

COMPARISON OF HIGH CULTURAL CAPITAL AND LOW CULTURAL CAPITAL
PICTORIAL HOUSEHOLD ARTWORK CONSUMERS IN THE UPPER MIDDLE
CLASS IN ANKARA

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UPPER MIDDLE CLASS IN ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this research is to understand the differences of the meanings inferred through pictorial household artwork consumption between high cultural capital and low cultural capital consumers in the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey. I utilized Pierre Bourdieu's theory of distinction to explain the social status of the consumers depending on their tastes in pictorial household artworks. I tried to understand whether, in the postmodern era, the high arts as objectified cultural capital has lost its significance as status-markers in the upper middle class artwork consumers in Ankara/Turkey. I utilized qualitative research methods of non-participant observation, in-depth interviewing, auto-driving and secondary data collection. The findings reveal that the aesthetic judgments of the participants differ based on their cultural capital. Hence, for artwork consumers with high cultural capital, high arts still signify objectified cultural capital. While low cultural capital artwork consumers value beauty, visual content and their emotional response to the artwork, high cultural capital artwork consumers focus on the artistic and qualities of the artworks and intellectual inquiry provided by the artworks. The aesthetic vision of low cultural capital artwork consumers parallels the popular aesthetic vision which does not require cultural

capital. Whereas high cultural capital artwork consumers develop both modernist and postmodernist aesthetic approaches to high arts. Contrary to popular aesthetic visions, the development of the modernist and the postmodernist aesthetic approaches necessitate cultural capital.

Keywords: Distinction, Social Class, Cultural Capital, Art Consumption

ÖZ

ANKARA'DAKİ ÜST ORTA SINIFIN YÜKSEK KÜLTÜREL SERMAYE VE DÜŞÜK KÜLTÜREL SERMAYEYE SAHİP EVE AİT RESİMSSEL SANAT ÜRÜNLERİ TÜKETİCİLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

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Bu araştırmanın amacı, Ankara / Türkiye'deki üst orta sınıftaki yüksek kültür sermayeli ve düşük kültürel sermayeli tüketiciler arasında eve ait resimsel sanat ürünleri tüketiminden çıkarılan anlamların farklılıklarını anlamaktır. Bu çalışmada Pierre Bourdieu'nun ayırım teorisini tüketicilerin eve ait resimsel sanat ürünleri beğenileri üzerinden sosyal statülerini anlamak için kullandım. Postmodern dönemde, nesneleşmiş kültür sermaye olarak yüksek sanatların, Ankara/Türkiye'deki üst orta sınıf sanat eseri tüketicileri arasında statü göstergesi olarak önemini yitirip yitirmediğini anlamaya çalıştım. Katılımcı olmayan gözlem, derinlemesine görüşme, kendi kendine ortaya çıkarma ve ikincil veri toplama gibi nitel araştırma yöntemlerini kullandım. Bulgular, katılımcıların estetik yargılarının kültürel sermayelerine göre farklılık gösterdiğini ortaya koydu. Bu nedenle, sanat eseri tüketicilerinin bazı sosyal grupları için, yüksek sanatlar hâlâ nesneleşmiş kültürel sermayeyi ifade etmektedir. Düşük kültürel sermayeli sanat eseri tüketicileri güzelliğe, görsel içeriğe ve sanat eserine olan duygusal tepkilerine değer verirken, yüksek kültür sermayeli sanat eseri tüketicileri, sanat eserlerinin sanatsal niteliklerine ve sanat eserlerinin sağladığı entelektüel sorgulamaya odaklanır. Düşük kültürel sermayeli sanat eseri

tüketicilerinin estetik vizyonu, kültürel sermaye gerektirmeyen popüler estetik vizyonla paraleldir. Oysa yüksek kültürel sermayeli sanat eseri tüketicileri, yüksek sanatlara hem modernist hem de postmodernist estetik yaklaşımlar geliştirir. Popüler estetik vizyonların aksine, modernist ve postmodernist estetik yaklaşımların gelişimi kültürel sermaye gerektirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ayrım, Sosyal Sınıf, Kültürel Sermaye, Sanat Tüketimi

To My Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Today, the number of art enthusiasts and art consumers are increasing globally (McAndrew, 2020). People can see or purchase artworks through art organizations such as art fairs, museums, art galleries, auction sales. This interest in artwork consumption is a result of the transformation of the artwork into a commodity marketed with exchange values (Boyacı, 2017; Rastgeldi, 2019). Art lovers can also engage with art organizations online; over the last decade, online auctions, online museum and gallery visits have proliferated. Increasing interest in attending artistic events, visiting museums, art galleries, and fairs all over the world, adds up to the art market and art organization expansions. Moreover, collectors, capitalists, companies, or institutions are also interested in having artworks since they see artworks as investment tools. The art market, in the global capitalist system today, has a \$65 billion market value. The three major art hubs are the US, the UK, and China in ranking order. They account for 82% of the global art market may experience fluctuations in the short-run but it has always been promising in the long run (McAndrew, 2020).

Today, the art market in Turkey is also developing rapidly, especially since the increase in private museums and galleries starting in the early 2000s when Turkey was the 17th biggest economy in the world (Demir et al., 2018). Though its ranking has declined to 20th, Turkey is still one of the top twenty economies globally, which makes it one of the key economic players worldwide (Eğilmez, 2019). Parallel to global trends and developments in the global art market, Turkish art lovers have many options for artistic engagements. Now, İstanbul and Ankara are the two leading cities in terms of the numbers of the artistic events and as of 2010, İstanbul has been declared as the European Capital of Culture (Ağlargöz & Öztürk, 2015; Bıçakçı, 2012). As a result of the spread of art galleries and exhibitions

countrywide, all social groups can reach art exhibitions. Today, art exhibitions even take place in shopping centers (Arik, 2010). Art galleries and exhibitions that were once regarded as appealing only to the elite groups of society are now inevitably available for all social groups.

Until now, the art market has been subject to so many studies in different fields. One of the most impactful studies about art belongs to Pierre Bourdieu (1984). He tries to explain art appreciation among French, using his theories of habitus, taste and capitals, and their exclusive relationships. Marketing studies, as Zolfagharian and Jordan (2007) state, does not evaluate the expert opinions of the art lovers, instead, it focuses on consumer perceptions. The scope of the artworks is either selected by asking the participants for which items they regard as “artworks”, or by the researcher such as paintings or sculpture (Halle 1993; Holt, 1998; Newman et al., 2013). Today, the majority of artwork studies, including the study of Pierre Bourdieu and the other studies conducted by later scholars, have focused on museums or galleries as material contexts of artworks. There is a lack of studies using private houses as the context of artworks. After the modern art period, houses are the new places for artworks (Halle, 1993). There are only a few studies about the artwork consumption in houses. However, these studies focused on artwork consumers in industrialized countries such as American and European artwork consumers. Artwork consumers in the less industrialized countries¹ remain to be further studied (Banks, 2010; Money, 2007; Morgan, 1998; Newman et al., 2013; Silva, 2006; Stillerman, 2016).

1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study

In the postmodern era, the boundaries between high culture and low culture are accepted to be blurred because of the massification of high culture and proliferation of popular culture among people in higher social status (Gans, 1985; Holt, 1998; Peterson, 1992). Peterson’s (1992) study reveals that the postmodern era created a new type of cultural elite whose taste constitutes a wide range of cultures including high culture and low culture. He calls this new type of cultural elite as “cultural omnivore”. However, not all cultural

¹ Less Industrialized Countries is abbreviated to LIC for the rest of the study

omnivores show higher status in the social hierarchy. Warde et al. (2007) reveal that in Britain, wide cultural participation does not necessarily include a legitimate culture. For example, people may participate in high arts and low arts but they may not internalize the consecrated elements of the high arts. Therefore, cultural omnivores may be engaged with a variety of low culture and high culture, yet they may not be rich in terms of cultural capital.

Holt (1998) studies how Americans show higher social status in the postmodern period. He argues that since the American cultural elites favor popular culture and the massive reproduction of high arts made them available to everyone, high arts consumption, on its own, cannot signify one's cultural capital in the postmodern period. He concludes that cultural capital accumulation of people can only be understood by looking at the way they consume everyday commodities and the meanings inferred from the objects. For example, Üstüner and Holt (2010) focus on the status signaling strategies of upper middle class consumers with high cultural capital resources and low cultural capital resources in Ankara/Turkey as an exemplar of consumers in less industrialized countries. The study focuses on status consumption mainly through everyday commodities. Although, it gives an example of how high arts are used as decorative items by people with low cultural capital resources, a detailed analysis particularly on art consumption is missing.

Besides, a recent study of Hanquinet et al. (2014) states that a new evaluation scheme of cultural capital should be introduced because the character of cultural capital has changed in today's postmodern era. The popular aesthetic vision embraces beauty, harmony, figurativity (realistic depictions), the technical skill of artists and emotional response as a result of personal relevance with the visual content of the artwork (Hanquinet et al., 2014; Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Modern aesthetic dimensions such as beauty, technical skill of artists and disinterested contemplation have long been the evaluative criteria for high arts. Disinterested contemplation emphasizes detachment from personal and everyday life. The judgments must stress objective and structural properties such as artistic qualities (Winston, 1992). Their study findings reveal that the recent postmodernist vision of aesthetics uses social role, abstraction, ideas, and concepts as evaluative criteria. Emotion and beauty are

not significant in postmodern aesthetic vision. Consumers who have evaluative criteria for postmodern art actually communicate their social position through these preferences.

As an art lover who has taken several courses on drawing and painting, and who knows a fair amount of knowledge of the art market in Ankara/Turkey, I believe that high brow aesthetics still represent objectified cultural capital for some social group; therefore, high art consumption may still work as a status marker for these consumers in Ankara/Turkey. I was encouraged by the above-mentioned study of Hanquinet et al. (2014) and the scholars who emphasize the development in the art market Turkey and the increase in the art enthusiasts who are taking courses and participating in artistic events (Altinkurt, 2015; Demir et al., 2018). In this study, I want to see whether I can make a classification of artwork consumers in Ankara/Turkey based on the evaluations of the participants with high cultural capital accumulations and low cultural capital accumulations. Thus, I would like to contribute to the study of Üstüner and Holt (2010) and want to particularly focus on how status consumption is achieved through the consumption of pictorial artworks at home by people with high cultural capital and low cultural capital resources in Ankara/Turkey.

Therefore, I determined the research question of my study as “How do upper middle class pictorial household artwork² consumers with high cultural capital resources and low cultural capital resources in Ankara/Turkey differ?”. To answer this research question, I continue by presenting the relevant literature about art, social class, and social status. Then I present the qualitative research methods (non-participant observation, in-depth interviewing, auto-driving and secondary research) that I used in the methodology section. After explaining the context of the study by starting with a brief explanation of the formation middle classes in Turkey, I continue with explaining the artwork buyer types and give an overview of the current situation of the art market in Turkey and particularly in Ankara. In the Meaning of Art and PHAs section, I present the findings which I grouped into different categories and I explain how consumers with high cultural capital resources and low cultural capital resources differ based on these categories. As an emergent theme, being a prosumer is also found to influence the meanings sought from the artwork consumption. Hence, apart from cultural capital accumulations, the findings of the study

² Pictorial household artwork is abbreviated to PHA for the rest of the study

are presented and evaluated based on the prosumption and consumption dimensions. The categories in the Meaning of Art and PHAs section are meanings of art and PHAs, tastes in PHA consumption, acquiring PHAs, and popular, modernist and postmodernist aesthetic approaches to PHA consumption. For some categories, I define sub-categories that also distinguish the participants as having high cultural capital resources and low cultural capital resources. The meaning of art has art as a means to express ideas and emotions versus art as a means to elicit ideas and emotions dimension and opinions about the art and society relationship dimension. The meaning of PHAs has the ability to interpret PHA through art knowledge dimension, PHAs as sacred objects dimension, and PHA experiences and everyday rituals dimension. Tastes in PHA consumption dimension has visual content preferences, ideological stances of informants, and love of abstract PHAs versus love of classic PHAs dimensions.

Overall, findings suggest that in Ankara/Turkey, the participants with low cultural capital resources embrace aesthetic vision that is similar to the popular or traditional aesthetic vision presented by Hanquinet et al. (2014) that values beauty, harmony, figurativity (realism), the artistic skill and emotional response as a result of personal relevance with the visual content of the artwork. In my study, LCCs also put primary emphasis on the visual content of the PHAs and their emotional reaction to PHAs and their definition of artistic skill is the extent of an artist's ability to make realistic depictions. The participants in Ankara/Turkey, who have high cultural capital resources and who received fine art education or the ones who are actors in the art market such as gallery owners are likely to consume the PHAs in a way that is similar to the postmodernist fashion defined by Hanquinet et al. (2014), in other words, they value ideas, concepts, and abstraction. The participants with high cultural capital resources but who did not receive fine art education are found to be consuming PHAs in a way that is similar to the modernist approach and value harmony and beauty, and technical skill of artists. They do not seek personal relevance with the visual content of their PHAs. Therefore, the visual content of the PHAs does not directly influence the preferences of PHAs. Their definition of artistic skills is different from that of LCCs. For HCCs the artistic skill of the artist is a good representation of art movement in an artwork and the ability to apply the aesthetic rules such as the Golden Ratio and drawing. There are also cultural omnivores in all groups; cultural

omnivorousness exists in both HCCs and LCCs. They consume PHAs of both high arts and low art types (such as both having oil paintings, engravings and also digital copy print pictures of famous artworks and owning a PHA that includes the elements of popular culture e.g. pop art PHA). Cultural capital accumulations of the omnivores reveal themselves based on the interpretations of their PHAs including both high and low art. I also present the limitations of the study and make future research suggestions from the emergent themes. Lastly, I present the implications of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding the meanings of art and PHAs for their owners in different factions of the social classes necessitates an understanding of the scholarly material on the concepts of art and art consumption, social class, and status consumption. In the first part of the literature review, I present the historical transformation of the meaning and purpose of art and the definition of artwork. In the second part, I explain the particularities of artworks that differentiate them from everyday commodities and I explain the artwork consumption. Moreover, an emergent theme from my findings reveals that prosumers' meanings of art and PHAs differ from the consumers'. Therefore, I present the literature review of prosumption in the next part. Finally, I finish the literature review section by presenting the concepts of social stratification and capitals, taste, and status consumption developed by Pierre Bourdieu because his social class theory is connected to taste development, which forms the basis of my study.

2.1. What is Artwork?

To study artwork in the everyday life of the consumers in a household, a definition of the artwork must be done. The scope of the definition of artwork has been continuously changing due to the changes in the meanings and the functions of artworks. Art has been continuously influenced by social, political, religious, and economic environments. The artwork creations have been all purposeful and when they travel from one context to the other, their definition changes (Hodge, 2017/2019). Artworks are shaped by intellect and imagination and they express the belief system and culture of society (Fillis, 2011). Curious about the definition of artworks, Shiner (2001) gives an example from her experience which proves that the definition and scope of artwork change in different contexts. The African, Oceanic, and Native American artifacts such as masks and scary-looking power figures that had been used in religious rituals and served as exemplars of a way of life were once

exhibited in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Later on, she discovers that the same objects were transformed into fine art objects and they were now displayed in Fine Art Institutions. That gives an example of a transformation of the form and the purpose of artworks. In different historical periods and different contexts, the scope and the role the artworks change.

In history, artworks also served the monotheist religions. Figurative artworks were not welcome by the monotheist religions such as Christianity and Judaism. Because the presence of artworks in synagogues and churches would cause idolatry. Nevertheless, the Jewish and the Christian started displaying images in synagogues and churches because the artworks served as visual stories for the illiterate people (Gombrich, 1995). The literacy rate was low and artworks would depict the stories from the Old Testament and the Bible for the illiterate. In the Renaissance, the artists would work under the patronage system. Rulers, nobles, and wealthy people used patronage of the arts to embrace and showcase their political power, social status, and prestige. They would commission artworks to the artists and the artists would produce artworks (McLean, 2007).

In the 18th century, art in the modern sense was formed after the Enlightenment and the scope of the art was narrowed (Shiner, 2001). Boundaries between fine arts (high art) and crafts (low art) were clearly defined. This decomposition was not an essence, but a European invention with around two hundred years old. Until then, artwork definition was broader and there were no boundaries between crafts (embroidery, shoemaking, popular songs and so on) and fine art (poetry, painting, sculpture and so on). Crafts and fine arts were all executed out of skills and grace, but fine art differed from crafts because modern art gives value to aesthetic contemplation (Peterson, 1984; Shiner, 2001). Fine arts were about inspiration and genius. “Art for art’s sake” discourse implied that the appreciation of artworks must be relished with refined pleasure. One has to be detached from the profane world to contemplate a fine or high art (Hanquinet et al., 2014; Shiner, 2001). As a result, art was sacralized (Hanquinet et al., 2014).

The crafts and popular artworks are meant for only utility or entertainment (Shiner, 2001). They are familiar to everyone and favored by many people; therefore, unlike high art, low art is a part of life and therefore sacralization is not existent in low art. Low art appeal to

the masses (Storey, 2006). That is why Bourdieu (1984) states that to understand low art one does not have to accumulate a special knowledge; however, to appreciate fine art, one has to be competent in the field of art. Apart from the dissociation between fine art and crafts, the meaning of the artist also split. Before the 18th century, artists and craftsperson were used interchangeably. For example, a shoemaker was also an artist because the shoe was deemed as an artwork but now the artist has diverged from the craftsperson. Artists created artworks with aesthetic concerns, whereas craftsmen aimed utility and amusement. In the same century, the old art system also experienced another transformation. Understanding and philosophy of the artwork changed. First, the artwork was not a product of collaboration or commission but an individual creation. This became the milestone that has transformed the artist's social identity as they were no longer merely serving God or the ruling class. The artworks were used to be created for specific places like palaces, holy shrines, and aristocratic properties. They were now exhibited in places like museums. Therefore, old patronage or the commissioner system was now replaced with an art market and a middle class art public (Rastgeldi, 2019; Shiner, 2001). Now artworks are displayed at private houses.

Modernist notions were very rigid and repressive in the art field because it emphasizes the establishment of rational order (Jencks, 1987, as cited in Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). Whereas postmodernism promotes expressive forms, symbolic representations, and the mixing of the genres. Postmodernist streams of art (such as pop art) often including pastiche, parody, and irony, aim to merge art and daily life back together and blur the boundaries between the cultural and social sphere as well as the boundaries between high culture and popular culture (Hanquinet et al., 2014; Osterwold, 2003). By bringing art and life back together, postmodernism does not sacralize art anymore. Another result of the desacralization of art is the transformation of the scope of art. In the postmodern era, the scope of art is becoming broader as it was before the 18th century (Shiner, 2001). Now, anything can be an artwork. An ordinary daily object can now enter a fine arts museum. Social role is the essence of postmodern art and postmodern art aims to promote abstract thinking and to create intellectual inquiry (Özderin, 2016).

It should be noted that the effects of postmodernism in art had just begun when Bourdieu developed his theory of distinction in the 1970s, yet he disregarded to include the artworks pertaining to postmodern streams as indicators of cultural capital because he did not believe that these new cultural intermediaries would change the status of highbrow culture. He thought that the dominant class would embrace the artworks in the modern streams which were better in his opinion (Bourdieu, 1984, as cited in Hanquinet et al., 2014). Therefore, his theories of taste, social class, and aesthetic judgment are based on high arts pertaining to modernist art movements. It is also worth mentioning that all of his theories such as social fields, cultural capital were developed with a structuralist, modernist approach. For example, to be positioned in a higher social hierarchy, one has to know the rules of the game in the social field (Bourdieu, 1984, as cited in Hanquinet et al., 2014). In the field of art, to appreciate modern artwork, one has to have cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

As a result of today's postmodern era, there is massive reproduction of artworks, which made artworks available to the masses, not just some limited elite sections of the society who are competent in the art field. Peterson (1992) finds that in the postmodern era, the American cultural elites display higher status in the social hierarchy by their wide range of tastes including both legitimate culture and popular culture. He calls this new type of cultural elite as "cultural omnivore". His definition of "univore" is the person who prefers having taste in one particular culture. His study reveals that the people who have taste in one kind of popular culture are univores and that they are in the lower positions of status hierarchy. With these arguments, Holt (1998) claims that the boundaries between high culture and popular (or mass) culture are blurred. He refuses Bourdieu's (1984) statement of objectified cultural capital (such as high arts). Because Holt (1998) argues that increasing interest in popular culture among cultural elites and the massification of high arts resulted in blurring the boundaries between high and low art. He states that cultural capital of a person cannot be measured by any objectified cultural capital such as a work of art. He concludes that in the postmodern era, cultural capital can be measured by the meanings attached to everyday commodities. Holt (1998) disregards to look at the consumption of modern or high arts for explaining cultural capital. Similarly, in his other work with Üstüner (2010), with the same logic, they look at how status consumption operates depending on cultural capital through the consumption of everyday commodities.

A more recent study conducted by Hanquinet et al. (2014) proves that high or legitimate artworks are still used as status markers by some social groups. The authors claim that in today's postmodern period, the definition of cultural capital has to be updated. They argue that Bourdieu's opposition to popular culture and high culture still exists. The popular or traditional aesthetic approach to art (by naïve viewers) put primary emphasis on beauty and harmony, figurativity (realistic depictions), the skill of the artist, and emotional involvement that resulted from personal relevance with the artwork (Hanquinet et al., 2014). Winston and Cupchik, (1992) say that usually, the naïve viewers refrain from the artworks that would elicit bitter emotions. They always favor the artworks that elicit positive emotions. The relaxation and positive feelings coming from the artworks that are sought by the naïve viewers are called as "functional aesthetics" (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017). The functional aesthetic is a reflection of the taste for necessity (Bennet, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984, as cited in Daenekindt & Roose, 2017). Art is appreciated if the artwork moves the spectator. Functional aesthetics pertains to popular or traditional aesthetic vision. The popular aesthetic approach does not necessitate cultural capital because the enjoyment of realistic depictions can be done by everyone (Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Bourdieusian modernist aesthetic visions in art value beauty, harmony, the technical skill of the artist, and distance from social life and personal life while appreciating an artwork. When contemplating an artwork, viewers must be detached from the worries of everyday problems, and the art is sacralized. Art appreciation in modernist vision requires cultural capital to decode the aesthetic codes (Hanquinet et al., 2014). The approach to the high art should be objective, not subjective and it should be based on the visual structure of the artwork such as the artistic style of the artwork (Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Any kind of emotional response should be disinterested which means that it should result not from personal relevance. Hanquinet et al. (2014) defined the dimensions of postmodernist aesthetics as a result of their survey, which was conducted in visual arts in museums in Ghent, Belgium. According to the survey results, postmodernist aesthetics vision in visual art emphasizes social role, abstraction, ideas, and concepts. Beauty, harmony, and emotional response are not significant. The skill of the artist also is not always important. For example, a painting with 2 lines and one color is enough to make an artwork.

The evaluation of aesthetic and artistic qualities of fine arts changes a lot. For modern artworks, one's knowledge about artistic principles that determine aesthetic qualities is an indicator of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). There is a certain set of principles like balance, rhythm, movement, proportion, emphasis, pattern, unity and variety that indicate the quality of any artwork in cultures where art is institutionalized (Kim, 2006). The listed principles and their relative importance are not universal but rather depend on the given culture's art. For example, in western cultures, symmetry has been favored, whereas, in Chinese art, asymmetry is more desirable. In all cultures, the final decision about the aesthetic value of the artwork is declared by art historians, art critics, cultural institutions, experts, and art viewers (Shiner, 2001). The economic value of artworks is determined by institutional evaluations. Artworks are unique products with limited supply which causes the art market to be different from other markets. The price determination based on the supply-demand relationship applied in other markets is not applicable in the art market. The economic value of artworks is usually shaped by the judgment and intervention of the art market actors and various external factors that are not necessarily in line with the aesthetic qualities of the artworks (Stallabrass, 2009, as cited in Rastgeldi, 2019).

2.2. Artwork Consumption

Artworks are different from other consumer goods for several reasons. First, they provide aesthetic and to some extent metaphysical experience (Venkatesh & Meamber, 2006). Aesthetic experience can be achieved through their consumption as decorative items like adorning a room (Anderson, 1974). The desire of the consumers for an experience that is compelling, stimulating, and fun also serves as the emotional benefit (Botti, 2000). Consumption of artworks and visiting art exhibitions, appreciation and appropriation of artworks are the expression of highly distinctive social qualities and social markers (Bourdieu, 1979, as cited in Botti, 2000).

Consumption choices of artworks convey the identity, values, and culture of the owner (Velthuis, 2011). Identity is a cumulative of personality, self-concept, identity project, and self-presentation. Personality refers to the features that make up one's character. Self-concept is beliefs people hold about themselves and their evaluation of these qualities. Our judgments about ourselves are called "the actual self", whereas "the ideal self" refers to

whom we strive to be. Identity project is the strategic configuration of objects and practices to assert a specific identity position and self-presentation explains how identity projects are performed in social contexts. It is ever-evolving, which means that people adroitly endeavor to design their identity projects to construct their self-narratives (Henry & Marylouise, 2018; Solomon, 2006).

Artworks can serve financial benefits as investment tools. Several studies are focusing on the evaluation of the effectiveness of the financial return of artwork purchases. For example, Anderson (1974) states that artworks have become a successful medium for investment especially when the artworks include the consumption value of art during the 1970s. The study of Seçkin and Atukeren (2009) show that investing in the paintings resulted in more returns than stocks, gold, bank deposits, and foreign exchange during the 1990 and 2005 period. Artworks have now become a part of financial economics since they constitute an alternative investment medium (Seçkin & Atukeren, 2009).

The consumption process of arts is also different. Larsen (2013) tries to figure out the scope and the domains of arts consumption. The author makes a formal definition of artwork consumption as individuals or groups acquiring, using, and/or disposing of arts to satisfy needs and wants. Individuals are fine arts consumers. Pictorial artworks are acquired through collecting, inheriting, producing, or purchasing. Consuming is realized by viewing, experiencing, evaluating, displaying, and storing. The level of involvement determines whether the consumer is an active consumer or a passive consumer. For example, a person may be exposed to see artworks in someplace which makes the consumer a passive consumer. The consumer who intentionally views high arts is an active consumer.

Belfiore and Bennett (2008) and Hirschman (1983) state that the production and consumption of artworks also differ from other commodities (as cited in Fillis, 2011). In the production process, the artist's philosophy does not comply with general marketing rules. Artists do not create products to meet consumers' needs and wants, rather they create products of their imagination and inspiration. Aesthetic achievement is the main purpose of the production process. My study findings showed that some of the informants are both producers and consumers. Artists themselves consume paintings and become prosumers. This consumption style changes the cultural capital and consumption of fine arts.

2.3. Prosumers and Prosumption

Prosumption term is first suggested by Alvin Toffler in 1980 (as cited in Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010). It is the combination of production and consumption terms. Prosumption is the process where production and consumption are interrelated. Therefore, prosumers are the people who produce goods and services for their consumption (Kotler, 1986). Consumption and production do not have to occur at the same time, a good may be produced for future use. (Atakan et al., 2014). Toffler, (1980) states that prosumption has a long history and indeed, the boundaries between production and consumption are blurred during the Industrial Revolution (as cited in Kotler, 1986). Since the beginning of history, consumption activities have included production activities. The economy was mostly dependent on agriculture, people would hunt and make their foods, built their own houses. They would make their clothes and so on. During the Industrial Revolution, the boundaries between production and consumption were blurred, people working at factories produced goods not for their use, but for exchange. They meet their needs from the market through the exchange of money. In the Post-Industrial Era, people have become more interested in prosumption for some reason. Mass production resulted in the loss of interest in market goods. Individualization has become a new norm. People now feel like having more physical activities as most of the works require mental energy in today's job market. They tend to think that they can produce better goods and services that are available in the market.

Prosumption is also observed in the art field. In the creation of an artwork, artists put personal control over all the processes (Campbell, 2005). They are prosumers for 3 reasons. First, they use art supplies to create their work. Second, they are inspired by other artists. Lastly, contemporary art blurs the line between artists (producers) and viewers (consumers). In readymade art, artists use ready-made objects and arrange them in a way to create an artwork. Pop art movement is inspired by mass consumer goods and artists incorporate the images and signs of mass consumer goods and produce their artworks. In appropriation artists to use components of existing art and/or commercial popular images to make their artworks (Nakajima, 2012).

2.4. Pierre Bourdieu's Theoretical Concepts

I use Pierre Bourdieu's theory of distinction in this study since my research is about the social positions of consumers through the consumption of pictorial artworks at home. In his book "Distinction", Pierre Bourdieu (1984) demonstrates how tastes are formed as a result of a class situation. Bourdieu's theory of distinction demonstrates that the difference in status between social groups is shaped by the tastes of the groups. Taste is a part of the habitus and it is formed by cultural capital. The choice of artworks and the way they are consumed indicates distinctive social status, which is again shaped by their taste and cultural capital. As a result, I use Bourdieu's theory of distinction to explain the concept of social class and status.

2.4.1. Social Stratification and Capitals

The importance of the middle class as the context of the study is the fact that the middle class is considered as the engine of consumption in capitalism. Thus, a lot of work is done for the middle class to understand consumption (Chan, 2008; Holt & Üstüner, 2010). Lizardo and Skiles (2008) and DiMaggio (1987) state fine arts consumption is also dominated by the middle class as they seek status through fine arts consumption. The reason why I use Bourdieu's middle class definition is the fact that his class definition is explained by taste and status. Bourdieu gives a new definition to social stratification that is different from the accounts of Marx, who made social class definitions in terms of economic wealth and owning the means of production or from Weber, whose social stratification account is based on class (wealth), social status which describes one's lifestyle that is determined by how and what the person consumes and political power (Bourdieu, 1984; Ritzer, 2000). Bourdieu states that volumes of three types of capitals shape positions in society: "economical capital", "cultural capital" and "social capital". These capitals indicate social status.

Social capital and economic capital are similar to Weber's wealth and prestige but Bourdieu's major contribution is his cultural capital dimension (Bourdieu, 1984; Ritzer, 2000). Social capital represents one's social connections and respectability that can place the person in an honorable place in society. Economic capital is the economic power of an

individual in the economic hierarchy. Cultural capital is mainly a product of cultivation and it is influenced by the surroundings (Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural capital comes in three forms: embodied cultural capital, institutionalized cultural capital, and objectified cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital represents the skill-based attributes of a person like playing a musical instrument. Institutionalized cultural capital represents one's educational or professional credentials such as university diplomas. Objectified cultural capital refers to the objects that represent the cultural capital of the owner. For example, a work of art reflects one's taste and knowledge of the art field. As a result of these accumulations, cultural capital shapes the worldview, manners, cultural knowledge, and skills of an individual (Henry & Marylouise, 2018).

2.4.2. Taste

The term habitus is used to represent a set of internalized dispositions that are produced by our primary socialization. Habitus influences people's capacity for action (Bourdieu, 1984). Taste, which is the ability of a person's judgments about an aesthetic object, is a product of habitus which is cultivated from a person's early years. The development of taste depends primarily on the family background (Bourdieu 1989, 2000, as cited in Huang, 2019). Taste is not determined by one's self but one's cultural trajectory, most particularly in terms of family and education. Taste is an indicator of the social class and it sets boundaries between classes. According to Bourdieu (1984), agents in the same social class factions, possessing similar volumes of social, economic and cultural capitals, have similar dispositions and tastes.

Tastes of people with low cultural and economic capital are organized to appreciate the functionality of an object. Their limited economic capital and cultural capital accumulation push them to focus on functional features rather than focusing on aesthetic aspects of objects. Bourdieu calls this as the "taste of necessity". People who are rich in terms of cultural capital and economic capital are, on the contrary, have "taste of freedom". The possibilities they have, their economic and cultural accumulation, allow them to concentrate on their aesthetic features rather than the functional features of an object. Therefore, people possessing high volumes of cultural capital and economic capital are dominant and they determine the hierarchy of taste and their tastes are deemed and accepted

as legitimate and most appropriate in the society. In line with this statement, the objects of consumers' choices, which relies on the consumers' tastes, act as symbols that reflect a superior position in the symbolic hierarchy that is determined and maintained by the socially dominant. In this way, the consumers that are in the higher positions of the social class show their distinctive social status from lower social groups. Thus, for Bourdieu (1984), social distinctions are constituted and reproduced through taste.

2.4.3. Status Consumption

The purchase, use, display, and consumption of goods and services usually give social status to their owners (Mason 1981; Packard 1959; Scitovsk, 1992; Veblen 1899, 1953, as cited in Eastman et al., 1999). As a result, people are motivated to purchase goods that will convey their social status and their consequent consumption practices are called "status consumption". There had been many accounts about how status consumption operates among the consumers in distinct social classes. The theories of Thorsten Veblen (1899/1970) and George Simmel (1904/1957) collectively created by the "trickle-down theory" (as cited in Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Veblen's conspicuous consumption theory states that people with high economic resources use pricy goods and services pretentiously as pecuniary symbols. Simmel develops this idea by subjoining his statement, which is the desire for the status symbols to trickle down the class hierarchy since each class tries to emulate the class above (Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Bourdieu (1984) offers a more sophisticated explanation for status consumption. Status consumption strategies of the social class factions are developed by their reliance on economic capital versus cultural capital. Through their dependence, they develop different consumption styles.

Albeit these theories provide a sound explanation about status consumption, they are all about actors in Europe and America, ignoring how status consumption operates on a global scale. This invoked scholars to develop a new theory called "global trickle-down theory", which takes its origin from Veblen and Simmel's trickle-down theory. The global trickle-down theory states that people in LIC rely on western products for status symbols (Holt et al., 2004, as cited in Üstüner & Holt, 2010). In other words, instead of those in the local upper class, they imitate western consumers by using western products. In their comparative study that particularly focused on consumers with high cultural capital and

low cultural capital in the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey to represent the people in LIC, Üstüner and Holt (2010) further improve the global trickle-down theory by engaging it with Bourdieu's status consumption model. Their findings suggest that, depending on their cultural capital and economic capital, status consumption is quite different. Consumers in the upper middle class with high cultural capital in LIC favor education that provides a good command of western languages (predominantly English and occasionally French and German) and embraces the western lifestyle and western products. As a result of globalization, western products are prevalent in Turkey. Therefore, consumers in the upper middle class with low cultural capital inevitably use western products. However, their consumption field is indigenized and they do not compete with or emulate the western consumers, but see local consumers in the same social class as their peers with whom they compete with and consumers in the upper middle class with low cultural capital emulate İstanbul high society and celebrities.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

My research aims to understand how meanings of pictorial household artworks differ between high cultural capital consumers and low cultural capital consumers in upper middle class groups in Ankara/Turkey. PHA is a subcategory of picture. In their book “History of Pictures: From the Cave to the Computer Screen”, Hockney and Gayford, (2016) state the following:

When pictures are discussed, they are generally categorized based on their types or the methods by which they were made: painting, drawing, mosaic, photograph, the film, animation, collage, computer games and so on. Alternatively, pictures are classified by style and period, such as baroque, classical, or modernist. Some of these are regarded as art, and some are not. (p.14)

Instead of looking at all these picture types, I limited the object of my study to drawings, paintings, engravings, marbling art and digital copy print pictures at home to avoid complexity. After the modern art period, houses are the places for paintings, not churches or cathedrals (Halle, 1993). Still, artwork consumption in the house context is limited and much of these studies focused on artwork consumers in industrialized countries such as American and European artwork consumers (Banks, 2010; Money, 2007; Morgan, 1998; Newman et al., 2013; Silva, 2006; Stillerman, 2016). Artwork consumers in LIC need to be studied. These are the reasons why I chose pictorial artwork consumption at home in Turkey as an example from LIC.

For my research study, I utilized qualitative methods. Denzin and Lincoln, (2003) and Kalof et al., (2008) state that the qualitative methods are suitable for understanding processes, experiences, and the meanings people assign to objects and to their actions (as cited in Aspers & Corte, 2019). Aspers and Corte (2019) emphasize the significance of the iterative process by going back and forth between field and analysis in which improved understanding to the scientific community is achieved by making new significant

distinctions resulting from getting closer to the phenomenon studied. McCracken (1988) stresses the importance of the use of a few numbers of samples in qualitative researches to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions.

A sample of 18 PHA consumers in Ankara belonging to the upper middle class is selected. Briefly, in addition to the secondary data collection method, primary data collection methods of non-participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and auto-driving were utilized. This multimethod approach aims to increase the trustworthiness of our findings. I used theoretical sampling with regards to the cultural capital scale developed by Holt (1998) and Lamont (1992) and used the snowballing technique to reach interviewees. Besides, four unstructured interviews were conducted with an art gallery manager, a fine arts professor, and two professional artists to understand the context. A separate data collection guide has not been prepared for the unstructured interviews. However; since the data collection period coincided with the global COVID-19 Pandemic, I had to use qualitative research methods remotely with some of my participants. The details of all research methods used, and the advantages and disadvantages of remote qualitative research methods compared to face-to-face³ versions will be stated in detail in the Data Collection Methods section.

3.1. Research Sample

Considering the cultural capital, social capital and economic capital accumulations of the participants, I focus on what is called the upper middle class. To make a classification of the participants with regards to their cultural capitals, I made a theoretical sampling on the grounds of the cultural capital scale constructed by Holt (1998) and Lamont (1992), which is also used by Üstüner and Holt (2010). In Table 1, I grouped the participants as having lower cultural capital patterns and higher cultural capital patterns. The categories used in the scale originate from the statements of Bourdieu and some other American scholars. They clarify that cultural capital resources accumulate from three primary ventures of acculturation: family upbringing, formal education, and occupational culture. They also claim that family upbringing is determined by the father's education and occupation

³ Face-to-face will be abbreviated to F2F for the rest of the study

because the father dominates the family status when the informants are younger and usually it is the period that people develop their tastes and habitus (Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio and Unseem 1978; Lamont 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992, as cited in Holt, 1998).

To represent cultural capital, five categories were constructed for education and occupation with cultural capital resources from 1 to 5. Following the calculation of participant cultural capital, each participant was then assigned to a cultural capital grouping⁴ of low cultural capital (3-9) or high cultural capital (10-15).

Table 1
Informant Demographics Sorted by Pictorial Artwork Consumption Practices Based on Cultural Capital Resources

Informants (Age)	Father's Education	Father's Occupation	Education	Occupation	Cultural Capital Rating
HCC Patterns:					
Aylin (76)	Ph.D.	Prof. Dr.	Elite BA	Cultural Producer	15
Mualla (76)	Elite BA	Cultural Producer	Ph.D.	Prof. Dr.	15
Banu (31)	Ph.D.	Prof. Dr.	Elite BA, MBA	Academician	15
Kemal (60)	AA	Teacher	Ph.D.	Assoc. Prof.	13

⁴ For the rest of the study lower cultural capital is abbreviated to LCC and higher cultural capital is abbreviated to HCC.

Table 1 (continued)

Semra (76)	Elite BA	Colonel	BA, MA	Senior Bureaucrat	12.5
Sezin (70)	BA	Teacher	DMD	Dentist	12.5
Doğa (82)	Secondary School	Bureaucrat	Ph.D.	Senior Bureaucrat	11.5
Turgut (83)	Secondary School	Bureaucrat	Ph.D.	Senior Bureaucrat	11.5
Erhan (56)	Primary School	Business Owner	BA	Cultural Producer	10.5
Gönül (76)	Teacher's College	Teacher	BA	High Level Technical	10
Mustafa (74)	BA	Business Owner	High School	Business owner	8.5
LCC Patterns:					
Gül (60)	High School	Low Level Manager	BA	Lecturer	9
Murat (35)	Secondary School	Business Owner	BA	Sales	8.5
Mehmet (76)	Primary School	Low Level Manager	BA	Low Level Manager	8
Ece (34)	High School	Business Owner	High School	Homemaker	7.5
Serap (57)	BA	Business Owner	High School	Merchant	7.5

Table 1 (continued)

Feyza (36)	Primary School	Skilled Manual Labor	AA	Low Level Manager	6.5
Haluk (61)	Primary School	Unskilled Manual Labor	High School	Low Level Manager	5.5

Note. LCC = lower cultural capital; HCC = higher cultural capital. Education ratings: 1 = high school or less; 2 = some college (AA); 3 = BA; 4 = master's/ some graduate school; 5 = PhD or elite BA (i.e., from a prestigious, selective college or university). Occupation ratings: 1 = unskilled or skilled manual labor; 2 = unskilled or skilled service/clerk; 3 = sales, low-level technical, low-level managerial; 4 = high-level technical, high-level managerial, and low cultural (e.g., primary/secondary teachers); 5 = cultural producers. Homemakers are rated at the average of all working women. Cultural capital rating = upbringing (father's education + occupation)/2 + education + occupation.

Most of the participants have non-conservative vision. In each group, all but one participant aligned with Bourdieu's high cultural capital versus low cultural capital thesis. The findings are grouped in terms of patterns depending on the cultural capital of PHA consumers in the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey. Furthermore, I constructed Table 2 to group the informants not merely based on the cultural capitals, but also based on their status of being consumers or prosumers.

Table 2

Groups of The Participants Based on Cultural Capital versus Prosumer-Consumer Status

	HCC	LCC
Prosumer	Aylin Doğa Banu Semra Sezin	Haluk Mehmet
Consumer	Erhan Gönül Kemal Mualla Mustafa (exceptional typology) Turgut	Ece Feyza Gül Murat Serap

Having gathered enough understanding of the upper middle classes in Ankara/Turkey, I started interviewing with the people that are in my social environment. The fact that I have been doing painting and drawing for many years and my familiarity with some people in the art market in Ankara/Turkey helped me to identify art consumers as well as curators, and artists. After having identified the first handful of participants, I used the snowballing technique to find enough interviewees who are suitable for my research and got their voluntary participation in the study. Being familiar with this culture made me an insider. I achieved reflexivity by being both an insider and an outsider by critical self-examination and continual vigilance as Schouten and McAlexander (1995) suggest.

I reached theoretical saturation after having interviewed with 18 informants and 4 experts. All 18 participants are permanently residing in Ankara, 11 of them are HCC participants and the remaining are LCC participants. None of them have special knowledge of my research area, therefore, this prevented them to answer strategically (Maison, 2019).

Among the 11 HCC participants, one informant constitutes an exceptional typology. The scale is consistent in predicting the cultural capital of participants which is reflected in the patterns of their consumption of PHAs. For example, according to the scale, the participants who receive cultural capital ratings over 10 are classified as HCC participants and their consumption patterns are consistent with each other and the findings of the cultural elites in the literature. Similarly, except Mustafa, the participants who receive cultural capital rating under 10 are classified as LCC participants and their consumption patterns are consistent with each other and the findings of the naïve viewers in the literature. Mustafa constitutes an exceptional typology. His cultural capital rating depending on the educational and occupational background of him and his father equals 8.5, which is below 10. According to the scale, he must be an LCC consumer demonstrating LCC patterns in terms of artwork consumption. However, his interpretation of artworks and his artwork consumption reflects the HCC pattern. He is a wealthy businessman art lover and owns over 3000 pieces of high arts which are quite valuable. He organizes art exhibitions and art colonies hosting up to 1000 artists. He provides financial support to artists and commissions paintings that show his social status and prestige. His PHA consumption resembles art patronages in Renaissance (McLean, 2007). He also has many locally and globally renowned artists in his social environment. He has quite higher economic capital and higher social capital compared to the rest of the participants in the field of art. He continuously feeds his knowledge of the high art field thanks to his relationships with artists. His wealth also allows him to possess many high arts and he organizes and attends so many art exhibitions. His artist friends make it easier for him to organize those art colonies and exhibitions. He can get the aura of the artists in his house and in his exhibitions, which is, as Drummond (2006) says, one of the ways to accumulate cultural capital. Bourdieu (1984) puts that social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital are convertible. In this case, Mustafa seems to have converted his social and economic capitals to cultural capital. Moreover, his parents are also interested in high arts and some of his PHAs are inherited. In his early years, he was infused with a love of high art. As a result, all these facts about Mustafa explains why his approach to his PHAs reflects HCC patterns. This exceptional typology will be useful to better explain other participants' findings by making comparisons.

3.2. Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods are composed of non-participant observation, in-depth interviews, and auto-driving. The secondary data collection method is used for understanding the context. The use of these methods are aimed at increasing the trustworthiness, and giving a more nuanced understanding of the subject. Non-participant observation, in-depth interviews, and auto-driving were planned to be F2F; however, the data collection period coincided with the global COVID-19 Pandemic. Therefore, I had to make remote non-participant observation, in-depth interviews, and auto-driving with 8 of the 18 participants.

All F2F non-participant observation, in-depth interviews, and auto-driving methods are carried out in the participants' homes because home is the actual field of the study. Remote versions of these methods were conducted through online F2F meetings. First, I conducted non-participant observations to get brief information about the interviewee's PHAs and gauge the atmosphere of the context. Then, I started the in-depth interviews. Finally, I finished the primary data collection with auto-driving in which the informants thoroughly explained their thoughts about 2 specific PHAs that they had chosen. All the unstructured expert interviews were conducted in the workplaces of the experts. In the following subsections, I summarize each method and briefly make comparisons between F2F and remote versions of the methods.

3.2.1. Non-Participant Observation

Maison (2019) defines observation as a kind of ethnographic research method that is highly preferred to study cultures and societies. Nowadays, ethnographic methods are used more and more in marketing and consumer research because this method helps researchers comprehend who the consumer is, experience their world, learn about their values, needs, lifestyle, as well as explore all the issues related to product use, various household activities, and skill acquisition. To gather a better insight about the participants and their PHA consumption, I made non-participant observations in the field of consumption. Generally, after about 10 to 15 minutes of a regular conversation, I started non-participant observation and took photographs (if permitted) and field notes about the atmosphere, ambiance, and physical characteristics of the setting. I briefly examined every PHA

beforehand to understand which specific PHA the participant was talking about during the interview. The observation took around 20 minutes. Field notes and photographs enabled me to realize important details during the interview and helped me ask context-specific questions. While transcribing and data analysis, I understood that observation allowed me to gather additional dimensions to the knowledge. Photographs seemed to act as visual notebooks as Banks (1995) defines and helped me expand and distill my interpretations. Moreover, they provided cues that are related to the relationships between the consumption object and the individual and the relationships between the consumption objects with the other objects which were ignored during the interview.

In the remote observations, I first connected with the participants online. Remote observations were made before beginning the interviews. Participants showed the rooms and PHAs with their smartphones. The whole meeting, if permitted, were recorded. For observation, I also wanted photographs of the rooms in which the PHAs were hung as well as each PHAs. Gruber et al. (2008) say that the upsides and downsides of F2F and remote data collection are different due to their unique features. Remote data collection is overall less costly. Video may increase the participant's comfort relative to F2F. The participant may feel more comfortable with a self-view window. Some people may be uncomfortable to invite a stranger to their home for an interview while others might welcome it. In my case, I can say that, with some remote interviews, I was able to gather information from some group of respondents that would have been difficult to contact otherwise. Another advantage that I observed is that I could watch the observations whenever I want. I experienced some other disadvantages because of remote observations. Some prospective participants did not participate in the study because they felt uncomfortable about video recording. For example, Kemal participated in the study but did not want to show the rooms of his home and did not send any photographs for the same reason. Another disadvantage is that the observation was recorded from the participant's point of view. Moreover, I could not sense how the environment feels like. I could have seen more details of the environment if it was F2F. Some old participants were not as capable as the younger ones and their recording quality was not so good.

3.2.2. Interviews

In this section, I start with the explanation of the in-depth interviewing technique from McCracken's book "Long Interview" (1998). Then, I explain the phases of F2F and remote in-depth interviews that I conducted with the consumers and prosumers in my study. I make comparisons between remote and F2F in-depth interviews. In the following section, I explain the nature and objective of the unstructured expert interviews with the actors in the art market in Ankara, all of which were made F2F.

3.2.2.1. In-Depth Interviews With the PHA Consumers

The in-depth interview guide was semi-structured. I followed McCracken's (1988) "Four-Part Method of Inquiry Technique" from her famous book called "Long Interview". I first made a rigorous literature review to identify the analytic categories. Ensuring myself to be well versed in the literature lent me to have a set of expectations the data can challenge. While working on the cultural categories, the fact that I am a member of the same culture and I am very familiar with the consumption object of the research, worked in favor of me. I was able to identify the cultural categories and overcome the biases in the literature. By utilizing the analytical and cultural categories, I started to construct the semi-structured in-depth interview questions that would be subject to constant iteration. I finished the interviews with biographical questions.

To begin with, I got permission for auto-recording and made the participant sure that their name would not be displayed and pseudonyms would be used instead. For the discovery of cultural categories part, I followed the rule of thumb of McCracken (1988) by starting the interview with grand tour questions that are followed by floating prompting questions. The other data collection technique, namely auto-driving, came into action as a planned-prompt to make the respondent give required information that did not emerge spontaneously in the course of the interview. The auto-driving technique will be explained in more detail in the following sections.

As in F2F in-depth interviews, remote in-depth interviews were conducted after the remote observations. As long as the participants permitted, the whole conversation was recorded.

As mentioned before, remote interviews are less costly and for some participants, it is more comfortable because they do not have to be prepared to welcome a stranger (Gruber et al., 2008). This fact enabled me to reach more participants. Seitz (2016) lists the disadvantages of remote interviews as the possibility of inaudible segments, inability to read body language and nonverbal cues, and loss of intimacy compared to traditional in-person interviews. I can say that I experienced all of these downsides. I had to ask the informants to repeat what they were saying in the inaudible segments. Seitz (2016) says this can create an emotional barrier as it makes the interview hard to move forward.

3.2.2.2. Unstructured Interviews With Experts

I conducted 4 unstructured expert interviews with the actors in the art in Ankara. A data collection guide has not been prepared for unstructured interviews. For each unstructured expert interview, I got their permission for audio-recording and took notes after re-listening. Each expert interview was conducted F2F. To get an understanding of the context and the market of pictorial artworks in Ankara, I interviewed with the 2 painters and a gallery manager and a Fine Arts Professor in Ankara. The main contributions of the 2 painters and the gallery owner were about the information of consumer types and the current look of the art market in Ankara and Turkey. The Fine Arts Professor is a sculpturer and a painter. One of the greatest benefits of him is his assistance in deciding the scope of my study and his recommendations of some books and articles about art history. The other benefit of him is his approval of my decisions about the art movements that the PHAs of the participants belong to.

3.2.3. Auto-driving

Auto-driving is similar to the interview in nature. The same upsides and downsides of the interview are valid for the auto-driving method. In auto-driving, participants are asked to interpret the photographs that they have taken and they drive the interview (Ryan & Ogilvie, 2011). The participants are completely free during the process and the researcher is an active listener. It can elicit responses that the participants are unwilling or unable to express; about their underlying motivations, values, and attitudes at the subconscious level (Ryan & Ogilvie, 2011). Another benefit of auto-driving is that it helps the informants

manufacture distance from their common perspective of their everyday lives. Through auto-driving, the informants can see familiar data in unfamiliar ways (McCracken, 1988). In the auto-driving part of my data collection, I asked a few pre-determined questions and then let the participant discuss the photographs of their 2 favorite PHAs, in whichever order they wanted. I got their permission for audio-recording and photographs that they have taken. In auto-driving, I observed that some participants revealed more personal stories. In these types of instances, Seitz (2016) says that the interviewee would rather be F2F with the interviewer. Because they want the researcher to empathize themselves in person. Since auto-driving operates as interviewing, the same advantages and disadvantages of remote in-depth interviewing were also observed in this method. Parallel to the accounts of Gruber et al. (2008) there were unwanted technical issues during auto-driving with some participants. The inaudible segments forced me to ask the participants to repeat what they had said. I could not fully read body language and observe nonverbal cues.

3.2.4. Secondary Data Collection Method

Secondary data are previously gathered by someone other than the researcher for another purpose. Secondary data sources are books, articles, dictionaries and encyclopedias, marketing directories, statistics and reports (Burns et al., 2017). If archived and available, any type of primary data can serve as secondary data (Hox & Boeije, 2005). The advantages of secondary data are that secondary data can be obtained quickly and inexpensively, are usually available. They enhance primary data collection.

I resorted to secondary data for 2 purposes. First, to understand the context of the middle class formation and art market in Turkey I had to utilize the external type of published sources such as books and journal articles as secondary data collection methods. Lastly, I read art history books such as “The Story of Art” by Gombrich (1995) and “Sanatın Kısa Öyküsü” by Hodge (2019) to validate the art movements that the PHAs of the participants belong to. As mentioned in the previous section, I re-checked this information with the Fine Art Professor. Moreover, some participants owned digital copy print pictures and some original paintings or pictures of some famous artworks as PHAs. I looked at encyclopedias and newspapers to check the names of the artists and the artworks.

3.3. Data Analysis

Data analysis is one of the most crucial steps in this study. After exhaustive data analysis, I made some changes to my research question. The data collected throughout my study from the non-participant observations, in-depth interviews, auto-driving and secondary data are assembled and analyzed in detail to yield reasonable findings that pinpoint the answer to the research question. The in-depth interviews, on average, lasted 1 hour and ranged from 1 to 2.5 hours. The unstructured expert interviews ranged from 1 to 1.5 hours. A verbatim transcript of all resulting interviews was created. I used The five-stage process of analysis by McCracken (1988) for in-depth interview analysis. I made descriptive coding by examining each useful utterance. Then I developed them according to its evidence in the transcript and lastly according to the analytical and cultural categories. Similar data are placed in similar categories, and different data created new categories. Then I carefully analyzed the codings collectively and made a comparative analysis. Finally, after several iterations of data analysis, I reached the patterns appearing in interviews and take them into theses.

3.4. Ethical Considerations and Trustworthiness

To start with, the topic of my research and the questions in the interviews are not intimidating. The participants knew that I would use pseudonyms to disguise their identities. The participants were given an overview of the content and the aim of the study. I made it clear that the study findings will be shared with them if asked. They were free to cut the interview during any part of it. They could skip to answering any probes that may make them reveal subjectively sensitive information that may not be foreseen at the beginning. Therefore, the sensitivity of information criteria that Diener and Crandall (1978) require for ethics in qualitative studies is ensured. I got their permission for recording and photographing. After getting the consent of all respondents to voluntarily participate in the study, I started the field study.

As I mentioned earlier, I am a painting and drawing enthusiast and I am a prosumer of fine arts. I took fine arts elective courses in 2011 and 2013 in my undergraduate study. I took courses on painting in some private institutions. I have been working in an atelier for the

last 2 years. I try to support my knowledge about the technical side of the painting and drawing by books and other materials on the internet. I have read books about art history over the years. In my social environment, there are gallery owners, antique shop owners, painters, fine art professors, fine art collectors and fine art investors and so many art enthusiasts. I frequently visit museums and gallery exhibitions. There are several fine arts in my house purchased by my parents and inherited from my grandparents. There are also oil paintings and drawings in my home that I personally did. All of these make me an insider in the art market in Ankara. To create reflexivity in this situation, I needed to overcome over-involvement and put scholarly distance between myself and the participants. I achieved this issue by the suggestions of Schouten and McAlexander (1995) which are critical self-examination and continual vigilance. Another aspect of my study that will contribute to its trustworthiness is the multimethod triangulation which is achieved by in-depth interviews, non-participant observations, auto-drivings and secondary data collection.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

As my study focuses on the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey, I start with summarizing the middle class history in Turkey and its importance in artwork consumption. In the next sub-section, I explain the artwork buyer types presented in the literature. Then I give information about the current situation of the art market in Ankara and in Turkey based on purchasing mechanisms and buyer types in Ankara and Turkey. This information is provided with the help of scholarly articles and the findings of expert interviews.

4.1. Formation of Middle Classes in Turkey

In consumption studies in Turkey, the middle class is studied a lot because they constitute a big share of consumption because their lifestyle is becoming more focused on consumption. Consumption has become a determining criterion for the categorization of classes and the factions of the middle classes (Holt & Üstüner, 2010; Hazır et al., 2016). In the art market, middle class consumers are effective (Demirdöven et al., 2007).

To understand the basics of today's middle class evolution of Turkey, it is necessary to trace its formation back from the Ottoman Empire period. To start with, as Keyder (1987) states, the Ottoman Empire was transformed under capitalist incorporation and which led to the formation of the bourgeoisie class and the conflict with the traditional bureaucracy. The bureaucracy ensured the emergence of the nation-state and made the transition to modernity. Until the 1950s, the bureaucratic class was mainly composed of the civil servants operating at the different levels of the state and bureaucratic elites. However, in the 1950s, the structure of the "middle classes" changed with the decline in agricultural production, the growth of the industry and the service sector. New entrepreneurs, managers, small producers, and businessmen formed the new middle class (Neyzi, 1973, as cited in Hazır et al., 2016).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the economy relied on import-substituting industrialization and home market (Keyder, 1987). By 1980, capitalist relations developed and the bourgeoisie became more powerful. When Turgut Özal was elected as Prime Minister of the Turkey Republic, he no longer wanted to stick to import-substitution industries and home markets; hence, decided to open up the economy to the outside forces of the world market. His export-oriented strategy succeeded. Özal's import policy resulted in new consumption practices. Everything was available in the stores with sophisticated advertising. A new form of the middle class (yuppies) composed of the young urban upper middle class developed and they adopted the western lifestyle (Şimsek, 2005, as cited in Hazır et al., 2016). The young were naturally enticed by the glitter of affluence which they found they could no longer satisfy through service to the state. University graduates turned from the state sector to the private sector, especially to the service sector, and the class position was achieved through education. Higher education had also been reorganized to serve the growing private sector according to Ahmad (1993). During the 1990s, another new form of the middle class group emerged (Öncü, 2000, as cited in Hazır et al., 2016) by people who migrated to the big cities and they added a lot to the heterogeneity of the class-cultural characteristic in the same class.

As Bakan and Çimen (2018) point out, the 1980s became the turning point by forming the new economic understanding and the strengthening of Islam. The Anatolian bourgeoisie, (also called “green capital” and Muslim bourgeoisie) that was represented politically by Erbakan, started to become effective in the economy during the Özal period. The new economic plan provided wide opportunities for small and medium-size businessmen in Anatolia. While some of them developed their business in Anatolia, others migrated to big cities. MUSIAD (mu- was the abbreviation of Muslim) was founded in 1990 in İstanbul by an economic elite group that has strong ties with the Islamic movement. After the 2000s, Anatolian/Muslim bourgeoisie has an important contribution to the implementation of the multidimensional active foreign policy implemented through the AK Party period. As a result, they became the actors who changed and transformed politics in the Erdoğan period. Another study conducted by Bahçe, Günaydin, and Köse (2011) gives a comprehensive answer to the question of how the structural position of the classes differs today. Their study relies on the Marxist theoretical background by focusing on property relations. In

that study, they do not conceptualize the middle class, rather the groups that make up the middle class section are divided into categories called urban professionals, small capitalists, petite bourgeoisie, and urban skilled workers.

4.2. Artwork Buyer Types

Wang (2009) says there are many types of buyers in the art market. Some buyers identify themselves as decorators who buy works that are compatible with their houses or office environments. The historical and artistic value of the work may not be the priority of decorative buyers. Other types of consumers are collectors. Real collectors are the buyers who possess high volumes of cultural capital and receive art education, visit galleries and museums, learn to look at the work of art and choose the works of art that are suitable for their collection. Apart from these groups, some buyers focus on the financial return of the artworks and see art as an investment tool. These investors most of the time cannot trust the infrastructure of the art markets, especially in the pricing of art values. Because of all the flaws such as liquidity weakness and low transparency level, expert opinions in art valuation form the basis of negotiations (Demirdöven & Ödekan, 2008). Velthuis (2011) also adds another buyer type of pictorial artwork consumers whose motivation is to express membership of a rising middle class and to use works of art to enhance the social status of their owners among their peers or within society.

4.3. Art Market in Turkey

I try to explain the current look of the art market in Turkey and specifically in Ankara. The explanation will be based on the purchasing mechanisms of pictorial artworks and the buyer types of pictorial artworks. First, an overview of the historical development of purchasing mechanisms of artworks in Turkey will be explained and then the current situation of the art market in Ankara and purchasing mechanisms in Ankara will be clarified.

4.3.1. Purchasing Mechanisms in Turkey

The channels used to deliver art products to the buyers in the art market are galleries, local art fairs, international art fairs, internet, private sales, and auctions (Erdoğan, 2015). These purchasing mechanisms started forming after the foundation of the Turkey Republic. To

understand the context, I should start with a brief introduction of the emergence of western art in Turkey and the ways it helped create the art market and how different purchasing mechanisms started operating in Turkey.

Art productions bearing the effects of western art were firstly accepted and appreciated by the Ottoman palace and were reinforced by Atatürk while he was endeavoring to proclaim the Turkish Republic (Ahmad, 1993; Kozlu, 2011). He founded the Turkish Artists Association in 1921 to support the artists. After the post-war era, because of limited financial resources, artists' support by the government declined and individuals and institutions started supporting the artists. In the 1960s, art gallery formations started and a limited number of collectors emerged. Since the 1970s, the demand created by individuals and institutions pushed the auction institutions, which are especially related to antiques, to organize auctions that give more place to the Turkish pictorial artworks. During the 1980s Turkey faced massive economic changes and the value given to the art has increased. The new middle class, adopting the western lifestyle perceived the importance of artworks as cultural possessions. Hence, during those years, art galleries and auctions started proliferating in Turkey. Auctions run their galleries. The art galleries come in different forms: state, private, and institution galleries.

Today, 25 auction houses are having roughly 100 auctions each year. 40% of the art economy is based on these auctions (Boyacı, 2017). In the 1990s and 2000s, the number of the institutions such as Aksanat, Yapı Kredi Kazım Taskent Art Gallery, Borusan Art, Garanti Platform, Project 4L- Elgiz Contemporary Art Museum, İstanbul Modern, Sabancı Museum, Pera Museum, Santral İstanbul, Kasa Gallery, Siemens Art, Arterial that support art increased. Besides, private galleries such as Macka Art Gallery, Gallery Nev, UN Contemporary Art Center, Karsı Artworks, Gallery Artist hosted exhibitions that support contemporary art (Kozlu, 2011). Most of these institutions were located in İstanbul and the others were located in Ankara. Later on, art galleries spread in many other cities in Turkey as well. The galleries are beyond 500 in number and they account for an estimated 45-50% of the sales (Boyacı, 2017). When we look at the statistical data about the spread of art galleries throughout Turkey, we see that 66% of the art galleries operate in İstanbul, 17% in Ankara, and only 2% in İzmir (Ağlargoç & Öztürk, 2015). İstanbul was declared as the

European Capital of Culture in 2010 (Bıçakçı, 2012). Another purchasing mechanism in Turkey is biennial. Biennials are generally non-profit and organized on an international scale in which curators are selected artists are invited. The first instance of the biennial was “Ankara State Painting and Sculpture Museum International Art Biennale” which took place in 1986 in Turkey. Then other biennials took place in İstanbul (Okan, 2012). Another venture of artwork purchase is the art fair. Artist Art Fair is the first art fair in Turkey which took place in İstanbul, in 1991. Since 2006, the Contemporary İstanbul art fair is organized internationally and it has pioneered in closing the deficit in the contemporary art fair. Other art fairs in İstanbul are ArtInternational and İstanbul Art Fair (Nuran, 2016). Another art fair, ArtAnkara, takes place in Ankara (Yılmaz, 2006). Lastly, thanks to the internet, consumers can now buy pictorial artworks from a bunch of internet webpages of art galleries and auction houses and they can also visit museums in a virtual environment (Ağlargöz & Öztürk, 2015).

4.3.2. Art Market in Ankara

After the proclamation of the Turkey Republic in 1923, Ankara symbolized the ambitions of the republican elite and the expression of their desire to create a new culture and civilization on the ruins of a decadent imperial past. Ankara was the republic’s Washington and İstanbul was its New York. While İstanbul remained the commercial leader, Ankara turned into the cultural and intellectual center of the Republic. Ankara was selected as the capital city of the Republic of Turkey and art consciousness in Ankara started by bureaucrats, which later influenced other people (Ahmad, 1993).

Ankara played a pioneering role in the creation of the Turkish art market when the first art gallery, Artisan Art Gallery, was opened in Ankara in 1973. The art environment was protected, and the exhibition regulations were supported by the state. Private institutions, individuals continued supporting the art market in the following years (Okutur, 2011). Although there are a lot of galleries, museums, and other ventures that host art lovers in Ankara, Ankara has lost its leadership role of being the cultural center of Turkey to İstanbul. Today İstanbul is the unofficial art capital of Turkey (Okutur, 2011; Boyacı, 2017). Currently, after İstanbul, Ankara plays a crucial role in terms of the art market in

Turkey (Kozlu, 2011). Still, it hosts one of the most important art fairs in Turkey, which is ArtAnkara (Yılmaz, 2006).

4.3.3. Buyer Types in Ankara

According to the account of my unstructured expert interviews, consumer types in Ankara are no different from that of Turkey in general and the literature. There are buyers, who are motivated to purchase the pictorial artworks for decorative and aesthetic purposes. On the other hand, there are other sorts of consumers who purchase artworks for financial investments, and those people are regarded as collectors. There is another type of collector, who can understand the valuation of artwork in an artistic sense. The motivations of these collectors are not primarily for investment. These people are rich in terms of cultural capital. As mentioned earlier, cultural capital accumulation depends on family upbringing and education (Bourdieu, 1984). Their relative weights depend on the culture of the societies. In advanced cultures, the family background is stronger (Bourdieu, 1984; Allen & Anderson, 1994; Holt, 1998). We can conclude that the relative weight of the educational level is greater than the family background for our culture. Another buyer type is the ones who are price-sensitive. Because they know that the galleries take commissions between 30% and 35%, they directly get in contact with the artist and buy the pictorial artworks from the artist's atelier or home.

CHAPTER 5

MEANING OF ART AND PHAs

In this chapter, first I give an explanation of how the meanings inferred from art and PHA consumption differ between high cultural capital and low cultural capital participants in upper middle class Ankara/Turkey from the thematic analysis. I begin with the definition of the meanings of art for the participants and then proceed with elaborating on the meanings of PHAs. The findings show that along with cultural capital resources, meanings inferred are also dependent on whether the participants are consumers or prosumers. Moreover, as an emergent theme, ideological stances of the participants also influence the preferences of PHAs. Overall, the findings reveal that cultural capital manifests itself significantly through PHA consumption. While LCCs' PHA preferences depend on beauty, visual content and their emotional response to the artwork, HCCs' primarily focus on the artistic and aesthetic qualities of the artworks and intellectual inquiry provided by the artworks. LCC's aesthetic vision parallels the traditional or popular aesthetic vision which does not require cultural capital. Whereas HCCs develop both modernist and postmodernist aesthetic approaches to high art consumption. Contrary to popular aesthetic visions, the development of the modernist and the postmodernist aesthetic approaches require cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Hanquinet et al., 2014).

5.1. Meaning of Art

Since artwork consumers both constitute their identities and communicate their social status through artwork consumption which is mostly displayed in their homes, their evaluations and interpretations of art are necessary to understand. My study findings show some salient differences and also some similarities between the consumers in the upper middle class with different cultural capital compositions as regards how they see art. Participants gave examples of art branches when they were asked to describe art. Examples of art branches include crafts such as carpeting and carpentry; and fine arts such as music,

architecture, literature, and theatre. For example, HCC prosumer Gönül gives poetry as an example of art and HCC prosumer Doğa gives painting as an example of art. LCC prosumer Haluk deems carpentry as art and LCC consumer Ece sees makeup as art. Other than practical arts and fine arts, LCC consumers sometimes also deem “everything created by human labor” as art. For example, LCC consumer Serap gives floriculture as art. HCC consumers also gave examples of archeologic sites and artifacts as art examples.

Regardless of their cultural capital and whether they are consumers or prosumers, participants always include pictures in their art definition. HCCs’ definition is relatively more diverse and includes more branches of fine arts: theater, pictorial artworks, music, architecture, literature. This difference indicates the differences in cultural capital because HCCs reveal their superior knowledge of the art field. Sometimes HCC prosumers define arts as not conforming to any patterns and dynamic because they know that the meaning and the scope of art are constantly evolving and changing. Art activities and artworks are sometimes seen as products of superhuman activities and divine inspirations because of their ability to supply metaphysical experience. This approach pertains to the modernist aesthetic approach in art. For example, Banu, an academic HCC prosumer, thinks that art is love and transcendental. She separates art from the phenomenons of the profane world and says that we cannot perceive art with the logic of cause and effect relationship that we use in daily life. She sacralizes art as the modernist aesthetic approach does (Hanquinet et al., 2014, Shiner, 2001).

HCC and LCC participants, both prosumers and consumers, generally mention experiential aspects like calming, improving psychology, relieving fatigue, and feeling intense emotions as in the case of visiting an art fair. For example, LCC prosumer Mehmet and LCC consumer Ece state that they like living the visual content of the artwork as if it was a real-life experience. This emphasis on real-life experience pertains to the traditional or popular aesthetic judgments because the appreciation of depictions of real-life images does not require art knowledge (Hanquinet et al., 2014). Whereas, HCC consumer Erhan and HCC prosumer Doğa mention benefits like mind- enriching, edifying when they contemplate artworks in a museum. Because of their formal or informal education, they learn to value

intellectual inquiry in objects. The emphasis on these kinds of intellectual inquiries indicates postmodernist aesthetic approach (Hanquinet et al., 2014).

LCCs examples of art branches include pictorial artworks, music, carpentry, and professional makeup as art. Both LCC prosumers and LCC consumers mention experiential benefits like soul-nourishing and calming. As for the meaning of art, beauty is sometimes mentioned by HCC consumers but rarely by HCC prosumers. LCC prosumers and LCC consumers also value beauty.

5.1.1. Art as a Means to Express Ideas and Emotions Versus Art as a Means to Elicit Ideas and Emotions

Art is seen as a medium for communicating ideas and emotions for HCC and LCC prosumers. HCC prosumers see art as a means to express and elicit ideas and emotions. Semra, an HCC prosumer, who is a retired senior bureaucrat defines art as:

Semra (HCC, Retired Senior Bureaucrat, Prosumer): I think the painter should do what suits her. I think she should not be under the influence of anyone. I love to interpret the art according to my taste because everyone may not have the same ability, for example, even your children may not take after you in terms of artistic ability. For me, it is the emotions and ideas that come from the artist, and I think that they are transferred to the canvas.

Semra's point about the importance and value of an artist to convey her ideas and emotions on artworks without being under the influence of anyone clearly shows her status signaling with her artist identity. She received fine arts education from Atatürk Cultural Center and she possesses embodied cultural capital by being able to make drawings and paintings. Being a prosumer who creates authentic artworks is an indicator of her distinctive social status.

LCC prosumers define art as a tool to communicate their feelings through their creations. Their definition does not include ideas. One LCC prosumer, Haluk, a carpenter, and a drawing enthusiast, says he drew one portrait of his daughter out of his imagination every day when she was committed to prison for two months in her undergraduate years. He says he relieved his anxiety and longing for her by drawing. He did not receive any formal art

education. He loves drawing since his childhood and says that his teachers had encouraged him to study fine arts. However, he says he could not receive fine arts education because his family forced him to study carpentry.

On the other side, those who are consumers do not mention the expressive side of art as prosumers do. HCC consumers, see art as a means to elicit ideas and emotions. For example, HCC consumer academician Mualla thinks that art sparks ideas that would give the ability to see the truth. She also says that art can create emotions. LCC consumers see art as a means to elicit emotions. Similar to LCC prosumers, LCC consumers do not stress ideas. For example, an LCC consumer lecturer Gül loves to collect pictures from her travels abroad that depict city images with soft colors. She finds them relaxing to look at. She loves classic type artworks with realistic depictions. She explains the feelings she experiences when viewing the artworks in ArtAnkara:

Gül (LCC, Lecturer, Consumer): Classical music concerts and painting... I think it is very important and something that adds a lot of color to life. A wall that has good objects like a picture that will dive a person into dreams is better than a wall without any picture. This is something that appeals to emotions like music. I feel like being on the clouds each time I finish visiting Art Ankara.

Emotions are mentioned much more frequently by LCCs than HCCs. Usually, emotional involvement occurs as a result of personal relevance with the content of the artworks. Prosumers see art as a communicative tool; art can express and elicit emotions (and ideas). Consumers see art as eliciting emotions (and ideas). Cultural capital shows itself as HCC prosumers and HCC consumers emphasize “ideas” in their definition, where LCC prosumers and LCC consumers do not. Putting primary emphasis on emotions reflects the status of being naïve art viewers and it represents the traditional aesthetic vision that does not require cultural capital (Hanquinet et al., 2014; Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Whereas emphasis on ideas indicates a higher level of cultural capital and it indicates a superior educational background of the participants.

5.1.2. Opinions About the Art and Society Relationship

The comments about the effects of art on society reveal that whether they are prosumers or consumers, both LCCs and HCCs agree that it has a positive effect on society and it can

increase the citizens' cultural development. However, HCC people give more sound and detailed explanations about the benefits of art for the community. For example, HCC prosumer Doğa, who is an oil painting artist and a retired senior bureaucrat, uses artistic statements about significant societal events to increase awareness in her exhibitions.

Doğa (HCC, Retired Senior Bureaucrat, Prosumer): ...And I do not paint flowers or insects in my exhibitions. I would like to create sensitivity with art by addressing important and sensitive issues in society. For example, one of my exhibitions' name was "Love and Peace are the Prayers of Women". I give my exhibits such names. It is not like "The Third Exhibition of Doğa". Another one is "The Contribution of Our Local Heritage to Universal Peace". I had many of my Istanbul paintings in that exhibition. In other words, the paintings in my exhibitions, for example, when my exhibition called "Love and Peace are the Prayers of Women" ... They are my peace doves. Paintings of women... such as that "Unconditional Love" that stretches up her hand. I made it by thinking of the love of God. I want to send a message to various social issues in society with my works [See Figure 1].

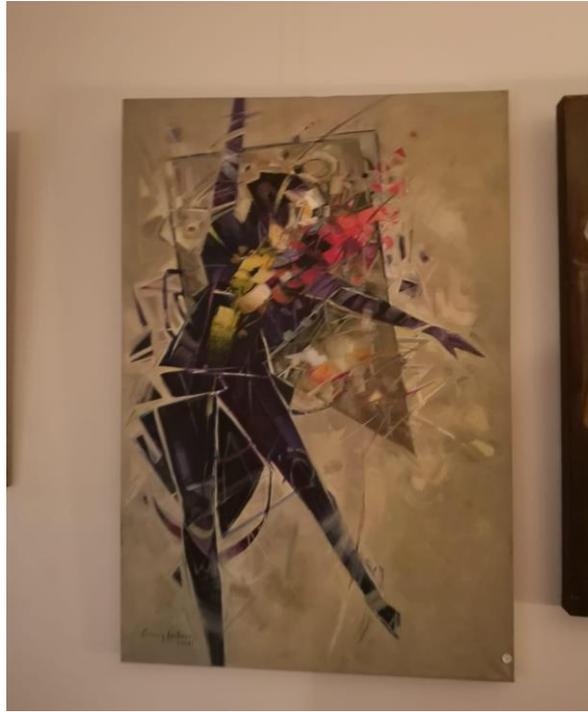


Figure 1

“Unconditional Love” by Doğa from her exhibition “Love and Peace are the Prayers of Women”

She works as a senior manager in an international organization that advocates for human rights and gender equality. Within this organization, she helps funding scholarships for female graduate students and she also organizes different social activities to address the problems faced by women in Turkey. She also cares for the students. Some of her exhibitions also were purely organized to make donations to destitute pupils and other institutions and organizations that advocate for human rights and gender equality. Cultural producer HCC consumer Erhan emphasizes how art and science feed each other and he refers to the quotation of Ibn Sina “Science and art leave societies where they are not respected”. He adds that societies without art and science will be destructed as well. He

gives so many examples that emphasize the social role of art. HCC consumer businessman Mustafa gives extraordinary effort to introduce art to the community. Thanks to his wealth in economic capital, he organizes art colonies hosting up to 1000 artists and he supports the artists financially. He uses art for social assistance. He says he wants to give the artists the reverence they deserve in life that most of the governments and the communities neglect during their life. Introducing their art to people is one of his aims as he sees it as a way to show respect to the artist. He also loves the power of art to show political stance and gives examples of the artists who protest the political issues going on in their community. As Hanquinet et al. (2014) propose, the social role is the main attribute of postmodernism in high art. Because they believe that high art has an impact on social issues, HCC consumer Mustafa and HCC prosumer Doğa use high art (pictorial art) for social assistance. This attitude indicates their status of postmodern cultural elites who reveal their cultural capital through postmodern aesthetic vision. LCC prosumer carpenter Haluk says that art represents society and criticizes our society for not giving enough attention to arts. LCC consumer Murat thinks gives an example of our country and says that art is not valued in Turkey. LCCs think that art is beneficial for society but cannot articulate the benefits. This seems like information by heart or a general circulating discourse without explanation.

HCC prosumers and HCC consumers made remarks about consumers about other countries whereas LCC prosumers and LCC consumers did not mention the consumers in other countries. For example, professional painter HCC prosumer Aylin looks down on American art consumers as she thinks that the American people are ignorant and not capable of art appreciation. This result is contradicting with the findings of the study of Üstüner and Holt (2010). Their paper focused on status signaling strategies of the upper middle class consumers through consumption of everyday commodities and found that the upper middle class HCC consumers adopt the lifestyle and consumption style of the middle class American for status signaling. However, in my study, HCCs favor European art consumers and their art consumption styles. For example, academician HCC consumer Kemal gives examples of England; and explains how art is internalized by the English beginning from childhood and that art exists in their everyday practices from seeing the historical architectural wonders in streets to regularly attending museums with cultured parents. He eventually stresses the importance of family and formal education giving

examples from some of our local people ignoring to catch our cultural heritage. Businessman HCC consumer Mustafa appreciates the European artwork collectors. He thinks that they collect the artworks because they enjoy the artworks. He respects them because he thinks that European art collectors do not see art collection as an investment. Retired senior bureaucrat HCC prosumer Semra sees European art consumers as peers. She says that instead of enjoying drinks and tapas, she preferred to visit the Picasso Museum with European art lovers on her vacation to Barcelona. Findings show when the consumption object is an artwork, consumers see European artwork consumers as their peers and they try to catch up with them by adopting their consumption style. This indicates their knowledge of the art field. Because they know that Europe is the place where the massive transformations in art history like Renaissance, modernity, and postmodernity took place (Bal, 2015; Mattick, 2003). Cultural capital accumulations among the participants reveal itself in their explanations of the social impact of art. Regardless of their status as prosumers or consumers, HCCs give more detailed explanations and influential real-life examples in which they are personally involved. Their interpretations reflect the postmodernist aesthetic vision (Hanquinet et al., 2014). Moreover, as the art knowledge increases, the participants start making comparisons of art consumers in other countries. They see European art consumers as peers and take Europe as the global reference point because they know the fact that the art market is more developed in Europe and they are aware of the importance of Europe in art history (Bal, 2015; Mattick, 2003; McAndrew, 2020).

5.2. Meaning of PHAs

Meanings of PHAs vary between HCCs and LCCs in different categories. The first one is the ability to interpret PHA through art knowledge. Here, art knowledge implies the degree of knowledge of the artists' of their PHAs name and their artistic style. Art knowledge also implies familiarity with artistic premises. The findings show that HCC prosumers are the best at remembering the name and the professional background of the artists of their possessions and they discuss their personal painting style and they can give names of artistic premises correctly. HCC consumers also know the name of the artists of their possessions. They are fairly good at remembering the background of the artist but not as

much as HCC prosumers. They can also criticize the artworks based on the art principles like perspective. LCCs on the other hand, whether they are prosumers or consumers, do not remember, or cannot remember the artists' names. LCC prosumers also do not mention the premises but they try to describe the difficulties encountered during the phases of production. LCC consumers generally talk about the sentimental impacts of their PHAs. They do not criticize the works based on any artistic premises. These differences in art knowledge reflect the differences in cultural capital.

Occasionally, participants deem their PHAs as sacred. As Belk et al. (1989) state, sacred is not always present in religious contexts but may emerge in consumer behavior. The authors present some categories that transform profane objects into sacred. Some meanings they attach are so personal and so valuable that these meanings cannot be measured with any exchange tools. Both HCC prosumers and HCC consumers generally find their favorite PHAs sacred. Sacredness is also observed among LCCs. LCC prosumers are prone to find their favorite PHAs as sacred. Whereas, LCC consumers do not find sacredness in their PHAs.

The last category is the PHA experiences and everyday rituals. As mentioned in the "Meaning of Art" section, participants mention the experiential aspects of art. Experientialism is also observed in PHA consumption. HCC prosumers and HCC consumers mention experientialism about PHAs. The emotions may or may not be positive. For example, they may enjoy a calming impressionist landscape PHA, but in some instances, they may enjoy PHAs that elicit bitter feelings. LCC prosumers and LCC consumers also enjoy warming depictions but they avoid possessing a PHA that would make them feel sad. HCC prosumers and HCC consumers, from time to time, love to own PHAs in which the visual content reminds them of nostalgia. For LCC consumers and LCC prosumers, nostalgic feelings coming from the visual contents of pictures constitute a big motivation for purchase. Personal relevance with the PHAs is far more important for LCCs as they adopt traditional aesthetic vision (Hanquinet et al., 2014).

5.2.1. Ability to Interpret PHA Through Art Knowledge

Art knowledge implies the capacities of knowing the artist's name and the artist's artistic style. Art knowledge also implies familiarity with artistic premises. In this study, art knowledge as embodied cultural capital possessed by the HCC prosumers and LCC prosumers are emphasized in two ways. The first one is through academic art education, taking art courses or effort in learning how to produce pictorial artwork by educating channels such as YouTube videos. HCC prosumers are more likely to achieve professional art education. For example Aylin, an HCC prosumer is a graduate of fine arts faculty. On the other hand, LCC prosumer carpenter Haluk did not have academic art education. He develops his art knowledge from the tutorials posted on YouTube and by self-practice and the feedback from his children and wife. The second way of generating art knowledge is through visits to museums, art galleries, and art fairs. HCC prosumers and HCC consumers usually visit galleries and museums. LCC prosumers and LCC consumers also like visiting galleries and museums but not as much as HCC prosumers and HCC consumers. Drummond (2006) and Belk (2014) state that one can get the artwork only by sensing the aura of the artist by seeing the original artworks. Winston and Cupchik (1992) state that experienced viewers or HCC artwork consumers process the information gathered from the artworks and then use this accumulated knowledge to create an evaluation scheme. Then they use this scheme for evaluations of further artworks. In this way, since they visit galleries and museums more than LCCs, the HCCs accumulate knowledge of the art field which adds up to their cultural capital.

The findings show that HCC prosumers are best at art knowledge. All HCC prosumers know all the names of the artists of their possessions and most of the time the artists are in their social environment and they are fully competent about the professional background of the artists of their PHAs. To give an example, an HCC prosumer Semra, a retired senior bureaucrat and a painter, was able to give precisely the name of all the artists of her possessions, most of which are in her social environment. Her social capital is also high. Some of the artists are her friends from high school and college. She was able to give a brief explanation about the personal artistic style and the technique of their works and made sound evaluations. HCC prosumer Aylin is a graduate of fine arts faculty. She stated some

pictures look attractive to most of us but we cannot pinpoint the reason why we like those pictures. She explained this situation with the artistic premises such as the Golden Ratio and drawing and successful contrasts of the colors. If these art rules are successfully applied in an artwork, we innately find it appealing. By this account, she proves that she is an experienced viewer as well as her status of having HCC accumulation. HCC consumers were also good at the classification of the famous artworks and could give the names of many global and locally renowned artists. For example, when asked about his painting preferences, academician Kemal, an HCC consumer, articulated impressionist artworks are his favorites and gave many examples of impressionist artists without prompting:

Kemal (HCC, Academician, Consumer): I like impressionist paintings very much. Monet, Pissarro are all beautiful. There is also British Constable. I am a little hesitant about why I like his works but I find them fascinating.

Kemal owns a digital copy print picture of Claude Monet' impressionist work. LCCs, conversely do not give or even when intended, cannot remember the name of the artist of their possessions. They consistently talk about the visual content, emotional effects and the point of purchase of the artworks. LCC prosumer Haluk, a carpenter belonging to a lower class, and who utterly loves paintings and looks up to painters, could not remember any names of artists of his PHAs but briefly mentioned about their aspects, not about their styles or academic backgrounds. He always talks about the visual content of the pictures and his emotional responses:

Haluk (LCC, Carpenter, Prosumer): They sent me to a prior Cultural Minister's house then for designing interior decoration. I stayed for two years... We hung 400 oil paintings in that house. There was one painting with a 60x60 frame. A tree - a painting I was very impressed with - There are thousands of flowers and leaves. Thousands... I could not take my eyes off of it. I was looking in awe. He said to me, "Do you know who made that painting?" I did not know and I forgot the painter's name right now... Maybe if I say it, you will not remember either. His eyes were blind... I drew that painting too, and I did not see such a painting in my life... I loved another painting of the Minister's collections. It was a nice painting and he saw me several times watching it and a few years later, he said to his driver to take the painting and give it to me [See Figure 2].



Figure 2

The gifted oil painting from the Minister to Haluk

Similarly, Murat, a middle-level manager LCC consumer, owns two oil paintings and a digital copy print picture of Osman Hamdi's famous work "The Tortoise Trainer", and a digital copy print picture of the "A Carpet Seller" by Charles Robertson, does not know who the actual artists are. He loves all of his pictures and states that they all elicit positive emotions but he says he could not hang the oil paintings because his wife does not like them. He finds familiarity with himself and the visual contents of the pictures which is the reason why he likes his PHAs. When asked about how he had chosen "The Tortoise Trainer" and whether he was affected by the fame of the actual artwork, he admitted that he had not known the painter and the name of the painting but it may have made connotation when he saw the reproduction (See Figure 3). This is a typical LCC participant account

showing the lack of knowledge of the art field. As Winston and Cupchik (1992) state, they emphasize the positive emotional response and lack of the knowledge of structural properties the PHAs and their judgments are subjective.



Figure 3

Digital copy print picture of “The Tortoise Trainer” and an oil painting of Rumi by Gülşen Çiloğlu (From left to right) of Murat

Digital copy print pictures are also preferred by HCC prosumers and HCC consumers. However, they know the original works and the artists and they correctly indicate the art movement that their digital copy print pictures are belonging to. For example, Banu, HCC prosumer, owns a digital copy print picture of “Coffee House by the Ortaköy Mosque in Constantinople” by Ivan Ayvazovski (See Figure 4). She says that she had bought that

orientalist digital copy print picture depicting a historical scene of İstanbul because she is from İstanbul and she is interested in the history of İstanbul. This additional information also gives another clue about her cultural capital because not everyone has knowledge of the history of İstanbul so only the ones who know the history of İstanbul can relate this PHA with the history of İstanbul. Knowledge of the history of İstanbul indicates her educational background in social sciences and cultural capital.



Figure 4

Digital copy print picture of “Coffee House by the Ortaköy Mosque in Constantinople”
by Ivan Aivazovski owned by Banu

The findings show that both HCC and LCC prosumers and consumers prefer paintings over digital copy print pictures because they are handmade. Fuchs et al. (2015) call this “handmade effect”. They say that handmade objects symbolically contain love the artist which the artist puts into the production process of their work. That is why HCC and LCC prosumers and consumers put more value on original paintings than the machine-made reproductions. Belk (2014) also adds that artworks have the aura of the artist, whereas mechanical reproductions do not. This “handmade effect” is valid for every participant because the reasoning of this happens on the subconscious level which is valid for everyone (Fuchs et al., 2015). Therefore, participants do not differentiate depending on their cultural capital resources on the collective preference of original artworks over their mechanical reproductions.

For HCC prosumers and HCC consumers, art knowledge results in inconspicuous art consumption. HCC prosumer Semra looks down on her friend who brags about her valuable PHAs. She thinks that conspicuous consumption is the primary motivation for this type of person and that they lack artistic knowledge. Semra also has an expensive PHA gifted from the artist but she does not like it and prefers not to display it. Her knowledge of the art field resulted in high volumes of cultural capital made her be able to evaluate the artworks based on artistic qualities. HCC consumer Turgut also has valuable oil paintings from Pertev Boyar but does not hang them anymore. Instead, his walls are filled with the paintings made by his wife which he loves more than the artworks of Pertev Boyar. Mustafa, an HCC consumer, thinks that art collection should not be done for investment purposes. He owns so many pricey pictures He is very humble and does not brag about any of them. His primary motivation for luxury consumption in the art field is the appreciation of aesthetics. As the art knowledge increases, the conspicuousness of the PHAs is questioned by HCCs and they do not want to regard their PHAs as display objects. Inconspicuous consumption is not mentioned by LCC prosumers. Their knowledge of the art field is lower than HCCs therefore they cannot question the conspicuousness of high arts. Conspicuous consumption of artworks is existent among LCC consumers. For example, LCC consumer middle-level manager Murat thinks that the golden leaf framings of his digital copy print pictures of “The Tortoise Trainer” by Osman Hamdi and “A Carpet Seller” by Charles Robertson make them look expensive and he says he likes their impression of expensive look (See

Figure 3 and 5). He is proud that they catch the attention of the guests immediately they enter the saloon. He guesses the price of the framing and asks my opinion. The furniture in the saloon also has a similar style. Golden dominates the furnishing. There are big flamboyant couches. The decorative items are golden and the big glass vases catch attention. The big mirror in front of the dining table also has a golden leaf framing. His other two paintings, which he cannot hang because his wife does not allow him to, also have golden leaf framings. He also emphasizes the pricy look they have and complements the PHAs. His lack of knowledge of the art field makes him see PHAs, whether mechanical reproductions or oil paintings as display objects. Indeed, the prices of the PHAs are barely average. His idea of showing off with the framings of the PHAs alone proves his LCC situation.



Figure 5

Murat's digital copy print picture of "A Carpet Seller" by Charles Robertson

5.2.2. PHAs as Sacred Objects

Both HCC prosumers and HCC consumers generally find their favorite PHAs sacred. Belk et al. (1989) state, consumption has become a vehicle for experiencing the sacred. Some attributes of the objects and some processes sacralize the objects. Objects that produce temporary ecstatic experience in which a person stands outside himself/herself may become sacred (Colpe, 1987; Greeley, 1985, as cited in Belk et al., 1989). A home is not an ordinary place, it is a sacred place and our household possessions have the potential to be sacred. Favored possessions represent aspects of a person's life that are regarded as sacred. Rarity is another potential aspect that makes objects sacred.

HCCs state that they would not sell their favorite PHAs at a premium price. Doğa, retired senior bureaucrat HCC prosumer, and an oil painting artist says that she would not give any of her PHAs because she regards them as her children. By doing so, she separates her sacred PHAs from profane items. HCC consumer Gönül also says she would not sell or give her favorite PHAs to anyone because they are too valuable for her. For HCC consumers and prosumers, their PHAs are high art objects and they are not treated in the same way as everyday commodities.

Sacredness is also observed in LCC prosumers but not in LCC consumers. For example, Haluk, a carpenter LCC prosumer finds his Atatürk oil painting extremely sacred and says he would not sell it or give it because of his endless love and respect for Atatürk. For him, both Atatürk and his Atatürk oil painting are sacred. He admits that he and his family take a moment of silence in front of the oil painting of Atatürk on the 10th of November Atatürk Memorial day and the Republic Day of Turkey. His attitude toward Atatürk includes both fear and reverence. This reflects “kratophany” which is the sacred attribute in which people approach the sacred with both attraction and fear (Belk, 1989).

Haluk (LCC, Carpenter, Prosumer): Atatürk is our holy, we put two flags at home as the symbols of the republic... Everything about the revolution in the republic and the republic makes us all emotional.... My grandfather would bring me a book about Atatürk at that time. I would read it. I would see him crying. Talking about Atatürk even goes beyond our limit [See Figure 6].



Figure 6
Ataturk oil painting owned by Haluk

LCC prosumer Haluk is a carpenter and throughout the interview, he emphasizes the value of handmade objects including crafts and artworks. For him, his lathe tools, which he used in carpentry education, are also sacred. Similarly, not only his Atatürk oil painting but also all the remaining PHAs that he possesses are sacred. LCC prosumer Mehmet also constantly stresses the manual labor effort that he exerts in his stone powder PHAs. First, he collects the colorful stones from the shore and then grinds them and finally sifts out the powder that will be used as the medium for painting the picture. The effort of the PHAs seems to make them sacred for LCC prosumers.

There is also another dimension of sacredness in PHAs, which is the family heirloom status of the PHAs. The family heirloom condition of PHAs is prevalent among HCC prosumers and HCC consumers. Family heirloom PHAs are among their favorites in their collection. Mualla, cultural producer HCC consumer says her favorite PHAs are the trio landscape oil

paintings inherited from her grandparents. She also loves the humble character and the sentimental energy coming from them and the good execution of the artwork. HCC prosumer dentist Sezin also has a family heirloom oil painting by Şeref Akdik. She acknowledges the artist and she appreciates the artistic qualities of the work. Both Sezin and Mualla think of giving their inheritances to their children.

Semra, a retired bureaucrat HCC prosumer, has not taken any inheritance from her family, but she will give her favorite painting “Harp-playing Woman” to her daughter (See Figure 7). That is the reason why she had not to sell the PHA despite generous offers. The family heirloom is not observed among LCC prosumers and LCC consumers. Objects may achieve sacred status through inheritance as family heirlooms (Shammas et al., 1987, as cited in Belk, 1989). We can conclude that participants also differentiate based on cultural capital resources with regards to inheritance of the PHAs because it indicates the quality of the condition of their cultivation. As Bourdieu (1984) puts, cultural capital is mainly a product of cultivation. The typology of the HCCs reveals that generally their fathers are well-educated and their occupations require cultural capital. Most probably, they were also HCC art lovers. Study findings also show that the idea of giving the PHAs as an inheritance to the offsprings always occurs among HCCs. LCCs also have PHAs but they do not inherit PHAs and they do not plan for giving PHAs as an inheritance to their offspring. Therefore, there is a direct relationship between the cultural capital and inheritance of PHAs.



Figure 7

“Harp-playing Woman” oil painting by Semra

5.2.3. PHA Experiences and Everyday Rituals

Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) define the experiential approach to consumption as focusing on fantasies, feelings and fun during the consumption process. HCC prosumers and HCC consumers sometimes mention the experiential aspects of their PHAs where they experience feelings and fantasies while viewing them. For example, HCC prosumer dentist Sezin says she has always loved Gencay Kasapçı’s typical tree oil paintings and wanted to have one; therefore, she went to her exhibition and purchased one. She says she likes to watch her tree painting from Gencay Kasapçı every time she sits in front of that painting in her living room. She says the painting gives her the feeling and the idea of immortality or

rebirth because it represents nature's never-ending self-renewal circle (See Figure 8). This interpretation is a result of abstract thinking and reasoning. She infers meanings from abstract symbols which indicates that she likes intellectual inquiries. She is a graduate of an elite medical school and she says she has taken several elective art history classes which adds up to her ability to value metaphysical aspects of life.

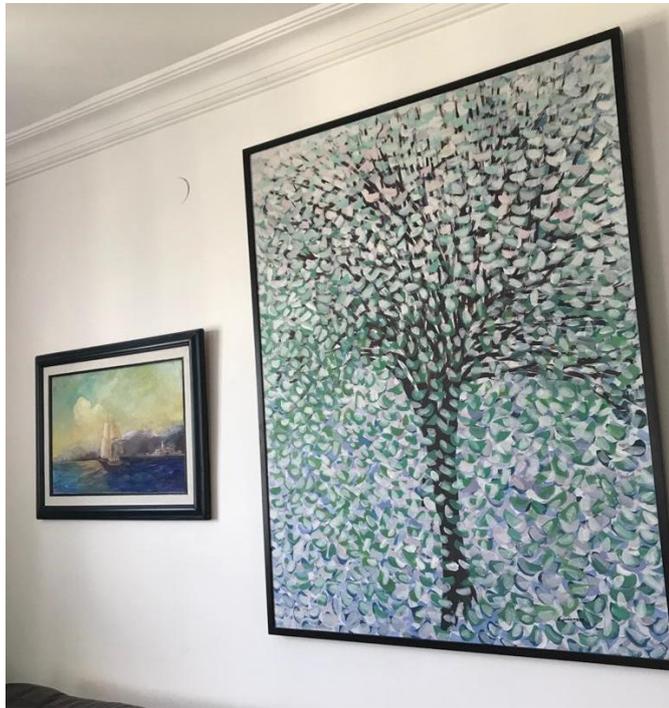


Figure 8

Tree oil painting by Gencay Kasapçı owned by Sezin

HCC consumer Erhan likes his oil painting by Ataç Elalmış (See Figure 9) that depict cranes. He says he looks at that oil painting every evening while he is resting on the couch

in the living room and he says that this painting is among his favorites. For him, cranes represent longing or craving. He also underlines the fact that cranes inspire many poets and he gives examples of poems in which cranes symbolically represent missing. He says he experiences positive emotions but also bitterness. Naïve viewers have low cultural capital and they prefer visual artworks that will look familiar and elicit positive feelings. The experienced viewers do not seek to experience positive feelings that will result from personal relevance with the visual content of the artworks (Winston and Cupchik, 1992). The fact that HCC consumer, antique shop, and art gallery owner Erhan loves his PHA that creates bitter emotions shows that he does not adopt the “functional aesthetics” defined by Daenekindt and Roose (2017) in which the spectator wants to feel relaxed from the artworks. This attitude pertains to naïve viewers which resembles taste for necessity (Bennet, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984, as cited in Daenekindt & Roose, 2017). HCC consumer Erhan does not aim to relax while viewing his PHA by Ataç Elalmış, he likes to make abstract judgments.



Figure 9

Oil painting by Ataç Elalmış owned by Erhan

Nostalgic feelings are rarely mentioned by HCC consumers and HCC prosumers. For Mualla, an HCC consumer, one of the reasons why she likes her expressionist oil painting from İsmet Birsel is the nostalgic feeling she gets from the painting. It depicts a closing scene of a theater scene. She is a professor in the subject of theater decoration and her mother is a theater artist. The primary reason for the purchase of this painting is not nostalgia. She says, this painting is different from the other works of İsmet Birsel and it perfectly represents the expressionism art movement. She mentions the color matches and contrasts that are appealing. HCC prosumer academician Banu also likes the nostalgic feeling that her engravings give which reminds her of her childhood years in İstanbul. This is also not her primary reason for purchase. She is a cultural omnivore and likes to possess different types of PHAs. She enjoys both high culture and low culture. She thinks that her taste in engraving separates her from the mainstream PHA consumers because everyone has oil paintings and watercolor but not engravings. She also stresses that she likes the depiction of a historical scene from İstanbul in that PHA. Knowledge of the history of İstanbul is an indicator of her cultural capital.

LCC prosumers and consumers also mention experientialism. Haluk LCC prosumer says he likes watching the gifted oil painting from the Minister (See Figure 2). Watching it for a long time gives him a therapeutic effect. It is a realistic depiction of a road with trees in which green is the dominant color. Anyone can appreciate real-life depictions and can be affected and that does not necessitate cultural capital (Winston & Cupchik, 1992). He is a carpenter and his educational background is not as good as HCC participants. His education emphasizes manual labor. LCC consumer Gül says her motivation to purchase PHAs is to collect nostalgia from her abroad vacations. She says she enjoys remembering the good nostalgia in the vacations. It is a ritual for her to buy PHAs that depict the city of purchase from her abroad vacations. It is like buying souvenirs. She says she likes to have PHAs that would give her positive emotions. She does not like pictures that would make her experience sadness. This represents the typical traditional aesthetic approach adopted by naïve LCC viewers (Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Emotions have a paramount effect on her PHA purchase decision and she looks for relaxation and adopts functional aesthetics as proposed by (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017). There is no intellectual inquiry in these interpretations by LCCs.

5.3. Tastes in PHA Consumption

When the consumption commodity is an artwork, the taste is, along with emotions, mostly based on the visual content of the artworks for LCC consumers and LCC prosumers. The artistic qualities and of the artworks usually form the basis of artwork preferences for HCC consumers and prosumers. This is because of the superior knowledge that HCCs have compared to the LCCs. Rather than directly focusing on the visual contents of the artworks and trying to figure out familiarity with themselves, HCCs focus on the structure and the artistic techniques and qualities of the artworks which indicate social distinction resulting from the high cultural capital accumulations.

Findings reveal that cultural capital is not the only factor affecting the taste. Ideological stances also play a significant role in developing PHA taste. The study findings showed that whether the participant is a prosumer or a consumer and regardless of the cultural capital resources, conservative people prefer Islamic artworks such as calligraphy. They want to see religious symbols in the visual contents of the artworks. Therefore, the effects of the ideological stances of the participants will also be explained in this section.

Another issue for distinguishing the tastes of the participants is that HCC prosumers usually enjoy abstract PHAs. HCC consumers sometimes enjoy abstract works. LCC prosumers or consumers, on the contrary never enjoy abstract artworks, and admit that they cannot decode the enigmatic meanings in the abstract artworks. The fact that they enjoy challenging and difficult PHAs that would stimulate the mind is an indicator of their status of being experienced viewers with high cultural capital resources (Winston & Cupchik, 1992).

5.3.1. Visual Content Preferences

The contents which give quiescence are favored among all participants. HCC prosumers usually take artistic qualities as the major criteria for selecting PHAs because they regard them as high art objects, not decorative items. The contents that seem peaceful also appeal to them and may affect their consumption choice. For example, Doğa, an HCC prosumer, and an oil painting artist loves her impressionist landscape oil paintings, which she made

by herself. Her impressionist landscape paintings are hung together as a group in her living room (See Figure 10). She elaborates on her oil painting technique in those works and says that she hangs them because they are high-quality oil paintings. She finds them as peaceful but it is not the main reason why they are hung.



Figure 10

Impressionist oil paintings made by Doğa and possessed by Doğa

HCC consumers also look at artistic qualities, but they are slightly more likely to be affected by the visual content of PHAs than HCC prosumers. For example, academician HCC consumer Mualla owns 3 pieces of forest oil paintings (See Figure 11) which are

extremely valuable for her. She can catch the errors in some parts of drawings and shadings but she loves them anyway. She inherits this set from her grandfather and she says that these trio set of oil paintings make her feel very peaceful and that she likes watching them while resting. But the main reason for loving this trio set is the humble character of the paintings and the positive energy that they give to her. She admits that this oil painting set is not so valuable economically but it is well done anyway and very successful in conveying its message of tranquility. She likes the fact that it is so beautiful but not expensive which makes it humble.



Figure 11

One piece of Mualla's trio oil paintings inherited from her grandfather

The family heirloom condition of the trio set and the content appeal HCC consumer Mualla. The knowledge of the artistic qualities and premises plays a role in status demarcation for HCCs. Unlikely, LCCs evaluate PHAs based on what they depict and they give direct examples of preferred pictures such as a nice landscape, a boat, or a depiction of sea

painting which will give them tranquility. LCCs usually state that the desired PHA should be realistic representations of desired objects and events that create positive sentiments. The emphasis on the expectation of getting positive emotions represents the “functional aesthetics” adopted by the uneducated (naïve) viewers (Daenekindt & Roose, 2017). Their interpretations of these types of PHAs are limited and not sophisticated. For instance, LCC prosumer, retired low-level-technical worker and painter Mehmet loves his realistic landscape stone powder paintings. He does not mention any superior artistic attribute about that stone powder painting as a reason why he likes it so much but he emphasizes how closely it represents the actual landscape photograph that he took as well as the peaceful effect it has on the viewers. As said earlier, realistic depictions and realistic images do not require cultural capital for art appreciation. Since the realistic landscape images are familiar to everyone, anyone can appreciate them (Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Similarly, homemaker LCC consumer Ece gave specific topic examples to describe her preferences and the reasons why she likes them:

Ece (LCC, Homemaker, Consumer): I pay attention to the colors. If the colors are not vivid, like what do they call it soft, fresh colors? Those colors give me peace... A gorgeous picture of a bright landscape appeals to me more. It suits me better. Boat, forest, the sea could also be alternatives...It has to be believable. WHOA, real.... Like the tiger painting my friend made.... I swooned... It was like real.... it was very realistic.

She puts emphasis on the benefits of the aesthetic experience. She does not emphasize the expressive and artistic qualities of the artwork. Her subjective evaluations put her in a lower status in the social hierarchy. LCC prosumers and LCC consumers use the visual content of their PHAs to convey their identities. This LCC approach is the same as the American LCCs in the study of Holt (1998) in which LCC participants were affected by the music which represents their current life situations. In both cases the participants make subjective evaluations, they cannot make objective field evaluations as they lack knowledge of the field of interest. In my study, for example, Mehmet, low-level-manager LCC prosumer, says he assimilates himself with his Rumi stone powder painting because he sees similarities between his personality and Rumi’s personality. Similarly, Murat, middle-level manager LCC consumer, states his digital copy print pictures of “The Tortoise Trainer” by Osman Hamdi and “A Carpet Seller” by Charles Robertson reflects himself;

Murat (LCC, Low-level-manager Consumer): I love it. I have a tendency to reed flute. I was trying to blow it once. For me, it fits like a glove. This picture tells me exactly. It is a real work of art. It tells patience... In the other picture, I see bazaar and bargaining. I see myself in it. I like bargaining [See Figure 3 and 5].

Although it is a digital copy print picture of the famous “The Tortoise Trainer” which lacks the aura of the artist, Murat sees this picture as a work of art (Belk, 2014). He takes the visual content of the picture as a criterion, not the artist and the artistic qualities of the PHA. Indeed, he cannot “get” Osman Hamdi’s “The Tortoise Trainer” by looking at its image on a commercial product (Drummond, 2006). His attitude indicates a lack of cultural capital.

The findings consistently prove that as long as the visual content of the PHAs is familiar and as long as they create positive feelings, they are more appealing for LCCs and this reflects their status of naïve viewers who lack the necessary cultural capital in the field of high arts. Since they convey their identities through their PHAs, LCC consumers and LCC prosumers refrain from PHAs which would contradict or damage their self-image. For example, LCC prosumer, carpenter Haluk says he would never hang a painting that would damage his identity. He gives an example of a PHA depicting a nude or half-naked woman and says it would make others regard Haluk as an immoral person. Since their cultural capital is lower, they directly focus on the visual content of the PHAs. Indeed there are so many other attributes that a PHA has such as the artistic quality, the creator or the artist, the art movement or a symbolic representation of an idea. Unlikely, HCC prosumers and HCC consumers do not rely on the visual content of the PHAs to convey their identities. Regardless of the contents of the PHAs, HCCs identify themselves as “being someone who can appreciate and understand high arts”.

5.3.2. Ideological Stances of the Informants

Conservative participants, regardless of their cultural capital resources and their status of being prosumers or consumers, prefer PHAs that create religious connotations. Their preferences are usually orientalist pictures or calligraphies, and they love to see religious symbols such as religious prayers or surah from the Quran in the visual content of the PHAs. For example, academician HCC prosumer Banu is conservative. She loves her digital copy print picture of the famous orientalist artwork “Coffee House by the Ortaköy

Mosque in Constantinapolis” by İvan Ayvazovski (See Figure 4). Her two other digital copy print pictures also belong to the same artist. In each of her engravings, there are mosques. Similarly, mid-level manager LCC consumer Murat, always emphasizes the works with Islamic figures and symbols in pictures he likes such as the reed flute and quotes from the Quran in the Arabic alphabet appearing in his digital copy print picture of “Tortoise Trainer” by Osman Hamdi:

Murat (LCC, Consumer): This man is a saintly one. Must be a very blessed person. There is also spirituality in this picture. Because probably it is a mosque isn't it? Looks like a place of worship. After all, there is written Allah (In Arabic Alphabet)

Conservative participants always give nude pictures, or pictures showing figures that have sex appeals as examples of pictures that they would never have as PHAs. HCC prosumer Banu mentions an oil painting of Marilyn Monroe that one of her friends has. She says the artwork is well executed but she would not hang it because the image (Marilyn Monroe) is too popular and she does not approve of the lifestyle of Marilyn Monroe. Erhan is an HCC cultural producer. He owns an antique shop and an art gallery. He is also a writer and a poet. Erhan says he owns some nude oil paintings in his over 400 piece PHA collection. Yet, he admits that he cannot hang his nude oil paintings in his house because he is conservative. Indeed he admires the hardship of nude pictures:

Erhan (HCC, Consumer): It is not easy to do anatomy. Anatomy painting is the most difficult thing, For example, the one who cannot draw hands puts the hands in the pocket and hides it under the fabric. Not every artist can do that. Artist has to be competent in patterns. A good nude painting is a perfect work of art for me.

Despite his conservative ideological stance, HCC consumer Erhan is able to appreciate the mastery in nude pictures thanks to his knowledge of the high art field. Conservative LCC consumer Murat also states that although nude pictures are visually appealing to him, he cannot hang a nude PHA because it goes against his moral beliefs. For the same reason, LCC prosumer Haluk cannot hang a nude PHA.

Participants who are not conservative, like nude PHAs regardless of their cultural capitals and whether they are consumers or prosumers. HCC prosumer Semra is non-conservative and she states that normally nude artworks are not her favorites but, she owns one nude

watercolor painting from Orhan Güler and her reaction results from the feeling of astonishment of the technical quality of that painting (See Figure 12).



Figure 12

Nude watercolor painting by Orhan Güler possessed by Semra

Prosumer HCC Aylin who is a cultural producer and a graduate of fine arts faculty, loves nude PHAs and thinks that they belong to the bedroom. Not because she cares about others' opinions but because she thinks it is the place that nude PHAs belong to. Non-conservative HCC consumers are also comfortable with nude pictures Businessman HCC consumer

Mustafa is not conservative either. He has so many nude pictures from local and global famous artists in different rooms of his house (See Figure 13).



Figure 13

Nude oil paintings in Mustafa's bedroom

Non-conservative LCC prosumers and LCC consumers show no special interest in nude PHAs and do not possess any nude paintings. Nude pictures require anatomy knowledge and the artist also needs to make a lot of observations and practices to expertise to create nude works (Peck, 1951). We can see that HCCs can recognize the rigor in nude pictures thanks to their cultural capital regardless of their ideological status. However, we can say

that ideological stances play a more powerful role in owning PHAs than cultural capital accumulations. Normally HCCs do not stress the visual content of the PHAs and their purchase decision do not depend on the visual content of the PHAs. Nevertheless, HCC participants refrain from the PHAs in which the visual content goes against their ideological stances. The artistic quality of the PHAs in this case seems to stay in the background. Ideological stances of the individuals are sensitive and too personal. Therefore, in the purchase decision, the relative weight of the ideological stances of the participants seem to surpass the cultural capital, and prosumer and consumer status of the participants.

5.3.3. Love of Abstract PHAs Versus Love of Classic PHAs

HCC prosumers like abstract pictures. Doğa, a retired senior bureaucrat HCC prosumer and an oil painting artist, who always prefers oil paintings as PHAs, says that in any case, her main criteria for selecting a PHA is artistic qualities. She loves high-quality abstract oil paintings and likes to infer different meanings and like to look at abstract artworks which will add richness to her thinking, and stimulate her mind. She does not like classical artworks as much as abstracts. She owns an abstract oil painting from Mustafa Ayaz, which she had purchased in exchange for a large portion of her retirement bonus (See Figure 14).



Figure 14

Mustafa Ayaz's abstract oil painting possessed by Doğa (Left)

HCC consumers sometimes enjoy abstract artworks. Cultural producer HCC consumer Erhan also likes abstract pictures and has some abstract pictures in his over 400 pieces of PHA collection. HCC consumer academician Mualla also likes abstract works and when asked whether it is hard to produce an abstract pictorial artwork or a child could do it, her answer is:

Mualla (HCC, Consumer): No. A child cannot do an abstract picture. May have done it by chance, something may have happened by chance... but what is done in the abstract picture cannot be a coincidence...an abstract painting is a product of thinking...by giving labor... abstract painting has its own expressions. You can only discover it with intuition; it is a little difficult to comprehend through reasoning.

Abstract thinking is a sign of cultural capital (Henry & Marylouise, 2018). Since abstract artworks do not represent a real-life situation, they require more effort for appreciation. As Winston and Cupchik (1992) state, experienced viewers like depictions that are difficult

and challenging. On the contrary, LCC prosumers and LCC consumers do not enjoy abstract pictures. LCC prosumers usually do not like abstract works but they may look up to artists making abstract works. For instance, Mehmet, an LCC prosumer, says he appreciates the ability of the artist who makes abstract pictures. He says that he tried to make a couple of abstract pictures and he admits that making an abstract picture is so hard. He says it exceeds his capacity and he admires the artists who are good at making abstract artworks. Carpenter LCC prosumer Haluk does not enjoy abstract works. Lecturer LCC Consumer Gül says she does not like abstract works and have difficulty in understanding what goes in the artist's mind when looking at an abstract artwork. She has one abstract oil painting gifted from her deceased cousin. Although she does not like that abstract picture, she hangs it in her guest room in his memory. Homemaker LCC consumer Ece thinks that abstract pictures are easy to produce and that they make no sense for her. That is why she would never purchase an abstract pictorial artwork.

5.4. Acquiring PHAs

PHAs can be acquired directly from the art market. They can also be obtained through gift-giving and gift-receiving. Intellectual and technical labor; artistic attributes of the pictures and fame of the artist are considered to be the factors founding the economic value of PHAs. Whether it is intellectual or technical, labor is considered to be a part of economic value. HCC prosumers and HCC consumers value both intellectual labor and technical labor. For example, HCC prosumer Semra stresses the significance of imagination when creating artwork and she tells that all of her PHAs, which she made herself, are created out of imagination and that she had given so much manual effort in each one. Cultural producer HCC consumer Erhan also admires the intellectual and manual labor in his favorite abstract PHA. LCC prosumers and LCC consumers always stress manual labor as a price determinant. LCC prosumer carpenter Haluk thinks that manual labor is a price determinant and emphasizes the great manual labor in his expensive PHA. Homemaker Ece owns a digital print picture of "A Carpet Seller" by Charles Robertson (See Figure 5). She admires manual work and she says she cannot imagine how much effort required for the artist to paint the original work and makes an assumption how much it would cost. Thanks to their

cultural capital resources, HCCs also emphasize the intellectual labor for the valuation of a pictorial artwork.

The artistic attributes of the PHAs are usually deemed as price determinants among all participants. However, the definition of artistic attributes differs depending on cultural capital. For HCC prosumers, artistic attributes mean conducting the art rules. Aylin, a fine art graduate HCC prosumer loves her favorite still life oil painting as the artistic attributes are perfectly applied in that PHA. HCC consumers define a good artistic attribute as representing a good example of a certain art movement. Mualla, for example, thinks that her expressionist oil painting of İsmet Birsel is a good example of expressionist artworks. For LCC prosumers and LCC consumers, the artistic attribute in PHAs means the extent of realistic representation. That is why they put emphasis on manual labor because realistic depictions usually require more manual labor. For example, LCC prosumer Haluk thinks that the effort-requiring realistic PHAs in his collection is more expensive. Similarly, LCC Consumer Ece owns a digital copy print picture of “A Carpet Seller” and thinks that artworks like “A Carpet Seller” are valuable because of their realistic representation. Cultural capital also shows itself in the interpretations of the participants about the artistic attributes of the PHAs. HCCs can relate artistic attributes to the academic side of the art, whereas LCCs’ interpretations stand amateur because of their lack of knowledge of the field.

Another prevalent conviction of the economic worth of a PHA is the fame of the artist, which they call “the artist’s name”. However, there are slight differences between the attitudes of how the fame of the artist is built. HCCs are more likely to think that the name of the artist is built collectively by the artist, their social environment and some actors in the art market such as gallery owners. LCCs are more likely to think that the name of the artist is constructed by the artist. It is a product of an artist’s own endeavor. LCCs generally do not emphasize the social capital of the artists and the actors in the market. For example, HCC prosumer Semra thinks that “the artist’s name” is developed more by external actors such as the social environment of the artist and the leaders of the art marketing channels such as gallery owners and curators. She gives examples of famous artists whose artworks are expensive thanks to the promotion of galleries. Similarly, HCC consumer Mualla also

thinks that some very expensive artworks are sold more than their price because of the artist's name which is built based on the social environment of the artist and the support of the actors in the art market. LCC prosumers do not mention the fame of the artist as a price determinant. LCC consumers are inclined to think that "the artist's name" is set by the artist's own endeavors to introduce their works. LCCs fail to take into consideration the effect of external actors in making the name of the artist. LCC consumer Murat thinks that if the artist fails to make a good introduction, this may result in the sale of their works lower than their true economic value. HCCs' comments reveal that they are more familiar with the mechanism of the art market and the economic valuation of the artworks. They can give real-life examples from their own experiences. LCCs' comments do not properly represent the economic value determination of the artworks. Therefore, the opinions about the fame of the artist reveal the social status of the participants.

Apart from market exchange mechanisms, people also acquire PHAs through gift-giving and gift-receiving. Gifts are tangible expressions of social relationships incorporating themes of love, caring, and social interaction (Belk, 1982; Sherry, 1983, cited in Joy, 2001). HCC prosumers sometimes gift pictures. The values are determined based on the giver and the receiver. For example, HCC prosumer Semra says that she loves to gift her small size still life flower oil paintings to her most loved friends in her first visit to their houses. Fuchs et al. (2015) state that handmade objects like oil paintings are usually preferred to other goods for the gift because they are perfect choices for conveying love to the receiver. However, pictorial artworks are not always the option for gifting for HCC prosumers. Retired senior bureaucrat HCC prosumer Doğa, who is also an oil painting artist says she almost never gives or receives oil paintings as gifts because they are products of extensive intellectual and manual labor. She thinks that they need a monetary exchange. HCC consumers sometimes prefer gifting pictures. Erhan, a cultural producer loves gifting oil paintings. He occasionally gifts pictorial artworks to people. The last time was when he gave away two pieces of his collection to the friends of his daughter. Some HCC consumers think that paintings are very meaningful gifts and they can only gift paintings to people they deeply care about as Sherry (1983) explains, the value of a gift partially reflects the weight of the relationship. LCC prosumers usually give gifts. Mehmet, LCC prosumer likes to give his pictures as gifts to the people he loves but he is reluctant to accept picture gifts

from others because he feels obliged to return the favor immediately. LCC consumers sometimes prefer pictures as gifts. Lecturer Gül, for example, says she sometimes gifts paintings purchased from abroad. Gift giving and gift receiving depend on the weight of the relationship (Sherry, 1983) and handmade objects such as artworks are good options as gifts because they symbolically represent love (Fuchs et al., 2015). Therefore, the participants, regardless of their cultural capital and their status of being prosumers or consumers, consider PHAs as gift options.

5.5. Popular, Modernist and Postmodernist Aesthetic Approaches

Study findings show that LCC prosumers and LCC consumers primarily seek emotional connection with PHAs. Their aesthetic judgments represent traditional or popular aesthetic visions (Hanquinet et al., 2014). They value realistic depictions of real-life events and beauty. Realistic depictions are familiar to everyone and do not require special knowledge. The emotional response should be necessarily positive because they usually want to get therapeutic effects from their PHAs.

Findings reveal that HCCs show two types of aesthetic judgments. The first one is similar to the postmodernist aesthetic approach, and the other one is similar to the modernist aesthetic approach. Both approaches are different from popular aesthetics and both require cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Hanquinet et al., 2014). Involvement in the high art market and higher volumes of cultural capital promote the postmodern aesthetic approach to PHA consumption. Postmodern aesthetic vision promotes the social role of art, ideas, concepts and abstraction and it does not emphasize realism or figurativity, beauty and harmony (Hanquinet et al., 2014). Postmodern aesthetic vision requires knowledge of the technical side of art and art history. Only the viewers who have required cultural capital can make this aesthetic judgment because abstraction and focusing on ideas do not pertain to the participants with low cultural capital. These participants are HCC prosumers who hold a degree in fine arts or achieved a prolonged informal art education or they are HCC consumers who are in real-life art market actors such as gallery owners. Usually their elderly also possess PHAs. These participants do not have digital copy print pictures and do not regard them as “artworks”. They know the art market well. They have a fair amount of knowledge of the technical side of art (e.g. the aesthetic rules such as the Golden Ratio,

drawing, perspective) and art history. They usually prefer one type of picture as PHA and most of the time it is oil painting and sometimes watercolor painting.

They enjoy works of art that pertain to postmodern art movements such as abstract expressionism and pop art (Huyssen, 1984). The mass culture objects such as movie stars and everyday commodities may be depicted in pop art. Due to the massive reproduction of high arts, famous paintings and painters e.g. Van Gogh, Picasso and Mona Lisa have become common property for society (Osterwold, 2003; Silva, 2006). They are popularized and became elements of popular culture. Pop art uses elements of popular culture in high arts to bring art and life back together. It is a critic of the sacralization of art in the modernist approach. The use of pastiche, parody and irony that are prevalent in pop art aims to challenge the traditions and promote social critique (Hanquinet et al., 2014). For example, Businessman HCC consumer Mustafa has postmodernist aesthetic vision and he has a pop art PHA (See Figure 15). The ironic depiction of Mona Lisa and Van Gogh are the elements of popular culture. HCC consumer Mustafa has many other pop art artworks in his artwork collection. He says he enjoys the humor behind the parodies. Mustafa has seen the original work of “Mona Lisa” by Leonarda Da Vinci and he has seen the Van Gogh Museum and he has a fair amount of knowledge about Van Gogh and Leonardo Da Vinci. He also complements the artistic quality of the work.



Figure 15

Pop art oil painting owned by Mustafa

HCC consumer Mualla is an academician and a fine art faculty graduate. She likes abstract pictures that would stimulate her mind. Her expectation from an artwork is to give richness to her mind. Doğa is an HCC prosumer and she started to become interested in pictorial artworks in her younger years. She started collecting artworks. Afterward, she says that she decided to increase her knowledge of pictorial arts and started attending courses from recognized art institutions and famous oil painting artists. She loves abstraction in art (See Figure 1). She loves to create awareness of certain social problems and she gives social messages with symbolical representations with her artworks and with the names of her exhibitions. She also loves to buy PHAs from exhibitions that are organized for supporting desperate social groups. The explicit societal role of art is the core of postmodernism (Hanquinet et al., 2014). Mustafa is an HCC consumer and he organizes art colonies hosting up to 1000 artists and owns an art gallery and museum. He is very competent in art history and has many artist friends. He makes donations from exhibition profits. He also admires the artists who show their political stance in their artworks. He has many pictorial artworks in which there are symbolic representations of his political ideology.

HCC consumers who did not receive fine arts education or who are not an actor in the art market (such as gallery owners) more likely to display PHA consumption in modernist fashion. Usually their elderly also own PHAs. They put more emphasis on harmony, beauty, and technical skill of the artist (Hanquinet et al., 2014). These people, as well, do not have digital copy print pictures and do not regard them as “artworks”. They are somewhat familiar with the art market. They have a certain amount of knowledge of the technical side of art and art history which is an indicator of cultural capital. They also usually prefer one type of pictures as PHAs and most of the time it is oil painting and sometimes watercolor painting. HCC consumer Gönül, for example, states that her favorite painting is a watercolor that shows a “noble” old lady. She admits that she would not prefer watercolor paintings earlier, but she was so impressed with the elegant, wise and meaningful smile created with the color harmony and the delicate finish of the artwork which resulted from the masterful brush strokes. She says that she started to be interested in watercolor artworks after this encounter (See Figure 16).



Figure 16
“Old Lady” watercolor painting possessed by Gönül

Regardless of their cultural capital and whether they are consumers or prosumers, cultural omnivorousness is observed among HCCs and LCCs. The aesthetic judgments of cultural omnivore HCCs may indicate modernist aesthetic vision and postmodernist aesthetic visions. Their tastes include a wide range of PHA types (Peterson, 1992). They like to consume both high culture and low culture. Cultural omnivorousness is present among HCC prosumers with modernist aesthetic vision. For example, HCC prosumer academician Banu has modernist aesthetic vision and she is a cultural omnivore. She has oil paintings, engravings, calligraphies, and digital copy print pictures of Ivan Aivazovski (See Figure 4). Although they are not in the scope of the study, she is also interested in photography and digital art. She does not see her the digital copy print picture as an artwork but her motivation for purchasing is her interest in the history of İstanbul.

Cultural omnivorousness also exists among HCC consumers with modernist aesthetic vision. HCC consumer academician Kemal also is a cultural omnivore; he has oil paintings, watercolor paintings, primitive pictures worked on papyrus which is bought from Egypt, photographs, and other types of pictures in which the medium is stone and metal and digital copy print pictures of Van Gogh and Claude Monet. In both cases, digital copy print pictures represent low culture because they are massive reproductions of original works. They are digital reproductions that lack the aura of the artist (Belk, 2014; Benjamin, 1936). Kemal likes to consume a diverse range of high and popular artworks. Similar to Banu, he does not regard his digital copy print pictures as artworks and he has a fair amount of knowledge about Van Gogh and Claude Monet which indicate his cultural capital and social distinction. Cultural omnivorousness is also present in HCC consumers who have postmodernist aesthetic approach. For example, HCC consumer Mustafa has postmodernist aesthetic vision and likes abstraction and ideas in artworks. He also has pop art PHAs which have elements of popular culture. Therefore, he is a cultural omnivore.

Cultural omnivorousness is also observed in LCC prosumers and LCC consumers which is consistent with the study result of Warde et al. (2007). For example, carpenter Haluk, an LCC prosumer owns a digital copy print picture of “Young Woman at a Window” by Salvador Dali, marbling PHAs, illumination, and oil paintings, but his interpretations reveal that he is not competent in any type of the PHAs that pertain to high art. He does not like

abstraction and does not like PHAs that are difficult to interpret. He loves the positive emotional response to his PHAs and likes realistic depictions. The fact that he is a carpenter makes him value all types of manual labor. He lacks the necessary knowledge to appreciate artworks. Gül, an LCC consumer also owns a digital copy print picture of “Café Terrace at Night” by Vincent Van Gogh. This is her favorite PHA because she believes that she had lived in that PHA in her previous life. The lifestyle depicted in “Café Terrace at Night” represents her desired lifestyle so closely. This approach is a typical traditional aesthetic approach by naïve viewers.

Table 3 shows the sum of the findings. The findings reveal that HCCs emphasize idea communication and expression as a part of the meaning of art whereas LCCs emphasize emotion communication and expression. Unlike the consumers, the prosumers mention the expressive side of art. The emphasis on ideas made by HCCs reflects the educational background that promotes the importance of ideas and concepts and indicates cultural capital. The effects of art in society is elaborated by HCC prosumers and HCC consumers. The postmodernist aesthetic vision is a reflection of cultural capital in the postmodern era. The emphasis on the societal role of art forms the basis of postmodernism aesthetics. Whereas, LCC prosumers and LCC consumers cannot deliver a detailed statement of the relationship with art and society. HCCs interpretations underline artistic attributes of PHAs and criticize people who use artworks as conspicuous goods because HCCs do not deem artworks as display objects. Since HCCs regard their PHAs as “high arts”, they usually separate them from everyday items and sacralize them. LCCs value all items that require manual work and therefore they usually sacralize their PHAs because of their effort requiring attribute. Family inheritance of PHAs is prevalent among HCCs which indicates the good cultivation condition of the HCC participants. It also proves the consistency of the well-educated status of their father. HCCs see European artwork consumers as their peers because they know that all the massive transformation of art history took place in Europe. LCCs’ interpretations are mostly based on the emotional aspects of their PHAs which is another indicator of the lack of knowledge of high art. Emotion is also existent among HCCs and they also mention experientialism but they do not put much emphasis on emotions and their emotions are usually disinterested. In other words, emotional responses

do not result from personal relevance. The feelings are usually reinforced by everyday rituals.

Tastes of HCCs usually are not limited to the visual content of the PHAs. Visual content is a powerful factor determining the taste in PHAs for LCCs. LCCs also see PHAs as a medium to convey their identities. That is why they refrain from the visual contents that would damage their self-image. HCCs, on the other hand, do not convey identities with the visual contents of their PHAs but they identify themselves as “art lovers who know the worth of artworks and who can properly appreciate artworks”. With their self-confidence in the art field, they show their higher status in the social hierarchy. Ideological stances of the consumers play a key role in taste development for all participants. Ideological stances are exceptional because they are too sensitive and personal issues, therefore, participants do not differentiate based on their cultural capital and their status of being prosumers and consumers in this category. Unlike LCCs, HCCs enjoy abstract works which is an indicator of cultural capital (Henry & Marylouise, 2018; Winston & Cupchik, 1992). The acquisition of PHAs is realized by market exchange tools and gift giving and gift receiving. Gift giving and gift receiving is realized based on the weighted relationship and hand-made objects such as artworks are preferred as gifts because they symbolically represent love (Fuchs et al., 2015; Sherry, 1983). Therefore the participants do not differentiate based on the cultural capital in this dimension. The valuation of PHAs is based on intellectual labor and technical labor of the PHAs, artistic attributes of the PHAs and fame of the artist. The interpretations of this dimension show the differences of participants in terms of the knowledge of the technical side of art and the art market. HCC prosumers and HCC consumers still use high arts as a social distinction marker. Their aesthetic visions either represent modernist aesthetic fashion or postmodernist aesthetic fashion. Cultural omnivorousness is observed among both HCCs and LCCs. Both groups may have PHAs that belong to low art and high art (e.g. digital copy print pictures as low art, and oil paintings as high art) or they may have PHAs that include the elements of both high culture and low culture (e.g. pop art PHA). Lower cultural capital consumers’ attitudes towards their PHAs which are high artworks do not represent knowledge of art. Their attitude towards high arts is similar to popular arts and they adopt popular (traditional) aesthetic vision. HCCs do not approach high arts with a traditional or popular aesthetic fashion. HCCs reveal their knowledge of

art with their aesthetic visions which are similar to the postmodernist and modernist aesthetic visions defined by Hanquinet et al. (2014). Besides high culture, having tastes in low culture just signifies their omnivore status.

Table 3
Summary of Findings: Meaning of Art and PHAs

HCC		LCC		Comments
Prosumers	Consumers	Prosumers	Consumers	
Art as a means to communicate emotions and ideas	Art as a means to elicit emotions and ideas	Art as a means to communicate emotions	Art as a means to elicit emotions	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Usually give sound and detailed explanations for the role of art in social assistance and uses art for social assistance	Sometimes give sound and detailed explanations for the role of art in social assistance and uses art for social assistance	Do not use art for social assistance	Do not use art for social assistance	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Comparison with artwork consumers in other countries (Europeans are favored, American and non-western consumers are criticized)	Comparison with artwork consumers in other countries (Europeans are favored, American and non-western consumers are criticized)	No comparison with artwork consumers in other countries	No comparison with artwork consumers in other countries	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs

Table 3 (continued)

PHA interpretations reflect art knowledge (representing art rules, use art premises in their explanations)	PHA interpretations reflect art knowledge (good representation of an art movement)	PHA interpretations do not reflect art knowledge. Cannot remember artists of their PHA, mention the visual content and sentimental effects	PHA interpretations do not reflect art knowledge. Cannot remember the artists of their PHA, mention the content and sentimental effects	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Inconspicuous PHA consumption	Inconspicuous PHA consumption	Inconspicuousness is not mentioned	Conspicuous PHA consumption	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Sacred attributes in PHAs	Sacred attributes in PHAs	Sacred attributes in PHAs	No sacred attributes in PHAs	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Family inheritance is observed	Family inheritance is observed	Family inheritance is not observed	Family inheritance is not observed	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Experientialism is sometimes observed	Experientialism is sometimes observed	Experientialism is always observed	Experientialism is always observed	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs

Table 3 (continued)

More emphasis on artistic qualities than content	More emphasis on artistic qualities than content	Content directly impact consumption preferences and favor realistic and familiar depictions	Content directly impact consumption preferences and favor realistic and familiar depictions	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Do not convey identities through PHAs	Do not convey identities through PHAs	Convey identities through PHAs	Convey identities through PHAs	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Ideological stances influence PHA preferences	Ideological stances influence PHA preferences	Ideological stances influence PHA preferences	Ideological stances influence PHA preferences	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Enjoy abstract PHAs	Sometimes enjoy abstract PHAs	Do not enjoy abstract PHAs	Do not enjoy abstract PHAs	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Price determinant is based on intellectual and manual labor, conducting artistic rules and fame of the artist (external actors)	Price determinant is based on intellectual and manual labor, good representation of an art movement and fame of the artist (external actors)	Price determinant is based on manual labor, realism and fame of the artist (artist's endeavor)	Price determinant is based on manual labor, realism and fame of the artist (artist's endeavor)	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs

Table 3 (continued)

Gift PHAs	Gift PHAs	Gift PHAs	Gift PHAs	Comments do not reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Postmodernist aesthetic approaches to PHA are more prevalent than modernist aesthetic approach	Modernist aesthetic approaches to PHA are more prevalent than postmodernist aesthetic approach	Popular aesthetic approaches to PHA	Popular aesthetic approaches to PHA	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs
Cultural omnivores	Cultural omnivores	Cultural omnivores	Cultural omnivores	Comments reflect the difference of CC between LCCs and HCCs

Note. LCC = lower cultural capital; HCC = higher cultural capital; CC = cultural capital

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to understand the differences in meanings inferred from PHA consumption between high cultural capital and low cultural capital consumers in the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey. This aim was inspired by the studies which demonstrate the increasing tendency of people in the higher social status to consume popular culture and the increasing availability of high culture for every social group (Gans, 1985; Holt, 1998; Peterson, 1992). Peterson (1992) finds that postmodernism resulted in a new type of cultural elite whose tastes constitute a wide range of different cultures. Holt (1998) asserts that in the postmodern period, boundaries between high and low culture are blurred due to the massification of fine arts and the increasing popularity of low culture among cultural elites. Holt argues that the modernist approach to high arts as objectified cultural capital is no longer valid in postmodern America and that American cultural elites no longer show higher status in the social hierarchy by pure high arts. He concludes that status consumption can only be understood by looking at the meanings attached to the consumption of everyday objects and he disregards high arts in his study. Later on, Üstüner and Holt (2010), study how status consumption is achieved by the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey by only looking at the consumption of everyday commodities. Whilst, a more recent study by Hanquinet et al. (2014) reveals that the character of cultural capital has changed and has to be reworked in the postmodern era. The art market continues to grow in Turkey and there are many art education institutions and artistic events that motivate art lovers (Altınkurt, 2015; Demir et al., 2018). Thus, I argue that high brow arts still function as a status marker for some groups of consumers in Ankara/Turkey.

The findings of my study consistently indicate that high arts are still working as the objectified cultural capital for HCCs. In my study, the aesthetic preferences of LCC

participants are similar to traditional or popular aesthetic vision. Popular aesthetic values harmony, beauty, realistic depictions and emotional response that primarily results from personal relevance with the visual content of the artworks (Hanquinet et al., 2014). In my study, LCCs put great emphasis on the emotional response to their PHAs and the content of the PHAs which comes as relaxing and familiar. Their evaluations are subjective and do not focus on the expressive side of the artworks and structural properties which indicates a lack of cultural capital. On the other hand, PHA consumption among HCCs in Ankara /Turkey is similar to the aesthetic visions depicted by Hanquinet et al. (2014). For the ones with high cultural capital resources, who received an art education, or who are actors in the high art market, reveal their high cultural capital through consuming PHAs in a way that is similar to the postmodernist fashion meaning that their artistic quality judgments emphasize ideas, concepts, and abstraction (Hanquinet et al.,2014). Beauty and figurativity (realistic depictions) are not important. In my study, HCCs whose aesthetic judgments are similar to postmodern aesthetics vision are also competent in art history and the technical side of the pictorial arts as they know the technical rules applied in pictorial artworks such as the Golden Ratio, drawing and perspective. All this knowledge of the field of art and the emphasis on ideas, abstraction and concepts require cultural capital and indicate the level of formal education that promotes abstract thinking. Consequently, they like artworks such as abstract artworks that will trigger their imagination and that will challenge them intellectually. Since they inherit PHAs from their elderly it also indicates the quality of their cultivation condition. Because according to Table 1, generally the education level of the fathers of HCCs and generally the occupations of the fathers of the HCCs promote cultural capital. They do not have digital copy print pictures and they are insiders in the art market and they are competent in art history and technical aspects of art. They put forward their knowledge as a status indicator. In my study, HCCs with postmodern aesthetic vision try to use art for social assistance. The social role of art is the essence of postmodernist aesthetic vision (Hanquinet et al., 2014).

The condition of businessman HCC consumer Mustafa constitutes an exceptional typology. He also has postmodernist aesthetic vision. His cultural capital resources resulted in low cultural capital accumulations according to the cultural capital scale. (See Table 1). He is a wealthy businessman HCC consumer and he owns a gallery and a museum. He has so many

artists in his social environment. Consequently, he is also rich in terms of social capital and economic capital. His inheritance of PHAs from his father and the education and the occupation of his father indicates the decent cultivation circumstance of Mustafa. His PHA consumption resembles art patronages in the Renaissance (McLean, 2007). He financially supports artists and order pictorial artworks depicting himself and his high social status. He values ideas, concepts, and abstractions as artistic attributes. His PHA consumption pattern is like HCCs with postmodern aesthetic visions and that is why his condition constitutes exceptional typology. His economic capital also allows him to possess many high arts and organizes and attends so many art exhibitions. His status shows that he has converted his social capital and economic capital into cultural capital. As Bourdieu (1984) suggests, capitals are convertible.

The other group of HCCs shows their higher status in the social hierarchy through PHA consumption in a way that is similar to modernist fashion. Modernist aesthetic judgments value harmony, beauty, and technical skill of the artist. The modernist approach requires the contemplation of artworks in a detached way. Art is detached from everyday life. Any kind of emotional response should not result from personal relevance of the content of the artwork (Hanquinet et al., 2014). Similar to the HCCs with postmodernist aesthetic judgments, in my study, HCCs whose aesthetic judgments are similar to modern aesthetics vision are also competent in art history and technical side of the pictorial arts. They know the technical rules such as the Golden Ratio, drawing and perspective. These are the indicators of cultural capital. These HCC people lack formal or prolonged art education. Similar to the HCCs with postmodernist aesthetic judgments, usually their family also owned PHAs. They show their high cultural capital through their interpretation of high art type PHAs in a modernist fashion. They may own reproductions of famous artworks but they do not regard them as artworks. Hence, there are also cultural omnivores in this group. They like to develop tastes in a variety of high cultures and low cultures (Peterson, 2014).

In their paper “The Eyes of the Beholder: Aesthetic Preferences and the Remaking of Cultural Capital”, Hanquinet et al, (2014) clarify if there is a difference between the HCCs with modernist aesthetic vision and postmodernist aesthetic vision in terms of cultural capital. They say that, according to their findings, the participants with the highest level of

education may not adopt postmodernist aesthetic vision. For example, those participants may find postmodern artworks as too popular and kitsch. Their aesthetic judgments may not adopt abstraction or concepts. Similar findings are observed in my study. According to the findings of my study, the tendency of the participants to adopt modernist or postmodernist aesthetic visions cannot be explained by the differences in cultural capital. But there is one salient difference between the HCCs who adopt modernist aesthetic vision and postmodernist aesthetic vision. The HCC participants who receive art education (usually they are prosumers) and the participants who are actors in the art market (such as gallery owners or curators) usually adopt postmodernist aesthetic vision.

The cultural capital scale developed by Holt (1998) and Lamont (1992), which is also used by Üstüner and Holt (2010) aims to give an idea about the cultural capital of the individuals. It is based on the occupation and education of the individuals and their fathers' education and occupation. Because the authors emphasize cultural capital resources accumulate from three primary ventures of acculturation: family upbringing, formal education, and occupational culture. Family upbringing is the consequence of the father's education and occupation because the status of the father is the most dominant (Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio and Unseem 1978; Lamont 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992, as cited in Holt, 1998). The cultural capital scale generally correctly assumes the cultural capital of the participants. Yet, it may not provide precise information in all circumstances. The findings show that the scale fails to indicate the cultural capital of the businessman LCC consumer Mustafa. According to the scale, his cultural capital score indicates low cultural capital (See Table 1). Conversely, his artwork consumption indicates that he is an HCC participant. The scale does not take into consideration the effects of social capital and economic capital on cultural capital. As a result, it is fair to say that the typology that resulted from the cultural capital scale is not valid in all circumstances. In the study of Üstüner and Holt (2010) similarly, there is a participant who constitutes an exceptional typology. According to the scale, her cultural capital score indicates that she is an HCC consumer. Conversely, the consumption patterns of the participant reflect LCC patterns. Hence, in reality, she is an LCC consumer.

To show how status consumption operates in Turkey, Üstüner and Holt (2010) explain how global trickle-down theory applies in today's globalization. They recover global trickle-down theory which states that consumers in the LIC show status through consuming western products. But the theory cannot fully explain how status consumption operates in today's LIC because of the proliferation of western goods due to globalization. All consumers in LIC are inevitably using western products. Üstüner and Holt (2010) extend global-trickle-down-theory by looking at how everyday commodities (they inevitably include western products) are consumed depending on cultural versus economic capital resources. Their study findings show that people in LIC show status by the way they consume objects depending on their cultural versus economic capital. The consumers with high cultural capital resources distinguish themselves by adopting the American lifestyle. They show status by consuming like an American middle class consumer. It is reasonable to understand why consumers in LIC emulate American consumers as America is the place where the consumer society was born (Duman, 2016). My study findings indicate that in the case of artwork consumption, however; the Americans are not emulated yet belittled by HCC prosumers and HCC consumers in LIC. For example, Aylin, a graduate of fine arts faculty and an HCC prosumer, looked down on American art consumers and said that the American is arrogant in the art field. She had lived in America and Germany and she gives examples of instances with her encounter with art curators and artwork consumers in America and Germany. Her comments reflect an admiration for artwork consumers in Germany. Semra, an HCC prosumer, sees European artwork consumers as peers. Banu, an HCC prosumer also looks down on art consumers in Qatar and she thinks that they purchase high arts for conspicuous consumption. These HCC participants all have a fair amount of art history knowledge. It sounds reasonable because they all know that the massive transformations in art history like Renaissance, modernity, and postmodernity were all born in Europe (Bal, 2015; Mattick, 2003). This may be the reason why they favor the European culture and artwork consumption style of European consumers.

In Ankara/Turkey, LCCs' interpretations about PHAs are mostly based on the emotional aspects and the content of their PHAs whereas HCCs put more emphasis on artistic aspects, aesthetic abstraction, and sometimes the social role of art. HCCs see art as a communication tool for ideas and emotions. LCCs do not emphasize the idea communication attribute of

art. Similarly, LCCs cannot clarify the social impact of art. Since they believe that art can spark ideas, HCCs value the social role of art to create social awareness and social critique. This aesthetic vision reflects the postmodernist aesthetics. HCCs with postmodern aesthetics vision use art for social assistance as long as their social and economic capitals permit. For example, HCC consumer Mustafa is a businessman and his economic capital is high. He has so many famous local and global artists in his social environment. He constantly organizes art colonies and art exhibitions. He owns a fine art museum and a gallery. He believes in the social impact of art and he uses his social capital and economic capital to implement his idea. The art colonies and the exhibitions are all thanks to his social and economic capital. Doğa is an HCC prosumer with postmodernist aesthetic vision. She occasionally organizes her own art exhibitions and tries to create social awareness with the names of her exhibitions and her artworks. In some of her exhibitions, she uses the income for social assistance. As long as her economic capital permits, she buys artworks from the exhibitions in which the earnings are donated to charitable organizations.

The findings reveal that except for LCC consumers, all participants usually find their PHAs sacred. HCCs and LCC prosumers state that they would not sell their PHAs under no circumstances. A similar example is also observed in the study of Üstüner and Holt (2010). In that study, there is an example of an LCC consumer who sold all of her 600 pieces of oil painting collection to catch the trend “minimalism”. As mentioned earlier, the authors did not elaborate on artwork consumption. That LCC participant regards her PHAs as decorative items, but not artworks due to her lack of cultural capital. Her approach towards her PHAs is just like everyday items. My study findings indicate that all LCCs have popular aesthetic vision and HCCs have both the modernist and postmodernist aesthetic approaches. The modernist aesthetics approach sacralizes art by separating art from life. Artworks must be contemplated without the worries of everyday life (Hanquinet et al., 2014). Whereas the popular aesthetics approach and postmodernist aesthetics approach do not sacralize art because art has the elements of life and popular culture. By looking at these, we would assume that those with postmodernist aesthetic judgments would not find their PHAs sacred. The reason why HCCs with postmodernist aesthetic vision also find sacredness in their PHAs is the fact that they see their PHAs as “artworks”. Their interpretations show that they do not treat their PHAs in the same way with everyday

objects. They acknowledge the artists of their PHAs and the art movement that their PHAs belong to. They can make aesthetic judgments based on technical qualities. They discuss the technical qualities by using art premises. The appreciation and aesthetic evaluation of HCC participants who adopt the postmodernist aesthetic approach may not sacralize “art” but their PHAs represent “high arts” which are different from ordinary commodities. That is why they sacralize their PHAs. Similar to the findings of the study of Üstüner and Holt (2010), in my study, LCC consumers generally regard their PHAs as decorative items and lack the necessary knowledge to appreciate their PHAs as artworks. They generally emphasize the decorative aspects of their pictures such as how well the framing and the colors of their PHAs match the style and the colors of the furniture. Generally, LCCs do not know the artist of their possessions. They value the emotional response, realism and harmony with their furniture. Their PHAs are generally treated as decorative items. LCC prosumers also find sacredness but it is not because they see their PHAs as high arts, but because they tend to sacralize almost all of their possessions which require manual labor.

The contents of the PHAs are used as identity projects to convey the identities of LCC prosumers and LCC consumers. This LCC approach is also observed in the study of Holt (1998) where he discovered that LCCs were affected by the music which speaks to their current life situation. My study findings and the findings of Holt (1998) prove that LCC judgments are referential; they cannot detach themselves from the artworks while contemplating them. These findings are consistent with the findings of many other scholars; LCCs are attracted to the works whose visual contents seem as familiar (Bourdieu, 1984 as cited in Hanquinet et al., 2014; Silva, 2006; Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Since the visual contents and emotions play a major role in evaluating an artwork, LCC prosumers and LCC consumers reveal their lack of cultural capital accumulations during PHA interpretations.

There are examples of HCCs who have digital copy print pictures of famous works in my study but they do not regard digital copy print pictures as artworks. They are cultural omnivores with high levels of cultural capital. Academician Banu is an HCC prosumer and she owns a digital copy print picture of “Coffee House by the Ortaköy Mosque in Constantinople” by Ivan Aivazovski (See Figure 4). She shows her cultural capital by the way she consumes it. She knows which art movement the original work belongs to and the

name of the artist. Her motivation for purchasing is to see a historical scene of İstanbul. She currently studies Ph.D. in social sciences. Her father is a professor in social sciences. Her interest in history and cultures and her knowledge of these areas indicate her high level of educational background and her good cultivation condition. She can show her cultural capital through her interpretations. She does not like pop art PHAs. She says that she does not like the images of “up-to-date” images in artworks by giving the example of Marilyn Monroe. Being up-to-date implies the sustained popularity of Marilyn Monroe. For Banu, popular culture elements in high arts make the artwork lose its significance as a status marker. She likes to own PHAs in which the content is not familiar with the majority of the society. She also thinks that her engravings that depict the historical scene of İstanbul reflect her refined taste in pictorial artworks. She thinks that not everyone is familiar with engravings and not everyone can understand and appreciate a historical scene of İstanbul. This is consistent with the result that she dislikes pop art.

In my study, cultural omnivorousness is also observed among all participants, regardless of their cultural capital and whether they are consumers or prosumers. For example, LCC consumer Murat is a cultural omnivore. He has oil paintings and digital copy print pictures. His consumption style and his aesthetic approach to his PHAs reveal that he is an LCC consumer. LCC prosumer Haluk, HCC consumer Kemal and HCC prosumer Banu are also cultural omnivores. These findings are similar to the findings of the study of Warde et al. (2007). Their study focuses on cultural participation in the UK to test the omnivorousness thesis. The authors find that different social groups may participate in a variety of high and low cultures yet they may not embrace the elements of high culture which indicate the lack of cultural capital. As a result, not all cultural omnivores are wealthy in terms of cultural capital.

LCC consumer Murat regards his digital copy print picture of the famous “The Tortoise Trainer” by Osman Hamdi (See Figure 3) as a “real” artwork because the content represents patience and he found similarities between himself and the old man in the picture. For him, the visual content is enough to deem the PHA as an “artwork”. Belk (2014) and Benjamin (1936) state that the mechanical reproductions of high arts lack the original’s temporal and spatial existence and the aura of the artist. Only the original artworks can create

astonishment and reverence to the work and the artist (Belk, 2014). Drummond (2006) also says that massification of great artwork images on commercial products such as books, coffee mugs, bags cannot represent the owner's cultural capital. He does not give examples of digital copy print pictures among these commercial products and; therefore, does not directly say that digital copy print pictures also cannot convey one's cultural capital. With the supporting arguments from my study findings, I suggest that digital copy print pictures, the mass reproductions of high arts function as low or popular culture products, and cannot represent objectified cultural capital.

To conclude, it can be enough to look for meanings during consumption of everyday commodities to see how consumers show their status in the social hierarchy depending on their cultural versus economic capitals in today's global postmodern society (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998; Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Nevertheless, when the consumption object is an objectified cultural capital such as fine artwork, we cannot directly conclude that objectified cultural capital has lost its significance as a result of the blurring boundaries of high culture and low culture in today's postmodern era. In their paper "The Eyes of the Beholder: Aesthetic Preferences and the Remaking of Cultural Capital", Hanquinet et al. (2014) suggest that postmodernism also resulted in a transformation of the nature of cultural capital. Thus, they rework the cultural capital and defined its aesthetic criteria in the postmodern era and find that the cultural capital transformation in the postmodern period created the postmodernist aesthetic vision. The authors show the dimensions of the postmodernist aesthetics vision. Parallel to their findings, my study findings also show that in today's postmodern Ankara/Turkey, HCCs show their higher status in the social hierarchy through adopting both the old (modernist) and the new (postmodernist) versions of cultural capitals in the field of high arts. Whereas LCCs adopt the popular or traditional aesthetic vision which does not necessitate cultural capital. The findings of this study aim to contribute to society and managers (In the art market context, managers will be museum and art gallery managers, curators, exhibition managers, festival and biennial managers, and the artists) by giving a better insight of artwork consumers which will result in better segmentation of artwork consumer types and constructing proper art marketing strategy.

6.2. Limitations and Further Research

In the literature, there is a lack of studies focusing on artwork consumption in LIC. Within the limits of the master's thesis, this study made an extension to the conceptual study of Üstüner and Holt (2010) by making comparisons between high cultural capital and low cultural capital people in the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey particularly focusing on the pictorial artwork consumption at home. The data collection period coincided with the global COVID-19 Pandemic. That's why I could not make observations in the art market such as galleries and auctions. My knowledge about how people evaluate artworks would be supported. Nevertheless, the findings of this study prove that several further studies can be conducted.

Further studies may focus on artwork consumption in families. I focused on individual consumption of PHAs but the findings reveal that individuals' PHA consumption may be influenced by family members. Hence, further studies may focus on how PHAs are negotiated among family members, how PHA consumption affects the family identity, and how PHAs impact the social order in the families.

The effects of the ideological stances of the individuals may be further studied. The ideological stances of the PHA consumers stand as a fruitful research area for artwork consumption. The findings of this study revealed that the ideological stances of the consumers play a major role in taste development in artworks. In my study, conservatism emerged as an ideological stance of the consumers. Further studies may focus on the effects of political ideologies on artwork consumption. For example, they may focus on how socialist or nationalist artwork consumers in postmodern Turkey consume artworks. I would expect that the socialist artwork consumers would adopt the postmodernist aesthetic vision as the postmodernist aesthetics values the social role of art.

Another emergent theme is the relationship between the age of the participants and their status of cultural univore/omnivore in PHA consumption. My study findings showed that older participants with high cultural capital resources are more likely to adopt univore tastes. They usually prefer oil paintings and sometimes watercolor paintings as PHAs. They are equally likely to adopt modernist or postmodernist aesthetic visions. My study findings

showed that young participants with high cultural capital resources are more likely to have omnivore tastes in PHAs. Further studies may focus on whether they adopt modernist or postmodernist aesthetic vision as cultural capital.

Lastly, further studies may focus on the effects of economic capital and social capital on artwork consumption. The effects of economic capital and social capital are also important but in this study, I could only focus on the cultural capital of the art consumers in the upper middle class in Ankara/Turkey. The result of the focus of economic capital and social capital of the artwork consumers may reveal more information about the conspicuousness and inconspicuousness. There may be consumers who would buy artworks to show off to others. Another type of consumers may buy primarily for themselves, to enjoy viewing their artworks at their home. Instead of buying artworks, some may allocate their budget to see museums in other countries and other cities. The meanings of the artworks may vary depending on the economic capital and social capital of the consumers.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH INTERVIEW GUIDE / TÜRKÇE GÖRÜŞME FORMU

Giriş Soruları:

- Sanat deyince aklınıza neler geliyor?
- Sanatla tanışıklığınız ve ilginiz ne zaman başladı?
- Ressam arkadaşlarınız oldu mu? Ailede ressam/sanatçı var mı?
- Sanatın herhangi bir dalıyla ilgili eğitim aldınız mı? Açıklar mısınız?
- Çocukluğunuzda aileniz veya başka kanallar tarafından sanata teşvik edildiniz mi?

1. Resim edinme süreci

- Bana resimlerinizi nerelerden aldınız anlatır mısınız?
- Satın aldığımız resimlerde hangi özelliklerine dikkat ettiniz?
- Resmi satın almak için sahip olması gereken anlamlar nelerdir?
- Satın aldığımız resimlerin fiyatları sizin kararınızda etkisi nedir?
- Sizce resmin fiyatını etkileyen unsurlar nelerdir?
- Sizce aynı resmin zaman içindeki fiyatında gerçekleşen değişim nelerle alakalıdır?
- Sizce neden bazı resimler görece çok pahalıdır?
- Resmin tarzı ve içeriğinin sizin kararınızda etkisi nedir?
- Resim satın alırken başkasının fikrini alır mısınız?

- Resimde geçerli olan sanat akımları hakkında ne kadar bilgi sahibisiniz?
- Resim sanatıyla ilgili bilgileri nerelerden edirsiniz?
- Galeriler, sergiler, bienalleri vs. gezer misiniz?
- Resim sanatıyla alakalı takip ettiğiniz sosyal medya hesapları veya bloglar var mı?
- Resim sanatıyla alakalı dergi, kitap alır mısınız?
- Resmin hediye edilmesi konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Açıklar mısınız?
- Hangi resimler hediye geldi?
- Resim koleksiyonu konusunda düşünceniz nedir?
- Tek başınıza mi alırsınız?
- Satın alma sürecinde başınıza hiç ilginç bir olay geldi mi?

2. Resim ve mekân ilişkisi

- Resimlerinizi nasıl yerleştirdiğinizi anlatır mısınız?
- (Her bir resim için) Neden o resmi o odaya o duvara koydunuz?
- (Anlattığı resimleri) İki resmi kıyaslar mısınız? O resmi farklı kılan nedir?
- Başkalarının düşünceleri resimlerinizi konumlandıracağınız mekân seçimlerini hangi yollarla etkiler?

3. Resim beğenisi ve anlamları

- Bir resmi beğenmek için o resimde aradığımız anlamlar nelerdir?
- Hangi tarzda resimleri sevmezsiniz?
- Şu zamana kadar en çok beğendiğiniz resimler nelerdir? O resmi anlatır mısınız?

- Soyut resim hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- Hangi resimlerinizi en çok seviyorsunuz?
- Resimlerinize hangi zamanlarda daha çok bakarsınız, incellersiniz?
- Baktığınız zaman sizde ne gibi duygu ve düşünceler oluşuyor açıklar mısınız?
- Çerçevesi ve dekorasyon arasında nasıl ilişkiler vardır?
- Bu resimlerle aranızda özel bir bağ var mı?
- Hiç bu resimleri birine hediye etmeyi düşünür müsünüz?
- Hiç bu resimleri birine satmayı düşünür müsünüz?
- Replika resimler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- Bir resmin orjinaline veya replikasına sahip olmak arasında farklar sizce nelerdir?
- Resimlerinizin başkalarında uyandırabileceği anlamlar sizin için hangi açılardan önemlidir/önemsizdir?
- Resim sanatının toplum ve insanlar üzerindeki etkisi nedir?
- Resim sanatının toplum üzerinde ne derece etkilidir?
- Sizce ülkemizde toplumda sanatsal faaliyetlere daha fazla yer verilmeli midir?

Kendi Kendine Ortaya Çıkarma (Auto-Driving) Araştırma Yöntemi

- En çok sevdiğiniz bu resim ile ilgili bana neler anlatmak istersiniz?
- Bu resmi görünce aklınıza ilk neler geliyor?
- Bu resmin sizi ifade eden özellikleri var mı? Açıklar mısınız?
- Hikâyesinin dinleyebilir miyim?

- Sizce bu resimde ne anlatılmak isteniyor?
- Bu resmi satın alma hikâyenizi anlatır mısınız?
- Hiç bu resimleri birine satmayı düşünür müsünüz?
- Bu resme ne sıklıkta bakarsınız?
- Bu resme bakınca neler hissediyorsunuz?
- Bu resmi o odaya, yerleştirirken (mesela o eşyanın olduğu yere/yanına/ üzerine asmanızın) nasıl karar verdiniz?

KATILIMCI BİLGİ FORMU

Tarih:

Zaman:

Görüşme yapılan kişinin adı- soyadı /Rumuzu:

Cinsiyet:

Yaşı:

Ebeveynler:

Annenin mesleği: _____ üvey anne _____

Babanın mesleği: _____ üvey baba _____

Annenin eğitimi: _____ üvey anne _____

Babanın eğitimi: _____ üvey baba _____

Görüşme yapılan kişinin eğitimi:

En yüksek derece: _____

Mesleği:

Kapanış

Zaman ayırdığınız için çok teşekkür ederim. Eğer eklemek istediğiniz herhangi bir bilgi varsa dinlemek isterim.

B. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARASTIRMA MERKEZİ
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16 HAZİRAN 2020

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Eminegül KARABABA

Danışmanlığını yaptığımız Deniz DEMİRCİOĞLU'nun "Ankara'daki üst-orta sınıfın resim sanatı tüketimi eğilimleri ve pratiklerinin incelenmesi üzerine bir çalışma" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 172 ODTU 2020 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MİSİRLİSOY

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Muge GÜNDÜZ

Üye

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Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL

Üye

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışmada Ankara'daki üst orta sınıfa ait yüksek kültürel sermaye ve düşük kültürel sermayeye sahip bireylerin evlerindeki resimsel sanat ürünleri tüketimi üzerinden karşılaştırmasını yaptım. Sanat ürünleri üzerine odaklanan bu çalışmada Pierre Bourdieu'nun beğeni ve kültürel sermaye ile ilişkilendirdiği sınıf teorisini kullandım. Sanat ürünleri tüketiminin, postmodern zamanda bazı sosyal grupları için nesneleşmiş kültürel sermaye gösterip göstermediğini anlamak istedim.

Sanat ürünlerinin değişim değerleriyle pazarlanan bir metaya dönüşmesiyle birlikte günümüzde sanat eserleri tüketimine olan ilgi artmıştır. Galeri, müzeler, sanat fuarları, müzayedeler ve bienaller gibi sanat etkinlikleri ve sanat kurumlarıyla insanlar sanatla buluşmuştur (Boyacı, 2017; Rastgeldi, 2019). Altınkurt'un (2015) da belirttiği gibi sanat üzerine pek çok kamu ve özel kuruluşlar vardır ve sanatseverlerin sanat eğitimi almaya ve sanat ürünleri üretmeye olan ilgisi artmaktadır. Günümüzde sanat pazarı yerel ve küresel ölçekte büyümektedir (Demir vd., 2018; McAndrew, 2020). Küresel ölçekte sanat pazarının değeri 65 milyar dolardır. Sırasıyla Amerika, İngiltere ve Çin en büyük sanat pazarıdır. Dünyanın en büyük 20. ekonomisi konumundaki Türkiye'de modern sanata olan ilgi, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan sonra başlamıştır (Demir vd., 2018; Eğilmez, 2019). İstanbul ve Ankara sanatsal aktivitelerin ve sanat kuruluşlarının en fazla olduğu 2 şehirdir. Türkiye'de İstanbul kültürel aktivitelerin en fazla yer aldığı şehirdir ve 2010 yılında Avrupa Birliği tarafından Avrupa Kültür Başkenti ilan edilmiştir (Ağlargöz & Öztürk, 2015; Bıçakçı, 2012).

Sanat şu zamana kadar pek çok farklı disiplinlere konu olmuştur. Sanat üzerine yapılan etkili çalışmalardan biri Pierre Bourdieu'nun (1984) 'Ayrım' çalışmasıdır. Bu çalışmada sanat ürünleri üzerinden sınıf, beğeni ve sınıf oluşumunu açıkladığı kültürel, ekonomik ve sosyal sermaye kavramlarını oluşturmuştur. Zolfagharian ve Jordan (2007) pazarlama literatürünün kişilerin sanat hakkındaki uzman görüşlerine odaklanmadığını, bunun yerine tüketici algılarına odaklandığını belirtmiştir. Bu zamana kadar yapılan çalışmalar Halle'un (1993) da belirttiği gibi materyal bağlam olarak müze ve galeri üzerine odaklanmıştır.

Halbuki, modern sanat sürecinden itibaren sanat ürünlerinin yeni yeri ev olmaya başlamıştır. Şu zamana kadar evdeki sanat ürünleri üzerine yapılan çalışmaların çoğu Amerika ve Avrupa ülkeleri gibi gelişmiş ülkere odaklanmıştır. Literatürde gelişmekte olan ülkelerdeki sanat ürünleri tüketimi üzerine çalışmalar çok kısıtlıdır (Banks, 2010; Money, 2007; Morgan, 1998; Newman et al., 2013; Silva, 2006; Stillerman, 2016).

Postmodern zamanın bir sonucu olarak, Peterson (1992), Gans (1985) ve Holt'un (1998) da belirttiği gibi yüksek kültür ve düşük kültür arasındaki sınırlar kaybolmaya başlamıştır. Peterson (1992) çalışmasında postmodern zamanda yeni bir çeşit kültürel elitin oluştuğunu belirtmiştir. Bourdieu'nun (1984) 'Ayrım' çalışmasında belirttiği gibi sadece yüksek kültür tüketen kültürel elit sınıfı dışında, aynı zamanda düşük kültüre de ilgi duyan, kültürel birikimi yüksek bir sosyal grubun ortaya çıktığını belirtmiş ve bu elit kısmı 'kültürel hepçil' olarak nitelendirmiştir. Warde vd.'nin 2007'de İngiltere'de yaptıkları çalışmaları, kültürel hepçillerin, yüksek kültüre dahil olmalarına rağmen, yüksek kültürün kendine has kutsanmış özelliklerini benimsemediklerini ortaya koymuştur. Bu nedenle her kültürel hepçil yüksek kültürel sermayeye sahip değildir.

Bu argümanlarla Holt (1998), yüksek kültür ile popüler (veya kitle) kültür arasındaki sınırların bulanık olduğunu iddia eder. Bourdieu'nun nesneleştirilmiş kültürel sermaye (yüksek sanat eserleri gibi) beyanını reddeder. Çünkü kültürel seçkinler arasında popüler kültüre artan ilginin ve yüksek sanat eserlerinin kitleleşmesinin, yüksek ve düşük sanat arasındaki sınırları bulanıklaştırdığını savunur. Bu nedenle, bir kişinin kültürel sermayesinin, yüksek bir sanat eseri gibi nesneleştirilmiş herhangi bir kültürel sermaye ile ölçülemeyeceğini savunur. Bunun yerine, postmodern çağda kültürel sermayenin , günlük metalara eklenen anlamlarla ölçülebileceği sonucunu çıkarır. Holt (1998), çalışmasında kültürel sermayeyi açıklamak için modern ya da yüksek sanat eserlerinin tüketimine bakmaz. Benzer şekilde Üstüner (2010) ile yaptığı diğer çalışmasında da aynı mantıkla statü tüketiminin kültürel sermayeye bağlı olarak günlük metaların tüketimi üzerinden nasıl işlediğine bakar.

Hanquinet vd. (2014), tarafından yapılan daha yeni bir çalışma yüksek veya meşru sanat eserlerinin bazı sosyal gruplar tarafından hâlâ statü göstergesi olarak kullanıldığını kanıtlar. Yazarlar, günümüzün postmodern döneminde kültürel sermaye tanımının güncellenmesi

gerektiğini iddia ederler. Bourdieu'nun popüler kültüre ve yüksek kültüre karşı muhalefetinin hâlâ var olduğunu savunurlar. Sanatta popüler veya geleneksel estetik yaklaşım; (naif izleyiciler tarafından) güzellik ve uyum, figüratiflik (gerçekçi tasvirler), sanatçının becerisi ve sanat eseri ile kişisel alakadan kaynaklanan duygusal katılım değerlerine öncelik verir (Hanquinet vd., 2014; Winston & Cupchik, 1992). Popüler estetik yaklaşım kültürel sermayeyi gerektirmez çünkü popüler sanat herkes tarafından bilinen nesnelere temsil eder. Sanatta Bourdieu'cu modernist estetik yaklaşım; güzellik, uyum, sanatçının teknik becerisi ve sosyal yaşamdan ve kişisel yaşamdan uzaklığa değer verir. Bir sanat eseri üzerinde düşünürken, izleyiciler gündelik sorunların endişelerinden uzaklaşmalı ve böylece sanat kutsallaştırılmalıdır. Modernist vizyonda sanat takdiri, estetik kodları çözmek için kültürel sermaye gerektirir. Her türlü duygusal tepki ilgisiz olmalıdır, bu da kişisel ilgiden kaynaklanmaması gerektiği anlamına gelir. Hanquinet vd. (2014) Belçika'nın Gent kentindeki müzelerde görsel sanat ziyaretçilerine yönelik yaptıkları anketin sonuçları, görsel sanat eserlerinin postmodern estetik özelliklerini ortaya çıkarır. Görsel sanatta postmodernist estetik vizyon, sanatın sosyal rolünü, soyutlamayı, fikirleri ve kavramları vurgular. Güzellik, uyum ve duygusal tepki önemli değildir. Sanatçının becerisi de her zaman önemli değildir. Örneğin 2 çizgili ve tek renkli bir resim, bir sanat eseri yapmak için yeterlidir.

Güzel sanat eserlerinin estetik ve sanatsal niteliklerinin değerlendirilmesi çok değişir. Modern sanat eserleri için, kişinin estetik nitelikleri belirleyen sanatsal ilkeler hakkındaki bilgisi kültürel sermayenin bir göstergesidir (Bourdieu, 1984). Sanatın kurumsallaştığı kültürlerde herhangi bir sanat yapıtının kalitesini gösteren denge, ritim, hareket, oran, vurgu, desen, birlik ve çeşitlilik gibi belirli bir ilkeler kümesi vardır (Kim, 2006). Listelenen ilkeler ve görelî önemi evrensel olmayıp, daha ziyade verilen kültürün sanatına bağlıdır. Örneğin, batı kültürlerinde simetri tercih edilirken, Çin sanatında asimetri daha çok tercih edilir. Tüm kültürlerde yapıtın estetik değeri ile ilgili nihai karar sanat tarihçileri, sanat eleştirmenleri, kültür kurumları, uzmanlar ve sanat izleyicileri tarafından ilan edilir (Shiner, 2001). Sanat eserlerinin ekonomik değeri kurumsal değerlendirmelerle belirlenir. Sanat eserleri, sanat piyasasının diğer pazarlardan farklı olmasına neden olan sınırlı tedarik özelliği ile benzersiz ürünlerdir. Diğer pazarlarda uygulanan arz-talep ilişkisine dayalı fiyat tespiti sanat piyasasında uygulanamaz. Sanat eserlerinin ekonomik değeri, genellikle sanat

piyasası aktörlerinin yargısı ve müdahalesi ile sanat eserlerinin estetik nitelikleri ile uyumlu olmayan çeşitli dış faktörlerle şekillenir (Stallabrass, 2009, aktaran Rastgeldi, 2019).

Sanat eserlerini diğer metaldan ayıran özellikleri vardır. Bunlar sanat eserlerinin estetik ve duygusal deneyim sağlamaları, sosyal statü göstergesi gösterme özelliği ve finansal yatırım aracı olarak kullanılabilir oluşlarıdır (Anderson, 1974; Botti, 2000; Venkatesh & Meamber, 2006). Sanat eserleri aynı zamanda toplumun kültürel değerlerini de yansıtır (Fillis, 2011). Aynı zamanda tüketicisinin kimliği, değerleri ve kültürüyle alakalı da bilgiler verir (Velthuis, 2011). Sanat tüketimi de diğer metaldan farklıdır. Sanat tüketimi, bir sanat eserini izlemek, deneyimlemek ve değerlendirmek, sergilemek ve saklamak olarak tanımlanabilir (Larsen, 2013). Sanat ürünleri koleksiyon yapmak, satın almak, miras almak ve üretmek şeklinde ortaya çıkar.

Sanat ürünlerini hem üreten hem tüketen kişilere sanat ürünleri üreticileri denir. Üretim kelimesi üretim ve tüketimin birleşiminden oluşur (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010). Sanatçılar 3 nedenden ötürü üretim yapıyorlar. İlk olarak, çalışmalarını yaratmak için sanat malzemeleri kullanıyorlar. İkincisi, diğer sanatçılardan ilham alırlar. Son olarak, çağdaş sanat, sanatçılar (yapımcılar) ve izleyiciler (tüketiciler) arasındaki çizgiyi bulanıklaştırır. Hazır-yapım sanatta sanatçılar hazır nesnelere kullanır ve bunları bir sanat eseri yaratacak şekilde düzenlerler. Pop art hareketi, kitlesel tüketim mallarından ilham alır ve sanatçılar, kitlesel tüketim mallarının görüntülerini ve işaretlerini birleştirir ve sanat eserleri üretir. Temellük sanatında sanatçılar, sanat eserlerini yapmak için mevcut sanat bileşenlerini ve / veya ticari popüler imgeleri kullanırlar (Nakajima, 2012).

Pierre Bourdieu'nun (1984) sosyal sınıf çalışması beğeni ve sermaye olarak tanımladığı kavramlarla açıklanır. Bireylerin sosyal sınıf pozisyonlarını sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel sermayelerinin toplamı oluşturur. Sosyal sermaye, kişiyi toplumda onurlu bir yere yerleştirebilecek kişinin sosyal bağlantılarını ve saygınlığını temsil eder. Ekonomik sermaye, bir bireyin ekonomik hiyerarşideki ekonomik gücüdür. Kültürel sermaye üç biçimde gelir: bedenselleşmiş kültürel sermaye, kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye ve nesneleşmiş kültürel sermaye. Bedenselleşmiş kültürel sermaye, bir kişinin bir müzik aleti çalmak gibi beceriye dayalı özelliklerini temsil eder. Kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye, bir kişinin üniversite diplomaları gibi eğitim veya mesleki kimlik bilgilerini temsil eder.

Nesneleşmiş kültürel sermaye, sahibinin kültürel başkentini temsil eden nesnelere ifade eder. Örneğin, bir sanat eseri, kişinin sanat alanındaki beğenisini ve bilgisini yansıtır. Bu birikimlerin bir sonucu olarak, kültürel sermaye bir bireyin dünya görüşünü, tavırlarını, kültürel bilgilerini ve becerilerini şekillendirir (Henry & Marylouise, 2018).

Beğeni de sınıfsal bir durum sonucu ortaya çıkan bir durumdur ve aynı sosyal gruba dahil insanlar benzer beğenilere sahiptir (Bourdieu, 1984). Sosyal durum farklılıkları beğeni aracılığıyla yeniden üretilir. Statü tüketimi, bireylerin ekonomik ve kültürel sermaye birikimlerine göre farklılık gösterir. Bir alt sınıf, üst sınıfı taklit ederek statü oluşturmaya çalışır (Veblen 1899/1970, aktaran Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Küresel damlama teorisi, LIC'deki kişilerin statü sembolleri için batı ürünlerine güvendiklerini belirtir (Holt ve diğerleri, 2004, aktaran Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Küreselleşme çağında batı menşee ürünlerinin kullanımının herkes için kaçınılmaz olduğundan, Üstüner ve Holt, (2010) çalışmalarında küresel damlama teorisini revize etmişler, ve sonuç olarak, tüketicilerin kültürel ve ekonomik sermayelerine bağlı olarak farklı statü tüketim stratejileri oluşturduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Ankara üst-orta sınıfına odaklandıkları çalışmaları, gelişmekte olan ülkelerde statü tüketiminin, yüksek kültürel sermayeye sahip bireyler tarafından Amerikan stili yaşam tarzı tüketim tarzı benimsemekle ve Amerikalı tüketicilere özenmekle oluşturulduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Üst-orta sınıfın kültürel sermayesi düşük bireyleri ise statü tüketim stratejilerini yerel bir tüketim tarzıyla ortaya koyarlar ve İstanbul sosyetesine özenirler.

Orta sınıf tüketimin çok büyük bir payına sahiptir. Sanat tüketimi için de aynı şey geçerlidir (Demirdöven vd., 2007). Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan itibaren zaman içerisinde değişik orta sınıflar ortaya çıkmıştır. Keyder (1987) ve Ahmad'ın (1993) belirttiği gibi Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan itibaren, Atatürk batı sanatının yansımalarını ülkemize getirmek için çaba göstermiştir. Sonraki dönemde sanat galerileri devlet, bankalar ve özel kuruluşlar tarafından oluşturulmuştur. 1980'lerden sonra ekonomik yapının değişimi ve batılı yaşam tarzının benimsenmesiyle orta sınıfta sanata olan ilgi artmıştır. Bugün İstanbul ve Ankara başta olmak üzere, Türkiye'nin pek çok yerinde sanat galerileri, müzeler ve sergiler vardır (Ağlargoç & Öztürk, 2015). Farklı türde sanat ürünleri tüketicileri vardır. Dekoratif ve estetik amaçlı, yatırım amaçlı, koleksiyon

yapmak amaçlı, sosyal statü gösterme amaçlı sanat ürünleri tüketicileri vardır. Yaptığım eksper görüşmeler Ankara'da fiyat hassasiyeti gösteren ve galerilerin koyduğu komisyondan kaçındıkları için direkt sanatçının kendisinden eser satın alan tüketicilerin olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Veri toplama ve analizimde nitel araştırma metodlarından faydalandım. Denzin ve Lincoln, (2003) ve Kalof vd., (2008) nitel yöntemlerin süreçleri, deneyimleri ve insanların nesnelere ve eylemlerine yükledikleri anlamları anlamak için uygun olduğunu belirtmektedir (aktaran Aspers & Corte, 2019). Ankara'da üst orta sınıfa mensup 18 PHA tüketicisinden oluşan bir örneklem seçildi. Kısaca, ikincil veri toplama yöntemine ek olarak, katılımcı olmayan gözlem, derinlemesine görüşme ve kendi kendine ortaya çıkarma gibi birincil veri toplama yöntemlerinden yararlanılmıştır. Bu çok yönlü yaklaşım, sonuçlarımızın güvenilirliğini artırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Holt (1998) ve Lamont (1992) tarafından geliştirilen kültürel sermaye ölçeğine ilişkin teorik örnekleme yöntemi kullandım ve görüşülen kişilere ulaşmak için kartopu tekniğini kullandım. Ayrıca, bağlamı anlamak için bir sanat galerisi yöneticisi, bir güzel sanatlar profesörü ve iki profesyonel sanatçı ile toplamda dört yapılandırılmamış eksper görüşme yapıldı. Yapılandırılmamış görüşmeler için ayrı bir veri toplama rehberi hazırlanmamıştır. Sonuçlar, Ankara/Türkiye'de üst orta sınıftaki PHA tüketicilerinin kültürel sermayelerine ve tüketici ve üretici olma durumlarına bağlı olarak örüntülerine göre gruplandırılmıştır. Ancak; veri toplama dönemi küresel COVID-19 Pandemisi ile aynı zamana denk geldiğinden, bazı katılımcılarımla nitel araştırma yöntemlerini uzaktan kullanmak zorunda kaldım. Gruber vd. (2008), benzersiz özellikleri nedeniyle yüz yüze ve uzaktan veri toplamanın olumlu ve olumsuz yanlarının farklı olduğunu söylemektedir. Uzaktan veri toplama genel olarak daha az maliyetlidir. Video, katılımcının yüz yüze göre rahatlığını artırabilir. Bazı insanlar bir yabancıyı röportaj için evlerine davet etmekten rahatsız olabilirken, diğerleri hoş karşılayabilir. Benim durumumda, bazı uzaktan görüşmelerle bazı katılımcı gruplarından, aksi takdirde iletişim kurmanın zor olacağı bilgileri toplayabildiğimi söyleyebilirim. Gözlemediğim bir diğer avantaj da, katılımcıların izniyle kayda aldığım görüşmeleri ve gözlemleri istediğim zaman izleyebiliyor olmam. Ancak bazı olası katılımcılar, video kaydı konusunda rahatsız oldukları için çalışmaya katılmamışlardır. Diğer bir dezavantaj, gözlemin katılımcının bakış açısından kaydedilmiş olmasıdır. Dahası, ortamın nasıl bir aurası olduğunu

hissedemedim. Yüz yüze olsaydı çevre hakkında daha fazla ayrıntı görebilirdim. Teknoloji alanında becerileri yüksek olmayan katılımcıların gözlem amaçlı gönderdikleri kayıtları iyi değildi.

Kitap, makale, sözlük gibi ikincil veriyi bağlamı anlamak ve katılımcıların sanat eserleriyle alakalı söylediklerini kontrol etmek amacıyla kullandım. Bunun için Gombrich'in (1995) 'The Story of Art' ve Hodge'un (2019) 'Sanatın Kısa Öyküsü' gibi kitaplarına başvurdum. Derinlemesine görüşmeler ortalama olarak 1 saat sürdü ve 1 ile 2.5 saat arasında değişti. Yapılandırılmamış uzman görüşmeleri 1 ila 1.5 saat arasında değişiyordu. Ortaya çıkan tüm görüşmelerin birebir transkripti oluşturuldu. Derinlemesine görüşme analizi için McCracken (1988) 'in beş aşamalı analiz sürecini kullandım. Her yararlı ifadeyi inceleyerek tanımlayıcı kodlama yaptım ve bir kaç kez tekrarlayan analiz sonucunda örüntülere ulaştım.

Etik hususlar ve güvenilirliğini sağlamak için bi takım önlemler aldım. Öncelikle katılımcıların kimliğini ortaya çıkaracak bilgiler tezde yer verilmedi. Gerçek isimleri yerine takma isimleri kullanıldı. Kayıt ve fotoğraf çekmek için izinlerini aldım. Çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katılmak için tüm katılımcıların onayını aldıktan sonra saha çalışmasına başladım. Bunların dışında sanatla ilgileniyorum, resim ve çizim meraklısıyım ve güzel sanat eserlerinin türeticisiyim. Resim dersleri aldım ve son 2 yıldır bir atölyede çalışıyorum. Resmin teknik yönüyle ilgili bilgilerimi internetteki kitap ve diğer materyallerle desteklemeye çalışıyorum. Yıllar boyunca sanat tarihi ile ilgili kitaplar okudum. Sosyal çevremde galeri sahipleri, antika dükkanı sahipleri, ressam, güzel sanatlar profesörleri, güzel sanat eserleri koleksiyonerleri ve güzel sanat eserleri yatırımcıları gibi pek çok sanatsever var. Tüm bunlar beni Ankara'daki sanat piyasasının içerisinde biri yapıyor. Bu durumda refleksivite yaratmak için ve kendim ile katılımcılar arasında bilimsel bir mesafe koymam gerekiyordu. Bu sorunu, Schouten ve McAlexander'in (1995) önerileriyle eleştirel bir şekilde kendimi inceleme ve sürekli ihtiyatli olma yoluyla başardım. Çalışmamın güvenilirliğine katkıda bulunacak bir başka yönü, derinlemesine görüşmeler, katılımcı olmayan gözlemler, otomatik sürüşler ve ikincil veri toplama ile elde edilen çok yönlü üçgenlemedir.

Çalışmanın bulguları, HCC'lerin sanatın anlamının bir parçası olarak fikir iletişimi ve ifadesini vurguladığını, ancak LCC'lerin duygu iletişimi ve ifadesini vurguladığını ortaya koymaktadır. Tüketicilerin aksine, üreticiler sanatın ifade edici yönünden bahsediyor. HCCler tarafından fikirlere yapılan vurgu, fikirlerin ve kavramların önemini teşvik eden eğitim geçmişini yansıtır ve kültürel sermayeyi gösterir. Sanatın toplumdaki etkileri, HCC üreticileri ve HCC tüketicileri tarafından detaylandırılmıştır. Postmodernist estetik vizyon, postmodern çağdaki kültürel sermayenin bir yansımasıdır. Sanatın sosyal rolüne yapılan vurgu, postmodernizm estetiğinin temelini oluşturur. Oysa LCC tüketiciler ve LCC üreticiler, sanat ve toplumla olan ilişkiye dair ayrıntılı bir açıklama sunamazlar. HCC'lerin yorumları, PHA'ların sanatsal niteliklerinin altını çiziyor ve sanat eserlerini gösteriş için kullanan kişileri eleştiriyor çünkü HCC'ler sanat eserlerini gösteriş nesnelere olarak görmüyor. HCC'ler, PHA'larını "yüksek sanat eserleri" olarak gördükleri için, genellikle onları günlük eşyalardan ayırır ve kutsallaştırırlar. LCCler el emeği gerektiren tüm öğelere değer verir ve bu nedenle, çaba gerektiren özellikleri nedeniyle genellikle PHA'larını kutsallaştırırlar. PHA'ların aile mirası, HCC'ler arasında yaygındır ve bu, HCC katılımcılarının iyi ortamda yetiştirildiğini gösterir. Aynı zamanda babalarının iyi eğitilmiş statüsünün tutarlılığını kanıtıyor. HCC'ler, Avrupalı sanat eseri tüketicilerini kendilerine eşdeğer olarak görüyorlar çünkü sanat tarihinin tüm devasa dönüşümünün Avrupa'da gerçekleştiğini biliyorlar. LCC'lerin yorumları çoğunlukla PHA'larının duygusal yönlerine dayanmaktadır ki bu, yüksek sanatta bilgi eksikliğinin bir başka göstergesidir. Duygu, HCC'ler arasında da belirgindir ve aynı zamanda deneyimciliğe de değinirler, ancak duygulara çok fazla vurgu yapmazlar ve duyguları genellikle ilgisizdir. Başka bir deyişle, duygusal tepkiler kişisel alaka düzeyinden kaynaklanmaz. Duygular genellikle günlük ritüellerle pekiştirilir.

HCC'lerin beğenileri genellikle PHA'ların görsel içeriği ile sınırlı değildir. Görsel içerik, LCC'ler için PHA'larda beğeniyi belirleyen güçlü bir faktördür. LCC'ler PHA'ları kimliklerini aktaran bir araç olarak görüyor. Bu yüzden kendi imajlarını zedeleyecek görsel içeriklerden kaçınırlar. HCC'ler ise PHA'larının görsel içerikleriyle kimlik aktarmazlar, kendilerini "sanat eserlerinin değerini bilen ve sanat eserlerini doğru şekilde takdir edebilecek sanatseverler" olarak tanımlarlar. Sanat alanına duydukları özgüven ile sosyal hiyerarşideki daha yüksek olan statülerini gösterirler. Tüketicilerin ideolojik duruşları, tüm

katılımcılar için beğeni geliştirmede anahtar rol oynar. İdeolojik duruşlar istisnaidir çünkü çok hassas ve kişisel konulardır, bu nedenle katılımcılar bu kategoride kültürel sermayelerine ve bu kategorideki tüketiciler ve üretici statülerine göre farklılaşmazlar. LCC'lerden farklı olarak, HCC'ler kültürel sermayenin bir göstergesi olan soyut çalışmalardan hoşlanırlar (Henry & Marylouise, 2018; Winston & Cupchik, 1992). PHA'ların edinimi, piyasa değişim araçları ve hediye verme ve hediye alma yoluyla gerçekleştirilmektedir. Hediye verme ve hediye alma, ağırlıklı ilişki temelinde gerçekleşmekte ve sembolik olarak sevgiyi temsil ettikleri için sanat eseri gibi el yapımı nesnelere hediye olarak tercih edilmektedir (Fuchs vd., 2015; Sherry, 1983). Bu nedenle katılımcılar bu boyutta kültürel sermayeye göre farklılaşmazlar. PHA'ların ekonomik değerlemesi, PHA'ların entelektüel ve teknik emeğine, sanatsal özelliklerine ve sanatçının şöhretine dayanmaktadır. Bu boyuttaki yorumlar, katılımcılar arasındaki sanatın teknik yönü ile sanat piyasası arasındaki bilgi farklarını göstermektedir. HCC üreticileri ve HCC tüketicileri, yüksek sanatı sosyal bir ayırım belirteci olarak kullanmaya devam ediyorlar. Estetik vizyonları ya modernist estetik üslubu ya da postmodernist estetik üslubu temsil ediyor. Kültürel hepçillik, hem HCC'ler hem de LCC'ler arasında gözlenmektedir. Her iki grup da düşük sanat ve yüksek sanata ait PHA'lara sahip olabilir (örneğin, düşük sanat olarak dijital kopya baskı resimleri ve yüksek sanat olarak yağlı boya tablolar), veya hem yüksek kültür hem de düşük kültür unsurlarını (örneğin, pop art PHA) içeren PHA'lara sahip olabilir. Düşük kültürel sermayeli tüketicilerin yüksek sanat olan PHA'larına yönelik tutumu, sanat alanındaki bilgiyi temsil etmemektedir. Yüksek sanata karşı tutumları popüler sanatlara benzer ve popüler estetik vizyonu benimser. HCC'ler yüksek sanat eserlerine geleneksel veya popüler bir estetik üslupla yaklaşmazlar. HCC'ler sanat alanındaki bilgilerini Hanquinet vd.'nin (2014) tanımladığı postmodernist ve modernist estetik vizyonlara benzer bir biçimde ortaya koymaktadır. Yüksek kültürün yanı sıra, düşük kültürde beğenilere sahip olmak, onların hepçil statüsünü gösterir.

Üstüner ve Holt (2010) tarafından da kullanılan Holt (1998) ve Lamont (1992) tarafından geliştirilen kültürel sermaye ölçeği, bireylerin kültür sermayesi hakkında fikir vermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bireylerin mesleği ve eğitimi ile babaların bireylerin eğitim ve mesleğine dayanır. Genel olarak katılımcıların kültürel sermayelerini tahmin etmekte başarılıdır. Ancak, işadama HCC tüketicisi Mustafa'nın durumu istisnai bir tipoloji oluşturmaktadır.

Postmodernist estetik vizyona sahiptir. Kültürel sermaye kaynakları, kültürel sermaye ölçeğine göre düşük kültürel sermaye birikimiyle sonuçlandı. (Bkz. Tablo 1). O bir HCC tüketicisi, zengin bir işadamı ve bir galeri ve bir müze sahibi. Aynı zamanda sosyal çevresinde çok sayıda sanatçısı var. Dolayısıyla sosyal sermaye ve ekonomik sermaye açısından da zengindir. Onun ekonomik ve sosyal sermayesini kültürel sermayeye dönüştürdüğünü söyleyebiliriz. Ölçek, sosyal sermaye ve ekonomik sermayenin kültürel sermaye üzerindeki etkilerini dikkate almamaktadır. Sonuç olarak, kültürel sermaye ölçeğinden kaynaklanan tipolojinin her koşulda geçerli olmadığını söylemek doğru olur. Üstüner ve Holt'un (2010) çalışmasında da benzer şekilde istisnai bir tipoloji oluşturan bir katılımcı bulunmaktadır. Ölçeğe göre, kültürel sermaye puanı, bir HCC tüketicisi olduğunu göstermektedir. Gerçekte, katılımcının tüketim alışkanlıkları LCC tüketim örüntülerini yansıtmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, gerçekte bir LCC tüketicisidir.

Hanquinet ve diğerleri (2014), modernist estetik vizyona sahip HCC'ler ve postmodernist estetik vizyona sahip HCC'ler arasındaki kültürel sermaye farkı olmadığını açıklar. Benzer bir şekilde çalışmamın sonuçlarına göre, katılımcıların modernist veya postmodernist estetik vizyonları benimseme eğilimleri kültürel sermayenin farklılıkları ile açıklanamaz. Ancak modernist estetik vizyonu benimseyen HCC'ler ile postmodernist estetik vizyonu benimseyen göze çarpan bir fark var. Sanat eğitimi alan HCC katılımcılar (genellikle üreticilerdir) ve sanat piyasasında aktör olan katılımcılar (galeri sahipleri veya küratörler gibi) genellikle postmodernist estetik vizyonu benimserler.

Üstüner ve Holt'un (2010) çalışmasının bulgusu, tüketim nesnesi bir meta olduğunda, LIC'deki tüketicilerin Amerikalı tüketicileri taklit ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu mantıklı çünkü Amerikalı tüketiciler sürekli olarak tüketmek için motive ediliyorlar ve Amerika tüketim toplumunun doğduğu yerdir (Duman, 2016). Tüketim ögesi bir sanat eseri olduğunda, LIC'de yaşayan HCC'ler Avrupalı tüketicileri taklit ediyor çünkü hepsi Rönesans, modernizm ve postmodernizm gibi sanat tarihindeki büyük dönüşümlerin hepsinin Avrupa'da doğduğunu biliyorlar (Bal, 2015; Mattick, 2003).

Belk (2014) ve Benjamin (1936), yüksek sanat eserlerinin mekanik reproduksiyonlarının orijinalinin zamansal ve mekansal varoluşundan ve sanatçının aurasından yoksun olduğunu belirtmektedir. Drummond (2006) ayrıca kitap, kahve fincanı, çanta gibi ticari ürünlerde

nl sanat eseri grntlerinin kitleselletirilmesinin, sahibinin kltrel sermayesini temsil edemeyeceđini sylyor. alıma bulgularımdan destekleyici argmanlarla, dijital kopya baskı resimlerin, yksek sanat eserlerinin toplu reproduksiyonlarının dk veya popler kltr rnleri olarak ilev grdđn ve nesneletirilmi kltrel sermayeyi temsil edemeyeceđini neriyorum.

Gnmzn kresel postmodern toplumunda tketicilerin sosyal herari iinde kltrel ve ekonomik sermayelerine bađlı olarak statlerini nasıl gsterdiđini grmek iin gnlk metaların tketimi sırasında anlam aramak yeterli olabilir (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998; stner & Holt , 2010). Yine de, tketim nesnesi saf bir yksek sanat gibi nesneletirilmi bir kltrel sermaye olduđunda, gnmz postmodern ađında yksek kltr ve dk kltrn bulanıklaan sınırlarının bir sonucu olarak nesneletirilmi kltrel sermayenin nemini yitirdiđi sonucuna dođrudan varamayız. alıma sonularını gsteriyor ki, bugnn postmodern Ankara / Trkiye'sinde, HCC'ler, yksek sanatlar alanındaki kltrel sermayenin hem eski (modernist) hem de yeni (postmodernist) versiyonlarını benimseyerek sosyal herari iindeki daha yksek statlerini gsterirler. LCC'ler ise kltrel sermaye gerektirmeyen popler veya geleneksel estetik vizyonu benimser.

Literatrde LIC'de sanat eseri tketimine odaklanan ok az alıma var. Bu alıma, yksek kltr sermayeli ve dk kltrel sermayeli Ankara / Trkiye'deki st-orta sınıftaki kiiler arasında karılatırmalar yaparak, zellikle sanat eserleri tketimine odaklanarak, yksek kltr sermayeli ve dk kltrel sermayeli kiiler arasında karılatırmalar yaparak, yksek lisans tezi sınırları iinde stner ve Holt'un (2010) kavramsal alımasına bir geniletme yaptı. Veri toplama dnemi kresel COVID-19 Pandemisi ile aynı zamana denk geldi. Bu yzden galeri ve mzayedeler gibi sanat piyasası kanallarında gzlem yapamadım. İnsanların sanat eserlerini nasıl deđerlendirdiklerine dair bilgilerim desteklenecekti. Daha sonraki alımalar ailelerde sanat tketimine odaklanabilir. Ben bireysel PHA tketimine odaklandım, ancak bulgular, bireylerin PHA tketiminin aile yelerinden etkilenebileceđini ortaya koyuyor. Bireylerin ideolojik durularının sanat tketimine etkileri daha fazla incelenebilir. PHA tketicilerinin ideolojik duruları, sanat eseri tketimi iin verimli bir aratırma alanı olarak duruyor. Bu alımanın bulguları, tketicilerin ideolojik durularının sanat eserlerinde beđeni geliiminde byk rol

oynadığını ortaya koydu. Ortaya çıkan diğeri bir tema, PHA beğenilerinde yaş ve hepçillik / tekçillik arasındaki ilişkidir. Çalışmamın bulguları daha genç katılımcıların hepçil olmaya eğilimli olduğunu ortaya koydu. Daha ileri çalışmalar, genç sanat ürünleri tüketicilerinin modernist mi yoksa postmodernist estetik vizyonu mu benimsediklerine odaklanabilir. Son olarak, daha ileri çalışmalar ekonomik sermaye ve sosyal sermayenin sanat eseri tüketimi üzerindeki etkilerine odaklanabilir. Ekonomik sermaye ve sosyal sermayenin etkileri de önemli ama bu çalışmada sadece Ankara / Türkiye'deki üst-orta sınıftaki sanat tüketicilerinin kültürel sermayesine odaklanabildim.

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