BOBOS IN TURKEY: MANIFESTATIONS OF THE BOURGEOIS BOHEMIAN LIFESTYLE IN ISTANBUL

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BOGAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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BOBOS IN TURKEY: MANIFESTATIONS OF THE BOURGEOIS BOHEMIAN LIFESTYLE IN ISTANBUL

Thesis submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

by

Kübra Parmaksızoğlu Coşkun

Boğaziçi University

2009

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"Bobos in Turkey: Manifestations of the Bourgeois Bohemian Lifestyle in Istanbul" a thesis prepared by Kübra Parmaksızoğlu in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History of Boğaziçi University.

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An abstract of the Thesis of Kübra Parmaksızoğlu, for the degree of Master of Arts from the Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History of Boğaziçi University to be taken in September 2009

Title: Bobos in Turkey: Manifestations of the Bourgeois Bohemian Lifestyle in Istanbul

This study examines bourgeois bohemians (called "Bobos") in Turkey, a newly emergent upper class group in the global context. It takes as its focus a group of educated, creative, young professionals who earn high incomes in the information or creative sectors and choose to live in the gentrified neighborhoods of Istanbul. Bobos in Turkey are similar to other upper class groups that emerged after the 1980s such as Yuppies or "White Turks"; however, they diverge from them with the new status codes that merge bohemianism, sophistication and wealth.

This study firstly analyzes the historical processes that paved the way for the emergence of the bourgeois bohemian class on the global and local levels. Then, by focusing on the new lifestyle developed by the Bobos in Turkey, it examines the new "distinction" codes that have been created through family background, consumption philosophy, cultural capital, food culture and location preferences. The research is based on interviews made with a sample group and on observations of recent socio-cultural changes in Istanbul. Some journals and newspaper supplements helped in the clarification of the subject as well.

As a conclusion of this study it was observed that the composition of the upper class structure in Turkey is diversified. Furthermore, it is also recognized that the strategies of becoming part of the upper class and distinguishing from other classes have changed. In this respect, it is indicated that creative and intellectual capital is the most important tool of distinction in the contemporary upper class formation.

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Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans derecesi için Kübra Parmaksızoğlu tarafından Eylül 2009'de teslim edilen tezin özeti

Başlık: Türkiye'deki Bobolar: İstanbul'daki Burjuva Bohem Yaşamından Kesitler

Bu tez, burjuva bohem adı verilen yeni bir üst sınıf türünün Türkiye'deki mensuplarını incelemektedir. "Kreatif sınıf" olarak da adlandırılan Türkiye'deki burjuva bohemler, yani kısaca bobolar, çoğunlukla medya, reklamcılık, sinema, tasarım, görsel sanatlar ve sahne sanatları gibi yaratıcı veya enformatik sektörlerde çalışan, gelir düzeyi yüksek ve tercihen İstanbul'un mutenalaştırılmış semtlerinde yaşayan, genç veya orta yaş profesyonellerden oluşmaktadır. Türkiye'deki bobolar, 1980 sonrası gündeme gelen Yuppieler veya *beyaz Türkler* gibi yeni üst sınıf oluşumlarıyla benzer yönler taşımakla beraber, hem klasik burjuva yaşamını reddetmeleri hem de bohemlik, kültürlülük ve zenginliği birleştiren yeni statü sembolleri oluşturmaları sebebiyle onlardan ayrışmaktadırlar.

Bu çalışmada öncelikle, dünyada ve Türkiye'de burjuva bohem sınıfının oluşmasına neden olan tarihsel süreçler incelenmiştir. Daha sonra Türkiye'deki boboların ortaya koyduğu yeni hayat tarzına odaklanılarak; aile geçmişi, tüketim felsefesi, kültürel birikim, yemek kültürü ve mekânsal seçimler üzerinden oluşturulan yeni 'ayrışma' ve 'seçkinleşme' biçimleri anlatılmıştır. Araştırma temel olarak İstanbul'un sosyokültürel dönüşümü üzerine yapılan gözlemlere ve örnek bir grupla yapılan mülakatların sonuçlarına dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca bazı dergi ve gazete kaynaklarından da faydalanılmıştır.

Bu çalışma sonucunda dünyada ve Türkiye'de yeni üst sınıf yapısının kompozisyon açısından çok daha çeşitlendiği, ayrıca üst sınıfa katılma ve diğer sınıflardan ayrışma stratejilerinin değiştiği gözlemlenmiş; bu bağlamda yaratıcı ve entelektüel birikimin önemli bir statü sembolüne dönüşmesine işaret edilmiştir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The term "Bobo" is the acronym of Bourgeois Bohemian (*Bourgeois Bohéme* in French) and refers to a new upper class (or a new generation) with specific tastes and manners like the hippies of the 1960s or the Yuppies of the 1980s. Although who coined this term is not very well known, it has been used since the 1990s and entered the academic literature with the best-selling book by David Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There*[1]. There are also several other titles referring to the same group of people such as *neo-bohemia*, *knowledge class*, *educated class*, *creative class*, *culture class*, *Culturati*, the cultural intermediaries, *the cool*, *the new middle class* or the *new upper class*. Throughout this study, I mostly preferred to refer them as bourgeois bohemians ("Bobos") or the creative class since they are the most acknowledged ones. Nevertheless, in the case of Turkey, it is not possible to call the creative class or the bourgeois bohemians the "*new upper class*", because there are other emerging upper classes in Turkey such as the Islamic bourgeoisie. For this reason, I will not label the Bobos in Turkey *the new upper class*.

According to David Brooks, the new upper class is called the bourgeois bohemians because of their hybrid character which merges "work and money

[1] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There (*New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

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oriented bourgeois values" with the "bohemian search for spiritual self-fulfillment"[2]. By agreeing with Brooks' explanations, I argue in this thesis that the bourgeois bohemian life-style is one of the new cultures of our age and it is a global trend that appeals to many young professionals especially those who are working in information and creative sectors. As a country with a populous-dynamic-young generation, Turkey is one of the countries where the Bobo ethos is influential. Especially in the major cities like Istanbul and Ankara, it is possible to observe the expansion of the bourgeois bohemian life style in trendy spaces in gentrified neighborhoods with their hipster clientele.

Elite studies have been one of the under researched areas of the social sciences in recent decades. As Mike Savage and Karel Williams explain, from the mid 1970s onwards, elite studies became deeply unfashionable in the social sciences. According to them, "in this age of business plutocracy and popular paranoia, the social theory of elites is moribund."[3] Another writer, Paul du Gay, also takes note of the lack of elite studies. He says that the discourses of anti-elitism have played an important role in the 'political modernization" rhetoric and anti-elitism is such a powerful discourse that it even affects elite research.[4]

In recognition of this paucity of research, beginning in the 1990s, some scholars began to reconsider the need for studies on the upper class. Some of them focused on a new type of upper class that flourished in the information age. Thomas

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[2] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.10.

[3] Mike Savage and Karel Williams, "Elites: Remembered in Capitalism and Forgotten by Social Sciences." In *Remembering Elites (*Oxford: Oxford: Blackwell 2008), p.3-4.

[4] Paul du Gay, "Keyser Süze Elites: Market Populism and the Politics of Institutional Change," in *Remembering Elites* (Sociological Review Monograph, Oxford: Oxford: Blackwell 2008), p. 80.

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Frank described this development as the *conquest of cool* while David Brooks named it the rise of the *educated class,* and Richard Florida *the flight of the creative class*. Even though they used different heralds for it, they described the same group: the new educated and cultured upper class.

Contrary to the popularity of this topic in foreign media and literature, there is still a lack of interest in Turkish academia. This subject deserves the attention of the social sciences in several areas ranging from cultural anthropology to urban sociology and metropolitan studies, but only a few Turkish scholars have directed their research toward this topic. Among these, most have written about the socio-cultural changes of the post-1980 era and described the new middle class, usually focusing on the Turkish Yuppies. About this fact, , Tanıl Bora and Necmi Erdoğan also point out that there has been no systematic or ethnographic study on the cultural and political codes of contemporary *rich* in Turkey. Nevertheless, they emphasize that these kinds of studies are essential to understanding social configurations and conglomerations in Turkish society.[5]

Turkish bourgeois bohemians are one of the developing wealthy groups in Turkey. With their distinguished lifestyle, they create new status codes, and these new codes influence upper class life in Turkey, in general. In other words, they are the trend setters of the new elite life in Turkey. In this respect, a study on Bobos in Turkey is vital to understanding current changes in the social stratosphere of the country. However, the scope of this master thesis, completed in one year, was not intended to comment on every aspect of bourgeois bohemian life in Turkey. By focusing on their distinction strategies through different life codes, I aim to present a fresh perspective on the field of upper class studies in Turkey.

[5] Tanıl Bora and Necmi Erdoğan, "Zenginlik: "Zengin" Bir Araştırma Gündemi, "Yoksul" Bir Literatür," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.104 (2005), pp.3-12.

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While observing the Bobo life style in Turkey, I focused on the manifestations in Istanbul, largely held to be the most culturally active city in this country. Istanbul is the city where creative people cluster more than any other. This is the city of writers, poets, artists, musicians and all other varieties of bohemians and creative types. According to the "creative capital theory" of Richard Florida, the economic growth of the cities is driven by the location choices of creative people. He claims that creative people prefer to live in places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas; and wherever they move they foster the economic growth of that area. According to him, the quality of a place depends on three dimensions; what is there, who is there and what's going on.[6] According to these dimensions, the diversity of people including different ethnic groups and races; the abundance of coffee shops, book stores, boutiques, art galleries, performance spaces, theatres, night-life events, small jazz and music clubs; in short, life style options determine the attractiveness of a city.[7] By evaluating Istanbul according to these characteristics, it is possible to claim authoritatively it as one of the most creative cities of Turkey. For this reason, I selected Istanbul as the place to observe the bourgeois bohemian life style in Turkey.

Methodology

This project examines upper-middle class people working in the creative sectors and living in gentrified districts of Istanbul such as Cihangir, Çukurcuma, Asmalımescit-Galata-Tünel, Teşvikiye-Nişantaşı and Kuzguncuk. To access more practical information, several in-depth interviews were conducted with a sample group among

[6] Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (Basic Books, New York 2002), p. 232.

[7] Ibid., pp. 215-227.

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these people. The interviewees were composed of 22 educated professionals who had primarily artistic occupations and had acquired high-upper or upper-middle income levels.[8] Twelve of them are very well-known people in Turkey. Since they had acquired high status in society it would have been hard to access them. Fortunately, two distinguished journalists who had good relationships with these people assisted me. They intervened on my behalf and arranged introductions. For the remaining 10 interviewees, I benefited from the "snow ball" method; thus, I determined these names among the friends of the first group. I also interviewed the owners of three famous bourgeois bohemian cafes and I asked them questions about the atmosphere, the menu and the client profiles.[9]

The interviews were conducted in either homes or offices or in third-places according to the preference of the respondents. Third-place choices or living-space atmospheres gave me additional information about their life-styles and socio-economic conditions. Since the interviews lasted many hours, I preferred the tape-recording method in order not to miss any information. The interview questionnaire included 45 questions inquiring about personal information, family background, spiritual life, work life, leisure activities, tourism, political participation, as well as consumption patterns, including food consumption, eating out, cultural consumption and living-space preferences.[10] However, the scope of this paper was not to analyze all categories, so I limited the study by pin-pointing new distinction strategies that are narrated through family background, consumption patterns and living-space preferences.

[8] See Appendix A.

[9] See Appendix B-1.

[10] See Appendix B-2.

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The project took a mixed-methods approach. Together with interviews, observations of some popular cafés, restaurants and newly emerging alternative shops contributed to the development of this study. Surveys on a life-style magazine *Time Out Istanbul* and several newspaper supplements also provided clarification of the subject.

Organization

The first chapter introduces the main arguments and the methodology of this study. The next chapter deals with the existing literature on bourgeois bohemians and the creative class. It also highlights previous studies that mention the presence of Bobos in Turkey. Lastly it cites the prominent books that have dealt with the socio-cultural transformations in Turkey since the 1980s.

Chapter Three describes the history leading up to the birth of the Bobos. The first half of the chapter focuses on the specific developments in the Western world that paved the way for the birth of the Bobos. The conflict between bourgeoisie and bohemian is the first topic of this section. In the following pages the changing atmosphere in the 1960s is discussed. The revival of the 1960s after the 1990s is the other prominent argument of this section. The second part of the third chapter summarizes the social, political and economic changes that took place in Turkey in the second half of the Twentieth century and emphasizes the transformation in the post-1980s period. The last part narrates the phenomenon of Yuppies and compares them with Bobos.

The last and the most significant part of this thesis is the fourth chapter which examines the distinction strategies of bourgeois bohemians in Turkey. In this chapter,

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firstly the upper class composition of Turkey is analyzed. In the following pages, the study focuses on the new "distinction" codes that have been created through family background, consumption philosophy, cultural capital, food culture and location preferences. In the conclusion chapter, the general results of the study are discussed and the important points that deserve further research are clarified.

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CHAPTER 2

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Studies on the New Upper Class

Although there was and is no exact collaboration on the title, the description of the new educated and cultured upper class was first written by two[11] American writers. In 2000, David Brooks, wrote *Bobos in Paradise; The New Upper Class and How They Got There* and became the godfather of the Bobo thesis. Two years after this book, another writer, Richard Florida wrote the *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*.[12]

In *Bobos in Paradise*, Brooks writes a detailed analysis of bourgeois bohemians. He explains the historical forces behind the birth of Bobos and throughout the book describes their characteristics in detail. Thereafter, Richard Florida takes some characteristics of Brooks' conception of bourgeois bohemians and with an economic approach, he calls this new group the Creative Class. Since

[11] In 2006, another American writer Richard Llyod also wrote a book about new bohemians namely *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Post Industrial City*. In that book, Llyod acknowledges the arguments of David Brooks and Florida, though he mostly concentrates on the change of bohemians living in post-industrial urban centers. In my study, I do not give much space to this book because it is more like an ethnographic study on Wicker Park neighborhood in Chicago.

[12] In the following years, both writers prepared second books on the same subject:

David Brooks, *On Paradise Drive: How We Live Now (And Always Have) in the Future Tense, (*Simon & Schuster, NY 2005);

Richard Florida, *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent* (Collins Business, n.p. 2007).

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these two books are among the most prominent sources of this study, it is crucial to describe their arguments in detail.

The Bobos

David Brooks' main thesis is that, the long lasting dispute between the bohemian and bourgeoisie has ended because under the character of the new educated class, "the bourgeois world of capitalism" has merged with "the bohemian counterculture."[13] For Brooks, this transformation is a "cultural consequence of the information age" which has led to the cooperation of intellectual accumulation with pecuniary success. He also claims that the status codes and the conditions of upward mobility have changed. Thus, the new upper class prospers through education and merit rather than breeding or inheritance. From education to work and to social life, they strive to be the most successful and the most creative. Bobos compete with the young heirs of the bourgeoisie and they try to distinguish themselves from them. In other words, the writer states that as the new elites "based on brain power", Bobos do not admire the old bourgeoisie values, instead, they invent distinctive signifiers "to display their own spiritual and intellectual identity."[14]To conclude, Brooks adds that, Bobos are the trend setter generation of our age and from consumption to work life and pleasure, they merge opposites to create a hybrid-authentic life style.

[13] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p. 10.

[14]Ibid., p. 17.

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"The Creative Class"

Returning to Richard Florida, he describes the *creative class* as the new social class of the information age whose members drive creativity as the key factor for professional success. Florida introduces creativity as the ultimate economic resource. For him creative professions run the economy of today and by the turn of the twenty first century, creative sectors represented 25 to 30 percent of the workforce in the United States and Europe.[15]

Florida believes that creativity is not gifted to only a single group. For him, every human being is creative in some way so he presents creativity as a potential benefit for everyone. Since creativity comes from people, he admires creative people as the "autonomous source of welfare" and shows them as the "inspirers of our everyday life." Creative capacity cannot be "sold or turned off", so creative capital is very functional in the new economic system. He claims that creative workers no longer look for jobs; instead, business propositions come to them.

Furthermore, Florida explains the structural change in the work environment under the influence of creative employees. He declares that to adopt the requirements of creative work, a new order has emerged in the workplace. Schedules, rules and dress codes become more flexible. More diverse people of different colors, genders and personal preferences are hired. He also develops the concept of "creative cities"[16] in which he defines the new conditions of advanced cities hosting creative people. According to him, creative workers move to creative places and their energy changes the atmosphere of that place. Thereafter, business corporations move to that

[15] Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class,* p. xiv.

[16] Richard Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (Routledge 2004), pp.27-36.

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place and open new job opportunities which in result leads the whole development of that place.

With a wide range of professions, Florida defines two categories for the creative class. The *Super Creative Core* is comprised of people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment. Their economic function is to create new ideas or technology. The second groups called the *Creative Professionals.* They work in business, finance, law, health care, and related fields. For him, people in the second group work with independent judgment so they use their creative capacities.

He depicts the creative class as the norm-setting class of our time, but these norms are very different from the ones in former generations. For him, the creative class champions individuality, self-expression and openness as opposed to the older norms like homogeneity or conformity**.** In this respect, he separates the creative class from the working class and service class and claims that the creative class has more autonomy and flexibility than they are.[17]

To conclude, if the two perspectives are compared, it can be observed that while Brooks attributes a key role to education for upward mobility, and calls Bobos the *educated class*, Florida attributes a similar role to creativity, and calls them the *creative class*. That means, Brooks' analysis is more socio-cultural while Florida's is more socio-economic. But in the end, both writers explain similar values and behaviors of the same meritocratic upper class.

[17] Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, pp. 8-9.

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"The Warhol Economy"

Similar to Richard Florida's "Creative Cities" thesis, several writers have started to embrace the role of artist's life on economy. In her book, *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art, and Music Drive New York City*, Elizabeth Currid is one of those who appreciates the "life of cool" as the shining face of New York city. She argues that creative industries like fashion, art and music drive the economy of New York, as much as the other sectors like finance, real estate or law. She adds that these creative industries are supplied by the "social life that whirls around the clubs, galleries, music venues, and fashion shows where creative people meet, network, exchange ideas, pass judgments, and set the trends that shape popular culture."[18]

However, Joseph Bottum severely criticizes Currid, writing that the book is just a mess.[19] He accuses Currid of not distancing herself from the culture she studies. He claims that Currid writes about *cool* while at the same time wanting to be *cool*. He adds that, while writing about the tribe of cool people –mostly celebrities- she fails to do a deeper analysis on the subject: "She got to see Diane von Furstenberg! She got to wear a designer original! She got backstage to meet Clap Your Hands Say Yeah!-that she can't bring herself to take her own topic seriously."[20]

After briefing the leadings books on the birth of the new creative class, now I want to turn to the studies in Turkey from which I benefited mostly throughout my research.

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[18] Elizabeth Currid, *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art, and Music Drive New York City* (Princeton University Press 2007).

[19] Joseph Bottum,"*Chic*-onomics" *The American Interest* 3, no.2, (November/ December 2007), p. 117.

[20] Bottum, p. 119.

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Discussion on the Bourgeois Bohemians in Turkey

In terms of academic research, there has not been any comprehensive study examining the bourgeois bohemians in Turkey until now. As far as has been investigated, the first article about the birth of the Bobo class in Turkey was written by Nuray Mert in 2002. In that work, she explained the core characteristics of bourgeois bohemians and she highlighted their presence in Turkey:

> After the 1980s, a new class emerged in the world, primarily in the developed Western countries; "bourgeois bohemians" or with its common name "bobo"s. Now that the classical bourgeois life style and ideology is passé, bobos are the postmodern elite class of the post-industrial society. While capitalism injects the creative, dynamic energy of bohemian, marginal cultures into the consumption economy, the definition of bourgeoisie is changing too; bohemian, marginal, critical cultures coalesce with the capital and the capital coalesces back with them. The first product of this development was the advertising industry, and then the communications industry; nowadays "high art" and capital are comingling with each other. In the West even artists and arts have became an extension of big capital: for instance the works of famous artists are marketed as company promotions.
> (…)
> After the Özal period a similar group developed in Turkey too. If you observe them from a distance they seem to be the most critical, even the angriest ones! But what makes them critical, what are they raging against, are uncertain.[21]

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[21]Nuray Mert, "Yılmaz Erdoğan Böyle Buyurdu," *Medya Kronik January* 09,2002. Available [online]: http://www.medyakronik.net/arsiv/nmert_arv_090101.htm [2 May 2009].

1980 sonrasında dünyada, öncelikle de gelişmiş Batılı ülkelerde yeni bir sınıf türedi; 'bohem burjuvalar', yaygın deyişle 'bobo'lar. Artık, klasik burjuva hayat tarzı ve ideolojisinin devri geçti, bobolar, post-endüstriyel toplumun post-modern seçkin sınıfı. Kapitalizmin bohem, marjinal kültürlerin yaratıcı, dinamik enerjisini tüketim ekonomisine enjekte ederken, burjuva tanımı değişiyor, bohem, marjinal, eleştirel kültür çevreleri sermaye ile, sermaye bu kültürle kaynaşıyor. Bu gelişmenin ilk ürünü reklamcılık sektörü idi, daha sonra iletişim sektörü; şimdilerde 'yüksek sanat'ta sermaye ile buluşuyor, Batı'da sanatçılar, sanat olayları bile büyük sermayenin uzantısı haline geliyor. Ünlü sanatçıların eserleri firmaların promosyonu olarak pazarlanıyor, vs.
(…)

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Alongside Mert's expressions in different publications, the Bobos of Turkey were also mentioned in a book about gentrification in Istanbul. The book, *İstanbul'da Soylulaştirma; Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri*[22] (Gentrification in Istanbul; New Owners of the Old City) covers the presentations and workshops of a symposium about gentrification processes in Istanbul, and it allocates a few pages to discussions about Turkish Bobos. In that discussion, David Behar explains two concepts in the definition of bourgeoisie, *reproduction* and *distinction*. For him, these two concepts are important to distinguish the classical bourgeoisie and bohemian bourgeoisie from each other, since the first group considers reproduction, the latter takes advantage of distinction. Similar to David Brooks, while talking about the topic, Behar also claims to be a Bobo himself and he takes note of the bohemian side of some professions like sociologist, writer, journalist or architect:

> We can say that this is a "bobo workshop." Because we are talking about bobos and at the same time, we are bobos! I see myself as a bobo. Especially our kind of working areas – sociology, writing, journalism, architecture - has a serious bohemian feature. For instance, our mothers or fathers could have been lawyers or merchants but we didn't walk their way. A sociologist does not have strict office hours, his life is less routine. He can do meditation, or I don't know, may go to India while also working.[23]

> *Özal sonrası Türkiyesinde de, karınca kararınca böyle bir kesim oluştu; dıştan baktığınızda bunlar herkesten eleştirel, hattâ herkesten öfkeli! Ama onları eleştirel yapan nedir, öfkeleri neye karşıdır belli değil.*

[22] David Behar and Tolga Islam (eds). *Istanbul'da Soylulastirma: Eski Kentin Yeni Sahipleri* (Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, Istanbul 2006).

[23] Ibid., p.179.

Buranın bir "bobo atölyesi" olduğu söylenebilir. Çünkü hem bobolar hakkında konuşuyoruz, hem de boboyuz! Ben de kendimi bir bobo olarak görüyorum. Özellikle bizim yaptığımız mesleklerin –sosyologluk, yazarlık, gazetecilik hatta mimarlık- büyük bir bohem yanı var. Mesela babamız, annemiz avukat ya da tüccarsa biz o yoldan çıkıp daha faklı bir yol izlemeye karar verdik. Sosyolog her gün 9'da ofise gitmiyor, daha az rutin bir hayatı var. Ne bileyim, meditasyon da yapabiliyor, Hindistan'a da gidebiliyor.

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In another article on the cultural role of the bourgeoisie heirs, Behar also emphasizes Western influence on the new upper class life. He explains that the children of settled bourgeoisie families are sent to the metropolitan areas of Europe or the United States for education and business training. After returning, they introduce a new authentic character equipped with foreign trends:

> (…) the dissimilarities asserted by the distinct hobbies and cultural habits of the returning bourgeoisie heirs have nevertheless become socially more visible. The export cultural products and practices of the 1980s –probably as a result of the scantiness during the 1960s and 1970s- were to be received with a collective demand. The originality of the returning bourgeoisie heirs was coming from their position which allowed them to take initiatives, in Boltanski and Chiapello's expression, the "commodification of the authentic.[24]

The New Middle Class

With his book *Yeni Orta Sınıf*[25] (The New Middle Class*)*, Ali Şimşek is one of the few Turkish writers who has studied the conditions of upward mobilization in Turkey. Although the concept of "new middle class" has some similarities with the Bobo class the thesis discusses, the main targets of Şimşek are the white-collar executives and professionals who work in the service sector. Intentionally, he is

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[24]David Behar, "Uluslararası kültürün meşrulaşması, *İstanbul Dergisi,* no.62, (September 2008).

Geri dönüşçü veliahtların özel zevk ve kültürel alışkanlıklarının ifade ettiği farklılıklar, toplumsal anlamda yine de epey görünür hale geldi. 1980'lerin ithal kültürel mamul ve pratikleri -herhalde bunların 60 ve 70'lerdeki kıtlığından da kaynaklanan- bir kolektif taleple karşılaşacaktı. 1990'lardan itibaren ise geri dönüşçü veliahtların özgünlüğü Boltanski ve Chiapello'nun deyimiyle "otantik olanın piyasalaştırılması" [24] üzerinde sahip oldukları yeti ve inisiyatiften geliyordu.

[25] Ali Şimşek, *Yeni Orta Sınıf (*L&M Yayinlari, Istanbul 2005).

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writing on the current reflections of Yuppie ethos. However, he also acknowledges the emergence of a different middle class that wants to be distinguished from the traditional middle class. Şimşek does not use the word "Bobos" but the character he is introducing is very similar. By analyzing the readers of the newspaper *Radikal*, he explains this new group and their relationship with gentrification:

> The newspapers, *Yeni Yüzyıl* (New Century) and *Radikal* (Radical) which started to be published in the second half of the 1990s, targeted a reader who was a professional, university graduate, secular, liberal intellectual; one who likes to live fine, had a relatively high income and who wanted to *distinguish* himself/ herself from the traditional bourgeoisie. The most remarkable aspect of *Radikal* newspaper, which we can think as the most "authentic" newspaper of the middle class, is its emphasis on the "urban life." This emphasis could be found more in the weekend editions which addresses certain "gentrified" locations as the "gastronomic heavens."[26]

Similarly Şimşek's explanations about the "cultural surface" and the "liquid character" of the new middle class are close to the description of Boboism. He argues that the new middle class has diverged itself from the upper and the lower classes by placing emphasis on cultural capital. Especially those working in the media sector who have created a distinct cultural surface by both producing and consuming cultural products like newspapers, magazines, TV programs or movies. Şimşek also uses the term "liquid character" -in Turkish *likid kişilik*- to explain the hybrid character of the new middle class. Inspired by a wristwatch advertisement, he explains that the new middle class collects and merges conflicting habits of different

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[26] Şimşek, p. 75.

Doksanların ortasında yayına başlayan Yeni Yüzyıl daha sonra Radikal gazetesi ise, üniversite eğitimli, laik, liberal entelektüel ve iyi yaşamayı seven, göreli yüksek gelirli kendilerini geleneksel orta sınıflardan farklılaştırma hevesi olan profesyonel bir kesimi hedefleyecektir. Yeni orta sınıfın en "otantik" gazetesi sayabileceğimiz Radikal'in en dikkate değer yönü "kent" vurgusudur. Özellikle hafta sonu eklerinde yoğunlaşan bu vurgu, kentin bazı "soylulaştırılmış" bölgelerini "yeme-içme ve eğlence cennetleri" olarak adresleyecektir

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classes in one character.[27] Looking at the character in that advertisement, we do see that this is an absurd match of behaviors put together to create an authentic character.[28]

'Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Life Style'a'

Another book that encouraged me to write a thesis on the Bobo class in Turkey is *Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Life Style'a*[29] written by Rıfat Bali. It is one of the most comprehensive books covering the socio-cultural transformation of Turkey in the 1980-2000 periods. Throughout the book Bali examines the changing cultural patterns of the new elite lifestyle together with the political, economic and social developments that shaped those patterns. He analyzes the socio-cultural consequences of the neo-liberal economic policies that were introduced after the 1980s. He claims that these changes gave way to the "skin shed" of the Turkish bourgeoisie and fostered the birth of the *Yeni elitler -New elites-* or the *Yeni Türk İnsanı –New Turkish (Wo)Man-*.[30]

While summarizing developments in the post-1980 period, Bali mentions the influence of American popular culture on the cultural transformations in Turkey. He also takes note of the changing image of businessmen, which has become more

[27] Ibid., pp. 77-82.

[28] See Appendix C.

[29] Rıfat Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a, Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekânlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* (İletişim, Istanbul 2002).

[30] Bali, p.21.

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visual and more popular in recent times. The transformation of intellectual life with the pump of mass media is another important development that Bali describes. For him, the economic growth after 1980 enriched the middle and upper classes, who became the new elites of Turkey. He describes the new elites as the well-educated, urban bred, wealthy executives of the business and media sectors. He also emphasizes their ambition for leading society:

> The members of the generation that are called the "new elites" or the "new Turkish (wo)man", emerged in the late 1980s. Their inner perception about themselves can be summed up as "we rule the country" or "we have enough intellectual depth to analyze everything" and these elites have undertaken the duty of "enlightening" and "leading" Turkish society for the last twenty years.[31]

According to Bali, the growing emphasis on intellectual capacity was one of the important characteristics of the era, especially among businessmen who were trying to be more sophisticated. Acknowledging the themes of David Brooks, Bali explains that pecuniary success was no longer enough to receive respect, so the elites started to participate in cultural, educational and charitable organizations, and dealt with arts and literature more than ever.

The Turkish bourgeois class is not deeply rooted, so different wealthy groups contend for supremacy in that class. In this process, several rivalries broke out between the *old guards* and the *new comers*. Rıfat Bali explains this conflict as the "clash between old rich and new rich." He explains that as a strategy to differentiate

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[31] Bali, p. 21.

"*Yeni elitler" veya "Yeni Türk İnsanı" olarak tarif edilebilen bu kuşağın mensupları seksenli yılların başında başlayan bir sürecin sonucunda ortaya çıktılar. "Türkiye'yi bizler yönetiyoruz" veya " Her konuda tahlil yapabilecek entelektüel derinliğe sahibiz" şeklinde özetlenebilecek bir ruh yapısına sahip bu elitler son yirmi yıl boyunca Türk toplumunu "aydınlatma" ve "yol gösterme" görevini üstlendi.*

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themselves from the upstarts, the settled elites underlined their cultural capital.[32] However, rising concern for cultural capital is not a special trait of Turkish businessmen. It is a natural consequence of the bourgeois cultural transformation as described by Veblen and Bourdieu.

Emphasis on cultural capital as a distinction marker is a long-term strategy of the upper class in the world. As Thorstein Veblen explains in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class,*[33] the upper class deals with "quasi-scholarly" or "quasi-artistic" accomplishments to receive reputability; and to show that their time has not been spent in industrial employment, but spent in an unproductive expenditure of time:[34]

> The knowledge and habit of good form come only by long-continued use. Refined tastes, manners and habits of life are a useful evidence of gentility, because good breeding requires time, application, and expense, and can therefore not be compassed by those whose time and energy are taken up with work.[35]

Similarly, Bourdieu explains in detail that predisposed tastes function as the markers of "class" and the consumption of cultural goods determines the social hierarchy of different groups.[36] According to him, social origin and educational capital are the two basic determinants of artistic taste.[37] He scales three zones of taste as the "legitimate taste", "middle-brow taste" and the "popular taste." According to this

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[32] Ibid., pp.38-39.

[33] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Unwin Books, London 1970 [First published in 1925]).

[34] Ibid., p. 47.

[35] Ibid., p.49.

[36] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London:Routledge, 1986), p. 2.

[37] Bourdieu, p. 13.

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classification, the dominant class comprehends the most legitimate works of art, while the middle classes and the "intellectual" factions of the dominant class admire the minor works of the major arts. However, the working classes or the industrial and commercial employers appreciate works of so-called "light" music or classical music devalued by popularization.[38]

Returning to the narratives of Bali, it is easy to understand the reasons for the increasing interest in intellectual capital among the new elites. As Bali writes, the new Turkish elite try to show off different status signifiers that will distinguish them from the nouveau riche or new money. They highlight their knowledge of the taste of food, wine or cigar as proof of elite status. Thus, in my opinion, all these developments are part of bourgeois structuring in Turkey. Furthermore, with the entrance of bourgeois bohemians into the social arena, emphasis on intellectual capital has increased more than ever, because they distinguish themselves from the middle class and the ordinary bourgeoisie by highlighting their cultural and creative capital rather than pecuniary success.

To summarize, contrary to the previous decades, there is increasing interest in upper class studies in foreign media and in the academic world. As a part of this development, some scholars specifically concentrate on a new upper class which is comprised of young urban professionals who thrive with the help of their creative capacity and put forward a new life style that is both bohemian and elegant. Writers such as David Brooks, Richard Florida, Thomas Frank and Richard Lloyd are among those scholars who have written detailed books describing this new class. However, in Turkey, there has not been any study specifically dealing with the creative class or bourgeois bohemians. Yet, the books of Rıfat Bali and Ali Şimşek, as well as some

[38] Bourdieu, p. 16.

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essays about White Turks written by Nuray Mert are helpful to understand the new upper class compositions in Turkey.

After reviewing previous studies, to develop a logical understanding of the Bobo class, it is necessary to look at the history behind them. In this respect, in the following chapter, I will write about the old conflict between bourgeoisie and bohemians and then, I will concentrate on the counterculture of the 1960s, since it is claimed to be the forerunner of the Bobo ethos.

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CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

History of the Counterculture in the West

> We understand "the sixties" almost instinctively as the decade of the big change, the birthplace of our own culture, the homeland of hip, an era of which the tastes and discoveries and passions, however obscure their origins, have somehow determined the world in which we are condemned to live.[39]

The term Bobo is an acronym of bourgeois bohemian and is used to refer to people who merge some of the bourgeois values with bohemian manners. The claim behind the invention of this word, as Brooks noted in 2000, is the end of the quarrel between the bohemian and bourgeois classes. He argues further that, throughout the Twentieth century it was possible to distinguish between the bourgeois world of capitalism and the bohemian counterculture but in our age it is nearly impossible to isolate these two groups. For him, it is getting harder to separate the anti-establishment from the pro-establishment.[40]

In order to check the reliability of this claim, it is necessary to look at the story of this conflict. A lot of writers have been writing on this tension and they emphasize the importance of the 1960s as the era when the conflict turned into countercultural movement. Some writers admire the 1960s as a serious period of opposition and

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[39] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool; Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*, (The University of Chicago Press, London 1997) , p. 1.

[40] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p. 10.

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emancipation, while others see it as the "children's crusade"[41] To be able to comment on the effects of the 1960s on today's trends, it may be helpful to explain these views in detail.

Bohemians versus Bourgeoisie

The beginning of the conflict between bohemian and bourgeoisie was discussed in detail by César Graña, in the famous book of the early 1960s, *Bohemian versus Bourgeois*.[42] In that book, he analyzes the beginnings of literary discontent in France in the 19th century.

According to Graña, the most important question for the cultural historian of the period is to determine why intellectuals distrusted the climate of economic "bluster." For him the reasons of this distrust were the emergence of a dominant middle class; the disappearance of the traditional forms of literary sponsorship; the advent of new structures like industrialization, technology, popular government, and social utilitarianism; the concentration of cultural life in the cities; and intellectual unemployment.[43]

Graña describes that; there used to be a large scale reading public and great amount of literary output in France during 19th century. He argues that some historians attributed this development to the consequence of mass literacy fostered by the French Revolution. However after the introduction of a new publishing industry, the old book printer was replaced by the modern publisher "who conceived of

[41] Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (Basic Books Inc. 1976), p. xxvii.

[42] César Graña, *Bohemian versus Bourgeoisie* (Basic Books Inc. 1964).

[43] Ibid., p. 32.

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himself as a businessman and an investment gambler, able to sense popular demands and gauge bestseller possibilities."[44] Thus, Graña states that the new style publishers turned literature into merchandise. The writers of popular literature, especially the serial novels or the popular theater, received satisfying prices with a wide amount of readers. But there was no market for the ones writing personally and diversely.[45] In consequence, serious writers were alienated from society and distanced themselves from the bourgeois class.

Bell also mentions the historic conflict between bohemians and bourgeoisie. He argues that the impulse driving both the entrepreneur and the artist was a restlessness searching out of the new, reworking nature, and refashioning consciousness. He continues that both of them were aspects of the "same sociological surge of modernity." But Bell points out that the paradox was that each group became conscious of the "other" and sought to destroy it. The bourgeoisie sought renewal in the economy and feared spontaneity in economic production; whereas the cultured class hated bourgeois values, "reproached utility, rationalism and materialism as barren and blamed them not promoting a spiritual life":[46]

> What is striking is that while bourgeois society introduced a radical individualism in economics, and a willingness to tear up all traditional social relations in the process, the bourgeois class feared the radical experimental individualism of modernism in the culture. Conversely, the radical experimentalists in the culture, from Baudelaire to Rimbaud to Alfred Jarry, were willing to explore all dimensions of experience, yet fiercely hated bourgeois life. The history of the sociological puzzle, how this antagonism came about, is still to be written.[47]

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[44] Graña, p. 33.

[45] Ibid., pp. 31-35.

[46] Bell, p. 17.

[47] Ibid., p. 18.

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Before and After the 1960s

For many writers, the period until the 1960s was very different from the 1960s'; the former was the period of order and regularity, but the latter was one era of unrest and rebellion. While talking about the world of the 1950s, David brooks emphasizes the dominance of WASP (White-Anglo Saxon-Protestant) elites. He says that, in this period, bourgeois morals such as dignity, elitism, duty, service, honor and respect to military virtues were the important elements of being elegant citizens. Furthermore, that period was the heyday of racism and anti-Semitism. However, beginning from the last years of the 1950s, a kind of social transformation came to a head.[48]

The most prominent development was the changing pattern of upward mobility. Until the 1950s, upward mobility was dependent on nobility and wealth; but afterwards meritocracy was introduced as the new measure of elitism. The introduction of meritocracy as a status value started after the transformation of the education system. Most of the students in the 50s belonged to noble families yet their exam grades were fair. From the 60s on, the average SAT scores increased together with the welcoming of students from different social backgrounds. For example, Harvard University had transformed itself from a school hosting the children of the social elite to a more open one, accepting the brightest students from the country. The reason for this transformation was the desire to create a new elite, based on merit, that would be trained at the high-powered universities and who would then devote themselves selflessly to public service.[49] In a way, the WASP elite destroyed itself by introducing standardized tests. From that time on, intellectual values rose

[48] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* pp. 18-25.
[49] Ibid., p.26.

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against the WASP establishment and intellectuals were elevated into the social stratosphere. The typical symbol of this transformation was the invitation of intellectuals to the White House by John F. Kennedy.[50]

One of the Turkish historians Zafer Toprak also writes about the renaissance in education and he explains the expansion of schooling to the wider segments of the society:

> The second half of the 20th century proves that education has become the primary criteria for social status and high income. The class structures which had formerly been separated by the Great Wall of China are now unraveling. People can move up to a higher class through education. In many countries, welfare state and social state concerns provide education opportunities for the low income groups. Today even low income workers can find the economic power to afford university educations for their children. Socialist countries acknowledge this opportunity as a personal right and states subsidize education in every necessary way. Likewise, the countries which are in line with social democratic policies provide scholarships and similar opportunities in order to disseminate education to the masses.[51]

Another development was the removal of Jewish quotas and the elimination of restrictions on women. Between 1947 and 1960 the number of female students increased by 47 percent and then jumped to 168 percent between 1960 and 1970. [52] Even these numbers are enough to show the increasing prestige of education. The

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[50] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, p.27.

[51] Zafer Toprak, "1968'i Yargılamak ya da 68 Kuşağına Mersiye," *Cogito* No:114 (1998), p. 155.

20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı, artık eğitimin yüksek gelir ve toplumsal statü elde etmenin temel kıstası olduğunu kanıtlıyor. Artık dünün Çin seddiyle ayrılmış sınıfsal yapıları çözülmeye yüz tutuyor. Eğitimle insanlar sınıf atlıyorlar. Refah devleti ve sosyal devlet kaygıları birçok ülkede görece düşük gelir gruplarına eğitim olanakları sağlıyor. Artık, düşük gelirli çalışanlar bile çocuklarını üniversitede okutabilecek gücü buluyorlar kendilerinde. Sosyalist ülkelerde bu olanak bir hak olarak görülüyor ve devlet her türlü desteği eğitime veriyor. Keza sosyal demokrat çizgiye giren ülkelerde de burs ve benzeri olanaklarla eğitim geniş kitlelere ulaştırılıyor.

[52] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.30.

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rise of meritocracy provoked the rise of expectations. According to Brooks, this transformation was the basic force behind the revolutionary movements of 1968:

> The social revolution of the late sixties was not a miracle or a natural disaster, the way it sometimes treated by writers on the left and right. It was a logical response to the trends of the crucial years between 1955 and 1965. The components of elite status were due to change. The culture of upscale America was due for a revolution.[53]

The cultural values of campus life were very different from the traditional values of WASP families. According to Brooks, when students returned home after graduation, they felt a cultural gulf between themselves and their families. They became bored from the old way of doing things. They wanted to challenge the conventional notions of success. They were the rising members of privileged class, but they wanted to destroy the prestige attached to WASP lifestyle and WASP moral code. They wanted to replace the old order with a new social code that would celebrate spiritual and intellectual ideals.[54]

However, for Thomas Frank, none of these existentialist conflicts were new in the 1950s; they had started with the discovery of aesthetic Modernism. He explains that the alienation from the nation's "official culture" was a standard of late nineteenth-century religious and aesthetic movements.[55] In other words, what was happening in the 1950s and 1960s was anextension of old bohemian ideas to the widest popular audience. For Frank, "the bohemia itself would be democratized and the eternal conflict of artist and bourgeoisie expended into a cultural civil war"[56]. In

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[53] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, p. 31.

[54] Ibid., p.33.

[55] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* p.12.

[56] Ibid., p.13.

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short, returning to the thesis of César Graña, it is possible to read the 1960s movements as a chain of bohemian vs. bourgeois conflict.

The Birth of *Hipster*

The American cultural critic Thomas Frank argues that, throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, criticism of mass culture was very popular and even like the "guarantors of intellectual authority."[57] Talking about conformity, consumerism, or the banality of mass-produced culture were routine elements of middle-class life. Frank explains that, the life-giving answer for the mass society and conformity malaria was the birth of Hipster. [58]The term hipster was coined by Norman Mailer, who created the opposite figure of "organization man"[59] and called him 'hipster' in his book *Advertisements for Myself.*[60] Hipster was a figure who appreciated living for immediate pleasures, rejecting the work ethic, divorcing from society, and existing without roots. Unlike the "over-civilized man" the hipster lived with a "burning consciousness of present" and existed for immediate gratification. After the birth of the hipster myth, there were two choices for the 1960s generation, to be hip or square: one was a rebel or one conformed…[61]

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[57] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* p. 16.

[58] For further information about 'hip' and 'hipster' see John Leland, *Hip: The History* (Harper Perennial, 2005).

[59] *The Organization Man*, is the book written by William H. Whyte (published in 1956), as a critique of corporate planned community and culture of 1950s. Than after, the term turned into a phrase to explain the extremely regulated and organized life of businessmen.

[60] Norman Mailer, *Advertisements for Myself* (Andre Deutsch Limited 1961), pp.277-328.

[61] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* p.13.

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While some writers appreciate the birth of the hipster and recognize the 1960s movements as a real rebellion against the values of bourgeois society and the forces of capitalist system, some other writers criticize that era. Among these critics, there are some noteworthy writers such as Daniel Bell and Thomas Frank who introduced multifaceted judgments on the 1960s movements.

In his interesting book, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, Bell criticizes the counter-cultural movements of the 1960s and calls them a "children's crusade." He explains that although 60s movements claimed to jeer bourgeois prudishness, it was only showing off the closet behavior of its liberal parents. Although it claimed to be new and daring it was only repeating "the youthful japes of a Greenwich Village bohemia of a half century before"[62]

Thomas Frank and the "Co-optation Theory"

Another challenging view of the 1960s rebel culture comes from Thomas Frank. In the book, *The Conquest of Cool*, Frank analyzes the old logic that made rebel youth cultures so attractive to corporate decision-makers. He explains that, beginning from the early days of the cultural upheaval of the 1960s, business culture and the young rebels who presented as enemies, and youth culture was regarded as the critic of empty consumerism created by the corporate mind. However, Frank writes that the standard story has ignored the synchronic relationship between the business and hip. For him, "business dogged the counterculture with a fake counterculture" and aped the protest symbols with commercial replicas. Drawing inspiration from the countercultural rhetoric, new rock bands, TV specials and magazine stories were

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[62] Bell, p. xxvii.

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imitated for commercial purposes. Frank calls this policy the "co-optation theory" which explains the position of corporate decision makers towards the counterculture:"If you can't beat 'em, absorb 'em."[63] Although the counterculture started as a marginal movement, in a very short time, it turned into a mass fashion. It was the turning point that record companies, clothing manufacturers and other purveyors of consumer goods quickly recognized "a new market." In other words, the bohemian cultural style which was the "native language of the alienated" turned into the "native language of advertising":[64]

> They were tools with which the Establishment hoped to buy off and absorb its opposition, emblems of dissent that were quickly translated into harmless consumer commodities, emptied of content, and sold to their very originators as substitutes for the real thing. The co-optation theory has been the inescapable corollary of the hip-as-resistance thesis since its inception…[65]

On the other hand, influenced by the countercultural rhetoric, the management theory developed its own critique in the same period. Management thinkers accepted the insufficiency of the 1950's mind of entrepreneurship and technocratic efficiency (*The Organization Man*), and they embraced individualism promoting, bureaucracy-smashing, anti-hierarchical schemes.[66] Throughout the 1960s, several management texts were written to address the problems of the 1950s. In general terms, complaints were about Taylorist policies. Hierarchy and conformity were under attack while

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[63] Edt."If you cannot beat them, absorb them" Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, p. 7.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 7-8.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[66] *Ibid.*, p.20.

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creativity and leadership were credited.[67] In other words, "Theory Y" was supported in place of "Theory X"[68].

On the other hand, Frank writes that the cultural protests also inspired ~~also~~ the corporate managers of the 1960s to develop new products appealing to different groups. He defines this as the time for "market segmentation." Brand image and consumer identity pulled ahead of the importance of the physical quality of products. Advertising took an ever-more prominent role in business development. Appealing to specific group identities was the new strategy of advertisement. Thus, youthfulness became the most influential marketing policy. Counterculture, as the mainstream youth movement of the time, attracted many sectors like the music industry or fashion. Images of rebellious, individualistic youth embellished the trade literature and the consequence was the birth of *hip consumerism*. To sum up, according to Frank, the corporate mentality of the era not only co-opted, but also approved rebel culture.[69]

"The Age of Conformity"

As Frank explains in detail, capitalism has commodified the anti-capitalist criticism through popularizing the dissent and commercializing symbolic products of

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[67] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* p. 22-23.

[68] Theory X and Theory Y are two conflicting discourses about workforce motivation. According to Theory X, employees are inherently lazy and they don't like to work; so they should be strictly supervised and hierarchically controlled. However, Theory Y assumes that; employees enjoy their work duties and they can exercise self-control; so hierarchy and subordination should be minimized in the workplace.

[69] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* p. 26.

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rebellion. This process also has fostered the commodification of intellectualism. In the information age, intellectual sensibility was turned into a commodity which provides not only status, but also considerable wealth. In other words, intellectuals have *commodified their dissent*. At this point, it is important to mention an earlier article of Irving Howe, which signaled the changing position of intellectuals, and explained their deviation from the oppositional position and integration into the capitalist system.

In his inspiring article "This Age of Conformity" written in 1954, Irving Howe jure early clues about the changing position and status of intellectuals in the socio-cultural life. He claimed that, the new capitalist system had honored a place for intellectuals which distanced them from "opposition." According to him, the new economic system offered new roles for the intellectuals. He explained three factors fostering these positions: First of all, in the post-war age, ideology played a crucial role between the people and the state, and the creation of ideological slogans and abstractions opened a space for intellectual production. Secondly, industrialism granted large quantities of leisure time which fastened the industry of mass culture and created employment for intellectuals and quasi-intellectuals. Thirdly, the state subsidized mass education and "higher" education increased the demand for academic positions including intellectuals. Thanks to those opportunities, Howe explains that intellectuals had been hired in sectors like the government bureaucracy, institutional staffs, academies and mass culture industries. As a result, the tension between "intellect" and "wealth" ended while previously independent intellectuals were absorbed by the capitalist system. Here, Howe severely criticize these developments and wrote that whenever the intellectuals became absorbed in the accredited institutions of society, they not only lost their traditional rebelliousness

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but also ceased to function as intellectuals. He concluded that there was no longer a relevant clash between "the values of art" and "the business civilization." [70]

The Revival of 1960s

> "Sixties are the beginning of present, the birthplace of the styles and tastes and values that define our world."[71]

There are conflicting views about the utility of the 1960s radical spirit. Conservatives and political figures on the right hold the sixties responsible for the demise of traditional values. They blame "cultural radicals" and their "revolutionary nihilism" for the social blights of today. However, their hatred has not been powerful enough to prevent the rebirth of countercultural fashion in the 1990s and the 2000s.

In book, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, Bell also gives the early clues for the demise of the quarrel between cultural class and the popularization of counterculture. According to him, this is a consequence of the exhaustion of cultural modernism.

> Today modernism is exhausted. There is no tension. The creative impulses have gone slack. It has become an empty vessel. The impulse to rebellion has been institutionalized by the "cultural mass" and its experimental forms have become the syntax and semiotics of advertising and haute couture. As a cultural style, it exists as radical chic, which allows the cultural mass the luxury of "freer" life-styles while holding comfortable jobs within an economic system that has itself been transformed in its motivations.[72]

Beginning in the 1990s, social critic Thomas Frank also declared the revival of the 1960s corporate mentality by writing several books on it. *The Conquest of*

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[70] Irving Howe, "This Age of Conformity," *Partisan Review*, Volume:24 (1954), p. 8-15.

[71] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,*, p. IX.

[72] Bell, p.20.

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Cool[73]; *Commodify Your Dissent*[74]; and *One Market Under God*[75] are the basics books of Frank, in which he explains the malarias of the neo-liberal economy and dissolution of its criticisms. Frank writes that "together with the unprecedented prosperity driven by the revolutionary forces of globalization and cyber-culture"[76], the effect of counterculture on popular culture has doubled. Contemporary corporate minds commercialized the countercultural rhetoric. Symbols of protest culture have been transformed into promotional instruments for big companies like Coca-Cola, Nike, Starbucks, Apple, IBM, or Microsoft. Advertorials like "Break Rules, Find Yourself" have fostered consumption of hip goods by appealing to the protest spirit of youth. In Frank's words, the contemporary corporate mind accelerated the new capitalist order through the gravitation of the imagery of the rebel youth culture and dramatization of insurgent vision. For him, this version of countercultural myth is so pervasive that it is consumed even by former maligners.[77]

Brooks explains this transformation as the merging of anti-establishment with pro-establishment. This is a consequence of the information age, which has created enormous wealth for the intellectuals through culture industry and raise them as the new upper class.[78] In other words, the "alienation of the artist" has ended because the

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[73] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool; Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*, (The University of Chicago Press, London 1997).

[74] Thomas Frank, M Weiland, *Commodify Your Dissent*: *The Business of Culture in the New Gilded Age*, (New York and London: WW Norton 1997).

[75] Thomas Frank, *One market under God : Extreme Capitalism, Market Populism and the End of Economic Democracy*, (London : Secker & Warburg, 2001).

[76] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool,* p. 4.

[77] Ibid., p. 4.

[78] Brooks, . *Bobos in Paradise,* p.11.

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information age created new opportunities for the creative workers. Middle aged artists and intellectuals who took part in the countercultural movements of the 1960s, find themselves in prestigious positions in the new economy. After meeting with wealth, they did not want to be part of the status quo that they formerly criticized. In the face of tension between ideological values and pecuniary dispositions, they found a third way and they merged the symbols of dissent with the signifiers of wealth.

However, Michael Quirk opposes Brooks' theory and says that Bobos have not abolished the fetishized commodities of the bourgeoisie but have only re-presented them in a new, hip form. Recalling the co-optation theory of Thomas Frank, Quirk emphasizes that bohemian nonconformity absorbed into the late capitalist culture gave birth to the Bobo synthesis.[79] Furthermore, Quirk urges that any effort or political action against the socio-cultural problems is repealed through absorption. Oppositions are co-opted, packaged and sold as "life-style options" like Boboism. As a result, the opposition loses its critical and effective power.[80]

As can be understood by their conflicting rhetoric, Frank and Brooks are recognized as disputing scholars. As a conservative op-ed columnist of the *New York Times*, Brooks is concerned with the sociology of American middle and upper-middle class. In a counter position, Frank stands up for the working classes as the lefty founding editor of *Baffler* magazine. Frank is a "merciless critic of commodified counterculture and laissez-faire pseudo-populism of the New Economy," so he places himself opposite to Brooks. From Brooks' perspective, the American people are mostly apolitical, since they are too busy with their work and

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[79] Michael Quirk, "Ghosts, Monks and Bobos" *Cross Currents*, (September 22,2001), p. 412.

[80] Ibid., p. 415.

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they do not have free time to think about international politics or the social inequalities. Contrarily, Franks tries to explain the end of criticism against liberalism, which began in the 1960s but was impeded by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s and by George W. Bush in the 2000s. Despite these apparent contradictions between Brooks and Frank, according to Wen Stephenson, they have more in common then we realize. Stephenson criticizes both writers for restraining American politics and society in only two views.[81]

Stephenson takes note of the similarities between Brooks and Frank, to claim that, although they have counter arguments, both writers have oversimplified and made reductive conclusions about American society and politics. He continues saying that, although they claim to put on different perspectives, both attempt to explain why whole classes of Americans are the way they are today. For Stephenson, both writers ask too big questions and they offer too big answers. They both use a witty language but "they're bold, they're brash- and, they're funny"[82]

> Both Brooks and Frank are obsessed with social class - though their conceptions of it could hardly be more different. And despite their tendency toward caricature, both claim to be sympathetic to the class of Americans they are most concerned with: middle- and upper-middle-class exurbanites in Brooks' case, working-class and small-town Midwesterners in Frank's. [83]

Why do We Talk So Much about the 1960s?

The reason for a thorough discussion of the place of counterculture of the 1960s in this thesis is to give clues about the development of the bohemian bourgeoisie culture

[81] Wen Stephenson, "Class Clowns" *The Boston Globe* 13. 06. 2004.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

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of today. As Thomas Frank writes, the relation between the youth rebellions of the 1960s and the capitalist system was not so much adversarial. Nonetheless, the spread and influence of youth protests was due to the popularization and commoditization of anti-system symbols by the corporate mind. In other words the rebel culture and the corporate mind merged. Today we experience a revival of this sprit; the Bobos declare a peace between rebellious impulses and pecuniary desires.

Turkish Bobos: A Different History?

The motives behind the birth of the bohemian bourgeoisie class in Turkey have similarities with and differences from their Western counterparts. While writing about the historical background of Bobos in the United States and Europe, I emphasized the importance of the 1960s youth movements as the basic dynamic behind the birth of bohemian bourgeois culture. Turning to the Turkish case, the influence of the 1968 generation on today's socio-cultural atmosphere cannot be denied, however it should also be emphasized that the Turkish case was in some ways different from the Western examples. Furthermore, the repercussions of the post-1980 period have been more influencial in the creation of Bobo culture in Turkey. In this section I want to summarize the environment of the the 1960s briefly and then analyze the developments after the 1980s to construct a base for the birth of the creative class in Turkey.

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The 1960s in Turkey

Turkey witnessed a demographic revolution between the years 1940-1980 which had deeply transformed the social structure of the country. Together with the demographic boom, the urbanization movements started in the multi-party era created economic dissatisfaction.[84] Although it had awakened hopes for democratization; an improper economic agenda and the authoritative policies of the Democratic Party lead a coup d'état in 1960. The new constitution introduced in 1961 had an emancipatory character, since it improved individual rights and freedoms. This environment created a democratic environment which allowed the development of new social and political ideas. Student protests in 1968 also prospered in that democratic environment.

Similar to the European fellows, the 1968 movements in Turkey were occurred on university campuses. Students and academics of the time were very sensitive about the socio-political developments both locally and globally. They were able to follow the student movements in other countries thanks to mass communication. Foreign language education enhanced their ability to read the most respected books of the time.[85] They were very aware of what was going on in the world.

Furthermore, the state gave special importance to the development of universities. The most prominent motive behind this support was the need of technocratic staff. Some of the professors were hired for specific policy projects. For example, economic development plans and the 1961 constitution were designed by

[84] Zafer Toprak, p. 157.

[85] Ibid.

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them. Consequently the role of universities in the social policy area had risen and the university environment became a part of active politics.[86]

Until those years, the number of university graduates was very low but this structure started to change with urbanization movements. As a result, the class structure in the universities changed. Students from the lower classes entered prestigious universities. However the income disparity between the upper and lower classes created unrest among students.[87]

Together with economic tensions, the global political atmosphere worried young students. The failure of development theory and introduction of dependency theory had repercussions on Turkish youth. They called for "entirely sovereign Turkey" and protested against foreign capital.[88] Influenced by the socialist factions, and with the desire of revolution, student protests turned into radical movements in a short time.

The 1960s leftist movement was not homogenous itself, and was divided into various factions, so there was a lively political atmosphere until the military coup in 1971. Afterwards, the left in Turkey was damaged with the closure of the Workers' Party of Turkey, which had became the first socialist party in parliament, and the imprisonment and endorsement of the death sentence of some of the leftist leaders and the hanging of Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan and Yusuf Aslan, who were leftist political activists in the 1960s. Nevertheless, after the coup, leftist activism remained powerful among the youth in universities and throughout the 1970s, bloody clashes between radical rightist and leftist groups continued increasingly. The police support

[86] Zafer Toprak, p. 158.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., p. 157.

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for rightist violence changed the meaning of activism towards the end of the era when the number of murders increased considerably and political murders took place. Due to the lack of effective political power in the face of rising social unrest, the army staged a coup on 12 September 1980. That coup was a turning point in the political, social and economic history of the Turkish Republic.

The 1980 military coup had many social, political and economic repercussions. The most affected section of Turkish society was the young and educated generation. They were sentenced to long-years of imprisonment and many underwent torture. Some of them were forced into exile or expelled. Especially journalists were affected by the social turmoil experienced due to the 1980 coup. In 1983, with the formation of the Özal government, civil power was re-established. Afterwards, some of those activists and journalists decreased their political activism and adopted neo-liberal tendencies.

The 68 Generation as the Pioneers of Bobos

" Gençliğinde sosyalist olmayanın kalbi, sonradan kapitalist olmayanın aklı yoktur"[89]

While talking about the rebirth of the 1960s sprit in the 1990s and the 2000s, the effectiveness of advertisement literature which re-pumped the countercultural slogans of the 60s in the commercials of the 1990s was discussed. The boom of the advertising sector is a part of the rising Information Age which has opened new opportunities for knowledge workers. The birth of mass culture industry, the spread of mass media and widening of schooling opened new opportunities for intellectuals, academics, journalists and artists. Several writers mentioned that the pioneering

[89] Hayri Kozanoğlu, *Yuppiler, Prensler ve Bizim Kuşak* (İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 1993), p.119.

Anyone who wasn't a socialist when they were young has no heart, anyone who didn't become a capitalist after his youth has no brains.

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employees of this sector were the members of the 1968 generation. This suggestion is also true for Turkey since most activists of the '68 took prestigious positions in society and many of them preferred to work in mass media and culture industry. There are several reasons for this preference.

The neoliberal and apolitical atmosphere of the 1980s was weird for the 1960s generation. Old activist were banished from active politics. There were two options; they would either prolong their activism in radical organizations or they would try to adapt to the system. The ones who chose the second option suffered from adaptation problems, but in the face of opportunities presented by the new economic system, they gradually metamorphosed. The ones who embraced extreme capitalism easily adapted themselves to the new norms of economy were the pioneers of the Yuppie phenomenon.[90] However those who could not endure the contradictions between their previous ideology and current socio-economic values experienced inner conflicts.

> In the West, when the youth of the 1960s found themselves in the middle of business life, they experienced this conflict and they are still experiencing. In Turkey, the youth of the 1960s, particularly of the 1970s, when the radical movements expanded into mass actions, experienced this conflict powerfully in the 1980s; in fact some of them haven't found a resolution yet.[91]

These kinds of people who did not want to budge too much from their older ideology and life philosophy, preferred intellectual or creative professions like academia, journalism or the advertising sector. As Kozanoğlu also writes, it is not a coincidence that most of the advertisers were –and still are- older leftists. After

[90] Kozanoğlu, p. 10.

[91] *Ibid.,* p. 40.

Batı'da 60'ların gençliği kendini iş hayatında bulunca bu çatışmayı yoğun olarak yaşadı ve yaşıyor. Türkiye'de 60'ların, özellikle radikal hareketlerin daha kitlesellik kazandığı 70'lerin gençliği bu çatışmayı 80'li yıllarda şiddetle hissetti- bazıları hâlâ bunun sorunlarını çözmüş değil.

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pondering how to make the masses more conscious for years, they gained intellectual knowledge that now could be turned into money. Since in this sector, creative labor and informal relationships are prominent and there are fewer contradictions about labor rights or work security, the advertising sector is very popular among old activists who try to adapt the new system.[92]

To set forth the attractiveness of creative sectors for the 1968 generation, *Nokta* magazine prepared a study asking why the 1968 generation in Turkey preferred to work in mass media.[93] The idea for doing such a study comes from an inquiry in England. In that inquiry, it was stated that the 68' generation dominated the mass media in England and it was possible to observe this dominance by looking at publishing and advertising sectors such as the *BBC* and the *Guardian*. This statement was very similar in the Turkish case, so *Nokta* magazine made several interviews with the famous activists of the 1968 who later chose to work in mass media or advertising agencies.

Some of the respondents did not attend a special meaning for working in the media. For them, although there were not many 68 members in the media, the visual and popular side of the sector created a false belief about their generation. On the other hand, some respondents approved the clustering in the information sectors. Among them, Ertuğrul Kürkçü explains that after being removed from politics, the 68 generation was welcomed by civil society, including the media:

> While the generation, who found an opportunity to develop their creative skills infinitely within the environment of the 1968s, isolated from the state, they were simultaneously swallowed up by civil society. In return, they conquered every power position within the media and non-governmental

[92] Kozanoğlu, p. 43.

[93] "68'liler Neden Kitle İletişimini Seçtiler?" *Nokta.* No:114 (July 14, 1991).

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society. Today most of civil society is run by the 1960's generation who are at their forties.[94]

Osman Arolat also describes that the leading position of the '68 generation in the current foundations:

> People who would like to shape society, who think and write, who want to lead society should be present in two important places. First one is politics and the other one is the media. When we look from the perspective of politics, the leftist wing of the 1968 generation had already encountered a very serious obstacle after the 1971 military coup. For that reason, only the ones, who claimed that they were social democrats and not socialists, the ones who compromised on their own politics, were able to take part in politics. For the other members of the 1968 generation, only the well known writing-drawing matters were left to collaborate. But there were other negative consequences.
>
> There were some friends of our, who attempted to change society from some different places, like for instance from advertising market. I am not saying this to condemn them directly. There are of course many things wrong in Turkish society and also in the media, but the attitudes of these friends caused many faults within the advertising market. These friends of ours are individuals who learned to shape society in a period when they were shaping themselves. That is why they outshone in the advertising market, as an outcome of the hard work they had done in that area.[95]

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[94] Ibid., p. 27.

1968'in ikliminde yaratıcı niteliklerini sınırsızca geliştirebilme olanağı bulan bu kuşak, 1980'lerde devletten dışlanırken sivil toplum tarafından yutuldu. Karşılığında medya da içinde, bütün sivil toplum alanlarında iktidar konumlarını fethetti. Türkiye'de sivil toplum bugün çoğu 68'li olan 40 yaş kuşağı tarafından yönetiliyor.

[95] *Nokta,* p. 28.

Topluma yön vermek isteyen, düşünen yazan insanların, toplumu yönlendirmeye çalışan insanların iki önemli yerde boy göstermesi lazım. Bunlardan birisi siyaset, bir diğeri de medyada yer almak. Siyasette yer alma açısından baktığımızda 68 kuşağının sol kanadının önüne zaten 1971 askeri hareketiyle çok ciddi bir engel geldi ve bu nedenle, ancak kendi siyasetlerinden taviz vererek sosyalist olmadıklarını, sosyal demokrat olduklarını iddia eden bireyler siyaset içerisinde yer alabildiler. Toplumu yönlendirme açısından 68 kuşağının diğer fertlerine, yakından bildikleri yazı-çizi meselesiyle iş birliği yapmak kaldı. Ama bunun bir başka olumsuzluğu da söz konusu oldu.

Toplumu yönlendirmeye başka yerde, reklam piyasasında da ele alan arkadaşlarımız oldu. Onları doğrudan kınamak açısından söylemiyorum. Türk toplumunda, basında da tabii yanlışlar var ama reklam piyasasındaki birçok hataya da bu arkadaşların tavırları neden oldu. Bu arkadaşlar toplumu şekillendirmeyi, kendilerini şekillendirme döneminde öğrenmiş

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Similarly, Atilla Aksoy (Advertiser) stated that working in the media was not a coincidental option for 68 generation:

> It is, of course no coincidence that the "leftists" of that period chose to work within the media industry. After all, 1968 was an incident with an intellectual aspect –a very important part of it indeed- and television, media, cinema and advertising make intellectuality necessary (at least in principle) for success. "I found it too "conspritorial[96] to force a connection between the choice of these people's professions and their intention to influence events.[97]

Another respondent Okay Gönensin (journalist) explains howthey chose this sector because they were curious about global events. From the childhood they had been in touch with social realities and they were concerned with art. However he also adds that not every activist entered in information sectors, there were others like doctors, bankers or academics. Alp Orçun (journalist) acknowledges this suggestion and he says that not all of them worked in media but they all chose intellectually challenging sectors. Ziya Öztan (director) adds that that generation preferred to work in the media since it allowed for freedom and imagination.

While opposed to the idea of grouping in this sector, Ersin Salman (advertiser) claims that they did not chose the media, but the media chose them. About the welcoming of the 68 generation Şule Perinçek also points out that:

> The ones who lived through the 1968 were the ones who wanted to destroy what existed and build anew. We were creative. Our thinking was not enclosed within limits. Naturally, the system covered our ways with silk

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bireylerdir. O yüzden de bu alana yaptıkları yoğun çalışmalar nedeniyle reklam piyasasında öne çıktılar.

[96] Edt. "conspiratorial."

[97] *Nokta,* p. 29.

O dönemin "solcu"larının medyayı seçmesi, kuşkusuz bir rastlantı değil. Sonunda 68, entelektüel boyutu – hem de ağırlıklı bir boyutu- olan bir hadisedir ve TV, basın, sinema, reklam da bu entelektüelliği başarı için (prensipte) zorunlu kılar. "Olayları etkileme niyeti ile bu mesleklerin seçimi arasında bağlantı kurmak fazla "conspritorial"[97] gelir bana.

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> carpets in order to take advantage of this source. The ones who were deceived took that way; the healthy ones took the way of becoming a 1998 generation.[98]

Looking from another perspective, I want to present another reason behind the job preferences of the 1968 generation in Turkey. Although it started as unarmed protest, later it turned into a bloody movement. Throughout the 1970s many activists were arrested and imprisoned. When they decided to look for jobs, they did not have many alternatives. Because of their criminal records, most of them could not find jobs in the government or public sectors. Civil-information sectors were a suitable alternative where they could transform their ideas and creativity into products. They prospered in these sectors without the shadow of their convicted past.

As far as this thesis is concerned, I want to express that these people played leading role in the emergence of the Bobo ethos. After establishing their careers in the creative or intellectual sectors and making good money from them, old leftists fell into a spiritual conflict. They started to earn as much as the people they had hated in the past. They did not want to directly accept the bourgeois life style. In consequence, they created a hybrid culture of their own, which blended the leftist rhetoric with the codes of material welfare. Although they earned as much as the Yuppies, they rejected the emulation of bourgeois culture. Rather than trying to enter to the settled upper class; Bobos created an alternative upper class culture.

Nuray Mert considers the political meaning of the birth of a Bobo class. She claims that the pioneer Bobos were the members of the 68 generation and that the new comers are the leftist intellectuals or artists of the seventies. In spite of the

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[98] Ibid., p. 28.

68'leri yaşayanlar değiştirici, yıkıp yeniyi kurmaya çalışanlardı. Yaratıcıydık. Düşüncelerimizde sınır yoktu. Düzen, doğal olarak bu kaynaktan yararlanmak için önümüze ipek halılar serdi. Kanan gitti, sağlıklı olan 98'li olma yolunu tuttu

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change in class status, she explains, they are insisted on being as if they still stand for the protest culture. Although they are a new class with money and status, they continue to use the protest rhetoric of the 60s like a varnish. However, for Mert, this trend weakens the real meaning of the leftist opposition and turns it into an instrument of advertisement or fashion trends.[99]

Rıfat Bali also writes about the continuation of the 68 sprit among the new elites. He directs attention to the ambition of businessman to be seen as socialist in the 1980s and the 1990s. He says that some of the social-democrat entrepreneurs highlighted their leftist character and tried to form the Social Democrat Development Council. He writes that, being a '68 activist is presented as a privilege among the new intellectual capitalists:

> To declare that you were a university student during the year 1968, and implying that you took some part in the student revolts brought a privileged status. Businessman Selim Alguadiş found it favorable to indicate in an interview that "He is from the 1968 generation, he did politics through the leftist theater plays he staged at Robert College during his education and his leftist origins were to be found in the 1960s." Algudiş states that "I attended to ÖDP's (Freedom and Solidarity Party) meeting in Sultanahmet. I appreciate them. I believe in the necessity of the political movements which came from outside the system. I find these developments very healthy." These statements of Algudiş almost reflect the look of a wise man who attained full aged, watching an amusing play in his comfortable armchair. İbrahim Betil, who was a popular banker in the 1980s, and then in the 1990s became an educator, is also another businessman who strives to give off a "leftist" impression. Betil also emphasized that he is from the 1968 generation in another interview.[100]

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[99] Behar and Tolga Islam, p.183.

[100] Bali, p. 78-79.

1968 yılındaki öğrenci eylemleri sırasında üniversite öğrencisi olduğunu ve gösterilere katıldığını ima etmek, insanlara bir ayrıcalık kazandırıyordu. İşadamı Selim Alguadiş de kendisiyle yapılan bir söyleşide "68 Kuşağı"na ait olduğunu, Robert Kolej'de okuduğu yıllarda tiyatro sahnesinde sol eğilimli oyunlarla siyaset yaptığını hatırlatmak ve solculuğunun köklerinin 68'li yıllara dayandığını belirtmekte yarar gördü. Alguadiş'in "ÖDP'nin Sultanahmet'deki mitingine gittim. Onları da çok beğeniyorum. Sistemin dışında politik hareketler çıkması gerektiğine inanıyorum. Bu gelişmeleri çok sağlıklı buluyorum"

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To summarize, as many writers emphasized, the countercultural aura of the 1960s has been accepted as the forerunner of bourgeois bohemian culture that emerged after the 1990s. To be a member of the '68 generation is prestigious for the intellectual coterie. For this reason, even after they accommodated themselves to the neo-liberal world of the post-1980s, the former members of the '68 generation continued to highlight their leftish standing. Furthermore, after elevating their career in the creative or intellectual sectors, they prospered financially and in consequence created a hybrid culture which blended the leftist rhetoric with the codes of material welfare. In this respect, they laid the foundation of the bourgeois bohemian lifestyle. However, to develop a more profound vision about the motives behind the Bobo culture, it is also crucial to mention the Yuppies, who are largely held to be the generation that became popular before the Bobos. In the following pages, I will write about Yuppies in Turkey and then I will clarify the similarities and differences between Bobos and Yuppies.

The Post-1980 period and the Birth of Yuppies

"Anyone who wasn't a socialist when they were young has no heart, anyone who didn't become a capitalist after his youth has no brains."[101] This phrase is enough to explain the position of 40+ middle class sentiments in the 1980s, said Hayri

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yorumuysa âdeta yaşı kemale ermiş bir bilge adamın konforlu bir koltuğa oturup eğlenceli bir oyunu seyrederkenki bakışıydı. Seksenli yılların gözde bankacısı, doksanlı yılların eğitimcisi İbrahim Betil de "solcu" imajı yansıtmaya uğraşan bir diğer iş adamı. Betil de kendisiyle yapılan söyleşilerde efsanevi 68 kuşağına ait olduğunu vurgulamaktan geri kalmadı.

[101] Kozanoğlu, p.119.
Gençliğinde sosyalist olmayanın kalbi, sonradan kapitalist olmayanın aklı yoktur.

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Kozanoğlu when he wrote the story of Yuppies in Turkey.[102] While describing the birth of the bohemian bourgeoisie class in this study, it is vital to tell the story of Yuppies, who are the predecessors of Bobos.

Yuppies emerged as a criticism of hippies. Yuppie culture developed as the opposite of the 1960s protest movements and the 1970s leftist revolutionaries. The word "Yuppie" is an acronym of "Young Urban Professional" or "young upwardly-mobile professional." Yuppies became identified with hard work, order and luxury consumption. They were the new generation who graduated from prestigious colleges, then got MBAs in famous American universities and were hired as the avaricious CEOs or professional managers of big firms. They were young, clever, courageous, dynamic and elegant members of the new economy. Success and upward mobility were their only motivations. They had to work for hours, drive their capacity to do their best and overtake other colleagues to reach the best position in the wildly competitive nature of their sector. Success in work was not enough; life had to be elegant in all aspects. All preferences from clothing to housing and leisure must had to reflect how rich and tasteful they were. They also had to train their bodies to look good. They did not have any tolerance for confusion, idleness or failure.

The reason behind all these efforts was the ambition to become a member of the upper class. They emulated the bourgeois traits and tried hard to be one of them. Their intelligence and hard work were keys to earning wealth, but money was not enough to be a member of the elite coterie. They also had to show off similar to those of the bourgeoisie. Elitist manners and conspicuous consumption were the two components of this performance. They bought houses in distinguished

[102]Ibid.

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neighborhoods, mostly in newly constructed villas far from the city center or they moved to residences in the skyscrapers of business districts. They consumed all kinds of luxury goods, dressed in designer clothes, wore exclusive perfumes, had dinner in first class restaurants and boozed up in hip pubs of the city. Like the bourgeoisie, they paid attention to external appearance yet, to be slim and fit, they exercised daily.[103]

For Hayri Kozanoğlu, the ideology of Yuppies was composed of two trends; elitism and populism. By elitism, it referred to being perfectly educated, well informed about technological developments and good at new financial tactics. By populism, on the other hand, it is meant the lack of political consciousness, not caring about universal morals like human rights or democracy and consuming culture and arts unwarily.[104]

The wind of Yuppies attracted Turkish youth after the 1980s. Beside the world trends like economic liberalism and mass consumption, there was one extra factor special for Turkey which prepared an suitable environment for the birth of Yuppies; the coup of 12 September 1980. The coup resulted from an unstable political situation, bloody ideological disputes between extremists of both sides and rising economic instability. Whatever the reasons were, it would be true to say that Turkey entered a new phase after this intervention. Political, economic and social transformations influenced all aspects of the social fabrics. Since it is far beyond the scope of this study, I will mostly clarify the outcomes which had roles in the blossom of Yuppies.

[103] Kozanoğlu, p.11.

[104] Ibid., p.121.

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Although the coup was a consequence of the clash between leftist and rightist groups, the burden was mostly on the leftist ones. The military rule abolished all political organizations, trade unions and student groups, which reduced the power of socialism in the long term. Young people after 1980s were raised apolitically with the aim of reducing political extremism. This environment was very convenient for the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies and the flourishing of mass consumption habits. The new prime minister, Turgut Özal was very influential in those socio-economic changes. Like Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the USA, he implemented a liberal conservative approach. While promoting free market entrepreneurship and privatization in the economy, he had a conservative tone in politics. In a way, Özal was adapting the value codes of Western capitalism in the 1980s.[105]

In this neo-liberal atmosphere, upward mobility was an important stimulus for the spread of Yuppie culture among young Turkish professionals. Although they came from lower or middle-class families, their successful education and quick development of taste was enough to cover up class-based deficiencies. In addition, Turkish society was open to class mobility and upper class behaviors were encouraged both by families and by the politicians, particularly the ones who had experienced a change of this kind. Especially the conservative politicians who had grown up in lower or middle class families, and prospered through education and hard work like Süleyman Demirel, Turgut Özal who encouraged average Turkish families to educate their children and drive them into professional careers. [106]

[105] Kozanoğlu, p. 10.

[106] Ibid., p. 48.

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In short, after the 1980s, the Yuppie way of life was embraced by many young Turkish professionals working mostly in the information technology and finance sectors. They were eager to consume marker goods as a tool for upward mobility. They were ambitious for monetary success and competitive at their jobs. In consequence, this led to the settlement of voracious and consumerist values in the lives of young middle class employees. Now I want to compare the Yuppies with the Bobos.

Similarities and Differences between Yuppies and Bobos

Some scholars see Bobos as a continuation of Yuppies, but others claim that they are opposites. David Brook is among the second group. He thinks that Bobos are very different from Yuppies because their consumption patterns are dissimilar. He argues that although Bobos spend on consumption as much as Yuppies, their philosophy is much different. In principle, they do not consume conspicuously, but they can pay for anything if it is functional or spiritual. He says, "Spending $60,000 on a Jaguar is vulgar, but spending $65,000 on a Range Rover SUV supposedly is not, because all of its expensive features are useful, such as plenty of storage place."[107]
However, Michael Quirk deprecates the difference between Bobos and Yuppies writing that "Bobos are closet Yuppies which makes them a shade better than the fragrant, proud, self-assertive Yuppies; but only a shade."[108] Quirk interprets Bobos consumption habits as self-indulgent splurges. He says that having a sophisticated

[107] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, p.86.

[108] Quirk, p. 408.

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consumption pattern is not an indication of one's relation to the *Zeitgeist*, but a clear sign of having too much money!

> Aesthetics need not be sacrificed to show that one understands that one has better things to do with one's money than to fritter it away on excess, whether in the form of conspicuous luxuries or inconspicuous ego-gratifying pseudo-necessities. Unlike Yuppies, Bobos pay lip-service to the virtues of thrift and humility, but this is a simple, self-deceptive conceit. They are kin under the skin.[109]

Actually both writers are correct. Bobos and Yuppies have some shared values, but in essence they are very different. Firstly, I want to clarify their similarities. Both Yuppies and Bobos are self-confident. They pay attention to physical appearance. Most of them are single and open to new relationships. On the other hand, their relationship with work life is quite different from that of the previous generations. They work for long hours -exceeding 12 hours in a day- and they are ambitious for success. Yuppies do not work in monotone positions as officials or workers; rather they work independently and autonomously. Professional executives are good examples of this kind. Similarly, Bobos hate any kind of monotony; creativity and freedom is their motto in the work life. They have increased autonomy in business and they have exceeded the borders of the work place. Nevertheless, both Yuppies and Bobos change their jobs frequently in search of new and better positions. Their eagerness for education and knowledge is also similar. Yuppies receive long-term training and follow the newest developments in their sector, so they pass on a life-long education. For Bobos, life is an education in all aspects, so they are keen on every kind of knowledge that will feed their minds and souls.

However, in the sense of social background, Yuppies and Bobos are different from each other. Yuppies do not inherit class position from their families, rather they

[109] Quirk, p. 409.

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move upward through education and merit. But Bobos are not a refined group, there are members who had bourgeoisie backgrounds but prefer a bohemian life-style or who come from middle or lower class families and upgrade to the upper class.

In terms of monetary conditions they are different as well. Yuppies have to work to make a living,[110] but in the case of Bobos the work/income relationship is unrelated. Lower and middle class-based Bobos need to work to subsist. However, there are some Bobos who had familial wealth which supports a life of leisure. On the other hand, Yuppies' income level is above the average of the society, but the expenditures increase in relation with the income level, so they always have to be careful to avoid a budget deficit. Bobos have a similar position, but the difference is their philosophy about money. They do not pray for money –at least in rhetoric- so they behave as if luxury expenditures are not vital for happiness.

Their position in the upper class culture is different too. Yuppies always escape from the lower classes while running after the upper classes. Desire for upward mobility is one of the most determinant factors in the Yuppie culture. Bobos are upwardly mobile as well, but they reject adapting classic bourgeois values. Preferably, they develop their own upper class culture which absorbs bohemian and financial elements together. Similarly Yuppies believe that they have distinguished taste and elegant hobbies, although this is just an imitation of bourgeois manners. Bobos, on the other hand, are taste seekers in search of exotic and original flavors. Contrary to Yuppies, they condemn bourgeois desires and try to develop alternative codes that will prove their creativity.

The most important difference between Yuppies and Bobos lays in their consumption behaviors. Yuppies consume with sophistication; they are interested in

[110] Kozanoğlu, p. 55.

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designer labels, wines and antiques, but all these manners are imitations of bourgeois culture. However, Bobo consumption is much more sophisticated. They don't have a brand obsession, they can shop even from market stalls, but they may also pay excessive amounts for goods to which they attribute inherent value. Their space preferences are different as well. Yuppies live in new expensive houses that are built on the periphery of the city or in the luxury residences placed adjacent to luxury shopping malls and business centers. Bobos also live in luxury houses but they prefer cosmopolitan neighborhoods, especially the gentrified districts which have an authentic aura and they like to live in the renovated flats of historic buildings. To summarize, since Bobos came onto the scene right after Yuppies, they have shared values. However, in terms of life philosophy, they are very different.

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CHAPTER 4

STRATEGIES OF DISTINCTION: LIFE STYLE AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Family Background as a Source of Distinction

Elite Composition in Turkey

As is the case in many other countries, the elites in Turkey are not homogeneous in terms of their social origins or continuity. Different segments of society aim to be somehow part of this class, and some groups achieve this goal by means of specific socio-economic achievements.

Looking at class transformations in Turkey, one cannot find patterns similar to those that took place in Western European experiences. The Ottoman upper classes, though different from European aristocracies, lost much of its social standing after the formation of the republic. They either moved to Europe and to the former Ottoman lands, or pursued a sort of hidden life. Thereafter, the founders of the Republic, dreamed of a "classless" society which way to repress the class consciousness of the country. Although, in the first 30 years of the Republic, class mobilization was not open to the lower segments of society, the republican elites supported the creation of an industrial bourgeois class with the help of state assistance.

The beginning of the multi-party period after 1945 fostered a change in social balance, especially with the effect of rural to urban migration. Some provincial merchants enhanced their economic position and they become the new capitalist class of Turkey. Neo-liberal economic policies introduced in the post-1980s period also helped new groups to improve their status. As social historian Rıfat Bali notes,

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the Anatolian merchants thrived in this period and became the rivals of Istanbul-centered businessmen.[111] In the meantime, the boom in the financial sector enhanced the birth of a new young upper class that was called as the *Yuppies*. Nowadays, there is an argument for the birth of a new faction in the upper class, namely the *İslami burjuvazi* (Islamic bourgeoisie) which stands against *beyaz Türk* (white Turk) discourses.[112]

The Rise of the Creative Class in Turkey

Similar to other elite groups mentioned above, the rise of the bohemian bourgeois class in Turkey is a recent phenomenon which arose from the synergy of the information age. As Richard Florida describes in *The Rise of the Creative Class*, the "information economy" or the "knowledge economy" that we live in is powered by human creativity. Hence, people working in creative sectors earn good money and prestige, and then they develop an experiential life style which transforms the everyday life of society. This wind of change had repercussions in Turkey as well. From the culture industry to media and design, many people have risen on the social scene through their creative work. Not the engineers or the doctors, but the advertisers, artists, actors/actresses, movie makers, journalists and all kinds of designers are among the popular professions admired by Turkish youth. Even looking at how many different "designer" categories we hear about nowadays is

[111] Bali, p. 39.

[112] The term 'beyaz Türk' is used to refer elite people in Turkey. More specifically, it addresses the urban-oriented, modern, Western middle or upper class people in Turkey. This term was firstly used by some popular columnists in the late 1980s. Those writers defined themselves as *beyaz Türk* to highlight their distinguished tastes and lifestyles. They created this term to seperate the poor, religious and rural or provincial rooted citizens from modern, secularist and urban-led (preferably of Istanbul origin) people.

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enough to understand the flight of creativity in the new economy: architectural designers, interior designers, web designers, instructional designers, graphic designers, motion designers, broadcast designers, fashion designers and the like. Moreover, to be an intellectual is more hip than ever. Columnists are the new celebrities while the academics are the new stars of TV programs. Weighty novels of literary fiction find places among bestsellers while their writers move from ivory towers to the renovated houses with high ceilings in the fancy neighborhoods of Istanbul. But what makes these people a new social class is the distinctive lifestyle they are trying to construct. Most of them espouse leftish-liberal political tendencies and they represent one of the new countercultures. However, they are wealthy as well. In consequence, they try to strike a balance between material impulses and spiritual self-fulfillment. Thus they develop a sophisticated lifestyle and consumption behavior which reflects intellectual accumulations and artistic impulses without appearing to be pretentious. In other words, they represent the bourgeois bohemian life style in Turkey.

The Social Origins of Bourgeois Bohemians in Turkey

In Turkey, people who represent and experience the bourgeois bohemian lifestyle come from different social origins. Since members of the new middle class thrive on education and merit, many young professionals improved their status despite their families' uneducated-rural backgrounds. On the other hand, some of the young descendants of the settled bourgeois families admire the bohemian bourgeoisie life style as well, since it is the most hip way of life in the contemporary cultural milieu. Classical bourgeois morals are regarded as boring in the face of a more experimental

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life style. In other words, the Bobo ethos is so influential that it attracts old money as well. Nevertheless, familial wealth makes the bourgeois youth more carefree about financial responsibilities which allows them to sustain a bohemian lifestyle. In short, while talking about the Turkish creative class, it is not easy to assign them to a single stratum.

The Invention of Tradition, the Invention of Personal History

In recent times, the reference to a long trajectory of social and genetic lineage has acquired a high distinctive value. Most people exhibit their family backgrounds to distinguish themselves in a social milieu. As Bourdieu emphasizes, presenting a "crystallized history" is a refined tactic to present a superior identity:

> Legitimate manners owe their value to the fact that they manifest the rarest conditions of acquisition, that is, a social power over time which is tacitly recognized as the supreme excellence: to possess things from the past, i.e., accumulated, crystallized history, aristocratic names and titles, châteaux or "stately homes", paintings and collections, vintage wines and antique furniture is to master time, through all those things whose common feature is that they can only be acquired in the course of time, by means of time, against time, that is, by inheritance or through dispositions which like the taste for old things are likewise only acquired with time and applied by those who can take their time.[113]

However, in our age, the old patterns of social divisions have, for a considerable time, lost their significance. People occupying high status need not come from only noble families. As Brooks describes in detail, beginning from the 1950s onwards, meritocracy was introduced as the new requirement for upward mobility instead of nobility and wealth. In this sense, while defining the social origins of Bobos, he claims that they are the brilliant children of middle class meritocratic families. In

[113] Bourdieu, pp. 71-72.

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other words, in Brooks' succinct formula, the new upper class tends to inherit *old brains* rather than *old money*.[114]

In the case of Turkey, the family background of the upper class is diversified. As a faction of the new upper class, Turkish bourgeois bohemians also come from different social origins. Yet, the symbolic value of the family background drives people to put forward their own history. However, different origins have different marker values.

While talking about the diversified social origins of *beyaz Türkler*[115] (white Turks), Nuray Mert also clarifies the necessary social ties to become a proper "white Turk." She states that although there are new comers to the white Turk community, having a "*white* social trajectory" wins more approval. By "*white* social trajectory", she refers to families that have been modernized and Westernized for several generations. She adds that it is prestigious to have a family tie to the Ottoman aristocracy, but it is granted to only a few people. Some scholars claim that there was not an aristocratic class in Ottoman society. However, Mert argues against this and states that belonged to the Ottoman ruling class were a manifestation of aristocratic life. For this reason, she claims that having any relation among the final Ottoman aristocracy gives a rich symbolic capital to "white Turks."[116]

For Mert, another symbolic capital about family background is the possibility of having a foreign mother or father. She states that if one of the parents has a Western origin, it is prestigious for white Turks. In that condition, the Westernized identity is highlighted together with the knowledge of a second mother tongue. Since "modernization" is equated with "Westernization" in Turkey, any emphasis on a

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[114] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p. 15.

[116] Nuray Mert, "Geçmişi Piyasaya Sürmek veya Temize Çekmek :Beyaz Türk'ün Seyir Defteri" *İstanbul Life* (2003).

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Westernized background has a strong distinctive value. In this respect, Mert explains in another article that white Turks try to associate their past with the West through different fictions:

> The biggest problem of the White Turks is to substantiate their Western identity. Yes, it is true that we have the great history of the Ottoman Empire in our background, but that is only useful if you are the grandchildren of a pasha; otherwise that history, after all, only indicates that you are a part of the Eastern, Muslim world.
>
> At this point, there are of course some attempts to carry discussion beyond individuality and make the Ottoman Empire Western as a whole. You may see a magazine article titled, "Fatih used to drink wine", which strives to prove that Western life style has long been adopted by us; or, as if this is not enough, in another article you may come across with a claim such as "Fatih considered converting to Christianity." What is it to an average Turk that some of the sultans' mothers were Western in origin, I can't tell; but they seek satisfaction even out of that fact; embrace it with open arms (…) Let's go back to the individual level: if you have some Rumelian in your origins then you will be fine; your grandfather's Bulgarian village may even be an advantage; especially if you had inherited blue eyes from that grandfather, then you can't get caught short. You can then sing the song of Petek Dinçöz: "My eyes are blue, my hair is blonde, my beauty is European."[117]

Mert adds that in order to be member of the elite class it is also acceptable to come from a middle class family that has rural origins. However, the parents must be educated and had to have brought up their children with a modern lifestyle to cover the embarrassment of their rural background. In short, according to Nuray Mert, Westernization, modernization, education and respectable welfare are the basic conditions of "whiteness" in Turkish society.

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[117] **"***Bizans'ın Çocukları***:** Beyaz Türk'ün Seyir Defteri," *Akşam-Pazar Eki*, 5 Aralık 2004.

Beyaz Türklerin en büyük sorunu Batılı kimliklerini tescil etmektir. Evet, ardımızda koskoca bir Osmanlı geçmişi var, ama bu paşa torunuysanız işinize yarar, yoksa, nihayetinde Doğulu, Müslüman dünyanın bir parçası olduğunuza işaret eden bir geçmiştir.

Bu noktada işi bireysellikten çıkarıp, tüm Osmanlı'yı Batılı yapma girişimleri yok değildir. Bir bakarsınız, "Fatih şarap içerdi" diye bir dergi yazısı ile, ne kadar eskiden beri Batılı adetleri benimsediğimizden bahsedilir. Bir bakarsınız, o yetmez, "Fatih Hıristiyan olmayı düşünüyordu" diye bir iddia ortaya atılır… Artık, padişah annelerinin Batılı ırktan gelmesinden, ortalama Türk'e neyse, buna bile sevinilir, dört elle sarınılır… Bireysel plana döndüğünüzde ise, soyunuzda Rumelilik varsa kurtarırsınız, dedenizin geldiği Bulgar köyünden medet umarsınız, hele bu size mavi bir göz olarak miras kaldıysa sırtınız yere gelmez. Petek Dinçöz'ün seslendirdiği gibi "Saçım sarı, gözüm mavi, güzelliğim Avrupai" olayına girersiniz

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However, in the age of post-modern capitalism, there is no need for a purely privileged past. The motives and strategies of upward mobility are diversified. Alongside educational and intellectual capital, the new upper class started to create new strategies of distinction. One of these tactics is the "invention of personal history." According to this strategy, people who don't have a noble family background, narrate their personal history in an authentic way. For example, if one's origin is tied up with provincial life, the naturalness and exoticism can be presented as something special. Furthermore, there is more emphasis on 'different combinations' rather than pure social ties. Coming from a multicultural family can be reflected as more authentic than a pure one. Religious and ethnic combinations also enhance the chance for distinction. Here, the matter is inventing a distinctive history and exhibiting it in an attractive way.

In societies, like Turkey, where there was only a few well-established settled bourgeoisie, these new strategies for upward mobility are functional. Together with financial and educational capital, the authentic elements help people to increase their status. In this respect, Nuray Mert tells how white Turks develop new scenarios to create a shiny personal history:

> What should someone do if (s)he lives among White Turks and (s)he is now considered to be a White Turk, but if (s)he doesn't have a "white family" background. Should (s)he die? No, under that circumstances history would be re-written and copied fair. TV series with landlords (*agha*s), especially - even if it was quite surreal, "*Asmalı Konak"* (Vine Mansion) widened the roads to "whiteness" a little bit more. Country craftsmen, somewhat large village landlords, they all gained some kind of an aristocracy claim.
> Otherwise, ethnic origins can always step in to add some kind of an elegance or chicness, but of course not every ethnic origin. For instance, it has never been seen that having Tatar or Arab origins has any use at all. On the other side, it might seem like a paradox but, for instance, the road to "White Turkishness" might be opened up by "Kurdishness" which may have a political "elegance." Let's say you are an actor of Kurdish origin. You gained fame and fortune; you grew out of yourself and became a part of the white

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> Turk world. Here Kurdishness, which is reduced to an accessory, may be thrown in through its political connotations.
>
> (…)
>
> The last way is to turn the modest life setting you come from into a fantastic Eastern tale or epic; within a tableau of Anatolian civilizations, you dress up your peasant father as an Anatolian sage or your mother as an Anatolian Goddess, you mention her bulgur pilaf as if it were in French country/ village kitchen.[118]

During the interviews I asked for the family backgrounds of the respondents. The ones who came from noble and meritocratic families especially emphasized their old ties. For example, Gönül declared that she came from an Ottoman aristocratic family. Her great grandfather was the governor of Hedjaz during Sultan Abdülhamid's rule. She also emphasized the meritocratic side of her family. Her grandfather was a distinguished professor graduated from Lausanne University. Her father was a senior bureaucrat who was one of the leading entrepreneurs that founded the automotive industry in Turkey. She had studied design in Italy and stated that her family background was a good motivation for her development.[119]

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[118] Mert, *Geçmişi Piyasaya Sürmek veya Temize Çekmek* "Beyaz Türk'ün Seyir Defteri" *İstanbul Life* (2003).

Peki bir şekilde beyaz Türk çevrede yaşayan, artık beyaz Türk sayılan ama 'beyaz aile' geçmişi olmayan ne yapsın, ölsün mü? Hayır, bu durumda geçmiş temize çekilir, tarih yeniden yazılır. Bir kere, ağalı diziler ve özellikle sürreal de olsa 'Asmalı Konak', beyazlığa çıkan yolları biraz daha genişletti. Taşra eşraflığıydı, büyücek köy ağalıydı; bir nevi aristokrasi iddiası kazandı.

Olmadı, etnik köken, bir şıklık, bir renk olarak devreye girebilir; tabi her etnik köken değil. Mesela Arap veya Tatar asıllı olmanın, şimdiye kadar kimseye hayrı dokunduğu görülmemiştir. Diğer taraftan, paradoks gibi gözükebilir ama mesela beyaz Türklüğe çıkan yol, politik bir şıklığı olan, 'Kürt'lükten geçebilir. Atıyorum, Kürt kökenli bir tiyatro sanatçısısınızdır. Ünlenip paralandınız, kabınıza sığmıyorsunuz, beyaz Türk dünyasının bir parçası haline geliyorsunuz. Burada, politik çağrışımları üzerinden Kürtlük, bir aksesuar haline gelmiş biçimde devreye girebilir.

(…)

Son bir yol, içinden geldiğiniz mütevazı hayat dekorunu fantastik bir Doğu masalına, destanına dönüştürmek; bir Anadolu medeniyetleri tablosu içinde, köylü babayı Anadolu bilgesi, anneyi Anadolu tanrıçası kılığına sokmak, yaptığı bulgur yemeğini, Fransız kır/köy mutfağındaki benzeri ile anmak.

[119] Gönül (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 18 June 2009.

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Another respondent, Şeyda, who is a stage and costume designer, also said that a tendency toward arts is a tradition in her family. She said that her grandfather studied fine arts in Germany and he got a Ph.D. degree in antique maps. He wrote a lot of books and published illustrations on his profession. Her parents also graduated from fine arts. Her father got his Ph.D. degree from the industrial design department of an Italian university. After returning, he worked as a professor in the respectable universities of Turkey. Her mother studied ceramics and glass design at the Istanbul Fine Arts Academy and works as a decorator in an Italian furniture firm. In short, she stated that her interest in art and design is an inherited aspiration.[120]

One of the interviewees, İlker, placed emphasis on his French origin to gentrify his past. He stated that his hometown was Antakya, which is an Anatolian province in southeastern Turkey. The city has a multi-religious character with a significant Christian history. Depending on the character of the city, İlker said that his ancestors were French intellectuals who had raised their offspring with a good education. Consequently, his father had eight brothers and all of them were university graduates.

On the other hand, some respondents said that they were raised in the countryside, but they were glad about it. They did not show any embarrassment about their rural background. On the contrary, they narrated fantastic stories about their childhood. Gamze's statements present a good example for this kind:

> My parents were farmers in a small village on the Aegean cost. They had a small olive garden where they produced organic olives and olive oils. They also planted vegetables for home use. Those foods were so natural and delicious that they were even better than the ones we buy from organic bazaars. I miss those flavors. We were living in an old style stone house. It was like a holy temple; silent and peaceful. My mother only had a primary

[120] Şeyda (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 31 March 2009.

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> education, but she was a very creative woman. She sewed clothes for me and my sister from the old clothes she used to wear. They were like special vintage pieces. I really regret not to have kept any of them. My father was a graduate of middle school, but he was not a conservative man. He brought us up liberally and devoted himself to our education. Now my sister is a brilliant actress and I work as an advertiser. If they could have lived long enough to see our success, they would have been proud of us.[121]
>
> (Gamze, Age:32- Advertiser)

To summarize, family backgrounds create material for shiny personal histories and they are used as status markers. Aristocracy, meritocracy and Westernization provide more prestige, but they are not the only sources of reputation in post-modern times. The important point is to narrate the past in a distinguished way. Hence, Bourgeois bohemians in Turkey come from different origins, yet they are successful in at presenting their past as a distinguishing capital.

Shopping Habits and Monetary Philosophy

> Shopping may not be the most intellectual exercise on earth, but it is one of the more culturally revealing. Indeed, one of the upshots of the new era is that Karl Marx may have had it exactly backward. He argued that classes are defined by their means of production. But it could be true that, in the information age at least, classes define themselves by their means of consumption.[122]

Consumption patterns are important in understanding a specific class of people. The upper classes in particular demonstrate consumption as an instrument to distinguish themselves from the lower classes. However, as far as this topic is concerned, there is not enough theoretical account of elite consumption patterns. The markers of elite distinction may vary between societies and one symbol may represent superiority in

[121] Gamze(pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 14 May 2009.

[122] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.61.

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one society while it represents vulgarity in another.[123] In their article about elite consumption in Britain, Majima and Warde also remind us that there are not enough systematic analyses about the consumption patterns of elites.[124] There is a lack of information about the consumption patterns of the settled and emerging upper classes in Turkey as well.

The investigation of Turkish bourgeois bohemians' consumption patterns is vital to understanding what kind of lifestyle they manifest. In this respect, throughout my research, I analyzed their consumption philosophy with the help of my observations and interviews. Before looking at the results of this data, it is necessary to mention some of the theoretical perspectives on consumer culture, especially the ones emphasizing symbolic value of marker goods and the ones dealing with cultural consumption.

Theoretical Approaches to Consumer Culture

In his article "Perspectives on Consumer Culture,"[125] Mike Featherstone summarizes three perspectives about consumer culture. The first perspective is "the expansion of capitalist commodity." According to this perspective, consumer culture is based on expanding capitalist commodity production. This understanding induced the growth of leisure and consumption activities in the society because they introduced more choices and they encouraged people to consume more. The second perspective is

[123] Jean Pascal Daloz, "Elite Distinction: Grand Theory and Comparative Perspectives," *Comparative Sociology*, 6 no. 1-2 (2007), pp. 27-74.

[124]Shinobu Majima and Alan Warde, "Elite Consumption in Britain, 1961–2004: Results of a Preliminary Investigation" in *Remembering Elites* ed. Mike Savage and Karel Williams (UK: Blackwell Publishing 2008), p.210.

[125] Mike Featherstone, "Perspectives on Consumer Culture," *Sociology* 24 no. 1, pp. 5-22.

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about status and difference deriving from commodity goods. At this point, he pays attention to the symbolic role of commodity products which helps people to create "social bonds or distinctions."

Last, the third perspective is the idea that people receive emotional pleasures and bodily excitement from consumption. For Featherstone, this viewpoint explains the role of "consumption as cultural imagery" where people materialize their "dreams and desires." By recalling the presence of different perspectives, Featherstone suggests not approaching consumer culture just as an area of psychological manipulation. Rather, he takes note of the role of consumption for social distinction and emotional pleasure.

In this respect, while analyzing the consumption habits of the bourgeois bohemians in Turkey, we should consider the manipulative role of current neo-liberal policies; and think about the role of consumption as a source of distinction. We should also take into account the aesthetic and emotional satisfactions derived from the act of consumption. In this study, I will mostly depend on the second and third perspectives because they are more helpful to understanding the distinguishing behaviors of Bobos.

The Symbolic Significance of Consumption

As Featherstone reminds us, one of the preliminary perspectives about consumer culture is the symbolic value of consumption as a strategy for social distinction. Veblen, in his leading work, *Theory of the Leisure Class* was among the first to identify the relation between consumption habits and social status enhancement. He emphasized that wealth is one of the most important signifiers of status in industrial

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and urban societies. As he explained in detail, people try to construct a prestigious identity by spending their money on publicly visible signs. These signs mostly encompassed leisure activities like branches of learning, manners and breeding, polite usage, decorum, ceremonial observances; and their worth came from showing that one's time had not been spent in industrial employment, but spent in the unproductive expenditure of time.[126]

After Veblen, Bourdieu's book *Distinction* is accepted as one of the leading works that clarifies the relation between tastes and social status. For Bourdieu, tastes are determined through upbringing and education. In this respect, he claims that people who are brought up in cultured families have more sophisticated tastes because they are more familiar with the legitimate works of art. He argues that works of high arts have an internal logic and people cannot solve that logic at the first sight. They should either be raised with frequent contact with those artistic products or they should receive a proper education to develop high taste.

As Slater points out that "consumption is a part of the cultural reproduction of social relations," because people develop a symbolic language around their market behaviors. In other words, goods have special meanings to be used as the markers of social status. Even more, their consumption symbolically determines membership to higher status groups. In other words, as Slater expresses, the consumption style of people explains their social status or their eagerness to climb to a higher status. Similar to Slater, Featherstone supports the idea that the enjoyment of goods is not related with their physical existence, but related with their existence as "markers":

> Consumption and lifestyle preferences involve discriminatory judgments which at the same time identify and render classifiable our own particular judgment of taste to others. Particular constellations of taste, consumption preferences and lifestyle practices are associated with specific occupation and

[126] Veblen, p. 47.

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> class fractions, making it possible to map out the universe of taste and lifestyles with its structured oppositions and finally graded distinctions which operate within a particular society at a particular point in history.[127]

Jean Baudrillard's theory about the semiology of objects is also important to understanding the sign value of commodity goods. Baudrillard argues that objects are detached from their functional meanings and are attributed to new prestigious meanings. As a result, they lose appellative names and are remembered through the symbolic meaning of the brand labels. For example, for Baudrillard, the manipulation of signs in the media or advertising isolate them from the signifier and create an independent meaning; so consumption is actualized through signs, not through objects. In other words, the consumption experience is realized through exchange of signs rather than the objects themselves.[128]

Mike Featherstone also emphasizes the validity of Baudrillard's theory and explains the symbolic role of consumption:

> Food and drink usually have a short life, although this is not always the case; for example a bottle of vintage port may enjoy a prestige and exclusivity which means that it is never actually consumed (opened and drunk) although it may be consumed symbolically (gazed at, dreamt about, talked about, photographed, and handled) in various ways which produce a great deal of satisfaction. It is in this sense that we can refer to the *doubly* symbolic aspect of goods in contemporary Western societies: symbolism is not evident in the design and imagery of the production and marketing processes, the symbolic association of goods may be utilized and renegotiated to emphasize differences in lifestyles which demarcate social relationships.[129]

Returning to the power of objects "as tools of social climbing, social membership or social exclusion;"[130] we need to listen to the words of Slater:

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[127] Featherstone, p.11.

[128] Jean Baudrillard. *Gösterge Ekonomi Politiği Hakkında Bir Eleştiri*, Çev. Oğuz Adanır, Ali Bilgin (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, İstanbul 2009), pp. 58-59.

[129] Featherstone, p. 8.

[130] Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Polity Press USA 1997), p.153.

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> Goods are able to mark status because they are part of the lifestyle of a high status group. Consequently, lower status climbers lay claim to higher status by emulating that lifestyle, by buying those goods, consuming after the fashion of the higher orders, "aping" their manners, style, etiquette and so on.[131]

The Creation and Circulation of Status Signifiers and the Role of "Cultural Intermediaries"

Commodity goods gain a status value if their price is high and the availability is scarce. However, in time, with demand from wider segments of society, the rate of production increases and the value of that status signifier decreases. In this sense, as Featherstone explains, the upper classes are continuously in search of new, fashionable marker goods to distinguish themselves from the rest. However, in the process of globalization of markets and culture, marker goods are in state of flux and there are no certain principles for the pronouncement of new signifiers.[132] In Slater's words, "no consumption can be final," and the whole attempt at copying higher lifestyles will fail and create dissatisfaction because the status codes are unstable.[133]

Continuous desire and dissatisfaction towards new goods creates new fashions and trends. At this point, Featherstone takes note of the role of knowledge. He clarifies that to catch up to new trends or to adopt new signifiers; people try to be well-informed about "new goods, their social and cultural value, and how to use them appropriately." In other words, consumption culture is a learning process and a "cultivation of a lifestyle."[134]

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[131] Slater, p. 156.

[132] Featherstone, p. 3.

[133] Slater, pp. 156-157.

[134] Featherstone, p.11.

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In this context, Featherstone touches upon the role of "the new cultural intermediaries." This term is created by Bourdieu to refer people working in media, fashion, design, advertising and "para" intellectual occupations" and has a meaning similar to that of "creative class" Florida talks about. Featherstone argues that these people provide production, marketing and dissemination of symbolic goods. Furthermore, he stresses their growing role in the configuration of consumer culture:

> Given conditions of an increasing supply of symbolic goods, demand grows for cultural specialists and intermediaries, who have the capacity to ransack various traditions and cultures in order to produce new symbolic goods, and in addition provide the necessary interpretations on their use. Their habits, dispositions and lifestyle preferences are such that they identify with artists and intellectuals, yet under conditions of de-monopolization of artistic and intellectual commodity enclaves they have the apparent contradictory interests of sustaining the prestige and cultural capital of these enclaves, while at the same time popularizing and making them more accessible to wider audiences.[135]

Bell also wrote about the role of intellectuals and artists in shaping new consumer culture. He called the cultural intermediaries as the *culturati* and explained their power in the creation of the "new." He wrote that the society not only passively accepts innovation, but also provides a market which welcomes all forms of "new." Although new life styles or new modes of behavior are created and represented by small coteries, in our age, they are not estranged, but absorbed by the larger society. Bell expresses this trend with these sentences:

> The new sensibilities, and the new styles of behavior associated with them, are created by small coteries which are devoted to exploring the new; because the new has value in and of itself, meets with so little resistance, the new sensibility and its behavior styles diffuse rapidly, transforming the thinking and actions of, the cultural mass (if not the larger masses of people), that new, large stratum of the intelligentsia in the society's knowledge and communications industries. [136]

[135] Featherstone, p. 11.

[136] Bell, p.34.

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As different writers explain, "the *culturati*" or "the cultural intermediaries" or "the creative class" is the trend setter group in modern societies. They are the artists or intellectuals who produce and deliver new fashions or new lifestyles.[137] Furthermore, their own way of life attract people and put forward new life codes. It can be said that the bourgeois bohemian lifestyle that David Brooks explains is the latest incarnation of this tradition. For this reason, the bourgeois bohemian consumption pattern is worthy to analyze in understanding emerging trends in the consumer culture.

The Consumption Habits of Bourgeois Bohemians in Turkey

The highly educated section of the middle class endowed with cultural capital shows similar attitudes as the bourgeois counterparts. There is no longer a radical separation between the tastes of the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. For both groups, material possessions are the tools of social differences and especially branded goods are used as status signifiers [138] Therefore, the new intelligentsia, the Bobo class, who recognizes these overlaps, tries to distinguish them selves from common bourgeois culture and they try to develop alternative patterns which will make them special. The pursuit of bohemianism, protest culture or exoticism are all different strategies that enable Turkish Bobos to diverge themselves from ordinary middle and upper classes.

In this regard, I will try to explain, on the one hand, how the Turkish cultured class constructs a consumer culture by depending on their cultural capital, and what

[137] The new fashions that are introduced by the cultural intermediaries may not be completely new. For example they may introduce nostalgic or retro products as a new trend. In this case, the new thing is not the product itself; but the re-implementation of it with a new sub-meaning.

[138] Majima and Warde, p. 211.

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kind of strategies they develop to distinguish themselves from the rest of the society, on the other.

Conspicuous Consumption in Turkey

As Featherstone and Slater point out, the consumption patterns of lower status groups generally are shaped around desires for reaching higher status symbols. The conspicuous consumption of branded luxury goods is the easiest way to emulate the upper classes and it is usually the case also as far as the Turkish experiment is concerned.

Indeed, until the 1980s in Turkey, there was hardly any market potential for foreign goods; however, the settled bourgeoisie or the jet-set (rich and fashionable people) consumed these goods thanks to their travels abroad. In the post-1980 period, the neo-liberal economic policies of the Turgut Özal government opened the way for the expansion of upper-middle priced foreign brands. In fact, it was a reflection of "Americanization" penetrating the global market. Levi's, Lee Cooper, Adidas, Mc Donald's were some of the symbolic brands that have become the mediums of conspicuous consumption in Turkey.

For the upwardly mobile middle classes, wearing or consuming foreign brands was a trendy way of showing status. Yuppies were among the first groups who, by and large, consumed imported luxury goods. As Hayri Kozanoğlu writes, Turkish Yuppies were very keen on conspicuous consumption. They were very eager to climb the ladder, but they did not have enough money to buy expensive yachts or ultra-luxury villas; so the easiest way to show off status was to buy labeled clothes and accessories. On the other hand, for the lower classes, middle-priced branded

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products or fake imitations were the mediums of emulating middle or upper-middle class lifestyle. Kozanoğlu called this habit "compensatory consumption" (*telâfi edici tüketim*):

> The reason that Yuppies identify with the brands this much lies in their class background. Because they didn't grow up with foreign nannies, visit Harrods or Selfridge shops during February vacations with their mothers, they can acquire the status they attained or want to attain, only through the shortcuts obtained by the appropriate brands, within the generally accepted models.
> aspects. For instance, buying a Torison or Kinetix shoe can be the meaning of life for a little apprentice, even though (s)he should discard his/her entire monthly salary on that shoe. In some sense this is a "compensatory consumption." That apprentice strives to supply the deficiency generated by the things (s)he couldn't eat, (s)he couldn't wear, feelings (s)he couldn't experience, through buying the best of something. .[139]

As in other parts of the world, in Turkey brand consumption has been so effective that it turned into a "brand obsession." Middle class youth in the university campuses started to dress in typical fashions of the basic brands. Nike, Adidas, Puma, Levi's, Zara, Mango, etc. are among the mostly preferred brands by middle class youths. For the ones who try to be seen "more upper," there are more luxury ones as well, Diesel, Tommy Hilfiger, Burberry, Lacoste, Luis Vuitton, Gucci, etc… The production of fake imitations of these branded goods satisfied the appetite of lower classes for luxury consumption. It is possible to find many kinds of fake goods especially clothes, shoes or perfumes in the public bazaars of Turkey. However, in time, consuming branded goods has started to lose its significance, especially among the cultured coteries.

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[139] Kozanoğlu, p. 181.
Yuppielerin markalarla bu denli özdeşleşmelerinin önemli bir nedeni de sınıfsal geçmişleri. Onlar üst sınıf yaşıtları gibi yabancı dadılarla büyüyüp, Şubat tatillerinde anneleriyle Londra'daki Harrods, Selfridge mağazalarını ziyaret edemedikleri için, ulaştıkları veya ulaşmak istedikleri statüye uygun malları ancak kestirmeden, genel kabul görmüş kalıplar dahilinde edinebiliyorlar.

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Bourgeois Bohemians' Disdain for "Brand Obsession"

It is important to emphasize once again that consumption habits are always in a state of change, because the status signifiers are frequently updated to eliminate the risk of emulation. As Majima and Warde also state, "When the rich change their priorities, their earlier preferences may enter common circulation. With the expansion of a commoditized culture of consumption, and its promotion of popular culture, the rich may alternatively find new items to convey distinction in previously ignored quarters."[140]

In this respect, the expansion of brand obsession in the wider segments of the society created a dislike towards luxury ostentation among Bobos. As Brooks states, the ordinary rich waste their money conspicuously to buy yachts, jewelry or eat ultra expensive foods such as caviar and truffle, but Bobos don't spend lavish amounts of money on luxuries.[141] This trend is true for the Turkish Bobos as well. They find conventional rich people unmannered. They look down on the upstarts traveling with large luxury jeeps in the city center, walking around the elite neighborhoods like Nisantasi or Baghdad Street with huge shopping bags from Luis Vuitton, Prada, Beymen, Gucci, Armani, etc… and spending their nights in jet-set night clubs near the Bosphorus such as Reina or Sortie where they dance to Turkish pop music and pay 450 Turkish Liras for an ordinary bottle of vodka which is sold for about 60 TL in grocery stores. For the Turkish bourgeois bohemians, this kind of consumption is rude and pretentious. To separate themselves from the pretentious rich and parvenu middle classes, Bobos in Turkey have developed a distinctive style of consumption.

[140] Majima and Warde, p. 212.

[141] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.97.

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During the interviews, I asked to the respondents what they thought about shopping for famous brands to figure out whether they mostly prefer branded goods or not. Most of the answers were similar: they showed a reaction towards this type of pretentious consumption. Although they don't totally reject buying elite brands because of design and quality concerns, they prefer not to buy products that carry visible designer labels. In other words, they were very conscious about the symbolic representation of showy luxury goods. For example, one of the interviewees said that "wearing branded clothes is like being a walking billboard," so she hated from showing the designer's label.

Another respondent also explained that he did not wear famous brands because of the upstarts or, in his words, the "new money" (class) wear these products to show off their money. On the other hand, he seemed to emphasize that wearing labeled designs is increasingly accepted as vulgar in the world:

> The brand obsession is something annoying to me and I have never had an addiction for them. Especially in the last years, it seems immoral to wearing clothes with big logos on the surface. For instance, although I like Prada shoes, I have never worn them because of the red stripes on the sole which symbolize the brand name. I think the stripe represents the "new money" and the status request of that "new money." Buying Prada is the shortest way to reach that status. Besides, brand wearing started to be outmoded in the world since the end of the 1990s. Now there is a trend which leaves aside the brand obsession and creates new styles above brand names [In my part, I prefer not to buy branded products and I try to choose clothes which are in harmony with my own style. I also find it snobbish to be in search of different brands which are not marketed in Turkey. I accept myself as a "world citizen" and I wear whatever fits to me.[142]
>
> (Arda, Age: 39 - TV Programmer)

One respondent was also politically conscious about not consuming luxury brands. For him, the spread of famous brands throughout the world is a kind of

[142] Arda, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 03 April 2009.

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"cultural imperialism." He added that if people knew how the big companies exploited their workers to increase their profit, they would not be proud to wear those labels:

> I don't buy branded goods except for some special designs. I have a daughter who wants to wear famous brands, but I insist she not. I am against the brands such as Abercrombie or Nike.
> The reason for this objection is related to my political views. I think this is cultural imperialism, so I believe that in this world, we should protest it. If people knew where and under which conditions these clothes are produced, they would reject to buy them. If people inquire how Nike makes production, they would understand why they should not buy them. Nevertheless, there are a lot of local brand alternatives of good quality.[143]
>
> (Sedat, Age: 41 - TV Programmer and Columnist)

As explained in the previous pages, foreign brands entered the Turkish market after the 1980s and they were welcomed happily by the middle and upper class citizens. One of the respondents commemorated those days and explained her willingness to buy foreign designers. However, she also clarified how and why she changed her mind and gave up buying goods from conspicuous brands:

> I am not interested in famous brands. I can buy whatever I like. Nevertheless, when I was a teenager, I used to like wearing famous brands because of their beautiful designs. In those times, they were not marketed in Turkey. However, after they turned into a status symbol, I started not to wear them. In the past, people wore branded goods to display their class positions, now they wear them to hide the class divisions. Though I continue to buy the good designs of quality brands, I never prefer the ones with big brand logos.[144]
>
> (Gönül, Age:45- Costume Designer)

Nevertheless some respondents said that they shop from famous stores because of quality and design concerns, but they also increasingly stay away from the products with clearly visible designer labels. One of them is a famous interior decorator who

[143] Sedat (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 09 March 2009.

[144] Gönül (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 18 June 2009.

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explained that he buys from well-known brand stores since they present the most basic designs:

> I don't change my clothing style frequently. Sometimes I prefer famous brands since they present the simplicity that I am looking for. When I need a shirt, I want it to be in a classic style. In this respect I don't prefer middle class brands, since they are too detailed and stylized to attract people. However, the settled good quality brands keep the classic styles. They also produce more comfortable products. However, I don't like to show off the brand logos and I don't change my style with seasonal fashion trends.[145]
>
> (İlker, Age: 38 -Interior designer and Academician)

To summarize, buying brands is no longer powerful status signifier among the Bobos in Turkey. Instead, they spend money on objects that will show their cultural and intellectual capital. In other words, they create culturally referenced status symbols to diverge themselves from other classes.

Shopping Like an Artist

> Shopping, like everything else, has become means of self-exploration and self-expression.[146]

Brooks claims that the educated class is very accurate about buying distinguished items. For him, since this class attempts to differentiate themselves from the mass consumer society, they don't buy the vulgar replicas of mass products. "Shopping for us isn't just about picking up some stuff at the store," says Brooks to explain how they use knowledge and philosophy to buy just simple commodities. For him, shopping is a means of demonstrating the distinctiveness of one's own character. In

[145] İlker (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 16 June 2009.

[146] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.101.

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short, bourgeois bohemians try to select the rarest and featured items. In Brooks' words, knowledge of buying is the process of being "curator of possessions."[147]

It would be fair to say that although the shopping habits of the Turkish cultured class are not as sophisticated as those of the American Bobos, they still differentiate themselves from middle class customs. First of all, the core purpose of shopping is presenting their intellectual and artistic capital, without being pretentious. In this respect, they love to buy designer goods and vintages from boutique shops. Small special designs are proper for them because they are not widespread and have artistic value. In this respect, as Zukin and Featherstone clarify, the role of art in creative industries increases day by day as small designer shops spread, especially in regenerated urban areas. In the gentrified districts of Istanbul, especially in Çukurcuma, Tünel, Galata and Cihangir, it is possible to come across vintage stores or designer boutiques whose target group is the creative class. In other words, it can be said that the new shopping pattern of the cultured class is a kind of culturally-referenced boutique consumption that replaces the previous fashion of branded luxury goods.

While answering the question about their consumption philosophy, most of the respondents emphasized the importance of special designs to make life more colorful. For example, one of them talked about the development of a new kind of cultural consumption:

> I don't do personal shopping. I am bored of routine shopping. However, a new type of shopping style is developing which I like to do. It is like a "cultural collecting" (*kültürel kolleksiyonerlik*). This concept is developed especially in the museum stores. They sell new design products which are foreground not by their price, but by their special designs. For example, Moma (Museum of Modern Art) in New York opened a museum store in Soho. This design concept becomes widespread throughout the world. Although Istanbul Modern also has museum shops, they are not very successful yet. Besides museum stores, there are some

[147] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.99.

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> chain stores which are gathering together design objects from different places like Urban Out Fitters. They sell books or designed bicycles in the same shop. I like going to these stores during my travels abroad and I buy small, cheap but special objects. These small things bring happiness to my life. I love buying designed books and art books as well. What I understand from shopping is collecting these petit special objects.[148]
>
> (Arda, Age: 39 - TV Programmer)

Another respondent also said that she lives on the energy of special designs:

> Buying special designs may be a luxury for other people, but it is a necessity for me. If I cannot buy them, I feel unhappy because I take inspiration from them. So, I can't live without them. Especially I buy music albums and DVDs. I also love to buy design objects from special collections. For instance, last month I bought a gift for myself. It is a prototype of an armchair from the 1930s.[149]
>
> (Şeyda, Age: 38 - Stage and Costume Designer)

About clothing, they embrace a relaxed style and they don't hesitate to combine expensive designs with "ordinary but eccentric" pieces. As one interviewee explained:

> I always wear off-road shoes even with my formal trousers. Apart from this, I am keen on pants with divergent designs and different patterns. For example, I like Girbaud jeans, almost all of my pants are from this designer. But this brand is not marketed in Turkey, so I buy them when I go to Brussels. I also like shopping from small boutiques in Cannes or Nice. I don't have a clear position about brands. I wear whatever fits me. I may buy pink pants from gay shops in Paris, or I may buy a model of Levi's jeans.[150]
>
> (Soner, Age: 49 - Actor, film producer and writer)

[148] Arda, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 03 April 2009.

[149] Şeyda (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 31 March 2009.

[150] Soner (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 22 May 2009.

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"Voluntary Simplicity"

David Brooks claims that one thing which differentiates Bobos from the conventional rich is their interest in cheap and natural products. He explains that those people waste their money conspicuously to buy yachts, jewelry or eat ultra expensive foods such as caviar and truffle; but the shopping baskets of the new educated class is full of similar things that the working class can buy. Looking at the Turkish counterparts, we can observe a similar tendency as well. Since they don't like to shop as such, they try to create a simplistic and naturalistic lifestyle. For example, the rich disdain going to public bazaars for culinary shopping. Instead they prefer big shopping malls. However, the Turkish bourgeois bohemians like to go shopping at open markets in the neighborhood to buy fresh vegetables and fruits. Even more, they also like to go to organic bazaars where the products are sold directly by farmers.

> For weekly shopping, I don't like to go to chain stores. Generally, the vegetables and fruits are not fresh there. Furthermore, the atmosphere in those stores is very cold and alienated. People just pick up the goods from the shelves and throw them to the baskets; everything is so static. Instead, I like going to the open bazaars in my neighborhood. I live in Tesvikiye so the public bazaar in Beşiktaş is close to me. It is a very lively place. People talk each other and select the items as they want. I love that warm atmosphere. But the upper class people don't like these places; they think it is humiliating to shop with working class people. I don't think that way, but most people do. One day, when I was shopping in Beşiktaş bazaar, I came across the caretaker of the next-door apartment. He was shocked to see me there. After that day, we became good friends.[151]
>
> (Mehmet, Age: 35, Director)

[151] Mehmet (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 21 May 2009.

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Contrary to satisfying welfare, the cultured class' tendency towards a more simplistic lifestyle can be explained with Amitai Etzioni's term "voluntary simplicity." This term refers to "people choosing –out of free will- to limit expenditures on consumer goods and services and to cultivate non-materialistic sources of satisfaction and meaning."[152] According to him, there are also rich people who apply voluntary simplicity to their lifestyle by grading their consumption to a moderate level. He calls these kinds of people "downshifters." Etzioni explains that people in this group are rich, but they do not prefer a consumption-oriented lifestyle. For example, he claims that they do not pay too much for clothing or they don't buy ultra luxury cars. He gives examples of famous people who dress in casual style; "the CEOs of the main Internet companies, including Bill Gates; the multibillionaire CEO of Microsoft, Eric Schmidt; the CEO of Novel, Scott Cook; the CEO of Intuit, appear annually at the posh World Economic Forum without ties and wearing unadorned sweaters."[153] Here, the reason for wearing casual clothes is not a monetary concern but a manifestation of relaxed lifestyle.

As we remember from the accounts of Brooks, businessmen who like to live in bohemian style tend to wear informal clothes even in the most serious spaces. In this sense, the concept of voluntary simplicity, especially in the category of downshifters, is very similar to bourgeois bohemians, who embrace a simple and un-pretentious lifestyle. However, as Etzioni also clarifies, this kind of simplicity is "inconsistent and limited in scope,"[154] since it does not cover all aspects of consumption. In other words, Bobos or some of the well-off people, only occasionally use voluntary

[152] Amitai Etzioni. "The Post Affluent Society" Review of Social Economy, 62 no.3 (2004) pp. 408.

[153] Ibid., p. 409.

[154] Ibid.

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simplicity in their lives. Furthermore, voluntary simplicity is a trendy consumption philosophy for Bobos, but it is full of inconsistencies. Although their shopping baskets are similar to working class people, the only difference is that Bobos "buy rarefied versions of these items that the members of the working class would consider preposterous,"[155] says Brooks. What he means is that although Bobos prefer to buy quite simple things, they spend a lot of money on special editions of those simple things. For example, he says that the new educated class likes to buy potatoes like everyone else, but they select the ones which were grown "only in certain soils of northern France."[156]

"Rebellion-through-Consumption"

In the book *Salvos from the Baffler*, Frank and Weiland once again underline their theory about the revival of the 1960s' cultural dissidence in the 1990s. They claim that there is no difference between the rebel stars and the business thinkers in their role as the lifestyle arbitrators of our day. According to them, the close relationship between the business and rebel culture is also a consequence of the fantastic growth of the culture industry. Frank explains that the mass-cultural institutions are under one corporate roof, and culture is now delivered from creator to consumer without the interference of the artist. For example, a single company like Sony produces movies and recordings as well as appliances necessary to run them. Under this

[155] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.97.

[156] Ibid.

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system the "knowledge workers" who work in entertainment, communications or computer industries are "the new captains of industry:"[157]

> This is the glorious Age of Information, a second renaissance in which culture is to be the proper province of responsible executives, the minutiae that were once pondered by professors and garret-bound poets having become as closely scrutinized as daily stock prices.[158]

In an age where intellectuals lose their traditional political and cultural opposition positions and get integrated into the system, the image of rebel culture continues via consumption of some symbolic rebel products. "We show our hostility to capitalism by consuming capitalism's rebel products,"[159] says Frank, who explains how former opponents of capitalism try to prolong their so-called anti-establishment position:

> Not only did the invention of "alternative provide capital with a new and more convincing generation of rebels, but in one stroke it outdated all the rebellions of the past ten years, rendered our acid-washed jeans, our Nikes, our DKNYs meaningless. Are you vaguely pissed off at the world? Well, now you get to start proving it all over again, with flannel shirts, a different brand of jeans, and big clunky boots. And in a year or two there will be an "alternative" to that as well, and you'll get to do it again.[160]

Similarly, Featherstone approaches cultural specialists and intermediaries as a faction within the new middle class and emphasize their bond with the counterculture of the 1960s. He argues that they take up the cultural imagery of counterculture and this trend disturbs the old petit bourgeois virtues. For him, the new cultural intermediaries challenge and change prevalent consumption patterns and suggests instead alternative pleasures and desires.[161]

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[157] T Frank, M Weiland, *Commodify Your Dissent*: *The Business of Culture in the New Gilded Age*, New York and London: WW Norton 1997, pp.23-25.

[158] Frank and Weiland, p.24.

[159] Ibid., p.35.

[160] Ibid., p.151.

[161] Featherstone, p.14.

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When we look at the consumption images in Turkey, we come across a lot of countercultural slogans inviting people to liberate themselves. The commoditization of countercultural images has always appealed to consumers, especially the ones who once supported leftist or anti-systemic ideologies, but as such, this situation created a contradiction between their capitalistic wealth and former sensitivities. As mentioned in the introductory chapters, the old rebels who received prestige and enhanced their financial positions by working in the cultural-intellectual industries fell into confusion about this consumer culture. They do not want to live like the old bourgeoisie, but they also do not want to live as the lower classes do. Under these circumstances, they develop a culturally-referenced and rebelliously-dressed consumption philosophy. The aura of the places or goods as productions of rich intellectuals or the cultured class of our day has a bohemian or countercultural atmosphere.

New Styles in the "Commodification of Dissent"

The idolization of the 1960s rebel characters in the jeans, beverage, and alcohol or car advertisement has become an ordinary phenomenon. In recent years, other sorts of dissents, especially sub-cultural or ideological unrests, have become commodified. In this sense, I want to mention two examples from Turkey: the *appropriation* of Arabesque culture and the commodification in ideological symbols in leisure activities.

The rediscovery or regeneration of Arabesque culture among Turkish elites is an interesting phenomenon of recent times. Müslüm Gürses, who used to be the idol of *gecekondu* youths in the 1970s and who was despised and well underestimated by

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the upper class, turned into the new icon of elite parties. He started to fuse arabesque with rock music sang with the Bobo singer Teoman[162] to upgrade his position in the intellectual stratosphere.

At the same time, the oriental culture which had been despised by the elitist bourgeoisie started to be admired in the high jinks. Izzet Capa, the crazy entrepreneur who opens the hippest places in Istanbul, has had an influential role in the rediscovery of arabesque and oriental ethos. Capa has opened a new elite pub called Al Jamal which has an oriental motif. Under the glamorous luxury of the place, the bourgeois customers forget their former hatred of arabesque culture. The special Müslüm Gürses party organized in Al Jamal is a clear example of this new hybrid culture:

> After 20 years, this time I watched Müslüm Gürses at Al Jamal, performing in front of an elite group instead of an audience who were "wristcutters." This time there were no audience who were jumping on the stage, instead there

[162] Columnist Oray Eğin who is one of the few journalists to write about Turkish Bobos, published an article about the duet of Müslüm Gürses with Teoman, and he called Teoman a "bobo:"

> "Paramparça" (Shattered) was the hit song of the music album "Onyedi" (Seventeen). The song preserves interesting codes which reveal the general theme of the album. This time there is a man on a pub stool who is at the same age with his dead father: He reminiscences about the lives of everybody he knows including his own and encounters a shattered, dispersed overview. Let's say this character is a bohemian bourgeois in his 30s. He is frorm Istanbul-Beyoglu or New York or London, but certainly a member of the metropole. Even the metaphors he uses while defining himself are related to being a dweller in the metropole.
>
> *"Paramparça" işte "Onyedi"nin lokomotifiydi. Albümün genel yönünü de belli eden, içinde ilginç kodlar barındırılan bir şarkıydı. Babasının öldüğü yaşa gelen, hem sarhoş hem yasta bir adam var bu sefer: Bir bar taburesi üstünde kendisi dahil bildiği bütün hayatları gözden geçiriyor ve dağınık, paramparça bir manzarayla karşılaşıyor. 30'lu yaşlarında bir bohem-burjuva diyelim bu karakter için. İstanbul-Beyoğlu'ndan ya da New York veya Londra'dan. Ama mutlaka metropol mensubu. Kendisini tarif ederken kullandığı metaforlar bile büyük şehirliliğe ilişkin.*

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was a Father Müslüm who came down from the stage and visited each and every table one by one.[163]

They watched "Father" hiding.

Müslüm Gürses met with high society in Al Jamal!

Members of the high society strived to evade cameras while watching Father Müslüm at Al Jamal.

Müslüm Gürses took the stage at Al Jamal. Father who has started a transformation by covering Teoman and Bülent Ortaçgil songs, this time met with high society. But the audience, who was delighted by the concert, didn't want their joy to be conveyed by the media. The manager of Al Jamal, İzzet Çapa explained this situation: First they degrade, laugh at, then they applause and finally they crown him. But they haven't confronted themselves to the point where they could let being photographed while watching Müslüm Gürses. [164]

Another example of the commoditization or commodification of Arabesque culture is the appropriation of lahmacun, which used to be a popular sub-cultural food of rural people. After the involuntary migration of Southeastern people to Istanbul, the bad smell of lahmacun was associated with the character of new migrants and attacked by

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[163] Cengiz Semercioğlu, "Gülhane'den Al Jamal'e Müslüm Gürses...," *Hürriyet,* 27 Mart 2009

20 yıl sonra Müslüm Gürses'i bu kez kendini jiletleyenler değil, elitist bir kitlenin karşısında izledim Al Jamal'de... Bu kez sahneye atlayan yoktu, tam tersine sahneden inip masalara tek tek giden bir Müslüm Baba vardı.

[164] Unknown author, 13 March 2009, *Babayı Gizlenerek Dinlediler.* Available [online]: http://www.ensonhaber.com/magazin/191844/babayi-gizlenerek-dinlediler.html [11 May 2009].

Müslüm Gürses Al Jamal'da sosyeteyle buluştu!

Al Jamal'a Müslüm Baba'yı dinlemeye giden sosyetikler, sanatçıyı dinlerken görüntülenmemeye çalıştı.

Müslüm Gürses Al Jamal'da sahneye çıktı! Teoman ve Bülent Ortaçgil şarkıları söyleyerek başladığı 'dönüşüm'ü sürdüren 'Baba' bu kez sosyeteyle buluştu. Ancak Gürses'i keyifle dinleyen izleyiciler, bu keyfin medyaya yansımasını istemedi. Al Jamal'in işletmecisi İzzet Çapa, durumu şu sözlerle yorumladı: Önce küçümser, güler, sonra alkışlar, en son da baş tacı ederler. Ama Müslüm Gürses dinlerken fotoğraf çektirecek kadar yüzleşmediler kendileriyle.

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the elitist people.[165] However the new fusion culture embraced this food just by changing its name and elevating its price. On the menu of a typical Bobo place named The House Café, lahmacun pizza is presented to the elite customers who used to hate its cultural symbolism.

Another phenomenon that I want to mention is the symbolic use of ideological or intellectual images in leisure places. Izzet Capa has opened a new café with the theme of Communism, *Joke Perestroyka*.[166] The decoration of the café draws inspiration from the symbols of the perestroika period in Soviet Russia and the quasi-intellectual life of the same era. There is a tank and a small war plane in the garden. One of the rooms is designed as a "library room" where the walls are covered with book shelf imaged wall papers. Contrary to these quasi-intellectual references, the customers have nothing to do with this ideology; they are just the upper class Istanbul society looking for new kinds of authentic leisure.

To summarize, these examples about the appropriation of sub-cultures or commoditization of ideologies give us clues how the information age transforms cultural images into commodities and how the new cultured class develops new strategies "to make money from knowledge" and "to waste money through knowledge."

[165] Rıfat Bali, p. 136.

[166] See Appendix D for the photos of this cafe.

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Distinction through Cultural Consumption

Cultural Consumption and Aesthetic Distinction

The knowledge of cultural consumption patterns of the bourgeois bohemians in Turkey is crucial for understanding the lifestyle they present. As it was explained in the previous chapter, the emphasis on artistic knowledge and aesthetic taste is the essential element of the Bobo consumption philosophy. In this sense, the consumption of cultural goods and events plays an important role as a distinction strategy. For this reason, in this section I will deal with the theoretical aspects regarding the distinctive functions of cultural consumption through the statements of Pierre Bourdieu. After that I will analyze the cultural consumption tendencies of bourgeois bohemians in Turkey in the light of interviews with several members of cultured class.

Theoretical Aspects about Cultural Consumption

Pierre Bourdieu's book *Distinction* (first published in 1979) is still one of the powerful resources to understanding cultural consumption patterns of different classes in the society. According to him, all cultural practices and preferences are shaped around education and upbringing. In other words, the content of cultural consumption differs for each person according to his/her education and position in the social hierarchy; and these predisposed tastes are the markers of class position. He states that art and cultural consumption are determining social differences[167]

[167] Bourdieu, p. 7.

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Bourdieu develops three zones of taste according to educational levels and social classes. The *legitimate taste* appeals the ones occupying highest status in the social stratosphere and the ones having distinguished educational capital. The *"middle-brow" taste* addresses the middle classes, whereas the "*popular" taste* attracts the working classes or the industrial and commercial employers.[168] According to these divisions, the intensity of taste increases in the upper classes but decreases in the lower classes. He states that people with legitimate taste appreciate legitimate works of art, tends to have an elegant music taste, play a "noble" instrument, frequently go to theatre and visit museums or modern art galleries.[169] On the other hand, people with middle-brow taste admire "the minor works of major arts." Lastly, the ones with popular taste follow `light' arts or classical arts that are "devalued by popularization."[170]

Some theorists argue that the development of taste for artistic products is mostly related with social access. For them, the lack of aesthetic sensibility in the lower classes results from their inability to access high arts. However, Bourdieu does not support this argument and he states that in our age people are able to, even exposed to, get in touch with high arts; but not all of them enjoy it. Bourdieu quotes from Suzanne Langer to support his argument:

> In the past, the masses did not have access to art; music, painting, and even books, were pleasures reserved for the rich. It might have been supposed that the poor, the "common people", would have enjoyed them equally, if they had had the chance. But now, that everyone can read, go to museums, listen to great music, at least on the radio, the judgement of the masses about these things has become clear that great art is not a direct sensuous pleasure. Otherwise, like

[168] Ibid., p.16.

[169] Ibid., p.18.

[170] Bourdieu, p.16.

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> cookies or cocktails, it would flatter uneducated taste as much as cultured taste.[171]

As understood from the words of Langer, even in an age of communication, for the development of cultural capital, it is not enough to be able to reach cultural facilities. Upbringing, education, welfare and social environment play great roles as well.

Bourdieu claims that the popular aesthetic connotes the "subordination of form to function." He means that working class people expect functionality from art. For example, an ambiguous surreal painting does not awake any sense, but "a photograph of a dead soldier" is redolent of many sub-meanings, like horror or violence.[172] However, when it comes to highbrow art, Bourdieu states that the emphasis shifts from substance to form. He defines the legitimate taste as the "taste of luxury" rather than the "taste of necessity" and takes attention to the prominence of the manners such as presenting or serving rather than just meeting the needs.[173]

The difference of expectations between different classes creates social distance. In Bourdieu's words "differences in cultural capital mark the differences between the classes."[174] Thus, he argues that intellectuals, artists and high-educated people refuse low-brow and middle-brow art[175].

In an article about the changing effects of the social background on cultural consumption, Koen van Eijck and Bertine Bargeman also acknowledge Bourdieu's

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[171] S. K. Langer, 'On the Significance in Music' in L. A. Jacobus, ed., Aesthetics and the Arts (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1968), p.183.

[172] Bourdieu, p. 41.

[173] Ibid., p.6.

[174] Ibid., p.69.

[175] Ibid., p.60.

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suggestions about cultural distinction.[176] They claim that in recent times the effects of age and education on highbrow cultural participation are increasing, while the role of gender and welfare is decreasing. For them, the contemporary order presents too many choices for cultural consumption, so gender and material wealth are not as effective as in the past. However, the effectiveness of education is still valid in determining taste patterns. More importantly, they clarify that the increasing prevalence of the media and the pop culture gave birth to a culturally omnivorous class of people who demonstrate their lifestyle through strong cultural and intellectual practices.[177]

In the light of this knowledge about the relation between class positions and aesthetic divisions, it is easier to explain the cultural and aesthetic habits of the bourgeois bohemians in Turkey. As an emerging distinctive group, they distinguish themselves from low-brow and middle-brow classes by putting emphasis on cultural capital and artistic capability. For this reason, the following section, looks at the cultural consumption habits of the interviewees to obtain an idea about the general picture of cultural distinction strategies of the cultured class in Turkey.

Cultural Consumption Practices of Bourgeois Bohemians in Turkey

Arts and Culture

Showing interest in cultural capital is one of the core parts of the bohemian bourgeois identity formation. Thus the "bohemian" adjective in the bo-bo title indicates their creative capacity that denotes close relation with arts and artistic way

[176] Koen van Eijck , Bertine Bargeman, "The Changing Impact of Social Background on Lifestyle: ''Culturalization'' Instead Of Individualization?" *Poetics* 32 (2004) pp.439-461.

[177] Eijck and Bargeman, p.442.

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of life since art, especially high art, has always been a matter of creativity. Nevertheless, the great investment in arts derives its motivation from the "distinctive" role of cultural capital. Turkish bourgeois bohemians continuously spend money for cultural accumulation because they know that it makes them different from ordinary rich people. High amounts of cultural expenditure have a symbolic significance; in other words, "conspicuous consumption" corresponds to "artistic consumption" in the Bobo agenda. On the other hand, cultural capital is both a requirement and consequence of their work life since most Bobos work in creative sectors.

High interest in arts and frequent involvement in cultural activities also can be clearly seen the interviews that I made during the course of this study. The questionnaire about the amount and intensity of the cultural consumption covered eight questions inquiring the relation with arts, music and books; participation to cultural events; interest in press and media; and position towards popular culture. The results show positive correlation between the Bobo life style and cultural spending. As the respondents declared that, they frequently went to cinema and concerts. They also showed deep interest in books and the visual arts. Furthermore, most of them said that they are actively participating in artistic production as their profession or as an avocation.

The statement below is quoted from the interview with a famous actress-poet in Turkey. She was the most "culturally attentive" respondent -among my interviewees- who show highest interest in cultural consumption and artistic investment. As can be understood from her words, the cultural consumption is a part of identity formation and lifestyle for Turkish bobos:

> It may sound like a cliché, but I couldn't live without arts, without music, without literature. When I get bored, I play the piano. Nothing else makes me

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> as happy as going to museums when I am abroad. When I watch a good film, I can't get rid of its influence for days. Arts and literature make the world worth living in. It is possible to be happy with your friends or with your family, but when you are alone arts embrace you and you don't feel alone. There is a secret language between arts and us and it is unique for everyone.[178]
>
> (Meltem, Age: 31 - Actress and Poet)

She also draws a high profile in creative production. It is, therefore, hard to determine her occupation, since she takes part in different professions: she is a poet, a well-known actress and a TV programmer. She also plays the piano and continues her academic career by making Ph.D. in English literature. In fact, the multiplicity of interests in different creative sectors is a shared phenomenon among other respondents as well. This can be explained through continuous search for intellectual self-fulfillment and cultural omnivorousness:

> Being an actress is not enough for me. I take part in about two movies in a year and they only take a few months, so I spend my time also in other artistic activities. Acting is just a color in my life.[179]
>
> (Meltem, Age: 31 - Actress and Poet)

On the other hand, her family background supports Bourdieu's thesis about the relation between cultural capital and upbringing. Bourdieu states that people who grew up in cultured households tend to have stronger aesthetic sensibility because they are familiar "with the internal logic of art works." In this sense, Meltem inherited a respectable amount the cultural capital from her family. She stated that her mother was a painter and sculptor while her father was a senior bureaucrat who is also a serious literature reader. Her grandparents also had university educations. In short, she acknowledged that her family background played a critical role in her aesthetic formation.

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[178] Meltem (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 05 March 2009.

[179] Meltem (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 05 March 2009.

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Returning to the general analysis of the survey, most respondents stated that they followed the art events in the Western countries as well. Going to museums and biennales are parts of the abroad travels. The same respondent explained how she was keen on visiting exhibitions abroad:

> I regularly go to art exhibitions. Before going to cities like London or New York, I make a program about the exhibitions of those days. After going, from the morning to the evening, I visit those exhibitions one by one; I take notes and collect booklets. In short, I always try to follow the art events in the Western countries and if I can't see them, it makes me unhappy. Six months ago, there was a retrospective exhibition in Paris, I am very sorry that I could not catch it.[180]
>
> (Meltem, Age: 31 - Actress and Poet)

Another respondent also makes emphasis on his close relation with the arts and stated that he observes cultural atmospheres to understand the world better:

> I live on the arts and literature. I frequently go to the cinema. I am very interested in photography and painting. I often follow photography publications and visit in art exhibitions. When I go abroad, I attend to biennales and I try to understand what is going on artistic environments. I want to understand the course of the world. Artistic knowledge enriches me and my works in the media. Living in Istanbul is also very helpful in this sense. This geography is very feminine and fertile; it feeds our hunger for creativity.[181]
>
> (Sedat, Age: 41 - TV Programmer and Columnist)

The rate of foreign music listening was also high among the bohemian bourgeoisie in Turkey. Most respondents stated that they liked to listen jazz, rock and classical music. There were also fans of lounge, modern jazz, chillout, new age and fusion music. All in all, none of them showed interest in Turkish pop or arabesque music, since these sorts are ascribed as lowbrow taste.

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[180] Ibid.

[181] Sedat (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 09 March 2009.

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On the other hand, interest in Western art and culture could also be explained through the desire for presenting a "modern" identity. In that sense, Turkish modernization efforts collaborate with Westernization movements and being "modern" refers to the sub-meaning of having a Western lifestyle. For this reason, the awareness about Western codes of life and Western culture is a status signifier in Turkey especially among the educated class. Even if the Turkish bourgeois bohemians do not follow the visual arts closely, they like to visit the foreign exhibits, because the symbolic prestige of "Western knowledge" is more presentable. For example, two respondents stated that they visit foreign exhibitions while they are abroad, but they don't deal with the artistic events in Turkey:

> I am not so aware about the art events in Turkey. There are good artists in Turkey, but I don't follow them closely. This is not because I underestimate them. It is just because I devote several days a year for going abroad and watching art events there. It is like rewarding myself. But in Turkey, I am so busy with my work that I only allocate time for listening music and reading books.[182]
>
> (Gamze, Age: 32- Advertiser)

> Generally, I don't participate in art activities in Turkey; it is like a tiring obligation. However, when I am abroad, I like to visit exhibitions, especially the ones about photography.[183]
>
> (Emre, Age: 30- Journalist)

I also asked the interviewees if they made collections. However, except one respondent, most of them did not have serious art collections. Nevertheless, some of them declared that they had small collections of ornaments. For example, Meltem collects old pill bottles (from second hand stores), and she keeps her grandfather's

[182] Gamze(pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 14 May 2009.

[183] Emre (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 06 March 2009.

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tobacco pipe collection; Mehmet gathers cloth buttons from antique shops; and Şeyda has a toy collection and collects dolls of animation characters. All these interesting collections reflect the creative character of the interviewees. Furthermore, they are presented as the authentic mediums of social distinction.

Press and Media

As part of cultural consumption, I asked about the level of press reading. All of the respondents stated that they regularly followed newspapers. However, I observed that the trend of online-reading decreased the purchase of hardcopies. Hence, most of them said that they usually read news from web sites of the newspapers and they only bought paper editions on weekends. For this reason, they pronounced the names of their favorite columnists rather than supporting special newspapers. Even so, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Akşam*, *Vatan* and *Radikal* were the most mentioned newspapers. Among the columnists, a lot of different names were counted, but they were usually composed of leftish liberal writers of the best-seller newspapers. There were 21 names mentioned frequently, but mostly recognized ones were: Ahmet Hakan, Bekir Coşkun, Yılmaz Özdil, Kanat Atkaya, Ruhat Mengi, Mehmet Barlas, Cengiz Çandar, Nuray Mert, and Serdar Akinan.

The interest in books and magazines is also high among bourgeois bohemians in Turkey. All of them claimed that they liked reading very much and they had a remarkable amounts of books. One respondent asserted that she had so many books that all the walls in her house were covered with bookshelves. Moreover, they referenced a lot of books among contemporary literature books, but they mostly did not mention best-sellers. Another respondent especially stated that she consciously did not buy best-seller books and did not go to popular commercial movies. This

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opposition towards popular culture can be reviewed as a reaction towards lowbrow and middle brow culture. As Bourdieu reminded us, intellectuals, artists and college-educated people disdain popular culture and refuse middle-brow art.[184]

Looking at the readership of periodicals, the respondents revealed concern towards culture and visual arts magazines as well as design and architecture journals. Among the national magazines they mostly read *Leman*, *Virgül, Milliyet Sanat, Post Express and Roll*. They also follow foreign press. From newspapers they mostly mentioned were *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* and among journals they read *The Monocle, Wallpaper, Vanity Fair, Newsweek, National Geographic, Art in America and Site and Sound* (British Movie Magazine).

Contrary to the high levels of TV watching in Turkish society, Bobos in Turkey do not watch television for long hours. When they do, they are very selective about the programs. First of all, they don't prefer to watch local soap operas; instead they like to watch foreign TV serials, especially the ones in the *CNBC-e* channel. Among the national channels, they mostly follow news channels like NTV, CNN Turk, Sky Turk and Haber Turk. The rating of foreign news channels like the BBC News or CNN International is relatively low compared to foreign press following.

On the other hand, there is a high interest in movie watching. All of the respondents stated that they frequently watched movies on DVDs, so they did not need to watch TV channels. Even one respondent -who himself is a famous TV programmer- confessed that he bought pirate DVDs to be able to watch festival films that had not been released in Turkey.

To summarize, from the analysis of the interviews, a high profile of cultural consumption is observed among bourgeois bohemians in Turkey. In general, they

[184] Pierre Bourdieu, p.60.

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avoid showing low-brow or ordinary middle-brow patterns and they try to construct a highbrow identity through upgrading cultural capital. As a part of the "modern identity formation" in Turkey, they show great interest in Western art and music as well. All in all, as a distinction strategy, they make a strong emphasis on consumption of cultural facilities.

Distinction through Food Culture

Theoretical Perspectives on the Distinctive Role of Food Culture

"Tell me what you eat and I shall tell you what you are"[185].

"Food nourishes but it also signifies"[186]

Bourdieu's article on the taste preferences of different classes presents a clear picture, illuminating distinction strategies through food consumption. He argues that the taste for foods depends on class positions and needs. He divides taste into two categories on the basis of nutrition aims. The *taste of necessity* means consuming foods as a basic need without any aesthetic concern. In this respect, the eating habits of the proletariat are defined as the taste of necessity. On the other hand, the nutrition habits of the bourgeoisie are called the *taste of luxury*. For him, eating is a matter of distinction and pleasure for the upper classes since they have the freedom to choose

[185] Brillat Savarin (1949) The Physiology of Taste, or, Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy, (Mineola, NY, Dover Publications, 2002) (firstly published in 1825).

[186] Bruce Pietrykowski, "You Are What You Eat: The Social Economy of the Slow Food Movement," Review of Social Economy 62, no.3 (September 2004) p.310.

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foods with different prices. In other words, since bourgeoisie possess a huge amount of capital, their requirement for taste is not solely limited to necessity and strongly aligned to aesthetic concerns.

For Bourdieu, the substance of bourgeois food differs from "proletarian" food. He argues that popular tastes are shaped around the "most 'filling' and most economical"[187] foods because the aim of eating for the proletariat is "reproducing labour power at the lowest cost."[188] That means that the working class tends to go for products that are both cheap and nutritious. Conversely, the bourgeoisie "prefer products that are tasty, health-giving, light and not fattening:"[189]

> As one rises in the social hierarchy, the proportion of income spent on food diminishes, or that, within the food budget, the proportion spent on heavy, fatty, fattening foods, which are also cheap – pasta, potatoes, beans, bacon, pork – declines, as does that spent on wine, whereas an increasing proportion is spent on leaner, lighter (more digestible), non-fattening foods (beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and especially fresh fruit and vegetables). Because the real principle of preferences is taste, a virtue made of necessity, the theory which makes consumption a simple function of income plays an important part in determining distance from necessity.[190]

Bourdieu also emphasized that eating habits cannot be judged independently of the lifestyle.[191] One's relation to the world and relations with his/her body also affects the structure of the food culture. For him, bodily manners are status signifiers;

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[187] Pierre Bourdieu, "Taste of Luxury, Taste of Necessity" in *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink* Edt. by Carolyn Korsmeyer (Berg, New York, 2005) p. 73.

[188] Bourdieu, "Taste of Luxury, Taste of Necessity," p. 73.

[189] Ibid., p. 74.

[190] Ibid., p. 73.

[191] Ibid., p. 74.

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through the uses of the body in work and leisure, the class distribution of the bodily properties is determined.[192]

In Bourdieu's account, for the bourgeoisie, eating is a matter of aesthetic pleasure and socialization. He states that the upper classes ignore the functional role of eating and turn it into a social ceremony. They also give high value to the presentation of food. From the tablecloth and decorations to the dinnerware the act of eating turns into an aesthetic exhibition. In other words, according Bourdieu, in the case of culinary preferences, the bourgeoisie concentrate on form rather than substance; and quality rather than quantity:

> It is a way of denying the meaning and primary function of consumption, which are essentially common, by making the meal a social ceremony, an affirmation of ethical tone and aesthetic refinement. The manner of presenting and consuming the food, the organization of the meal and setting of the places, strictly differentiated according to the sequence of dishes and arranged to please the eye, the presentation of the dishes, considered as much in terms of shape and colour (like works of art) as their consumable substance, the etiquette governing posture and gesture, ways of serving oneself and others, of using the different utensils, the seating plan, strictly but discreetly hierarchical, the censorship of all bodily manifestations of the act or pleasure of eating (such as noise or haste), the very refinement of things consumed, with quality more important than quantity – this whole commitment to stylization tends to shift the emphasis from substance and function to form and manner, and so to deny the crudely material reality of the act of eating and of the things consumed, or which amounts to the same thing , the basely material vulgarity of those who indulge in immediate satisfactions of food and drink.[193]

In an article "Identity and the Global Stew" James[194] also acknowledges the role of food as a marker of cultural identity and class position. She writes that "the food that

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[192] Ibid., p. 75.

[193] Bourdieu, "Taste of Luxury, Taste of Necessity," p. 77.

[194] Alison James, "Identity and the Global Stew" in *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink* edt. By Carolyn Korsmeyer, pp.372-383.

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you chose to eat might tell me how you see yourself (and wish to be seen by others)"[195].

However, post-modern approaches on food consumption present a perspective different from Bourdieu's class based analysis. These theories claim that as a result of post-Fordist modes of production and globalization, even people with similar economic capital present different life style choices. For them, such choices are not mediated by class-based identities, because economic restructuring has blurred the boundaries between class groups.[196]

Although post-modern theories emphasize the diversity of individual choices, class-based distinctions still make sense in the construction of tastes. However, it should not be overlooked that in our age, class compositions are not homogenous and the division between different classes is more blurred. The old requirements necessary for entering the upper class are not valid anymore. As Brooks[197] and Mert[198] explain, there are new motives behind class mobility. For instance, it is not necessary to come from an aristocratic family. Instead, educated parents and a modern family life are enough to present an eligible background. Furthermore, contrary to the old emphasis on nobility, in this post-modern age, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic or multi-religious compositions provide more distinctive capital.

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[195] James, p. 375.

[196] Dale Southerton, "Consuming Kitchens : Taste, Context and Identity Formation" Journal of Consumer Culture, 1 no. 2 (2001), p. 181.

[197] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p. 15.

[198] Mert, "Geçmişi Piyasaya Sürmek veya Temize Çekmek: Beyaz Türk'ün Seyir Defteri" *İstanbul Life* (2003).

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Fusion Cuisine and the Revival of Provincial Food

Returning to food consumption and the development of taste, it is vital to pay attention to the relationship between post-modern approaches and the development of fusion cuisine. Fusion food has gained popularity throughout the world and is appreciated by the bourgeois bohemians. The logic of fusion cuisine is to create new recipes from combinations of local, ethnic and modern foods. In other words, various culinary traditions are mixed to create new recipes.

Together with fusion cuisine, there is a rising appetite for provincial and authentic foods. The search for more natural and original foods turned the attention of Bobo gourmets to regional and provincial culinary traditions. As Alison James also describes, authenticity and tradition are common subjects of contemporary food writing and food journalism:

> The foodie[199] writers seek and find the marks of authenticity in diversity, in the small scale and in local, artisanal modes of production. Differentiation is celebrated through the quality and authenticity of local food traditions, worldwide…[200]

James defines the reinterpretation and modernization of provincial food as "food creolization." He also takes note of "food nostalgia" and says that the locality of food is celebrated in a global context. The important point that Alison deals with is the role of authentic food as distinction strategy. He argues that the globalization of food has resulted from the search to create a distinctive identity:

> The globalization of food is not, therefore, just a matter of the movement of foodstuffs between nations; nor is it simply the amalgamation or accommodation of cuisines. It is a complex interplay of meanings and

[199] Foodie means gourmet, one who enjoys cooking and fine food.

[200] Alison James, p. 380.

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> intentions which individuals employ subjectively to make statements about who they are, and where and how their selves are to be located in the world.[201]

The exposure of local and regional food is also in the agenda of the Slow Food Movement.[202] The movement started as a reaction to the mania of fast food.[203] Proponents of the movement are eager to explore local tastes from all over the world and organize food festivals to cook and taste divergent recipes from different culinary traditions.

Supporting the Slow Food movement is prestigious for educated and cultured people. As Bruce Pietrykowski writes, the claim to have a sophisticated taste is a strategy for social distinction:

> The acquisition of a refined sense of taste and an appreciation of food are attributes of cultural capital. Individuals acquire and display material goods as part of their frame of reference, classification scheme, or habitus (Bourdieu 1984, Lee 1993: 32). Food consumption patterns and cuisines are a signal of class and group identification. The desire to resist the dominant culture of fast food, the quest for obscure local and regional foods and cuisines that evoke a cultural heritage are part of the constitution of habitus:[204]

In recent decades, the knowledge of slow, exotic and local food has lent distinctive capital to upwardly mobile people. In this respect, the eating behavior of bourgeois

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[201] Ibid., p. 383.

[202] The Slow Food Movement**:** In the last two decades, fast food and convenience food have been dismissed by gourmets. As a reaction to fast food culture, a new movement called "the Slow Food Movement" started to invite people for more healthy and tasty eating. Originally the movement gathered around an official international organization in Italy during the late 1980s. The desire of the slow food promoters is to preserve "a world of unique favors, local food customs, and quality food and wine."[202] The organization also works for taste education and defense of biodiversity.

[203] Fast Food was a phenomenon of 1980s that spread all over the world. Hamburgers and fries were presented as the delicious way of time saving. In the beginning it was welcomed by the urban professionals and new middle classes. Eating from Burger King or Mc Donald's had a marker value on the eyes of upwardly mobile youths. However, in time, it is understood that fast foods are unsanitary and fattening. On the other hand, the expansion of international chains even into the smallest villages made it accessible to everyone, so the social prestige of fast food decreased.

[204] Pietrykowski, p. 314.

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bohemians in Turkey corresponds to the new international culinary trends; and curiosity for eclectic cuisines arises especially in major cities like Istanbul, Ankara. In the last ten years, the menus of elegant restaurants have started to present different fusion dishes. There are also special restaurants that are designed to serve only fusion cuisine.

In the article series "Beyaz Türk'ün Seyir Defteri" (The Diary of the White Turk), Nuray Mert also describes the change in Turkish culinary practices under the influence of global trends. Through the example of salad culture, she argues that divergent kinds of recipes started to be tasted for the sake of being "whiter." She also acknowledges the fashion of exotic tastes in the new culinary trends and she makes fun of mixing inharmonious flavors in order to create new eclectic tastes:

> Who could tell that Turkey would have no limits in modernness; that in a very short period of time there would be a café in every corner, serving various menus of salads? But it has happened, this is the day! Of course the ingredients and the looks of the salads have become more sophisticated too. Chicken salad, which was considered to be significant ten years ago, has become ordinary, almost a suburban item. Even balsamic vinegar, dried tomatoes, blue cheese sauce have long been dropped behind; now it is the age of dervish coriander, aromatic herbs, spices, fruits and colored lettuce. If you will stuff the salad with the aromatic herbs and sauces all at the same time, that is even better. You may say how to all those strong tastes go together? Don't go there, eat whatever brought in your plate; this is a trail of White Turkhisness. And it is not only the salads. If you will have a main course it will also be filled with that spice, with this herb, with that leaf or aged in that, kneaded with this… You cannot leave any of the chic restaurants before your mouth turn into the Mısır Çarşısı (*spice market*). [205]

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[205] Nuray Mert, "Türk Salata Devrimi : Beyaz Türk'ün Seyir Defteri" *İstanbul Life* no. 85.

Kim derdi ki, Türkiye çağdaşlıkta sınır tanımayacak, çok kısa bir zaman sonra her köşe başında bir kafe, bir lokanta envai çeşit salata mönüleri hazırlayacak. Ama oldu, bugün o gün. Tabii salatalar da daha sofistike bir içerik ve görünüm kazandı. 10 sene önce önemsenen tavuklu salata falan harcıâlem, neredeyse kenar mahalle çeşidi. Hatta kurutulmuş domates, balsamik sirke, rokfor sos, bile neredeyse geride kalıyor; artık devir kişniş, aromatik otlar, baharatlar, meyveler ve de renkli marul devri. Aromatik ot ve sosların hepsini aynı salataya boca ederseniz, o daha iyi. Diyeceksiniz ki o kadar kuvvetli tat bir arada olur mu? Orasını karıştırmayacaksınız, önünüze geleni yiyeceksiniz, bu bir beyaz Türk imtihanı… Hem iş salata ile bitmiyor, ana yemek gelecekse o da baharatlı, soslu, şu

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The trend of fusion cuisine is inspired by culinary traditions different from those of the West. The expansion of Chinese and Japanese food was also a response to the curiosity for new tastes. However, as a result of the international expansion of this market, the prestige of Far Eastern cuisine has started to decrease. In this respect, gourmet specialists are in search of new geographies to expose and to reinterpret traditional tastes. With the knowledge of this development, Mert suggests that the fusion tradition in Turkey may obtain inspiration from the East rather than the West. However, it would be paradoxical for the Turkish elites, who have wanted to be truly "Westernized." In Mert's words, they will have to embrace the old traditions that they have tried to forget for so long:

> I say, we have nothing to learn from the West on this subject anymore. Both Italian kitchen and Mediterranean breeze are outdated. Even for the matter of fusion, the breeze should come from somewhere other than the West so that the transcendence can make itself felt better. Besides in order to be a true Westerner shouldn't you have a little inept interest in and admiration for the East. I know that it is a little difficult for us; it will remind us of old tastes and evoke bad memories. For instance, the Tabuli salad of the Arabs are wonderful, but look at the ingredients: parsley, tomato and thin bulgur, besides only lemon and olive oil as the sauce. Westerns like it a lot but whether we like it or not, it makes us feel like we have returned to where we started; to the place where we had suffered a lot to get away. If it was to end in tabuli, what use was all that effort to us? How shall I respond to that; this is the tragedy of the Turks. (…) But I have full confidence in the White Turks, who have succeeded at interpreting the kebab all over again, that they will also resolve this quite complicated subject.[206]

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yapraklı, bu otlu, şunda yorulmuş, bunda dinlendirilmiş. Ağzınız Mısır Çarşısı'na dönmeden hiçbir havalı yerden doyup kalkmak yok.

[206] *Türk Salata Devrimi* "Beyaz Türk'ün Seyir Defteri" *İstanbul Life* no. 85.
Şimdi ben diyorum ki, bizim artık bu konuda Batı'dan öğreneceğimiz bir şey kalmadı. Hem İtalyan mutfağı, Akdeniz esintisi fazlasıyla demode. Füzyon olayında da esinti Batı'dan değil başka yerlerden olmalı ki, aşmış bir durum kendini iyice belli etsin. Hem gerçek Batılı olmak için, biraz acemi bir ilgi ve hayranlıkla Doğu'ya dönmek gerekmez mi? Biliyorum bizim için biraz zor, eski tatları çağrıştırıp kötü hatıraları canlandıracak. Mesela Arapların tabuli salatası harikadır ama malzemesine bakın; maydanoz, domates ve ince bulgur, üstelik sos olarak sadece limon ve zeytinyağı. Batılılar bayılıyor ama bize ister istemez, başladığımız yere dönme hissi veriyor. Kurtulmak için bin bir sıkıntı çektiğimiz yere. Madem sonu tabuliye varacaktı, onca gayrete ne gerek vardı diyebilirsiniz; ne diyeyim, bu da

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During the course of this study, I researched the culinary habits of the Bobos in Turkey through observations and interviews. As far as I observed, interest in global or eclectic foods has increased in the last decades. Experiencing new tastes is a part of bourgeois bohemian character, so Bobos in Turkey highlight their curiosity for different culinary traditions. Asian and Italian cuisines are still the mosconsumed genres, but they are about to be outmoded in terms of familiarity. For this reason, fusion food and traditional exposures have been trendier in recent times.

For instance, a gourmet interviewee Erdal stated that he is very keen on fusion food:

> I am open to experience different cuisines. I especially like to discover special fusion meals. Cooking is a kind of art for me. For example, last week I went to a fusion restaurant in Copenhagen. The food was so gorgeous that I wanted to cry while eating. The design of the plate was like a piece of art thus I did not want to start eating it in order not to deform it.[207]
>
> (Erdal, Age: 41 / Gourmet-Writer)

However, some of the respondents declared that they did not prefer eclectic food because they disturbed the originality of the traditional recipes. For example, Meltem dislikes fusion cuisine:

> I don't like fusion food; I think it is nonsense to mix different cuisines. Food loses their originality when they are mixed accidently. For example, I like Japanese food, but it becomes weird to me to add Middle Eastern spices to it. I like trying interesting and exotic foods if they are really original, but I hate other kinds of mixtures.[208]
>
> (Meltem, Age: 31 - Actress and Poet)

Türklerin trajedisi (...) Ama kebabı yeniden yorumlayan beyaz Türk'ün bu çetrefil sorunların da bir bir içinden çıkacağına inancımız tam.

[207]Erdal, interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 04 June 2009.

[208] Meltem (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 05 March 2009.

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Learning Taste

As Bourdieu emphasizes, education is an important medium to gain cultural capital. He states that the development of taste is mainly related to learning and breeding.[209] Yet, knowledge of food is not always inherited from one's predecessors because culinary fashions change continuously. Even so, not everybody has the chance to be brought up in a cultured household. Nevertheless, it is possible to acquire knowledge of taste by training and experimenting. In this sense, Brooks also says that the new middle class do not inherit a proper cultural heritage so they learn aesthetic sensibilities through education and try to prove their sophisticated character.[210] Similarly, proponents of the Slow Food movement claim that enjoying food can be improved through education, and they give lessons to people who want to develop their culinary taste.[211]

All this knowledge helps us to understand the Turkish Bobos' willingness to develop their culinary experience. During the interviews, most of the respondents highlighted their desire to learn more about the art of eating. For example, Arda confessed that he used to know only traditional Turkish food because he grew up in an ordinary middle class family. However, he recognizes that he can develop culinary taste through education and experiment:

> My father was a civil servant so I grew up in a middle class family. I used to know only traditional Turkish food. We were not so rich as to employ special chefs in our kitchen. For example, what I knew about eggplant was limited to the cooking style of my mom; but later I recognized that there were other recipes for it. After earning good money -thanks to my job- I gained excess to

[209] Boudieu. *Distinction*, p.7.

[210] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, p. 17.

[211] James, p. 383.

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broader categories of food. At this point a kind of experimenting process had started.
Food is related to sophisticated cultures; there is a culture of wine, vodka or tequila… I am on the way to learning about these cultures. For example I discovered a gin named Hendrick's and it was gorgeous. We didn't drink gin for a long time, thinking that it was a passé, but I changed my mind after drinking that brand. In short, this is a conscious learning process. Rather than consuming fashionable or expensive products, I discover the ones that appeal to my palate.[212]

(Arda, Age: 39 - TV Programmer)

Concern for Healthy and Organic Food

As I mentioned before, fast and convenience foods are not welcomed by the bourgeois bohemians. They prefer healthy, fresh and organic products. Even more, they like un-processed natural foods. Brooks acknowledges this trend as well:

> Everything that the educated person drinks will leave sediment in the bottom of the glass: yeasty microbrews, unfiltered fruit juices, organic coffees. Bobo breads are thick and grainy, the way wholesome peasants like it, not thin and airy, as the old shallow suburbanites prefer. Even our condiments will be admirably coarse; rough, unrefined sugar is considered by many to be the height of refinement.[213]

Bobos in Turkey also give credit to rough and natural products. They think that it is more tasty and healthy to eat cereals that are not ground. For example, a respondent Mehmet said that he always prefers whole-wheat breads and brown rice because they are wholesome.[214]

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[212] Arda, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 03 April 2009.

[213] Brooks. *Bobos in Paradise*, p. 93.

[214] Mehmet (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 21 May 2009.

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Aromatic herbs, medicinal plants and aromatherapies are also admired by the Bobos. Rather than traditional herbalists, new modern spa centers are opened. One interesting example of this trend is the *Toz Pembe (Vie En Rose/ Light Pink)* in Cihangir. The owner, Jayda Uras, is a former architect who gave up her profession and started a new career in aromatherapy. She provides organic herbal treatments and spa massages to customers. What make these new herbal stores different from the traditional small dealers are the presentation of the products in stylish jars and the introduction of a spiritual philosophy. Although most of the products are similar with that of the traditional stores', you have to pay three times more for the ones in these post-modern cure centers.

In recent times there is also an increasing interest in fresh fruit and vegetable juice cocktails. Different mixtures are served with different bodily or spiritual promises. The forerunner of this trend in the bohemian bourgeois world was Cuppa café in Cihangir. Cuppa is one of the trendy cafés in Cihangir which is deliberately a Bobo place. Among the clientele it is possible to come across famous actors, artists or writers. The concept of this café is "a new life style that is healthy, energetic and happy."[215] There are many cocktails in the menu of the café and the average price of a cup is 10 TL, which is a bit expensive compared to ordinary cafes. They serve very interesting mixtures:

> Jumper juice: spinach- carrot- apple (Cuppa advises this iron boosting, energy giving drink which is full of vitamins twice a week)
> Liver Up: apple, pear, beet, lemon, ginger (advised for people who suffer from anemia, and diabetics)
> Wheatgrass juice: (full of vitamins and it boosts iron too) [216]

[215] Information derived from the web site of Cuppa café. Available [online]: http://www.cuppajuice.com/index2.html [11 March 2009].

[216] Ibid.
Jumper Juice: ıspanak-havuç-elma (Cuppa, bu kan yapıcı, enerji verici vitamin deposu yaşam içeceğinin haftada iki kez içilmesini öneriyor)

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The market for organic products is still limited in Turkey. Prices are quite expensive as well. In consequence, only the upper and middle-upper classes can afford to buy organic food. Together with the costliness and exclusivity, the nature-friendly character of these products makes them a marker of distinction. In other words, consuming organic products signals one's cultured identity, concern for health, and ability to buy expensive goods.

During the interviews, most of the respondents stated that they like to buy organic products. For example, Hamdi said that he mostly consumed organic products:

> I pay attention for the preference of organic food. My parents have a garden where they grow vegetables throughout the year, so we mostly eat vegetables from our own garden. But in textiles, I am not so successful because there aren't many alternatives in organic clothes.[217]
>
> (Hamdi, Age:42 – Journalist)

Gamze also stated that she likes to buy organic food, and said that she purchases food from their original production places.

> I like organic and natural tastes. For this reason, I prefer shopping from good quality retailers that sell organic products, such as Macro Markets. I sometimes also go to the Kastamonu organic bazaar in Balat and the ecological bazaar in Şişli. It is better to go there in the very early morning to be able to buy the freshest vegetables and rarest home products.
>
> On the other hand, I also gather different herbs and local products from the small villages that I visit. For example, during a visit to an East-Anatolian city, we climbed up a mountain to pick a special healing plant. I also bring olive oils from my hometown and buy cheese from European countries,

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Liver Up: elma, armut, pancar, limon, zencefil (diabetikler ve kansızlık şikayeti olanlara öneriyoruz)

Wheat grass juice: Buğday çimeni suyu (yoğun bir enerji deposu, üstelik kan yapyor)

[217] Hamdi, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 17 February 2009.

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> especially from Holland. I believe that it is better to buy original food from original places.[218]

(Gamze, Age:32- Advertiser)

However, some of the respondents stated that they are not sure about the quality of organic products in Turkey. For them, "organic" titled food in Turkey are not always trustable due to the lack of sufficient control mechanisms. For example, Yener said that organic products are more expensive than the normal ones and wonders if it is really worth it to pay the difference without any control system. Emre also thinks similarly:

> When I go abroad, I do prefer buying organic food, but in Turkey I think there are not any good quality organic products which are grown according to special criteria. I believe that the organic food in Turkey is fake. Nevertheless, I still prefer organic vegetables when shopping at the grocery store.[219]

(Emre, Age: 30- Journalist)

In short, bourgeois bohemians in Turkey have concerns about healthy and organic food. However, in my opinion, this choice is not a deliberate act; rather it is a display of distinction. It is a reflection of the global trend of "exploring the original" and "consuming the natural."

Love of Experiment

For the old bourgeoisie, the elegance of a place is important. They like to go to first-class restaurants that have luxurious atmospheres and serve well-known, well-prepared food. However for Bobos in Turkey, it is not obligatory to go to high-toned restaurants. They like to discover different kinds of places and they want to

[218] Gamze(pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 14 May 2009.

[219] Emre (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 06 March 2009.

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experiment with different tastes. For them, the naturalness is more preferable than luxury, so they like to go to unpretentious, but unique places. For example, one of the respondents, Arda, stated that it is pretentious to go to the best quality places only to be seen in the elite coterie. Instead, he likes daily places more:

> Rather than going only to Michelin starred restaurants, I prefer to explore the local patisseries or bakeries. While staying in Istanbul, I also don't prefer to go to very famous restaurants since I feel uneasy in their atmosphere. For example, except for business dinners, I don't go to Papermoon restaurant. I don't try to be seen in the luxury restaurants -that the previous generation used to go to- to show that I am the "new rich"; I am not a bumpkin. Rather, I like going to restaurants in Tünel such as Refik or fish restaurants such as Balıkçı Sabahattin or Poseidon.[220]
>
> (Arda, Age: 39 - TV Programmer)

Even some of the interviewees stated that they don't hesitate to go to *salaş* (hole in the wall) places because they like to discover different tastes. They like to go to small and unknown eating houses if they serve fresh and clean products. For example, Meltem said that she get bored at too elegant restaurants, rather she prefers cozier places:

> I sometimes like to go to first class restaurants but not always. You see the same people, listen to the same music and eat such stylized food. So I like relaxing atmospheres more. Going to a simple bar and eating snacks makes me more comfortable. When I go to the old book stores in Kadıköy, I take a break in small pubs where I eat french-fries while looking at my books.[221]
>
> (Meltem, Age: 31 - Actress and Poet)

Erdal also said that he likes to go to hidden places:

> I don't have an obsession with luxury, I also go to unnamed "hole in the wall" places as long as the food is fresh and the place is clean. If the dishes are

[220] Arda, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 03 April 2009.

[221] Meltem (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 05 March 2009.

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> good, the poor decoration doesn't matter. For instance, I like going to a small fish restaurant in Arnavutköy which is run by two brothers. There is only one table in the corner with a pretty sea view. They only serve a few items that they cook daily from fresh seafood and vegetables. I like it there because I know that the food is trustable and the people are very friendly.[222]
>
> (Erdal, Age: 41- Gourmet-Writer)

A designer-painter named Yener presented a different perspective about un-famous eating establishments. He said that these small places live like design objects in urban spaces. He supports extra-ordinary projects like opening a small café with a provincial concept among skyscrapers in the center of a city.[223] As understood from these narratives, going to third class places is not a democratic step, but a search for authenticity. In short, different from the old bourgeoisie, Bobos in Turkey like to go after good quality but special food or they like to discover hidden tastes in unknown places.

"Back to Kitchen"

Although cooking used to be servant's job in the old bourgeois life, with rising respect to different cuisines, cooking have gained much prestige among the new upper class. Being a chef is one of the most attractive, creative and well-paying careers of our time. Thus, the gourmet Bobos who are curious to experience a

[222] Erdal (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 06 June 2009.

[223] Yener, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 27 March 2009.

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different taste every day try to create their own recipes in their ultra-new kitchens. Brooks describes this new trend as "back to kitchen":[224]

> Today in the age of Bobo reconciliation, everybody is back in the kitchen, albeit on his or on her own terms. Indeed, in today's educated class homes, the kitchen has become the symbol of domestic bliss, the way the hearth used to be for the bourgeoisie. That's why when you walk into a newly renovated upscale home owned by nice, caring people, you will likely find a kitchen so large it puts you in mind of an aircraft hangar with plumbing…As for the kitchen equipment, today's Bobo kitchen is like a culinary playground providing its owners a series of top-of-the-line peak experiences.[225]

Although their kitchens are not ultra-new as Brooks describes, bourgeois bohemians in Turkey are also very curious about cooking at home. In traditional Turkish families there is strong gender discrimination and cooking is prescribed to women. However, in recent times, young couples are more democratic in the division of labor at home. In this respect, men have started to cook as well. More importantly, with the global cultural trends, knowledge of cooking has turned into a cultural capital. For this reason, bourgeois bohemians in Turkey –both men and women- tend to cook at home for enjoyment. However, they don't like to cook traditional Turkish food very much; instead they try different culinary traditions to show of how "cultured" they are. In other words, cooking is a strategy of distinction rather than satisfying hunger. Most of the Bobos that I interviewed mentioned that they like cooking. For example, Arda said that he is learning to cook, but prefers Mediterranean recipes rather than Turkish ones. He also qualifies cooking as a leisure activity to spend time with friends:

> I like cooking. I cook especially in my summer house in Bodrum where I stay two months a year. I try to learn the best ways of cooking. I buy the books of Jamie Oliver rather than Emine Beder, since Beder's recipes are more Turkish style and heavy; while Oliver's recipes are more healthy and

[224] Brooks, . *Bobos in Paradise,* p.87.

[225] Ibid.

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> Mediterranean. I have a garden in my summerhouse where I plant tomatoes, cucumbers and marrows. I love cooking for socialization as well. When I invite my friends for dinner, everyone prepares a part of the meal so we enjoy cooking altogether. However, when I stay in Istanbul, because of busy work life, I don't have time for cooking at home.[226]
>
> (Arda, Age: 39 - TV Programmer)

Cooking is an act of self-realization for Bobos. They want to reflect a creative character through the food they prepare. Erdal's narrative is helpful to understand this:

> I love cooking. I am knowledgeable about food culture. I always add some specific flavors that will reflect my style, but I don't intervene in the basic taste of the recipe. That specific flavors are my little secrets, I don't tell them any one because I tried hard to explore them. I take private lessons from a French chef. He was secretly adding some flavors to the meals and I was trying to figure out them. In that process, I learned the tricks of cooking. Overall, my favorite is Mediterranean cuisine. Looking in retrospect, I can say that I have tastes almost all kind of cuisines in the world, but wherever I go, I miss the fish restaurants near the Bosphorus.[227]
>
> (Erdal, Age: 41- Gourmet-Writer)

Interest in Asian and Fusion cuisines is also reflected to cooking preferences. Many respondents stated that they try to cook Chinese or Japanese food at home. For example, Mehmet claimed that he is good at cooking noodles and chicken teriyaki. Şeyda also expressed that she enjoys discovering accidental recipes by trying different mixtures, so she mostly cooks fusion food. She is also keen on Asian and Italian cuisine and good at cooking risotto, or Asian style meat dishes. Sedat also claimed to be good at cooking:

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[226] Arda, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 03 April 2009.

[227] Erdal (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 06 June 2009.

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> I like cooking very much. I am very enthusiastic about experimenting different recipes. I am good at cooking pasta and pizza. I also cook Turkish foods such as Hunters' olla (avcı güveci). I am open to experience.[228]
>
> (Sedat, Age: 41 - TV Programmer and Columnist)

According to Southerton, people's relation with kitchens changes according to their material and class positions. Lower class people deal only with the functionality of the kitchens whereas people with higher economic and cultural capital require style and aesthetic in their kitchens as in the other spaces.[229] In this respect, it is possible to observe that, as far as they deal with cooking, bourgeois bohemians pay more concern to the style of their kitchens. There are not many ultra-new kitchens in the Turkish Bobo houses yet,[230] but they try to construct an experimental atmosphere in their cooking spaces. For example Sedat talked about his new house in the country-side and its kitchen design:

> I am constructing a house in Çatalca. The architectural design of the house belongs to me. I am designing the kitchen in a special way. I won't use manufactured kitchen cabinets. Rather, I will draw the schemes of the closets and a carpenter will contrive them for me. I will order an iron worktop to a blacksmith, it will be in a T shape. while I will be cooking, the guests will sit in front of that iron worktop. The kitchen will be very large since I spend most of the time in kitchen and living room.[231]
>
> (Sedat, Age: 41 - TV Programmer and Columnist)

To summarize, as described in the previous pages, taste for food is a powerful distinction strategy. It is accepted as a part of cultural capital. For this reason, the

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[228] Sedat (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 09 March 2009.

[229] Southerton, p. 192.

[230] David Brooks argues that, bobos have ultra-technological kitchens with extra-ordinary appliances. *Bobos in Paradise*, p.87.

[231] Sedat (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 09 March 2009.

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bourgeois bohemians in Turkey highlight their knowledge of food culture to differentiate themselves in society. They either visit gourmet restaurants or cook at home, but in both ways they pay attention to present a cultured identity.

Observations on the Bobo Cafes in Istanbul

As a social prestige space, people go to the popular cafes to feel good. In this sense some of the places gain symbolic value. Since it is more affordable to spend time in a first class café or restaurant than paying lots of money on a luxury car or house, upwardly mobile people like to be seen in these fancy places for a status show. Among lots of cafes and restaurants, this study focused on ones that are bohemian but not cheap. Especially the ones having eclectic style which brings provincial, retro, classic and modern styles together take our attention. Eclecticism and fusion is at the core of the bohemian bourgeoisie identity; that is why we focus on eclectic style cafes. However, eclecticism alone is not enough to explain the aura of bohemian bourgeoisie style. Artistic touches, minimalism and keeping away from ostentation are also important characteristics of Bobo places. Renovated structures, long wooden tables, second-hand objects, old chandeliers, but also modern seats and plain table settings… all these diverse units are brought together to present a bohemian but also bourgeois style.

In this section, I will write about café frequenting in Istanbul and I will describe some of the hip cafes that are admired by the bourgeois bohemians in Turkey. It is impossible to mention all of the Bobo cafes in Istanbul in this study, because there are too many examples of this kind, especially in the gentrified neighborhoods. For

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this reason, I will write about only a few examples that are chosen according to popularity. I will describe the interior design, menu and the client profile of these places. In this way, I hope to give idea about why creative people in Istanbul prefer these places.

"Café Flâneurship" in Istanbul

The word "café flâneur" is very helpful to explain the visitors of bourgeois bohemian cafés. The word is used by Craig Thompson and Zeynep Arsel to refer to "urban flâneurs" who prefer to go local artistic cafes rather than a Starbucks.[232] They explain that café flâneurs are mostly composed of people who want to imply an artistic identity such as being a novelist, poet or performer. For them, these people derive social and creative feelings from being in those cafés; they participate in the dynamic public space, observe others and receive inspiration from the social space, the décor, the music and the visual art. "Café flâneurs view local coffee shops as presenting a more distinctive ambience and hence as providing a more engaging and stimulating buzz,"[233] say Thompson and Arsel. They explain that Starbucks are viewed as banal cultural spaces and they are not preferred by educated-creative visitors. Instead, local coffee shops are appreciated as the "authentic expressions of their proprietors' aesthetic tastes and the local color of the neighborhoods they serve."[234]

[232] Craig J. Thompson and Zeynep Arsel, "The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers' (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization," *Journal of Consumer Research*, (31December 2004), p. 634.

[233] Ibid., p. 635.

[234] Ibid., p. 636.

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While writing about the bobo lifestyle in Pennsylvania, Brooks also emphasizes the importance of cafes in the bourgeois bohemian lifestyle. He celebrates a café named Café Procopio which has been a popular gathering place for intellectuals and artists for decades. He says that, there are not too many intellectuals or artists in that place, but there are a lot of people who go there to feel like them.[235] Life styles and consumption preferences of artists and intellectuals are very influential on contemporary trends. The intellectual community is not limited in number any more. With new entrants from different creative and knowledge sectors there is now a remarkable population of young people who like to live like an artist. Furthermore, "living like an artist" is such an appreciated style that even young bureaucrats or businessmen have started to embrace a bohemian life style outside of work. For this reason, the traditional gathering places of writers or artists are full of young people from different sectors. To appeal to this audience, newly opening cafes or restaurants in the gentrified districts are designed in an artistic and bohemian style.

In Istanbul, there are many small cafés of this kind where young people gather in a bohemian or artistic atmosphere. This atmosphere not only stems from the architectural style or decoration of the cafes but also from the aura of the people attached to the café. The relationships between the clients and owners seem very friendly. The owners try to create a homey atmosphere. Most of the waiters are personable young people. They are very cool and stylish thus they look like part of the same artistic community. They have close relationships with the frequenters and there is no hierarchical distance between them. The owners of the cafes are highly educated middle-aged entrepreneurs. They claim to open such hip places not only to make money, but also to enjoy themselves.

[235] Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise,* p.55.

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Most of the customers are the young or middle aged members of the creative class. Since most of them have flexible time for work, they visit these cafes throughout the day to eat, to have a drink, to meet with colleagues or to work with their portable computers. In the evenings, the client profile may change to young business professionals who stop by after work to have a drink.

These cafes are mostly centered in the gentrified districts of Istanbul, especially in Cihangir, Taksim, Tünel, Asmalimescit, Galata and Tesvikiye-Nisantasi. Besides them there are also other neighborhoods like Kadikoy, Moda, Arnavutkoy, and Kuzguncuk where petit cafes and restaurants are placed. Although there are some new brands that have several branches in different places like The House Café or Kitchenette, most of the bobo cafes are unique and small. The atmosphere of the cafes changes according to the neighborhood that they belong to. For example, cafes in Cihangir mostly have an old style with vintage furniture and high ceilings. Since Cihangir used to be a Greek neighborhood, the specific architectural style of the buildings creates a European atmosphere in the area. Most of the cafes have a hybrid atmosphere with high ceilings, renovated interior designs and old-style furniture composed with modern objects. Inhabitants of this neighborhood are composed of writers, painters or designers, but the majority work in the film industry. Firuzağa Kahvesi, the open air coffeehouse beside the mosque in the center of Cihangir, is a gathering place for actors, actresses, directors, script writers and other workers of the industry.

Cafes and pubs in Tünel, Asmalimescit and Galata have a different atmosphere, too. They used to be non-Muslim neighborhoods as well, so the architectural style is old like in Cihangir. But with brick walls and dim light, the places around are more gloomy. Thus, these neighborhoods are famous for their

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night life and live music clubs. For instance, *Babylon* in Asmalimescit-Tünel and *Nardis Jazz Café* in Galata are the two most famous music clubs in Istanbul. The pioneers of the gentrification in this area were painters and architects who had serious artistic sensibility. The population of musicians, writers and artists is more crowded compared to Cihangir, so the numbers of art events like exhibitions or live music performances are more common.

Tesvikiye – Nisantasi is one of the most elite neighborhoods in Istanbul. The architectural style is very elegant with Neo-Baroque style Tesvikiye Mosque and Art-Nouveau buildings. Although the district is home to many jet-set (rich and fashionable people) and settled bourgeois families, creative people with high-incomes like famous writers, painters, intellectuals, journalists and designers also live in this neighborhood. The district is renowned for luxury shops of famous brands appealing to high-end consumer groups. In general, living in this neighborhood seemed to be very costly but the boom in the house prices in other gentrified districts such as Cihangir and Galata makes Tesvikiye-Nisantasi more acceptable for the creative class. Thus, in recent years, the average rent prices between Cihangir and Tesvikiye are not much different although the Nisantasi houses are larger in size.[236] The high-toned atmosphere of the district affects the nature of the cafes and pubs. They don't have a bohemian style; rather they are more modern, fresh and luxurious.

[236] According to recent advertisements of a famous real estate agency website *Hurriyet Emlak*, monthly rent of a 120 m²/ 2+1 flat in Cihangir Akarsu Street is 3,250TL, whereas a 170 m2/4+1 flat in the Husrev Gerede Street in Nişantaşı costs 3,500 TL. Information derived from web site of newspaper *Hürriyet*'s real estate pages. Available [online]: http://www.hurriyetemlak.com/real_estate/residence/advertise_detail.php?ad_id=2318738 [10 August 2009].

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Examples of Bourgeois Bohemian Cafes in Istanbul[237]

Bobos Café Ortaköy

While writing about the Bobo cafes in Istanbul, it would be appropriate to start with the Bobos café which was opened specifically to appeal to bourgeois bohemians in the city. It was opened in 2002 in Ortaköy, is one of the gentrified districts in Istanbul. The gentrification process of this neighborhood gathered momentum between 1998 and 2002. From that time on, as the new popular leisure destination on the Bosphorus, Ortaköy started to host new cafes and restaurants. Thus, Bobos was one of these hip places. It was opened in a historical Ottoman house with a "neo-hippie" concept. They tried to create a relax atmosphere. The menu offered international and fusion cuisine. In a review of this café, the client profile was described as bourgeois bohemian and it was stated that the place recalled a 1960s style:

> Rich, well educated, environmentalist, intellectual, free, peaceful… Bohemian bourgeois, namely bobos: the name of a social class which combines the capitalist values of the bourgeois class and the hippie values of bohemian culture.
> Bobos who know how to avoid showing off while having a quality life; who know how to be comfortable without getting common; who do not spend much on cloths but go on weekend vacations out of town with last model jeeps; they now have a new place in Istanbul: Bobos.
> A place which aims to meet the needs of Bobos with its menu; in Ortaköy, right in between Beyoğlu, which is preferred by the artists, and Etiler where the wealthy people inhabits.
> The decoration of the place is designed by architect Emir Uras and bears the stamp of the 60s and 70s ambience of freedom. It looks like a modernized and "cleaned" hippy place with its long sofas, coffee tables, pillows and round lighting fixtures hanging down the ceiling.[238]

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[237] See Appendix D for photos of several cafes in Istanbul.

[238] Tuba Akyol, "Çok 'Bobo' Bir Mekan" *Milliyet Pazar*, 25 October 2002.

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However the Bobos cafe did not live long; another place The House café , which also targets creative people, opened a branch in place of the *Bobos*. There is no information available regarding the reason of its closure.

The House Cafe

The House Café branches are some of the most famous cafes in İstanbul. They can be acknowledged as the forerunner of the bourgeois bohemian style in the interior design of cafes in Turkey. The first branch of the café opened in Nisantasi in 2003 by three housemates who turned their flat into a café. The style of the café became very popular in a very short time and within six years they opened nine more branches in Istanbul. One of the three partners, Refik, narrated the story of the café as the following;

> In the beginning we aimed to be a petit café like "grandma's home" and decorated inside with second hand armchairs and long wooden tables. One of our friends is an interior designer and she renowated the house with preserving the original features of the historic architecture. We tried to "merge the old and the new", and wanted to create a natural atmosphere. Such a great admiration of people was a surprise for us. They liked the atmosphere of the café very much and even asked from their interior designers to construct their homes similar to "The House Café style." Other cafes started to imitate our style as well. Another innovation introduced by our café was the sharing of long tables by different people. At first, people found it strange to sit with other people that they did not know, but in time these tables turned

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Zengin, iyi eğitimli, çevreci, kültürlü, özgür, rahat... Bohem burjuvalar, yani bobolar; burjuvaların kapitalist değerleri ile bohem kültürünün hippi değerlerini bir araya getiren bir sosyal sınıfın adı.

Gösterişe kaçmadan kaliteli yaşamayı, avamlaşmadan rahat etmeyi bilen, kıyafete çok para harcamayan ama hafta sonu son model ciplerle şehir dışına giden boboların şimdi İstanbul'da yeni bir mekanı var: Bobos.

Sanatçıların gittiği Beyoğlu ile zenginlerin yaşadığı Etiler-Ulus arasında tam ortada, Ortaköy'de bulunan mekan dekorasyonundan mönüsüne boboların ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermeyi amaçlıyor.

Mekanın mimar Emir Uras imzasını taşıyan dekorasyonu 60'lı, 70'li yılların özgürlük ortamından izler taşıyor. Uzun sedirler, sehpalar, yastıklar, tavandan sarkan dairesel formlardaki aydınlatma elemanları modernize edilmiş ve "temizlenmiş" bir hippi mekanı görüntüsünde.

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> into trendy gathering places where people met with others while drinking their coffee. These trends are common in West, but we introduced them to Turkey by adding local touches.[239]
>
> (Refik, Age: 48 – Café owner)

The atmosphere of *The House Cafés* is quasi-bohemian. As Refik described, they merged provincial style with classic and modern touches. Thus, they created an eclectic style. The space of the cafes is mostly large and composed of different rooms and gardens. They chose historical buildings and they renovated them in a half-modern/half-original style. Every café has several long wooden tables which are thick but not shiny. They also use old-style armchairs and retro chandeliers. The interest in second-hand or vintage furniture is a common trend of bourgeois bohemian cafés. Brooks also acknowledges this trend and says that "Being truly modern is out of date; instead restaurants splatter paint on their floors and dent their tables with hammers to exude a lived-in feel."[240] In this sense, the House Cafe meets the bobo appetite for retro atmospheres.

Clients are free to eat the green apples, cookies and candies placed on the long tables. They can also buy homemade jam, cookies or ground coffee. These tricks are designed to create a home-like atmosphere. They define the menu as "international cuisine with a local touch."[241] They serve breakfast, salads, sandwiches, appetizers, main dishes, pizzas, dessert options and drinks. Items are served up in modern and minimal serving dishes. Some of the recipes reflect fusion cuisine, but they are not too experimental. What is extraordinary is the re-interpretation of local dishes with a

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[239] Refik, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 04 June 2009.

[240] Brooks. *Bobos in Paradise*, p. 94.

[241] Information derived from the web site of *The House Café*. Available [online]: *http://www.thehousecafe.com.tr/web/23%2C299%2C1%2C1/house_cafe_eng/menu/menu/menu* [15 June 2009].

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modernized style. For example, they serve "Lahmacun pizza". Lahmacun is a typical spicy Middle-Eastern dish made up from minced meat on thin dough. It iwas treated as a lowbrow food by the white Turks. Especially in the 1980s, after the involuntary migration of South-Eastern people to Istanbul, the bad smell of *lahmacun* and *kebap* was associated with the character of new migrants and attacked by the elite[242]. However, the new fusion culture embraced this dish simply by changing its name[243] and elevating its price. Thus, the House Café serves lahmacun pizza to the same elite customers who used to hate it due to its cultural connotations.

Because of the prices being expensive, the House Café appeals to people with upper income levels. In the beginning, most of the clients were members of the Bobo community but with the expansion of different branches in different neighborhoods, the client profile started to change. It is not only a bourgeois bohemian café any more. For example, one of my respondents, Arda, stated that he does not visit the House Café anymore because he thinks that with the establishment of different branches, the café lost its originality.[244]

One of the owners of the House Café, Refik, also stated that in the beginning they were serving elite people, but, in time, the customer composition started to diversify.[245] Hence, people from different segments of society come to the House Cafés in order "to see and to be seen." For upwardly mobile middle class members, going to these fancy cafes has a marker value. Although they cannot afford to buy

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[242] Bali, p. 136.

[243] In my opinion, re-naming *lahmacun* as *lahmacun-pizza* is a strategy to appeal elite customers since *pizza* sounds more modern and Western.

[244] Arda, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 03 April 2009.

[245] Refik, (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 04 June 2009.

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ultra-luxury cars or houses, they can join the rich coterie by spending time in these places. In one of the entries in the Eksi Sozluk,[246] it is pointed out that The House Café is a place where people can feel themselves in a more elite mood.

> (The house café) is the place where you can eat a true salmon salad. The long table is very amusing. For a while, you can jump up to a higher class at this table.[247]

To summarize, what makes the House café a Bobo place is its relaxed, quasi-bohemian but expensive atmosphere. However, with the opening of more branches, it is not regarded as a truly Bobo café any more.

It's a Joke

Another café that deserves to be called a bourgeois bohemian café is It's a Joke. This café is located on the top floor of the *City's* shopping mall in Nişantaşı. The owner of the café is Izzet Çapa, who has opened a lot of popular cafes and restaurants in Istanbul. Çapa claims that it's a Joke is the most creative café in Turkey. From the interior decoration to the uniforms of the staff, every item in the place has an extraordinary design. The place is decorated by the famous architect Mahmut Anlar. Although it is a first class café, neither the furniture nor the atmosphere is reminicent of a bourgeois space:

> The decoration is, of course, like a joke. Mahmut laid down all the floor tiles reversed. The marbles on the floor was set like parquets, and in between, they are red. The floor is simply the construction grout, but over the grout they drew the plan of the restaurant with some special technique which looks like

[246] Ekşi Sözlük or Sourtimes is an online dictionary. The entries are written by the member users most of whom are young educated professionals. It is one of the biggest internet communities in Turkey.

[247] Unknown author, 23. September 2006. *The House Café*. Available [online]: http://sozluk.sourtimes.org/?t=the+house+cafe [12 June 2009].

(The house Café) hakiki somon salatanın yenildiği mekandır. Büyük masa çok eğlencelidir. Bu masada kısa bir süreliğine sınıf atlayabilirsiniz.

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> drawn by stable chalk. For example, in kitchen, there are last technology refrigerators in the downstairs which look as if they are standing on the air; in the upstairs there are fiber cupboards like the meat safes in our mothers' houses.[248]

At the entrance there is an open air kitchen where the dishes are prepared by the chefs in front of the clients. At the left side, an African lady cooks cakes and desserts and serves them on the worktop. The tables were bought from second-hand stores and all of them are different. However, there are modern looking plastic seats around these tables. The armchairs are also second-hand, but re-covered with provincial fabrics. The colors of these fabrics are inspired by Turkish peasantry clothes. They are intentionally outmoded. At the entrance there is a rug that was sewed from pieces of old Turkish carpets. There is a big round pillar in the center of the place which is covered with glossy gems.

The dinnerware is also peculiar:

> Vine glasses are from London. Karim Rashid's design. All of the plates were brought from Italy. Think of the plastic plates and glasses used at picnics but they are porcelain. There are paper bags made of porcelain. Coffee glasses are too, plastic looking porcelain.[249]

Waiters working in the café were chosen from different professions and from those who had become bored from their previous jobs or professions:

> We put in a special job ad for the place. We wrote, if you are bored with your life, if you are unhappy with your job, if you are creative and looking for a

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[248] Unknown author, 15 October 2007. *İzzet Çapa ile It's a Joke*. Available [online]: http://www.haberler.com/izzet-capa-ile-it-s-a-joke-haberi [11 June 2009]

Dekorasyon tabii ki şaka gibi. Mahmut bütün fayansları ters döşedi. Yerdeki mermerler parke gibi döşendi. Araları kırmızı. Yer bildiğimiz inşaat şapı. Ama şapın üzerine çıkmayan tebeşir yazısı gibi duran bir teknikle restoranın projesini çiziyorlar. Mutfakta mesela alt kısımda son teknoloji, havada gibi duran buzdolapları var, üst kısımda ise anneannelerimizin evindeki tel dolaplar bulunuyor.

[249] Ibid.

Şarap bardakları Londra'dan. Karim Rashid tasarımı. Tabakların hepsi İtalya'dan geldi. Piknikte kullanılan plastik bardak ve tabakların porselenini düşünün. Porselenden kese kağıtları var. Kahve bardakları da plastik görünümlü porselen.

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> change, then come work with us as a waiter. Among the people we have employed, there is an archeologist, a sociologist, a mathematics teacher and a 55-year old house wife. Isn't that like a joke?[250]

The uniforms of the staff also deviate from the norm. Waitresses wear primary school uniforms which have a nostalgic nuance. On the other hand, waiters wear tight fabric pants and short-sleeved shirts. The un-orthodox part of their costume is the moccasin shoes worn on white socks. White socks call to mind lowbrow taste in Turkish society, but in this case they are appropriated. The owner Çapa states that "we will justify white socks in It's a joke; you will see that it doesn't seem ugly all times."[251] The costume of the lady chamberlain is also unusual. She wears a ring-shaped neon light on her hat.

The menu is designed like a primary school notebook. The dishes are hand-written and there are some scribbles and notes on the paper. The menu is quite rich, but also expensive. They create interesting tastes by mixing sweet and hot spices. They serve twenty kinds of martini that had never been tried in Turkey before. For example, they prepare a martini with pepper and Turkish delight.

To summarize It's a Joke is one of the most distinguished cafes in Istanbul. With its extra-ordinarily creative and eclectic atmosphere, it appeals to the bourgeois bohemian. However, this café is located in a Nişantaşı shopping mall and the prices are quite high so it mostly attracts the old rich rather than the artistic coterie. In other words, compared to other bohemian cafes, this place is more elitist. For these reasons

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[250] Unknown author, 15 October 2007. *İzzet Çapa ile It's a Joke*. Available [online]: http://www.haberler.com/izzet-capa-ile-it-s-a-joke-haberi [11 June 2009].

Biz bu mekan için özel bir gazete ilanı verdik. Hayatından sıkıldıysan, mutlu olmadığın bir iş yapıyorsan, yaratıcıysan ve değişiklik arıyorsan gel garson ol dedik. Seçtiklerimizin arasında bir arkeolog, bir sosyolog, bir matematik öğretmeni ve 55 yaşında bir ev hanımı var. Şaka gibi değil mi?

[251] Ibid.

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the client profile of It's a Joke is mostly composed of rich people. In this sense it cannot be regarded as a genuine Bobo café.

Susam Café

Cihangir is one the most gentrified neighborhoods of Istanbul where the creative class predominantly live. It is popular for its the fancy cafes, boutiques, bookstores and historic architecture. As the "third place" of the creative class, there are a lot of different cafes in this area. One of the well-known ones is the Susam Café which is located on the corner of Susam Street.

The owner the Susam café, Betül, said that they opened this place in 2005.[252] Her husband's sister also runs a café in Cihangir named Smyrna. She helped Betül with the decoration of the Susam Café. Both cafes are decorated in a retro style and have a bohemian character, which resembles the cafes in an East Village in New York.

The Susam café looks like a scene from an old movie. Some of the walls are covered with provincial style red wallpaper. The floor tiles are traditional style. The tables and the armchairs are different, but in harmony with each other. There are a lot of old objects and knickknacks on the walls or strewed on the shelves. For example, there is a red retro refrigerator on its back side and an old accordion hung on the wall. Behind the bar, there is a second-hand classic dinner table. On the right side there are a lot of ornaments and bibelots on a display case. Together with the retro chandelier, this stage looks like a "grandma's dining room." Outside the café there is also an open air sitting area with colorful seats.

[252] Betül (pseudonym), interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 19 June 2009.

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On the menu, they serve traditional Turkish cuisine and international cuisine. They serve, for example, Italian pasta or ravioli with porcini mushrooms, but they also serve "Mom's macaroni with yoghurt and minced meat." The Alacati breakfast with traditional Turkish cheese and homemade jams is the most favorite dish of this café. Betül said that they dislike fusion food, so they don't serve any of that kind. She also clarified that they are not keen on organic products because they think that there is not sufficient organic production in Turkey:

> In Turkey, when people see a product with shiny package and expensive price tag, they believe that crops are organic, but they are not. We don't use organic foods in our café because we don't believe in the reliability of organic production in Turkey. Only trustable way is to going to the ecologic market in Şişli. Yet, it is not enough to meet our needs.
>
> (Betül, Age:38 – Café Owner)

The client profile of the Susam Café is genuinely bourgeois bohemian. They are the local writers, actors, actresses, photographers, advertisers and script writers. There are also a lot of foreign residents visiting the café. In short, the Susam Café is one of the favorite "third places" of the creative class living in Cihangir.

To conclude, cafes are an important part of bourgeois bohemian life. They offer a place to rest, to work and to meet with other people. With their outstanding style, they also provide a place for distinction. In this sense, every Bobo café has a marker value. Although they are identical in their creative and quasi-bohemian character, each of them has specific aspects so they are not on the same level. Some of them are more bohemian whereas others are more bourgeois.

The client profile and atmosphere change according to the locality. The ones that are built in bourgeois neighborhoods such as Nisantasi and Tesvikiye are more luxurious and likely to offer extra ordinary amenities to attract rich people. It's a joke, Long Table and the House Café are examples of this kind. On the other hand,

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the cafes in the gentrified districts where the density of the creative population is high are more bohemian and unpretentious. Places in Cihangir and Galata such as Susam Café, Smyrna, Mavra or the Food Lab Apparel are good examples of this category. All in all, either more bourgeois or more bohemian, these fancy places entertain the bourgeois bohemians in Istanbul and provide them a space of distinction.

Spaces and Distinction

Use of Space as a Source of Distinction

"Place is becoming an important source of status.
To some extent this has always been true."[253]

Similar to food consumption or cultural consumption, spatial consumption has a value for social distinction. There is distance between different classes in terms of geography; hence people choose their living spaces according to their socio-cultural and financial priorities. Ordinary upper class citizens prefer to live in elegant neighborhoods where social and infrastructural facilities are enhanced. However bourgeois bohemians demand more features from the place in which they live.

Florida uses the term creative class instead of Bobos and he argues that these people chose to live in creative places. The traditional theories assert that economic wellbeing, access to natural resources and transportation routes are the determinants of place preferences. However, Florida claims that these factors are not crucial in the spatial decisions of the creative class; instead, they look for "high quality amenities and experiences, openness to diversity of all kinds and the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people."[254] Among these amenities, he counts

[253] Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 230.

[254] Ibid., p. 218.

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neighborhood art galleries, performance spaces, theatres, interesting music venues like small jazz and music clubs and all kinds of nightlife options. The presence of "third places" like book stores and cafés for social interaction also charm creative people. He argues that most of the creative people live alone and bound up to freelance job, so cafes stand as the third places between home and work. For this reason, they like to live in the districts offering rich third place options.[255]

Openness to diversity is another condition that Florida takes into account. He states that creative people expect diversity and open-mindedness from the place they live in. For him, the signs of diversity are the presence of "different ethnic groups and races, different ages, different sexual orientations and alternative appearances".[256]

> Diversity also means "excitement" and "energy." Creative-minded people enjoy a mix of influences. They want to hear different kinds of music and try different kinds of food. They want to meet and socialize with people unlike themselves, to trade views and spar over issues.

The authenticity of places also influences the locality preferences of the creative class, says Florida. Renovated historic buildings, gentrified neighborhoods and specific cultural qualities are attractive for them. In short, Florida claims that creative people prefer to live in the places that are "diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas" and their location preferences determine the regional economic growth.[257]

Creative class or -in other words Bobos, - actively participate in the development of the place in which they live. The way they construct their houses or the way they live

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[255] Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 226.

[256] Ibid.

[257] Ibid., p. 223.

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in that geography shapes the appearance and the aura of the neighborhood. In this respect, it is crucial to focus on the term "gentrification." However, a detailed analysis of gentrification theories and gentrification processes in Istanbul is beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, there are a lot of studies that already focused on this phenomenon. Yet, in the following section, I aim to mention briefly the gentrification circumstances in Istanbul and clarify the importance of gentrified areas as the homelands of bourgeois bohemians in Turkey.

Gentrification in Istanbul

In the post-1980s period, as a result of increasing population and housing problems, middle or upper class families in Istanbul started to move to the periphery of the city. In this transformation, the enhancement of transportation facilities together with the construction of second Bosphorus Bridge played an important role.[258] These new luxury structures appealed mostly the rich people who don't hesitate to live outside the city in a gated style.

Alongside this development, the old city centers, especially those which had historical architecture, started to attract educated higher income groups. These places are mostly the old multi-ethnic neighborhoods that non-Muslim communities used to live. The nationalization policies of the Turkish Republic lead to migration of those citizens outside the country. In place of them, the new immigrant lower class populace moved to these districts. In that period the physical structure of these localities corroded due to the lack of financial and socio-cultural insufficiencies. However, after the 1980s, the fate of these neighborhoods started to change with the "new comers." The new inhabitants mostly consisted of educated professionals that

[258] Nilgun Ergun, "Gentrification in Istanbul' *Cities* 21, no. 5 (2004), p. 391.

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are rich in terms of cultural and financial capital. In other words, they were the bourgeois bohemians of Istanbul.

The forerunners of gentrification movements were the visual artists, who were in search for cheap but special buildings in order to open art studios and galleries. There were also some architects who came to these areas to renovate old historic buildings for personal use. After the arrival of these people, their friends or colleagues also came in these shabby places and recovered old structures. Thereafter, new cultural amenities started to be open around. In a short time, this dynamic change attracted upper income groups and those people started to flood in those areas. As a result places turned into the new markers of bourgeois bohemian life. However, the recovery process adversely affected the old residents. The socio-cultural composition changed and rent prices increased enormously. Most of the house owners could not get along with the new socio-cultural atmosphere and they either sold their properties to the real estate brokers or rent them to new comers with high interest rates. The old tenants left their homes and involuntarily moved to cheaper districts. Even more, some of the forerunner artists, who previously arrived there for lower rental charges, had to leave these areas because they could not afford new prices as well.

Although the gentrification movements started after the 1970s in the global context, it started in Istanbul after the 1980s and has gained momentum in the post-2000 period. The first neighborhoods that witnessed structural change were Kuzguncuk and Ortaköy.[259] There after the districts around Taksim such as Beyoğlu, Cihangir, Çukurcuma, Galata, Tünel and Asmalimescit were subjected to gentrification. On the other hand, old neighborhoods in the historic peninsula like

[259] Ergun, p. 393.

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Fener-Balat and other coastal districts like Arnavutköy have passed through similar processes.[260] That is to say, most of the historic neighborhoods of Istanbul, -especially the ones architectural and logistic advantage- have been "invaded" by the new educated upper class.

Gentrified Neighborhoods as the Homelands of Bourgeois Bohemians

Since it is beyond the scope of this study, I cannot describe the transformation process of every gentrified district in Istanbul. Rather, I want to clarify the importance of some gentrified areas as the living space of the bourgeois bohemians in Istanbul. Furthermore, I want to examine the reasons behind this choice.
As Florida makes it clear, creative people prefer to live in places that have rich cultural amenities, that are open to diversity with different ethnic or religious groups and, that have an authentic character with historic architecture. All these preconditions are available in some of the gentrified neighborhoods of Istanbul especially in Cihangir, Tünel, Galata and Teşvikiye-Nişantaşı. In particular, the gentrified neighborhoods around Taksim are close to each other and have shared characteristics. They are like a beehive for bohemian people.

There are a lot of writers, actors, actresses, photographers, advertisers and script writers residing in this area. They prefer to live in these fancy neighborhoods because they offer special urban amenities. They are located in the urban core of Istanbul and they are close to Taksim Meydanı which is one of the most important public squares and transportation hubs in Istanbul. Furthermore, these areas are full of historic buildings, most of which have been renovated recently. Although the

[260] See Appendix E for a map of gentrification areas in Istanbul.

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majority of the old residents have gone, these neighborhoods are still multi-cultural centers where socially diverse people freely cluster. More importantly, with art galleries, bookstores, fashion boutiques, and music clubs they are the heart of Istanbul's cultural life. All of these characteristics attract bourgeois bohemians in Istanbul, and they distinguish them selves with the distinguished identity of these places.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In recent decades there has been a rising interest in upper class studies in the world. However, not very many studies concerning the Turkish upper class structuring have been done. Only a few Turkish writers have directed their research toward this topic. Hayri Kozanoğlu, Nurdan Gürbilek, Rıfat Bali, and Ali Şimşek are among those who have written about the new elite or the new middle classes in Turkey; however, their studies either have concentrated on the socio-cultural changes of the post-1980 era or describe Yuppies, but do not offer a complete picture about contemporary upper class formations in Turkey.

The Turkish bourgeois bohemians are one of the new wealthy groups in Turkey and they distinguish themselves from the settled bourgeoisie and the middle class. They present a different life style and they create new distinction codes by merging intellectual accumulation with financial success. This code changes the norms for becoming part of the upper class. In this respect, this study is a crucial step to understand the current changes in the social life of Turkey.

Istanbul is one of the most interesting cities in the world. With its rich urban amenities, fancy neighborhoods, historic buildings, art galleries, bookstores, fashion boutiques, music clubs and multi-cultural aura, it is an attractive place for creative people. Bourgeois bohemians are both the actors and the creators of this scene. For this reason, I focused on Istanbul while examining the manifestations of bourgeois bohemian life style in Turkey.

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Throughout the study I made observations on the recent socio-cultural changes in Istanbul. I especially questioned the developments in gentrified neighborhoods and popular "third places" like cafes and the new style of shopping areas. In that process I interviewed a sample group of people, half of which were well-known journalists, musicians, designers, actors and actresses. I chose to talk with popular people who admired the bourgeois bohemian life style, because they have a leading role in spreading of new trends.

This study argues that in the post-1980s period most of the old leftist activists or intellectuals adapted to the neo-liberal socio-economic order. Especially the media and advertisement sectors became the new work areas of the knowledge class of the left. Thanks to their intellectual and creative capital, many of them enhanced their financial conditions and gained social status. However, after meeting with wealth, they did not want to be bound to the status quo that they formerly had criticized. In the face of tension between ideological values and pecuniary dispositions, they found a third way and they merged the symbols of dissent with the signifiers of wealth. They claimed to be critical of the capitalist system while adopting a luxurious life style. To distinguish from the settled bourgeoisie and the nouveau riches, they created a quasi-artistic, but at the same time elegant, life style. This process was the story preceding the emergence of the bourgeois bohemian class in Turkey.

After the 1990s, intellectual and creative people met with new job opportunities with the rise of creative and knowledge-based sectors. The culture industry, media, informatics, education, arts, architectural design, interior design, music and entertainment have become the popular work areas. Not the engineers or the doctors, but the advertisers, artists, actors/actresses, movie makers, journalists and all kinds of designers have become the role models of upwardly mobile Turkish

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youth. Journalists, intellectuals, academics and novelists are the new celebrities. They have left their bohemian ivory towers and moved to renovated houses with high ceilings in the fancy neighborhoods of Istanbul. These educated, intellectual and creative newly wealthy transformed themselves into the bourgeois bohemians of Turkey. Hence, they stand as one of the most prominent upper class factions in this country.

This study examines the consumption philosophy of Bobos in Turkey to find out the distinction codes they present. In this respect, it is argued that, contrary to the other middle or upper classes, bourgeois bohemians in Turkey don't like to show off their wealth through the conspicuous consumption of branded goods. They think that it is rude and pretentious to display expensive brand labels on their clothes or accessories. Intentionally, this is a reaction against the brand obsession that has become widespread among the other classes in recent decades. That means that buying luxury brands is no longer a powerful status signifier among the Bobos in Turkey. Instead, they spend money on products that show their cultural and intellectual capital. In this respect, shopping from haute couture boutiques, designer or museum shops and vintages stores gains credit. On the other hand, they like to buy cheap but rare items. They enjoy exploring second-hand stores or authentic artisan ateliers. In this way, they demonstrate aesthetic taste and they create distinction by buying selected products that are uncommon. All in all, the whole process of shopping is turned into an adventure of self-exploration and self-determination for them.

The results of the interviews showed that to prove and to improve their intellectual capital, Bobos in Turkey heavily depend on cultural consumption. Their literacy rate is high. They show great concern for books, newspapers and journals.

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They also follow art events and festivals on the global level. They especially highlight their affinity with the Western arts and press. The emphasis on the knowledge of Western culture alludes to "modern identity" because "modernization" is equated with "Westernization" in Turkey.

Another topic of this study was the relation between distinction and social origin and/or family background. In the past, inherited nobility was an important source of social distinction (somewhat this has always been true). The aristocratic class or the bourgeoisie used to have a homogeneous contexture in terms of the social origins of its members. However, beginning from the twentieth century, upper class compositions have changed dramatically. Education and meritocracy became the new stimulus for upward mobility.

In Turkey, the composition of the upper class has diversified as well. A few people are descended from the Ottoman aristocratic class –the ruling class. There is also a group of bourgeoisie that is bound up with the Republican elite. The rest of the upper class mostly covers provincial merchants and entrepreneurs who thrived after multi-party period or newly wealthy of the post-1980s period. However, a conflict between "the old money" and "the new money" has emerged. On that account, the old bourgeoisie highlights their urban origin, educational capital and cultural taste as the essential elements of being elite. They also criticize the newly wealthy of being ill-mannered and lowbrow. As a result, rural-originated people feel ashamed of their family backgrounds and try to conceal them.

However, this study suggests that bourgeois bohemians in Turkey have introduced a different perspective about their social origins and family backgrounds. As in line with other upper class factions, Bobos in Turkey come from different economic, social or ethnic origins. However, what makes them different from the

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other new upper classes is their ability to present a "shiny personal history" even if they are of rural or provincial origins.

In this paper, this behavior is called the "invention of personal history." According to this strategy, Bobos who don't have a noble family background narrate their personal history in an authentic way. For example, if one's origin is tied up with provincial life, the naturalness and exoticism is presented as something very special. Furthermore, there is more emphasis on "different combinations" rather than pure social ties. Coming from a multicultural family can be reflected as more authentic than a mono-cultural one. Religious and ethnic combinations also enhance the chance for distinction. Here, the matter is inventing a distinctive history and exhibiting it in an attractive way. In short, bourgeois bohemians in Turkey create a new distinction code through their family background by narrating an authentic personal history.

This study also presents an examination of the contemporary culinary trends in Turkey. Food culture has been a source of social distinction throughout the ages. The practice of eating is regarded as an act of necessity for the lower classes, but a luxury for the upper classes.[261] However, the category of prestigious food is being transformed. Exotic, authentic, provincial and organic food have gained credit, instead of purified and luxury food. In this respect, the eating behavior of the bourgeois bohemians in Turkey is diversified from that of the other upper classes. Firstly, they regard eating as an adventure to explore new tastes. They want to develop their culinary taste through experiment and education. In this way they search for different culinary traditions. Most of them admire fusion cuisine because it serves experimental food by re-interpreting traditional recipes.

[261] Bourdieu, "Taste of Luxury, Taste of Necessity," p. 73.

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On the other hand, they like rough and natural products. They mostly prefer organic food because with the costliness and exclusivity of these products, they signal cultural identity, concern for health, and the ability to buy expensive goods. On the other hand, bourgeois bohemians in Turkey –both men and women- tend to cook at home for enjoyment, because they recognize that in recent years knowledge about cooking has been turned into a form of cultural capital. However, they don't like to cook traditional Turkish food; instead they try different culinary traditions to show how "cultured" they are. In other words, this study suggests that the new trend of "cooking at home", is a strategy of distinction for Bobos in Turkey.

The "café flaneurship" of Turkish Bobos was also examined in this thesis. During this study, it was observed that cafes are an important part of the bourgeois bohemian life. They offer a place to rest, to work and to meet with other people. With their outstanding style, they also provide a place for distinction. In this sense every Bobo café has a marker value. Most of these cafes are gathered in cosmopolitan neighborhoods, especially in Cihangir, Taksim, Tünel, Asmalimescit, Galata and Tesvikiye-Nisantasi. Although these cafes are identical in their creative and quasi-bohemian character, each of them has specific aspects of difference. Some of them are more bohemian whereas others are more bourgeois. For example, the ones in bourgeois neighborhoods such as Nisantasi and Tesvikiye are more luxurious; whereas the others placed in the gentrified districts are more bohemian and unpretentious. All in all, either more bourgeois or more bohemian, these fancy places entertain the bourgeois bohemians in Istanbul and provide them a space of distinction.

Lastly, in this thesis it was argued that spatial consumption has a value for social distinction and with their different place preferences. Bobos in Turkey

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distinguish themselves from the other upper classes. Ordinary wealthy people prefer to live in the elegant neighborhoods where social and infrastructural facilities are enhanced. They either move to the luxury villas constructed far from the city center or move to residences in the skyscrapers of business districts. However, bourgeois bohemians don't like to live in gated communities. They prefer to live in places that are "diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas"[262] In this respect, Bobos reside in gentrified neighborhoods of Istanbul like Cihangir, Çukurcuma, Galata, Tünel and Asmalimescit, Kuzguncuk or Fener-Balat. Furthermore, they actively participate in the gentrification process; however this process adversely affects the old residents. With the escalation of real estate prices, old tenants leave their homes and involuntarily move to cheaper districts. The house owners also cannot get along with the new socio-cultural atmosphere so in most cases they sell their properties to real estate brokers.

To conclude, throughout this study we observe that the composition of the upper class structure in Turkey is diversified. Furthermore, it was also recognized that the strategies of becoming part of the upper class and distinguishing from other classes have changed. In this respect, it was indicated that creative and intellectual capital is the most important tool of distinction in the contemporary upper class formation.

The bourgeois bohemians are one of the developing wealthy groups in Turkey. With their distinguished lifestyle, they create new status codes; and these new codes influence upper class life in Turkey. In this respect, a study on Bobos in Turkey was vital to understand current changes in the social stratosphere of the country. However, the scope of this master thesis was not enough to comment on every aspect

[262] Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 223.

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of bourgeois bohemian life in Turkey. Further study is necessary to examine other behaviors and other distinction codes. In this respect analyzing work life, leisure activities, tourism, political participation and spiritual life of the creative class would be fruitful. I think further researches about more contemporary transformations of class structures in Turkey can be very important. Only in that way we will be able to develop more effective solutions to social disputes and discriminations in Turkey.

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APPENDIX A: Profile of The Interviewees

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Education	Occupation	Place of Residence		Monthly Income	
					Home	Workplace	Personal	Compared to Parents
1. Gamze	32	F	Bachelor's	Advertiser	Tünel	Cihangir	2.000-5.000 TL	Better
2. Mehmet	35	M	M. S.	Director	Tesvikiye	Cihangir	5.000-10.000 TL	Much Better
3. Erdal	41	M	M.S.	Gourmet-Writer	Galata	Freelance	2.000-5.000 TL	Same
4. Hamdi	42	M	Bachelor's	Journalist	Home-Office Tesvikiye		10.000-50.000 TL	Much Better
5. Emre	30	M	M.S.	Columnist	Home-Office Levent		10.000-50.000 TL	Better
6. Yener	40	M	M.S.	Designer and Visual Artist	Home-Office Teşvikiye		5.000-10.000	Same
7. Suat	40	M	Bachelor's	Painter and Musician	Home-Studio Cihangir		2.000-5.000 TL	Same

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8. Adem	41	M	Bachelor's	Opera Artist and Composer	Home-Studio Tesvikiye and Los Angeles		10.000-50.000 TL	Much Better
9. Deniz	38	F	Bachelor's	Photographer	Home-Studio Nişantaşı		5.000-10.000 TL	Same
10. Kemal	61	M	Bachelor's	Café, Restaurant, Bar Owner (Entepreneur)	Nişantaşı	Unknown	50.000 and more TL	Much Better
11. Refik	48	M	Bachelor's	Designer and Café Owner	Galata	Balat	50.000 and more TL	Much Better
12. Soner	49	M	M.S.	Actor, Film Producer and Writer	Akaretler	Freelance	5.000-10.000 TL	Same
13. Meltem	31	F	PhD	Actress and Poet	Salacak	Freelance	5.000-10.000 TL	Same
14. Sedat	41	M	Bachelor's	TV Programmer and Columnist	Nişantaşı	Topkapı	10.000-50.000 TL	Much Better
15. Şeyda	38	F	M.S.	Stage and Costume Designer	Kuzguncuk	Taksim	5.000-10.000 TL	Same
16. İlker	38	M	PhD	Interior Designer and Academician	Çukurcuma	Çukurcuma	10.000-50.000 TL	Same

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17. Arda	39	M	Bachelor's	TV Programmer	Cihangir	Taksim	10.000-50.000 TL	Much Better
18. Ali	46	M	Middle School	Director and Film Producer	Cihangir	Cihangir	50.000 and more TL	Much Better
19. Gönül	45	F	M.S.	Costume Designer	Tesvikiye	Maslak	10.000-50.0000 TL	Same
20. Betül	38	F	Bachelor's	Café Owner	Cihangir	Cihangir	5.000-10.000 TL	Better
21. Tekin	36	M	M.S.	Writer and Academician	Balat	Eyüp	10.000-50.000 TL	Better
22. Seda	29	F	Bachelor's	Web Designer	Galata	Mecidiyeköy	2.000-5.000 TL	Same

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APPENDIX B:

B.1 Interview Questions for Bobos

A- KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

1- İsim, cinsiyet ve yaş bilgisi.
2- Hiç evlendiniz mi? Çocuklarınız var mı?
3- Eğitim geçmişinizi anlatır mısınız?
4- Anne- babanızın eğitim durumu ve mesleği neydi?
5- Nerede büyüdünüz?

B- İŞ YAŞAMI

6- Mesleğiniz nedir? Aldığınız üniversite eğitimi ile direk ilgili bir iş mi? Kaç yıldır bu işi yapıyorsunuz?
7- Kendi işiniz mi? (yoksa çalışan mısınız?)
8- Bu mesleği tercih etme sebebiniz nedir? İşinizde mutlu musunuz?
9- İşinizle hayat tarzınız ne ölçüde örtüşüyor?
10- Parasal faktörler olmasa da yine bu işi tercih eder miydiniz?
11- Başarılı olmanızda hangi özelliklerinizin katkısı var?
12- İşlerinizi yaparken ne kar özgürsünüz? Neleri kısıtlama olarak algılarsınız? (İş yerinizde rahatsız edici düzeyde bir hiyerarşi var mı?)
13- İş saatleriniz nasıl; esnek mi, düzenli mi? Sizce hangisi daha iyi?
14- Gelir durumunuz nasıl? (a. 2.000-5.000 / b. 5.000-10.000 / c. 10.000-50.000/ d.50.000-üstü) Ailenizin gelir durumuna kıyasla nasıl? (a. Daha kötü / b. Pek fark yok / c. Daha iyi / d. Çok daha iyi)
15- Yaşam tarzınızın oluşmasında para nereye kadar önemli?
16- Bu işi ne zaman bırakmayı düşünüyorsunuz? Sonrası için planlarınız var mı?
17- İş yerlerinizden ve çalışma alanlarınızdan söz eder misiniz? Kendi başınıza çalışmanız gerektiğinde nereyi tercih ediyorsunuz? Çalışmak üzere kafelere veya özel tatillere gider misiniz?

C- YAŞAM ALANLARI

18- Hangi semtte oturuyorsunuz? Burayı tercih etme sebepleriniz neler? Özellikle buranın dışında yaşamak isteyeceğiniz yerler var mı?
19- Hangi tarz evlerden hoşlanıyorsunuz? Kendi evinizden bahseder misiniz? (Ev sizin için nedir? Evinizin tarzı nasıl? Evde sizin için özel olan bir şeyler var mı?)
20- Dekorasyonla aranız nasıl? (Sevdiğiniz tarzlar var mı? Eski eşya merakınız var mı?)

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D- TÜKETİM

a. Tüketim Felsefesi

21- Alış verişle aranız nasıl? Son zamanlarda aldığınız enteresan bir şey var mı? Markalara karşı özel bir itirazınız var mı? Kabul görmüş mağazaların dışına taştığınız olur mu?
22- Para harcarken nelere dikkat edersiniz? Nasıl bir tüketim felsefeniz var?

b. Yemek Alışkanlıkları

23- Yemek alışkanlıklarınızdan ve tercihlerinizden bahseder misiniz? Deneyime açık mısınız? Favori mutfağınız hangisi? Kendiniz yemek yapar mısınız? (Evetse) en iyi hangi yemeği yaparsınız?
24- Favori cafe ve restoranlarınız hangileri? Özel olarak sevdiğiniz salaş mekânlar var mı?
25- Organik ve çevreye duyarlı ürünler konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? (Özellikle bunları tercih ediyor musunuz?)

c. Sağlık

26- Bedeninizle ve sağlığınızla aranız nasıl? (Beslenmenize çok dikkat eder misiniz? Düzenli kontrole gider misiniz? Sigara-alkol tüketiminiz nasıl?) Spor yapar mısınız? Ne tür?

E- EĞLENME

27- Eğlenmek için neler yaparsınız? Peki, neler yapmazsınız?
28- Zaman zaman eğlenceyle işi birleştirdiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz?
29- İş dışına taşan bir ilgi alanınız var mı?

F- BASIN-YAYIN

30- Günde ortalama kaç gazete takip ediyorsunuz? Sevdiğiniz köşe yazarları?

31- Televizyonla aranız nasıl? Günde yaklaşık kaç saat seyrediyorsunuz? Hangi kanallar, ne tür programlar?

32- Yabancı yayınları takip ediyor musunuz?
33- Düzenli izlediğiniz dergiler var mı?

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G- KÜLTÜR-SANAT

34- Sanatla aranız nasıl? En sık katıldığınız kültürel aktiviteler nelerdir?

35- Son yıllarda hoşunuza giden 3 film ve 3 kitap? Çok satanlara karşı bir duruşunuz var mı?

36- Popüler kültürle aranız nasıldır?

37- Sevdiğiniz müzik türleri nelerdir?

H- POLİTİKA

38- Politik gündemi çok yakından takip eder misiniz?

39- Politik olarak kendinizi sağa mı yoksa sola mı daha yakın hissediyorsunuz?

a. Muhafazakâr
b. Muhafazakâr Demokrat
c. Liberal
d. Kemalist
e. Sosyal Demokrat
f. Sosyalist
g. Diğer

40- Bu gün ya da geçmişte herhangi bir politik grup içinde aktif olarak yer aldınız mı?

İ- TURİZM

41- Ne tür tatillerden hoşlanıyorsunuz? (Sakin ve dinlendirici mi, çılgın, egzotik ve deneyime açık mı?)

42- En sevdiğiniz tatil yöreleri nereler? (Her sene aynı bölgede mi yoksa sürekli farklı bölgelerde mi tatil yaparsınız?)

J- MANEVİ HAYAT

43- Dine mesafeniz nedir? New age dinler veya sufizm hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Meditasyon, Yoga, Reiki veya Pilates yapmanın faydalı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

44- Batıl inançlarınız var mı? Burçlara inanıyor musunuz?

K- GELECEK

45- Nasıl bir gelecek beklentiniz var? Umutlu musunuz karamsar mı?

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APPENDIX B

B.2: Interview Questions for the Café Owners

1. Bu kafenin açılış hikâyesini anlatır mısınız?

2. Nasıl bir atmosfer yaratmak istediniz?

3. Dekorasyon stilini anlatır mısınız? Neden bu tarzı tercih ettiniz?

4. Menüyü oluştururken nelere dikkat ettiniz? Yemek tarzınızı nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz?

5. Organik ürünler konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Servis ettiğiniz ürünler organik mi?

6. Müşteri kitlenizden söz eder misiniz? Buraya daha çok hangi kesimden insanlar geliyor?

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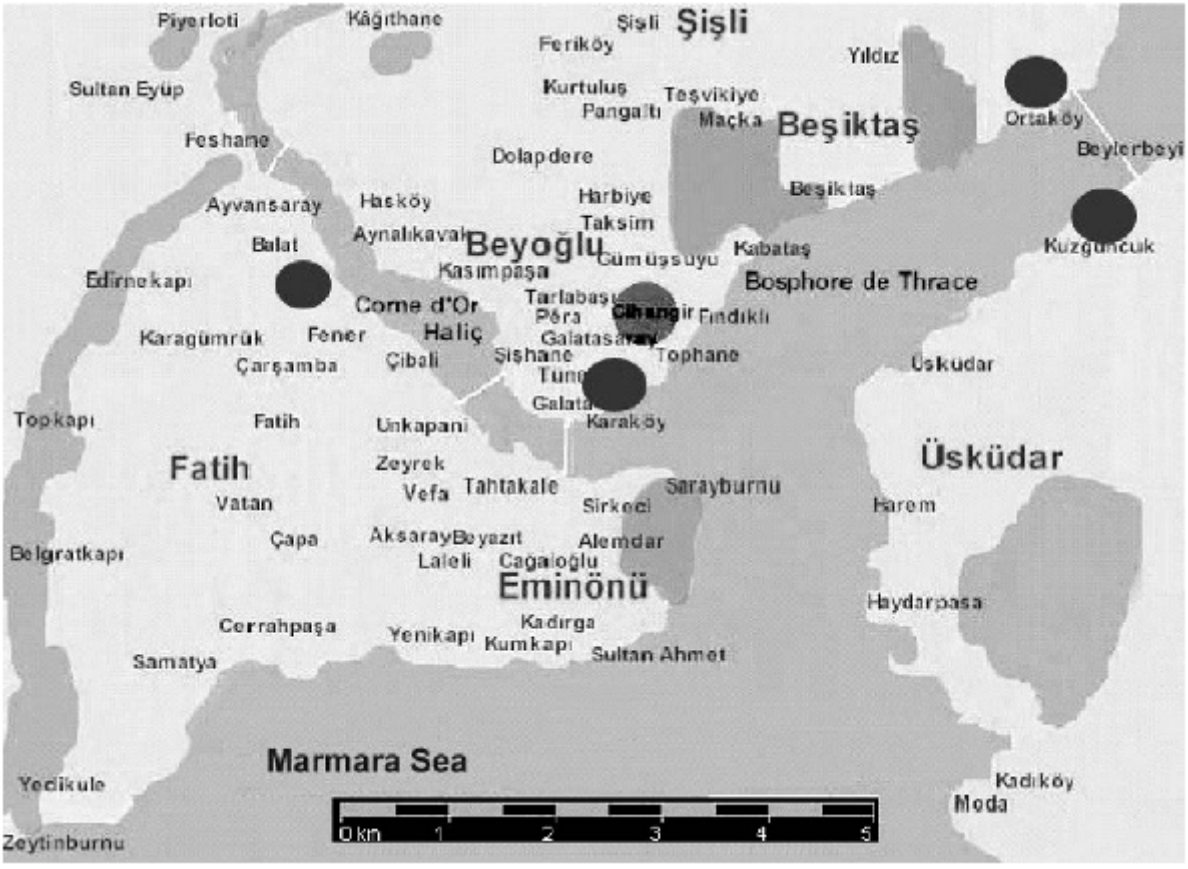






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APPENDIX E: Gentrification Map of Istanbul



Gentrification areas of Istanbul[1].

[1] This map is derived from Nilgun Ergun, "Gentrification in Istanbul' *Cities* Vol. 21 No. 5 (2004), p. 393

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