis are as the followings: 4, 3, 5.

Regarding A6, it shows the most similarities with A8 from the 2nd group. 6 motivations are the same between A6 and A8.

Considering A15, an actual cultural omnivore coming from a high ownership status and representing a broad taste pattern, we can include this student in the 4th group, because 6 distinctive motivations are the same with A17 from the 4th group.

Table 7

A17 – A15: Social Capital & Cultural Capital Motivation Assessment

A17 – A15 → SOCIAL CAPITAL MOTIVATION ASSESSMENT			
A17	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes		At least once a week Motivation: dining out with my friends
A15	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes		At least once a week Motivation: Peer influence
A17 – A15 → CULTURAL CAPITAL ASSESSMENT			
A17	<i>Yılmaz Güney</i> Motivation: Social and class structure in his movies represent people like me. (heard of him from my father) (Known movies: Sürü, Yol)	<i>Ele Güne Karşı</i> from MFÖ, Motivation: Lyrics and rytm are so impressive. I know it is 9/8 rytm.	None of the paintings followed (lack of knowledge)
A15	<i>Yılmaz Güney</i> Motivation: Like his political stance... (heard of him by social media) (Known movies: Köprü, Baba)	<i>Ele Güne Karşı</i> from MFÖ, Motivation: I like the song because there is a riot in the song Like the rytm but don't know how to measure the beats...	None of the paintings followed (lack of knowledge)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Six different taste groups in an urban based music house shaped by different preferences of musical types illustrate that despite having come to learn the same instrument called *bağlama*, students show different patterns of tastes and their social, cultural and economic capitals are so different from each other. After making a broad analysis to find out similarities between different types of capitals in different taste groups and then applying motivation analysis, the points obtained within the group differ to a great degree. This proves us that only conducting questionnaires wouldn't be enough to enlighten the same patterns within different taste groups. So, searching for causality behind answers during in depth interviews helped me to understand how heterogeneous taste groups are. For instance, while two students, namely A1 and A2 follow movies directed by Sinan Çetin, this doesn't mean that their long – lasting dispositions to shape cultural capital are the same with each other. Their motivations are actually very different from each other. While A1 has become aware of Sinan Çetin after watching his movie called Propaganda and become a fan of Çetin, A2 respects to Sinan Çetin as a director well educated by pioneering masters in movie sector.

The most notable finding for me is the impact of rhythm on students. Regardless of their representative taste groups, almost every student stated that they like to listen to Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ because the rhythm of the song is so attractive. However, surprisingly, when I ask whether they know how to count the beats of the song to assess time signature, only a few students told me they know it is a song in 9/8 time signature. I have been going to the pubs in Turkey to listen to live music since I am a teenage. The first question that comes to my mind when listeners are slapping their hands is that whether this is a conscious or unconscious act. After conducting my interviews, I realized that this is mostly an unconscious act. It is all

about a cultural heritage. I remember a woman to which I have interviewed; she had told me that definitely she know 9/8 time signatures and like Ele Güne Karşı, because she is a Thracian. However, she was one of a handful people who know the time signature of the song and also like the rhythm.

Another striking finding for me is related to univore/omnivore dichotomy. Cultural omnivore, attributed to high socio economic - status groups and univore tastes, attributed to low status groups cannot be easily observed in taste groups. Of six students, representing high socio – economic status, only A15 might be classified as cultural omnivore. Univore tastes are more common compared to cultural omnivores. Of eight students, having low socio – economic status, four of those might be classified as univores. “Bennett *et al* in their studies, find a cultural omnivorousness which challenges the high and low culture distinction used by Bourdieu”. (Gibson, 2009: 1) However, only one student from a grouping of six people representing high socio – economic status, was classified as omnivore in my theses. This might be related to my limited sample size since I have only focused on twenty students.

On the other hand, it shouldn't be ignored that these students share the same purpose by taking bağlama courses in the same music store: They all attend the courses because of their passion to Turkish Folk Music. However, although there are hundreds of music courses in Ankara, they have all chosen an urban based music house and pay the same amount of money. Before conducting field work, when we think of the choice of a music house and a certain traditional instrument as a preference, we could have predicted that these twenty students represent us a homogenous group. However, findings from the field work illustrate that twenty student forms an exact heterogeneous group. “The key finding of the study conducted in Britain is that class is the most powerful indicator when it comes to the structure of cultural consumption in contemporary Britain” (Bennett et al, 2009: 53). However, my field work proved me that even a person from low socio – economic status, for example A15 from the 6th group, may have a tendency to appreciate wide variety of musical types while a person representing high education

status, per capita income and ownership such as A9 only appreciates one type of songs.

The effect of social media and popular arts is very easily observable in many sections. The most obvious question manifesting the imposition of social media is the one asking whether the student recognized the mentioned painter. However, only Bedri Baykam was stated as a known figure, although I have asked the names of very prominent painters in Turkey. This section has illustrated me that painting is treated as an intellectual and elite leisure activity by Turkish young music receivers.

To sum up, I have tried to measure art taste of a group of bağlama students attending an urban based music house regularly. Built upon on the survey design conducted in Britain, I have made four main methodological contributions in my theses. Firstly, to assess economic capital, I have suggested using urban based SES studies as I have benefited from measurement tool developed to measure socio – economic status in Ankara. If these tools are integrated into main questionnaires to assess economic capital, it will enable us to obtain more concrete results in terms of socio – economic base of the respondents. Secondly, I have proposed rhythm analysis in the musical field. I believe that this is the most important methodological contribution in my theses. The reason of this is that musical field plays a crucial role in the analysis of Bourdieu and it has very distinctive characteristic in the survey design conducted in Britain. In other words, as mentioned before, “music is very distinguished from other cultural forms. Music can stand for, symbolize and offer the immediate experience of collective identity.” (Frith, 1987: 140). Considering music as a very distinguished cultural form, rhythm of the songs, as the core of musical preference and the basic to form embodied cultural capital with long – lasting dispositions deserve a careful analysis. Thirdly, the gap between answers to the questions and detected motivations from related answers proved us that without motivation analysis, it wouldn’t be possible to make sense of actual dispositions. Lastly, conversion of questions in the original survey to Turkish context enabled me to understand how long – lasting dispositions have been shaped in relation to Turkish cultural heritage exemplified in musical analysis,

how appreciation and/or dislikes show frequencies with relation to popularity of the painter or a musician or by the effect of social media.

Finally, I can honestly say that in order to draw more concrete pictures, a wider investigation observing the correlations between different taste patterns and types of capitals need to be conducted in Turkey. Bourdieu, starting from art galleries in Europe, observed tastes of considerable amount of people. The British based survey design I have benefited from was administrated to a national random sample of 1791 respondents in Britain. SES study was conducted in 1725 households from the eight central districts of Ankara city center. In my thesis, I have tried to make valuable methodological contributions to measure art taste in Turkey. However, I have only conducted 20 interviews within the limits of my thesis. So, there is a need to start promising wider investigations regarding tastes of young people in Turkey.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FORMATION OF TASTE GROUPS

Enjoy 1 type of music/But like it	Enjoy 1 type of music	Enjoy 2 types of music	Enjoy 3 types of music	Enjoy 4 types of music	Enjoy 5 types of music
A9, A20	A1, A2, A5, A7, A8, A10, A13, A18	A3, A11, A12, A14	A4, A16, A17, A19	A6	A15

APPENDIX B

WATCHING TV

1 st Group Enjoy 1 type of music/But like it (2 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watching TV Alone → 1 person • Watching TV with other family members → 1 person
2 nd Group Enjoy 1 type of music (8 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watching TV Alone → 3 students • Watching TV with other family members → 4 students • Watching TV With Friends → 1 student
3 rd Group Enjoy 2 types of music (4 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watching TV with other family members → 2 students • Watching TV With Husbands/Children → 2 students
4 th Group Enjoy 3 types of music (4 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watching TV Alone → 2 students • Watching TV with other family members → 2 students
5 th Group Enjoy 4 types of music (1 student)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watching TV with other family members → 1 student
6 th Group Enjoy 5 types of music (1 student)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watching TV with other family members → 1 student

APPENDIX C

AVERAGE WATCHING HOUR

		Avg. hours of watching TV/Weekdays	Avg. hours of watching TV/Weekends
1 st Group	A9	1 hour	1-2 hour
	A20	4 hours	6 hours
	AVG:	2.5 hours	3.5 hours
2 nd Group	A1	5 hours	6 hours
	A2	2 hours	3-4 hours
	A5	1 hour at most	1 hour at most
	A7	2 hours	None
	A8	2 hour at most	2 hour at most
	A10	5 hours at least	5 hours at least
	A13	2 hours	None
	A18	2 hours	2 hours
	AVG:	2.625	2.375
3 rd Group	A3	1 hour	None
	A11	½ hour	½ hour
	A12	2 hour	None
	A14	3 hours at most	5 hours
	AVG:	1.625	1.375
4 th Group	A4	2 hours	2 hours
	A16	2 hours	1 hours
	A17	2 hours	None
	A19	2 hours	½ hour
	AVG:	2 hours	0.875
5 th Group	A6	1 hour	2 hours
6 th Group	A15	4 hours	4 hours

APPENDIX D

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

1 st Group Enjoy 1 type of music/But like it (2 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doing something creative → 2 students
2 nd Group Enjoy 1 type of music (8 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having a laugh/larking around → 4 students • Relaxation → 2 students • Doing something useful → 2 students
3 rd Group Enjoy 2 types of music (4 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Having a laugh/larking around → 1 student • Relaxation → 1 student • Doing something creative → 1 student • None of these → 1 student
4 th Group Enjoy 3 types of music (4 students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relaxation → 2 students • Entertainment → 1 student • Having a laugh/larking around → 1 student
5 th Group Enjoy 4 types of music (1 student)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doing something useful
6 th Group Enjoy 5 types of music (1 student)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing new interests

APPENDIX E

SOCIAL CAPITAL ASSESSMENT

		Q96/TV preferences	Q185/Spare time Activity	Q198/Somewhere to eat out
1 st Group	A9	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Take a rest by myself	Doing something creative Motivation: Math, brain teaser	At least once a week Motivation: A sense of belonging towards Turkish cuisine
	A20	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: People from similar ages encourages more sharing	Doing something creative Motivation: Painting	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Coming together with friends
2 nd Group	A1	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: To be fan of the same team with my both brothers; similar tastes	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Family atmosphere enables laughing	At least once a week Motivation: It is a necessity since I am out of my home town
	A2	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Habit	Relaxation Motivation: Himself to be alone	At least once a week Motivation: Coming together with friends
	A5	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Different tastes with friends	Doing something useful Motivation: Personal development, in addition to occupational development	At least once a week Motivation: Coming together with friends
	A7	Watching TV with friends Motivation: seem like they all watch TV, they come together and talk in front of the television.	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: To get away from everyday woes	At least once a week Motivation: It is a necessity since I am a student
	A8	Watching TV by himself Motivation: Living alone	Relaxation Motivation: Personal and physical relaxation	At least once a week Motivation: Due to social status and marital status
	A10	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: A sense of belonging towards family	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: To relax	At least once a week Motivation: Because of my enjoyment from eating
	A13	Watching TV with other family members	Having a laugh/larking around	At least once a week

		Motivation: Watching the same soap opera	Motivation: To have a laugh with friends	Motivation: Due to course conditions
	A18	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Brother; cannot watch TV because of ÖSS exams Other family members don't like to watch TV	Doing something useful Motivation: Doing something useful for the society	At least once a week Motivation: Because of social conditions
3 rd Group	A3	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: run away from the fatigue life	Once a year or less Motivation: Adaptation to friend environment or because of family ties
	A11	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Only 1 TV and similarity of tastes	Doing something creative Motivation: To get something in return for the time spent	At least once a week Motivation: Due to school conditions
	A12	Watching TV with husband/children Motivation: Similarity of tastes and commenting all together	Relaxation Motivation: Physical relaxation	At least once a week Motivation: spending a lot of time outside
	A14	Watching TV with husband/children Motivation: Similarity of tastes	None of theses Motivation: Travelling	At least once a week Motivation: Lack of time to cook because of working conditions
4 th Group	A4	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Living alone	Entertainment Motivation: She has an exhausting profession	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Peer influence
	A16	Watching TV by himself Motivation: Because of everyone sleeping	Relaxation Motivation: He has an exhausting profession	At least once a week Motivation: due to the participation of non-business courses
	A17	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes	Relaxation Motivation: Having time with friends	At least once a week Motivation: dining out with my friends
	A19	Watching TV with other family members Motivation:	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Having time with friends	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Peer influence
5 th Group	A6	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Not similarity of tastes but existence of 1 TV	Doing something useful Motivation: Sense of responsibility towards the society and the world	Less often but at least several times a year Motivation: Eat at home more affordable (I have no concern for socialization)
6 th Group	A15	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes	Developing new interests Motivation: Intellectual development	At least once a week Motivation: Peer influence

APPENDIX F

CULTURAL CAPITAL ASSESSMENT

		Q117 – Q122: Leading Turkish directors (Answering: Would make a point of watching)	Q151 – Q159 Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey (Answering: have listened to and like it)	Q162 – Q168 Turkish Prominent Painters (Answering: have seen works by him/her and liked)
1 st Group	A9	Sinan Çetin Motivation: Popularity, imposing trust regarding life Atif Yılmaz Motivation: Being famous and popular Yılmaz Güney Motivation: Effect of meeting his movies in the middle school; Yol movie	Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ, Motivation: The effect of rytm, but don't know how to measure the beats... And also lyrics... Group performance is noteworthy. I attended their concerts (Not mentioning other song names) Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)	Bedri Baykam Motivation: The effect of social media... I liked his works, but don't have any criteria to compare with other painters
	A20	Yılmaz Güney Motivation: Hearing of him by social media, TV and books... Don't remember names of his movies	“Geri Dönüş Olsa” from Murat Boz, Motivation: Finding something from herself. Heard of from the radio... Know the other songs of him, but don't remember names... Both liking his lyrics and music in general Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ Motivation: Much like the music than the lyrics... but don't know how to measure the beats... Remembering Sarı Laleler song (Hearing from the radio) Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)	None
2 nd Group	A1	Sinan Çetin Motivation: Propaganda; last movie of Kemal Sunal (the	Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ Motivation: Lyrics, music great... but don't know how to measure the beats...	None

	effect of casting)... heard of from TV	Frtheless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)	
A2	<p>Sinan Çetin</p> <p>Motivation: I know he got experienced by following a master director. I think he can make good works. I know him from social media</p> <p><u>Atuf Yılmaz</u></p> <p>Motivation: One of the most prominent directors of Yeşilçam movies. (don't remember his movies' names) I became familiar to him by social media</p> <p><u>Yılmaz Güney</u></p> <p>Motivation: He honored Turkey in Cannes. I am proud of him since he is a Turkish guy and I feel a sense of belonging to his success.</p> <p>I know his movies: Sürü, Yol, Duvar, Baba, Umutsuzlar, Aç Kurtlar</p>	<p>“Bir Ömürlük Misafir” from Erkan Oğur,</p> <p>Motivation: I think he reflects Anatolian music to us and I feel a sense of belonging to this culture.</p> <p>I know him from social media. I know his songs: Zeynep, Mamoş, Pencereden Kar Geliyor...</p> <p>Frtheless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</u></p> <p>Motivation: Firstly, a great music... but don't know how to measure the beats... Then the harmony between the music and the lyrics... I heard him by social media.</p>	None
A5	None	<p>Frtheless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)</p> <p>“Rapstar” from Ceza,</p> <p>Motivation: Finding his music different and more entertaining than the others (Other songs: Panaroma...)</p> <p>“Geri Dönüş Olsa” from Murat Boz,</p> <p>Motivation: Finding his music entertaining. The effect of social media... (don't remember other songs of him)</p> <p>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</p> <p>Motivation: Finding something from herself in the song... Love the rhythm, but don't know how to measure the beats... (Other song names: Mazeretim var)</p>	None
A7	<p><u>Sinan Çetin</u></p> <p>Motivation: Heard of him by Avrupa Yakası... (Knowing movies: Propaganda, Kağıt)</p> <p>I don't know him that much.</p>	<p>“Nazım Oratoryosu” from Fazıl Say</p> <p>Motivation: I saw on TV and watched partly. Genco Erkal as a performer also influenced me. (don't know any other songs of Fazıl Say)</p>	None

	<p>Because of “Propaganda” movie, I find him worthy to watch.</p> <p><u>Atıf Yılmaz</u></p> <p>Motivation: Especially in Kibar Feyzo, the success of reflecting our culture and native accents... (Knowing movies: Kibar Feyzo, Eğreti Gelin)</p> <p><u>Zeki Demirkubuz</u></p> <p>Motivation: Because I worked in night clubs and pubs, I am familiar with the lives of prostitutes. Kader and Masumiyet especially reflect this life and when watching these movies, I feel like I again work in these night clubs. (Knowing movies: Masumiyet, Kader...)</p> <p>Yılmaz Güney</p> <p>Motivaton: I find him very successful compared to time period he lived in. He dedicated his life for the values and beliefs he believed in. (Knowing movies: Duvar, Sürü, Yol)</p>	<p>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk,</p> <p>Motivation: After THM, TSM is my second field to which I am interested in. (don’t know any other songs from Münir Nurettin)</p> <p><u>“Bir Ömürlük Misafir” from Erkan Oğur.</u></p> <p>Motivation: He is the one I am always listening to. Knew him from social media. (Songs known: Zeynebim, Kaleden İnış mi Olur)</p> <p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</u></p> <p>Motivation: Firstly, lyrics affected me. Then, the rytm... but don’t know how to measure the beats...</p> <p>(Known songs: Yandım, Ellerimde Çiçekler...)</p>	
A8	<p>Yılmaz Güney</p> <p>Motivation: He emphasizes class structure in his movies. I feel belong to his world view and ideology. I know him since childhood (Not mentioned names of his movies)</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ,</p> <p>Motivation: Both like the music and the rytm... but don’t know how to measure the beats... (Known songs: don’t remember names, but know their songs...)</p>	None
A10	<p>Atıf Yılmaz</p> <p>Motivation: family pressure and conservative traditions, exemplified in Eğreti Gelin... So, I feel like I need to try to change the reality of this society. (Known movies: Eğreti Gelin)</p> <p>Zeki Demirkubuz</p> <p>Motivation: heard of him by</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</p> <p>Motivation: I generally don’t listen to them. But I like this song because of music. but don’t know how to measure the beats...</p> <p>(Known songs: Ali Desidero)</p>	None

	<p>Özgür Düşün periodical... Engin Günaydın and Demirkubuz interview in NTV also motivated. (Not watched any of his movies)</p> <p>Yılmaz Güney</p> <p>Motivation: He always showed us social realities. So, worthy to watch (Known movies: Duvar, Sürü...)</p>		
A13	None	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)</p> <p>“Geri Dönüş Olsa” from Murat Boz,</p> <p>Motivation: Like lyrics and music... (heard of him by social media) (Known songs: Bozun, Uçurum, Özledim...)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</u></p> <p>Motivation: Both like music and the lyrics... but don’t know how to measure the beats... (heard of him by social media) (Known Songs: Don’t remember names)</p>	None
A18	<p>Yılmaz Güney</p> <p>Motivation: Don’t know his works a lot, but heard of him by social media (Known movies: none...)</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)</p> <p>“Benimle Oynar Mısın?” from Bülent Ortaçgil,</p> <p>Motivation: Regarding both music and lyrics, it is an entertaining song... (Known songs: Not remember)</p> <p>“Rapstar” from Ceza,</p> <p>Motivation: Considering lyrics and music, she feels a sense of belonging. (Known songs: Med – Cezir, Rude Boy...)</p> <p>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk,</p> <p>Motivation: A cultural attraction... Know this song, but not know much about Münir Nurettin (Known songs: None) “Geri Dönüş Olsa” from Murat Boz,</p> <p>Motivation: Like music and lyrics... Heard of him by social media</p>	None

			<p>(Known songs: Bulmaca, Soy adımsın...)</p> <p>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</p> <p>Motivation: Like music and lyrics... but don't know how to measure the beats... (Known songs: Not remember)</p> <p>“Olsun” from Halil Sezai</p> <p>Motivation: An unfamiliar style attracted me. I especially like the lyrics. (Heard of him by social media) (Known songs: Sonbahar, İsyen)</p>	
3 rd Group	A3	None	<p>Frerhless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)</p> <p>“Geri Dönüş Olsa” from Murat Boz,</p> <p>Motivation: I liked his lyrics and music. I like his songs, because they are familiar to my internal world. (heard of him by social media) (Known songs: Not remember names)</p> <p>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</p> <p>Motivation: Both like music and rytm... but don't know how to measure the beats... (heard of them by social media) (Known songs: Sarı Laleler)</p>	None
	A11	<p>Sinan Çetin</p> <p>Motivation: For me, what the importance is the style and quality of the director, not their ideological perspectives. (having heard of him by social media) (Known movies: Not remembering his movies' names)</p>	<p>Frerhless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p><u>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Nostalgic stance and the lyrics of this song affected me. (heard of him by facebook) (Known songs: Dönülmez akşamın Ufkundayım)</p> <p><u>“Bir Ömürlük Misafir” from Erkan Oğur</u></p> <p>Motivation: I know all the albums of him. I like the sound of his music. (Known songs: Dünya, seher Yeli, Mor Dağlar...)</p> <p><u>“Gidersen” from Jehan Barbur.</u></p> <p>Motivation: I Liked her songs regarding melody a lot. (having heard of her by facebook) (Known songs: Don't know any other</p>	None

A12	<p>Atıf Yılmaz</p> <p>Motivation: Yeşilçam movies; he is very prominent.</p> <p>(Known movies: not remember names)</p> <p>Zeki Demirkubuz</p> <p>Motivation: I like his movies generally. But, his last movie, Yeraltı disappointed me. (It seems that there is a slipshod in Yeraltı regarding the book)</p> <p>Yılmaz Güney</p> <p>Motivation: He really reflects us the Anatolian reality. (Known movies: Duvar)</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)</p> <p>“Benimle Oynar Mısın?” from Bülent Ortaçgil,</p> <p>Motivation: don’t remember from where I have heard of this song. But I also like “Eylül akşamı” (Known songs: eylül akşamı)</p> <p>“Nazım Oratoryosu” from Fazıl Say,</p> <p>Motivation: Because of my curiosity, I listened to from the internet. (Known Songs: None)</p> <p>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk,</p> <p>Motivation: I listened to this song in “fasıl”. An entertaining song. (Known songs: None)</p> <p>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</p> <p>Motivation: I like the song but don’t know how to measure the beats... (Known songs: Aşıklar Kaçamaz)</p>	<p>Bedri Baykam</p> <p>Motivation: Seen him on TV... I don’t understand his perception of art, but see him everywhere frequently</p>
A14	<p>Atıf Yılmaz</p> <p>Motivation: I had watched the movie called “Arabesque”. It was a comedy about arabesques and love. (Known movies: Arabesque)</p> <p>Yılmaz Güney</p> <p>Motivation: Otobüs was a movie migrating to Germany for employment and suffering for a period. (Known movies: Otobüs)</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p>“Benimle Oynar Mısın?” from Bülent Ortaçgil,</p> <p>Motivation: I am from İstanbul. He reminds me the sea. I listen to him since childhood. (Known songs: All) (Bu İş Zor Yonca, metro, love, anectod...)</p> <p>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk</p> <p>Motivation: I grew up in İstanbul. (Known Songs: Beni Kör kuyularda...)</p> <p>“Gidersen” from Jehan Barbur</p> <p>Motivation: She songs B. Ortaçgil songs, that’s why I like her. I listened to her in Passage Pub. (Known songs: Not remember)</p> <p>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</p> <p>Motivation: Rtym is 9/8 beat. I am Thracian. I love the lyrics and music</p>	<p>Bedri Baykam</p> <p>Motivation: I saw him on TV and in an exhibition. I saw his paintings there.</p>

			of this song. (Known songs: Bodrum Bodrum, Ali Desidero, Sarı Lalaler)	
4 th Group	A4	<p>Ömer Kavur</p> <p>Motivation: He puts emphasis on social/class related situations. (Heard of him by social media) (Known movies: Anayurt Otel)</p> <p>Atıf Yılmaz</p> <p>Motivation: I especially like his movies focusing on class contradictions. (Heard of him by social media) (Known movies: Gölge Oyunu)</p> <p>Zeki Demirkubuz</p> <p>Motivation: He puts emphasis on the loneliness of the individual in society. Especially loneliness of middle class individual. (Heard of him by social media) (Known movies: C Blok, Yeraltı, Masumiyet)</p> <p><u>Yeşim Ustaoglu</u></p> <p>Motivation: Class conflict, ethnic identity, the concept of the 'other' are the main concepts attracting me in her movies. (Heard of him by social media) (Known movies: Güneşe Yolculuk)</p> <p><u>Yılmaz Güney</u></p> <p>Motivation: representative of the social realist movement (Heard of him by social media and literature) (Known movies: Sürü, Duvar, Yok...)</p>	<p>Frithless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p>“Nazım Oratoryosu” from Fazıl Say</p> <p>Motivation: the effect of Nazım Hikmet also because of his dissident attitude (Heard of the composition by social media) (Known songs: Not remember)</p> <p><u>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk</u></p> <p>Motivation: It reminds her a definite place. (Heard of the song by the radio) (Known Songs: Not know any other)</p> <p><u>“Bir Ömürlük Misafir” from Erkan Oğur.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Literary based songs influenced. Attended his concert. (Known songs: Zahit Bizi Tan Eyleme, Leyla...)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</u></p> <p>Motivation: Like the rytm but don't know how to measure the beats... Integrity within the group also affected. (Heard of them from the social media)</p>	None
	A16	<p><u>Sinan Çetin</u></p> <p>Motivation: I knew him from Propaganda movie. It was all about an issue due to a boarder line by the state. It was a familiar story in Turkish reality. (Known movies: Propaganda)</p> <p><u>Atıf Yılmaz</u></p>	<p>Frithless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p><u>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk,</u></p> <p>Motivation: It reminds me old days and past. I like lyrics and music. (Heard of him by TV)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ.</u></p>	None

	<p>Motivation: Dressing codes, speeches, human relations in his movies let me think about a sense of belonging to our culture. (Known movies: Not remember names)</p> <p><u>Yılmaz Güney</u></p> <p>Motivation: Not considering ideologically, but I like his attitudes towards injustices... (Known movies: Not remember names)</p>	<p>Motivation: There is a harmony between the music and the lyrics. Like the rytm but don't know how to measure the beats...</p>	
A17	<p><u>Sinan Çetin</u></p> <p>Motivation: He can sometimes observe social phenpmena very well. (Heard of him by TV) (Known movies: Propaganda, Komiser Şekspir)</p> <p><u>Atuf Yılmaz</u></p> <p>Motivation: (Heard of him by Turkish movies) Known movies: Don't remember names)</p> <p><u>Zeki Demirkubuz</u></p> <p>Motivation: Social and class structure in his movies reflect me. (Heard of him by social media) His movies look like Bergman movies. (Known movies: Masumiyet, Kader, İtiraf, C Blok, Yazgı, Yeraltı)</p> <p><u>Yılmaz Güney</u></p> <p>Motivation: Social and class structure in his movies represent people like me. (heard of him from my father) (Known movies: Sürü, Yol)</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p><u>"Benimle Oynar Mısın?" from Bülent Ortaçgil</u></p> <p>Motivation: His music reminds me Garip Poetika. (Known songs: Çılgık Çılgığa)</p> <p><u>"Nazım Oratoryosu" from Fazıl Say.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Nazım Hikmet and classical music affected me. (heard of song from the social media) (Known songs: Not know any other)</p> <p><u>"Kalamış" from Münir Nurettin Selçuk,</u></p> <p>Motivation: TSM effect... I like this kind of music. (Not remember from where I knew this song) (Known Songs: beni Kör Kuyularda Merdivensiz...)</p> <p><u>"Bir Ömürlük Misafir" from Erkan Oğur,</u></p> <p>Motivation: Knew him from "Gülün Kokusu Vardı" album... also like his blues/jazz works... (Known songs: Eksiklik Kendi Özümde, Seher Yeli, Mecnunum Leylayı Gördüm...)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Lyrics and rytm are so impressive. I know it is 9/8 rytm.</p>	None
A19	<p><u>Sinan Çetin</u></p> <p>Motivation: Turkish reality is</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (-)</p> <p><u>"Benimle Oynar Mısın?" from</u></p>	None

	<p>represented by him. (knew him because my father brought me his DVD for movie propaganda) (Known movies: Only know Propaganda)</p> <p><u>Yılmaz Güney</u></p> <p>Motivation: Societal issues are deeply reflected in his movies. (Knew him because of my colleague in the dorm.) (Known movies: Yol...)</p>	<p><u>Bülent Ortaçgil.</u></p> <p>Motivation: I used to play org when I was a child. I used to play this song and love it. (Known songs: not remember)</p> <p><u>“Nazım Oratoryosu” from Fazıl Say.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Nazım Hikmet is one of my favorite poets. (Known songs: Not know any other songs of Fazıl Say)</p> <p><u>“Kalamış” from Münir Nurettin Selçuk.</u></p> <p>Motivation: The lyrics are marvelous. I don’t know M. Nurettin. (Probably heard him from fasıl or TV) (Known Songs: Not know any other from Nurettin Selçuk)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Music is great. Not really attracted by the lyrics. Like the rytm but don’t know how to measure the beats... (heard of them when I was a child) (Known Songs: Sarı Lalaler, Yaşın 19, Bu Sabah Yağmur Var istanbul’da...)</p> <p><u>“Olsun” from Halil Sezai</u></p> <p>Motivation: Movie has affected me. I searched about him and liked the song. But he became so popular with the song and it pushed me. (Known Songs: İsyen)</p>	
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5 th Group	A6	<p><u>Zeki Demirkubuz</u></p> <p>Motivation: Telling stories of people to whom it is not easy to difficult in real life (Don't remember names of the movies)</p> <p><u>Yeşim Ustaoglu</u></p> <p>Motivation: Alternative movies... (Don't remember the names of the movies)</p> <p><u>Yılmaz Güney</u></p> <p>Motivation: Class approach and political stance is closed to me. (Don't remember how to learn the director) (Known movies: Sürü, Duvar, Yol)</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p><u>"Benimle Oynar Mısın?" from Bülent Ortaçgil.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Both like the lyrics and music... Lyrics related to concern for the individual's life. (Known songs: Yağmur)</p> <p><u>"Kalamış" from Münir Nurettin Selçuk,</u></p> <p>Motivation: the effect of fasıl and TSM (Known songs: Don't remember the other songs)</p> <p><u>"Bir Ömürlük Misafir" from Erkan Oğur.</u></p> <p>Motivation: Music is so intensive (Known songs: Don't remember the names)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ</u></p> <p>Motivation: Firstly music, than lyrics affected me. Know the beats: 9/8) (Don't remember other songs of the band)</p>	None
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6 th Group	A15	<p><u>Sinan Çetin</u></p> <p>Motivation: Don't like the political stance of Sinan Çetin, but like his movies (Heard of him by social media) (Known movies: Propaganda)</p> <p><u>Yılmaz Güney</u></p> <p>Motivation: Like his political stance... (heard of him by social media) (Known movies: Köprü, Baba)</p>	<p>Frethless guitar/Erkan Oğur (+)</p> <p><u>"Nazım Oratoryosu" from Fazıl Say.</u></p> <p>Motivation: It is about Nazım and it is composed by Fazıl Say</p> <p>(Heard of the song from social media) (Don't know the other songs of Nazım)</p> <p><u>"Kalamış" from Münir Nurettin Selçuk.</u></p> <p>Motivation: I heard from the family... Traditional music effect... (Don't remember the other song names)</p> <p><u>Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ.</u></p> <p>Motivation: I like the song because there is a riot in the song Like the rytm but don't know how to measure the beats... (Don't remember other songs of the band) (Heard of the song by social media)</p> <p><u>"Olsun" from Halil Sezai</u></p> <p>Motivation: I like the song, because when I discovered the song I was feeling similar to what is expressed by the lyrics. (Heard the song from a friend) (Known Songs: Paramparça, Seni Çektim İçime)</p>	None
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APPENDIX G

ECONOMIC CAPITAL ASSESSMENT

		Educational Status	Per Capita Income	Ownership
		<p><i>Avg:</i> 12,21 <i>Very low</i> → (4,5 – 7,8) <i>Low</i> → (8,75 – 10,5) <i>Middle</i> → (12 – 14) <i>High</i> → (15 – 17,5)</p>	<p><i>Avg Income:</i> 1477, 4 <i>Low Inc.</i> → (300 – 860) <i>Middle</i> → (1000 – 1500) <i>High</i> → (2000 – 5000)</p>	<p>High Status → (At least having 2 high valued property) Middle Status → (Having 1 high valued property) Low Status → (Not having any high valued property) (Lower) Low Status → (Having at least 4 high valued goods) (Upper) Low Status → (Having 3 or less high valued goods)</p>
1 st Group	A9	Average years of Schooling: 17 years	2000 High Income	<p>High Valued Property Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 1 Car : 1</p> <p>High Valued Goods Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: High</p>
	A20	Average years of Schooling: 10,5	300	<p>Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car : 1</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: Middle</p>
2 nd Group	A1	Average years of Schooling: 12,6	800	<p>Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car : 0</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 0 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: Middle</p>
	A2	Average years of Schooling: 8,75	750	<p>Inhabited House: 0 Second Home: 0 Car : 1</p>

				Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: Middle
A5	Average years of Schooling: 17,5	2000		Inhabited House: 0 Second Home: 0 Car : 0 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 0 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 0 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: Low
A7	Average years of Schooling: 14	1500		Inhabited House: 0 Second Home: 0 Car : 0 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 0 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 0 Internet Connection: 0 Ownership Status: Low
A8	Average years of Schooling: 15	2200		Inhabited House: 0 Second Home: 0 Car : 1 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 0 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: Middle
A10	Average years of Schooling: 4.5	375		Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car : 0 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: Middle
A13	Average years of Schooling: 9.5	1500		Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car : 1 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: High
A18	Average years of Schooling: 12	853		Inhabited House: 0 Second Home: 0

				<p>Car : 0</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: Low</p>
3 rd Group	A3	Average years of Schooling: 10,2	360	<p>Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 1 Car : 0</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 0 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: High</p>
	A11	Average years of Schooling: 10,4	860	<p>Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car : 0</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 0 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: Middle</p>
	A12	Average years of Schooling: 17	5000	<p>Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car : 0</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: Middle</p>
	A14	Average years of Schooling: 15,5	2000	<p>Inhabited House: 0 Second Home: 0 Car : 0</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: Low</p>
4 th Group	A4	Average years of Schooling: 15	1200	<p>Inhabited House: 0 Second Home: 0 Car : 0</p> <p>Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 0 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1</p> <p>Ownership Status: Low</p>
	A16	Average years of Schooling:	1000	Inhabited House: 1

		7,16		Second Home: 0 Car : 1 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 0 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1
	A17	Average years of Schooling: 12	450	Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 1 Car : 1 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: High
	A19	Average years of Schooling:12,6	1500	Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 1 Car : 1 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: High
5 th Group	A6	Average years of Schooling: 15,3	2200	Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car : 0 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: Middle
6 th Group	A15	Average years of Schooling: 7,8	2700	Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 1 Car : 1 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1 Ownership Status: High

APPENDIX H

ECONOMIC CAPITAL ASSESSMENT BY STATUS

		EDUCATIONAL STATUS	PER CAPITA INCOME	OWNERSHIP	OVERALL STATUS
1st Group	A9	High	High	High	HIGH
	A20	Low	Low	High	LOW
2nd Group	A1	Middle	Low	Middle	MIDDLE
	A2	Low	Low	Middle	LOW
	A5	High	High	(lower) Low	HIGH
	A7	Middle	Middle	(Lower) Low	MIDDLE
	A8	High	High	Middle	HIGH
	A10	Very Low	Low	Middle	LOW
	A13	Low	Middle	High	LOW
	A18	Middle	Low	(Upper) Low	MIDDLE
3rd Group	A3	Low	Low	High	LOW
	A11	Low	Low	Middle	LOW
	A12	High	High	Middle	HIGH
	A14	High	High	(Upper) Low	HIGH
4th Group	A4	High	Middle	(Lower) Low	MIDDLE
	A16	Very Low	Middle	High	LOW
	A17	Middle	Low	High	MIDDLE
	A19	Middle	Middle	High	MIDDLE
5th Group	A6	High	High	Middle	HIGH
6th Group	A15	Very Low	High	High	LOW

APPENDIX I

COMBINING FINDINGS

1 st Group			
		A9	A20
Social Capital Assessment	Q96/TV Preferences	Watching TV by herself	Watching TV with other family members
	Q185/Spare Time Activity	<u><i>Doing Something Creative</i></u>	<u><i>Doing Something Creative</i></u>
	Q198/Somewhere To Eat Out	At least once a week	Less often but at least once a month
Cultural Capital Assessment	Leading Turkish Directors	Sinan Çetin, Atif Yılmaz, <u><i>Yılmaz Güney</i></u>	<u><i>Yılmaz Güney</i></u>
	Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey	<u><i>Ele Güne Karşı/MFÖ,</i></u>	<u><i>Ele Güne Karşı/MFÖ,</i></u> Geri Dönüş Olsa/Murat Boz
	Turkish prominent Painters	Bedri Baykam	None
Economic Capital Assessment	Educational Status	High	Low
	Per capita Income	High	Low
	Ownership	<u><i>High</i></u>	<u><i>High</i></u>

2nd Group					
		A1	A2	A5	A7
Social Capital Assessment	Q96/TV Preferences	<u><i>Watching TV With Other Family Members</i></u>	<u><i>Watching TV With Other Family Members</i></u>	Watching TV by herself	Watching TV with friends
	Q185/Spare Time Activity	<u><i>Having a laugh/larking around</i></u>	Relaxation	Doing something useful	<u><i>Having a laugh/larking around</i></u>
	Q198/Somewhere To Eat Out	<u><i>At least once a week</i></u>	<u><i>At least once a week</i></u>	<u><i>At least once a week</i></u>	<u><i>At least once a week</i></u>
Cultural Capital Assessment	Leading Turkish Directors	<u><i>Sinan Çetin</i></u>	<u><i>Sinan Çetin,</i></u> Atif Yılmaz, Yılmaz Güney	None	<u><i>Sinan Çetin,</i></u> Atif Yılmaz, Zeki Demirkubuz, Yılmaz Güney
	Acclaimed Musicians In	<u><i>MFÖ</i></u>	Erkan Oğur <u><i>MFÖ</i></u>	Ceza, Murat Boz	Fazıl Say M. Nurettin

	Turkey			<u>MFÖ</u>	Erkan Oğur <u>MFÖ</u>
	Turkish prominent Painters	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>
Economic Capital Assessment	Educational Status	<u>Middle</u>	Low	High	<u>Middle</u>
	Per capita Income	<u>Low</u>	<u>Low</u>	High	Middle
	Ownership	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Middle</u>	(Lower)Low	(Lower) Low

2nd Group (Continued)					
		A8	A10	A13	A18
Social Capital Assessment	Q96/TV Preferences	Watching TV by himself	<u>Watching TV With Other Family Members</u>	<u>Watching TV With Other Family Members</u>	Watching TV by herself
	Q185/Spare Time Activity	Relaxation	<u>Having a laugh/larking around</u>	<u>Having a laugh/larking around</u>	Doing Something Useful
	Q198/Somewhere To Eat Out	<u>At least once a week</u>	<u>At least once a week</u>	<u>At least once a week</u>	<u>At least once a week</u>
Cultural Capital Assessment	Leading Turkish Directors	Yılmaz Güney	Atf Yılmaz, Zeki Demirkubuz, Yılmaz Güney	None	Yılmaz Güney
	Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey	<u>MFÖ</u>	<u>MFÖ</u>	Erkan Oğur, Murat Boz, <u>MFÖ</u>	Ortaçgil, Ceza, M. Nurettin, Murat Boz, <u>MFÖ</u> , Halil Sezai
	Turkish prominent Painters	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>
Economic Capital Assessment	Educational Status	High	Very Low	Low	<u>Middle</u>
	Per capita Income	High	<u>Low</u>	Middle	<u>Low</u>
	Ownership Status	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Middle</u>	High	(Upper) Low

3rd Group					
		A3	A11	A12	A14
Social Capital Assessment	Q96/TV Preferences	<u>Watching TV With other Family Members</u>	<u>Watching TV With other Family Members</u>	Watching TV husband/ Children	Watching TV with husband/ Children
	Q185/Spare Time Activity	Having a laugh/larking	Doing Something	Relaxation	None

		around	Creative		
	Q198/Somewhere To Eat Out	Once a year or less	At least once a week	At least once a week	At least once week
Cultural Capital Assessment	Leading Turkish Directors	None	Sinan Çetin	Atıf Yılmaz Zeki Demirkubuz Yılmaz Güney	Atıf Yılmaz Yılmaz Güney
	Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey	Murat Boz <u>MFÖ</u>	M. Nurettin Erkan Oğur Jehan Barbur	Bülent Ortaçgil Fazıl Say M. Nurettin <u>MFÖ</u>	Ortaçgil M. Nurettin Jehan Barbur <u>MFÖ</u>
	Turkish prominent Painters	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>	Bedri Baykam	Bedri Baykam
Economic Capital Assessment	Educational Status	<u>Low</u>	<u>Low</u>	High	High
	Per capita Income	<u>Low</u>	<u>Low</u>	High	High
	Ownership Status	High	Middle	Middle	(Upper) low

4th Group					
		A4	A16	A17	A19
Social Capital Assessment	Q96/TV Preferences	<u>Watching TV by herself</u>	<u>Watching TV by himself</u>	Watching TV with other family members	Watching TV with other family members
	Q185/Spare Time Activity	Entertainment	Relaxation	Relaxation	Having a laugh/larking around
	Q198/Somewhere To Eat Out	<u>Less often but at least once a month</u>	At least once a week	At least once a week	<u>Less often but at least once a month</u>
Cultural Capital Assessment	Leading Turkish Directors	Ömer Kavur Atıf Yılmaz Zeki Demirkubuz Yeşim Ustaoglu <u>Yılmaz Güney</u>	Sinan Çetin Atıf Yılmaz <u>Yılmaz Güney</u>	Sinan Çetin Atıf Yılmaz Zeki Demirkubuz <u>Yılmaz Güney</u>	Sinan Çetin <u>Yılmaz Güney</u>
	Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey	<u>Fazıl Say</u> <u>M. Nurettin</u> <u>Erkan Oğur</u>	<u>M. Nurettin</u> <u>MFÖ</u>	Ortaçgil <u>Fazıl Say</u> <u>M. Nurettin</u>	Ortaçgil <u>Fazıl Say</u> <u>M. Nurettin</u>

		<u>MFÖ</u>		<u>Erkan Oğur</u>	<u>MFÖ</u>
	Turkish prominent Painters	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>None</u>	Halil Sezai
Economic Capital Assessment	Educational Status	High	Very low	Middle	Middle
	Per capita Income	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Middle</u>	Low	<u>Middle</u>
	Ownership Status	(Lower) Low	High	High	High

5th Group		
A6		
Social Capital	Q96/TV Preferences	Watching TV With other family members
	Q185/Spare Time Activity	Doing something useful
	Q198/Somewhere To Eat Out	Less often but at least several times a year
Cultural Capital	Leading Turkish Directors	Zeki Demirkubuz
		Yeşim Ustaoglu
		Yılmaz Güney
	Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey	Ortaçgil
M. Nurettin		
	Erkan Oğur	
	MFÖ	
	Turkish prominent Painters	None
Economic Capital	Educational Status	High
	Per capita Income	High
	Ownership	Middle

6th Group		
A15		
Social Capital	Q96/TV Preferences	Watching TV With other family members
	Q185/Spare Time Activity	Developing new interests
	Q198/Somewhere To Eat out	At least once a week
Cultural Capital	Leading Turkish Directors	Sinan Çetin
		Yılmaz Güney
	Acclaimed Musicians In Turkey	Fazıl Say
		M.Nurettin
	MFÖ	
	Halil Sezai	
	Turkish prominent Painters	None

Economic Capital	Educational Status	Very low
	Per capita Income	High
	Ownership	High

APPENDIX J

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : EREN
Adı : OZAN
Bölümü : SOSYOLOJİ

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : AN ATTEMPT OF MEASURING ART TASTE OF A GROUP OF MUSIC STUDENTS IN ANKARA

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: