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An Attempt of Measuring Art Taste of a Group of Music Students in Ankara*

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Abstract: Since its first publication in 1979, Bourdieu's prominent work called titled *Distinction* has been admired, imitated and discussed. By tracing the original study conducted by Bourdieu to measure the tastes and sticking to the later study in Britain which is more applicable and easier to operationalize, this study aims to question art tastes of *bağlama* students regularly attending to an urban-based music school in Kızılay/Ankara. Most importantly, it is aimed to provide a meaningful and valid methodological formulation in Turkish context to observe art tastes of music receivers regarding their economic, social, and cultural capitals. Considering the reason that musical field plays a crucial role in the analysis of Bourdieu and it has a very distinctive characteristic in the survey design conducted in Britain, this study intended to contribute in many ways to the further studies in the fields of cultural consumption and taste studies based on musical preferences in Turkey.

Keywords: Art Taste, Music Receivers, Turkey, Methodological Contribution

Ankara'daki Bir Grup Müzik Öğrencisinin Sanat Beğenisini Ölçmeye Dair Çalışma

Özet: 1979'da ilk kez yayımlanmasından bu yana, Bourdieu'nün öncül kitabı olan *Distinction* beğenilmiş, taklit edilmiş ve tartışılmıştır. Beğenileri analiz etmek için Bourdieu tarafından yapılmış ilk orijinal çalışmanın izinden gidip, daha sonra İngiltere'de yapılan, daha uygulanabilir ve operasyonel hale getirmesi daha kolay olan çalışmaya bağlı kalarak bu çalışma Ankara – Kızılay kent merkezli bir müzik okulunda düzenli olarak bağlama dersi alan öğrencilerin sanat beğenilerini sorgulamayı hedeflemektedir. En önemlisi, müzik alıcılarının sanat beğenilerini ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel sermayeleri bakımından gözlemlemeyi sağlayacak Türkiye kontekstinde anlamlı ve geçerli metodolojik bir formül sunmak hedeflenmektedir. Müzik alanının Bourdieu'nün analizinde çok önemli bir rol oynadığını ve İngiltere'de yapılan anket tasarımında ayırt edici bir karakteristiğe sahip olduğunu göz önünde bulundurarak, bu çalışma, Türkiye'de müzikal tercihlere dayalı kültürel tüketim ve beğeni alanlarında ileride yapılacak olan çalışmalara birçok yönden katkı sunmayı niyet edinmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sanat Beğenisi, Müzik Alıcıları, Türkiye, Metodolojik Katkı

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Introduction

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

Definitions allow us to handle perspectives. Perspectives, on the other hand, allow us to grasp methodologies. So, how we define something (for instance, art taste) is related to how we study it and how we try to grasp it. From this point of view, definitions become more important for the sake of this study proposing a methodological attempt to measure art taste of a group of music students in Ankara. When discussing about tastes, Bourdieu states the following expressions about taste and classifiers:

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

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

Starting from the 1990s and increasing in the number of studies in 2000s, cultural consumption with regard to musical taste has become one of the major areas of the 21st century sociology. Respectively, important studies were conducted in France, America and the UK. Therefore, it is not possible to stay indifferent to such an important field of sociology as it gains importance in the last decades. Regarding the fields of Sociology of Taste and cultural consumption, Bourdieu has a distinctive place. Growing importance of musical preferences in sociological investigations and recent trends in the Sociology of Taste, primarily affected by Bourdieu, are remarkable. Therefore, in the following section, mentioning and/or discussing methodological and theoretical foundations posed in *Distinction* ([1979] 1984) by Bourdieu, critiques against Bourdieu’s work and studies aiming to operationalize the measurement of cul-

tural tastes will help us to understand the importance of Bourdieu's prominent work called *Distinction* and realize critiques and debates after *Distinction*. Then, based on the arguments in the following section titled as "Taste and Cultural Consumption: Bourdieu's Distinction and Beyond", it is aimed to develop a methodological tool adapted to Turkey in order to assess art taste of a group of music students in an urban based music school in Ankara.

Taste and Cultural Consumption: Bourdieu's Distinction and Beyond

Bourdieu has been a pioneering sociologist regarding his contributions to the measurement of tastes and cultural capital of people demonstrating differences according to different social classes. He is especially appreciated by his prominent book titled *Distinction* ([1979] 1984). However, before focusing on *Distinction*, it would be better to concentrate on previous works by Bourdieu. *The Love of Art* (1969/1991) aims to provide statistical data about visiting art galleries in Europe. Besides, it purposes the differences regarding appreciation of high art in different socio – economic classes. According to Bourdieu, those who represent the working class are less likely to visit art galleries because of their lack of necessary knowledge to appreciate art works exhibited in the art galleries. In *the Love of Art*, Bourdieu addresses high art and culture as a practically outstanding character. In *Photography: A Middlebrow Art* (1965/1990), Bourdieu attempts to make correlations between the choice of pictures taken and the social class of the related photographers. At this point, it is crucial to note that as opposed to the perception of art in the Middle Ages, today, the beauty and aesthetics have independent characters from the interest and benefits of certain groups and/or structures corresponding to the understanding of Kantian aesthetics. In *Photography: A Middlebrow Art*, Bourdieu concentrates on the different pictures taken by various social classes. For instance, working class people prefer to take functional pictures to illustrate certain occurrences such as baptism.

Distinction might be considered as a more massive and significant book affected by the other previous works mentioned. Alexander exemplifies different questioning of Bourdieu based on differences in the tastes of people representing different social groupings:

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

Since its first publication in 1979, *Distinction* has been admired, imitated and discussed while also being criticized in many aspects, primarily based on theoretical and empirical grounds. Bourdieu has been mainly accused of following a reductive sociology and overemphasizing elite tastes.

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

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

To continue, for Bourdieu, “what is called ‘creation’ is the encounter between a socially constituted habitus and a particular position that is already instituted or possible in the division of the labor of cultural production” (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 55). Here, it might be helpful to define *habitus* put forward by Bourdieu (as cited by DiMaggio, 1979):

A system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarity shaped problems (p. 1464).

Without doubt, Bourdieu has a special place among sociologists and researchers in the field of Sociology of Art regarding his prominent work called *Distinction*. “Considered in historical perspective, *Distinction* was unprecedented in sociological research in using such a wide range of questions on such an extensive battery of cultural items.” (Bennett *et al.*, 2009). Moreover, this tremendous work forms a basis towards a new Sociology of Taste focusing on musical taste:

Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, field and *habitus* in particular, have been central to the formation of a critical paradigm in music sociology that demonstrates how the social penetrates, produces or contextualizes music. Bourdieu-inspired studies of both popular and classical music now occupy a good chunk of the field of music sociology. His most canonical text, *Distinction*, has provided an empirical benchmark for explorations of the

nature and formation of musical taste in places like France, America and the UK (Prior, 2011).

However, *Distinction* as a monumental work needs to be considered as a result of an accumulating process and it is built upon the accumulation of previous works of Bourdieu. Therefore, before his striking book, alternative approach to the studies of culture consumption posed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1968) needs to be considered:

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

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

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

Returning to the contributions of *Distinction*, most significantly, it is a pioneering book, an empirical study, discussing tastes by questioning how different classes show up different trends in their preferences:

In his classic work, *Distinction*, Pierre Bourdieu (1984) argues that class structure is reproduced through the accumulation of cultural capital, which can provide access to high-status occupations and social circles. A class society is reproduced because upper-class students are more likely to have the cultural capital favored by the education system (itself an agent of the upper class) (Kane, 2003, p. 404).

On the other hand, when determining the preferences and trends of different class structures, it is crucial to examine totalizing characteristics of cultural, economic and social capitals that shape class structure. Another point that needs to be considered is the merger of these different forms of capital.

For instance, a class structure formed by the individuals from high cultural capital, but low economic capital is different than the class structure formed by the individuals from low cultural capital, but high economic capital.

Some sociologists, without any hesitation, stated that Bourdieu should be regarded as the pioneering person of ‘cultural turn’:

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

On the other hand, according to many researchers, “Bourdieu was probably the most eminent sociologist of the final quarter of the twentieth century. He was also probably the most controversial.” (Warde & Silva, 2010, p. 1). In order to internalize the most important critique against Bourdieu’s work, the findings of Peterson and his colleagues are meaningful:

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

While ‘omnivore’ taste is characterized to define broad taste pattern of the members of the higher status groups, univore taste is exactly the opposite.

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

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

The most important finding by Bennett *et al* (2009) is the emergence of cultural omnivorousness among different social classes. This is exactly in opposition with high and low culture distinction claimed by Bourdieu. In other words, it is stated as the following:

...rather than a divide between high and popular culture, we find a primary cleavage between those who appear culturally active and engaged in a wide variety of activities, and those who seem relatively detached with a more limited range of cultural interests and activities (Bennett et al., 2009, p. 43).

Instead of making distinction based on high and low culture, separating social groupings into culturally active and engaged in diverse activities or involved in narrowly defined taste patterns allow us to eliminate hierarchical distinctions and the ruthless exclusion of lower tastes. Bennett *et al* (2009) doesn't ignore seminal structure of *Distinction*, however, this doesn't mean that Bourdieu's pioneering book is fully valid and is able to be fully operationalized in different social contexts other than France.

In the light of what is discussed in this section, in the rest of this paper, methodological contributions and findings of an attempt of measuring art taste of a group of music students in Ankara will be presented.

A Methodological Attempt

Questioning how tastes are shaped within relation to economic, social and cultural capitals, this study aimed to develop a descriptive analysis to measure different tastes of *bağlama*¹ students, regularly attending an urban – based music school, in Kızılay, Ankara. Between June, 2012 and February, 2013, twenty interviews among *bağlama* students were conducted in Musa Eroğlu Music School in Ankara. Most importantly, this study intended to offer a methodological contribution in Turkish context to measure art taste of music students. In the micro analysis, each taste groups were aimed to be examined by observing their answers from the questions related to economic, social and cultural capitals.

¹ Bağlama is a traditional stringed instrument commonly used in Turkish Folk Music.

When deciding the sample, people taking *bağlama* courses have been considered as the most appropriate target group. “During the 1990s, an increasing number of studies have appeared that consider the significance of music – making for young people.” (Bennett, 2001, p. 5). On the other hand, when highlighting the importance of investigating tastes of young people, Kane specifies three reasons:

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

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

“Considered in historical perspective, *Distinction* was unprecedented in sociological research in using such a wide range of questions on such an extensive battery of cultural items.” (Bennett et al., 2009). In order to trace the original study conducted by Bourdieu in 1980s to measure the tastes and stick to the later study in Britain which is more applicable and easier to operationalize, in this study, the conceptualization of taste was taken as the starting point. Firstly, I assumed that taste is a preference. Based on this assumption, I intended to observe the tastes bağlama students between the ages of 18 to 30.

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

First of all, “musical taste is a social phenomenon, it is socially conditioned, it is born and dies within the social life to which it belongs and is.” (Silbermann, 1963, p. 25) Besides, music has a very distinctive characteristic:

Music is very distinguished from other cultural forms. Music can stand for, symbolize and offer the immediate experience of collective identity. Other cultural forms, - painting, literature, design- can articulate and show off shared values and pride, but only music can make you feel them.” (Frith, 1987, p. 140).

For these reasons, in this study, I have decided to focus on only musical preferences as the indicator of different tastes.

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

In the light of what I have discussed, in order to assess tastes of bağlama students, taking musical preferences as the main determinant of taste, eight different types of music, namely “Rock, Modern Jazz, Anatolian Rock, Classical Music, Country, Turkish Classical Music, Heavy Metal and Turkish Folk Music” were asked to the students. Students were asked to evaluate these types of music according to their level of enjoyment. When assuming taste as a preference, I have decided to group students according to their musical preferences. I grouped the students by the number of types of music enjoyment. The only criteria to group students, was to consider the ones marking “Like it very much indeed” for the musical types mentioned. Six different groups have occurred, after classifications. To keep anonymity of respondents, rather than talking out of names, interviewees were named starting from “A1” to “A20”.

Table 1. Formation of Taste Groups

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

Although the study group to which I examined seemed as a homogeneous group, the individuals showed different attributes. Therefore, not only tastes but also economic capital, social capital and cultural capital of interviewees in the field of music needed to be carefully analyzed. This approach also reflects the assumptions of Bourdieu:

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

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

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

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

To continue, I need to clarify that the study conducted in the UK between 2003 and 2005 by Bennett *et al* (2009) was more attractive to employ in many aspects than Bourdieu’s prominent study. It has more modern sampling techniques. The questions are more representative to various people. The distinction between the “popular” and the “mainstream” works and genres are deliberately asked to analyze the distinction between different tastes. In addition to measure tastes, it also attempts to measure economic, social and cultural capitals all together. On the other hand, since music is very distinguished from other cultural forms and is an interactive field with other arts, measuring art taste of music receivers becomes very important. For this reason, differed from the sample and the scope of the study conducted by Bennett *et al* (2009) I focused on solely art taste of music receivers when assessing cultural capital.

Economic Capital Analysis

Bourdieu defines economic capital as the following: “It is the one which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights... Cultural goods can be appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 241 – 258). Moreover, conversion between economic capital and cultural capital is a very frequent process. Academic qualifications and years of schooling also play inevitable roles in this conversion. Bourdieu clarifies this conversion as the following:

Depending on the field in which it functions and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in

the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47).

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

When assessing economic capital, I have used SES study, a measurement tool developed by Turkish researchers. As frequently highlighted in SES study, how to develop such a measurement tool, which criteria to use and the measuring strength of the criteria used point to an important debate: "The lack of an available occupational prestige scale in Turkey and the difficulties to embody categories such as "retirement", "unemployment" and "income" are explicit. SES study has developed a measurement tool, taking into account of such working difficulties." (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 2010, p. 214).

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

Source: (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 2010, p. 207)

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

Because of the small size of the focus group, instead of using SES statistically this study assessed economic capital of students considering three types of status based on the variables in SES formulation: Educational Status, Per Capita Income and Ownership Status (See Appendix A).

When assessing educational status, I have calculated years of schooling (based on actual years to attend school) for each individual in the family, in accordance with the student's answers. Then, I calculated the average years of schooling for each family. Until eight years of schooling, I labeled "very low" for educational status. Because, eight years of education corresponds to primary education in Turkey which was mandatory for the time period in which my target household members were educated. Until 10,5 years, I labeled "low" for educational status. In this labeling, I considered two things. Firstly, average years of schooling is 12,21 for my target students. On the other hand, 10,5 years only correspond to "before high school, but after primary school education" degree. I assessed (12 – 14) years of education for middle educational status. Those years of education correspond to a high school graduation, but only attend or left from university level. Finally, bachelor and graduate level students were considered as having "high educational status".

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

Considering ownership status, I divided ownership items into two: high valued property and high valued goods. Students having two or more high valued property were considered within "high status ownership". Students with only one high valued property were classified in "middle status". Students, having four or five high valued goods were considered as (upper) low status. The other ones were thought as (lower) low status.

Lastly, in order to detect cultural omnivores attributed to high socio economic status, I labeled "high" socio economic status if educational status of the student is high and the student has at least one "high status" for per capita income and ownership status. The reason of considering educational status as the main indicator to decide high socio – economic status groups might be related to assumptions posed by Bourdieu. To Bourdieu, "success in the education system is facilitated by the possession of cultural capital and of higher class habitus. Lower-class pupils do not in general possess these traits, so the failure of the majority of these pupils is inevitable." (Sullivan, 2002, p. 144). So, in order not to ignore the importance of educational status of the pupils and the relationship between education and cultural capital, I valued educational status most to form high socio – economic status groups. In addition, the majority of observed students and six out of seven students from high educational status showed positive correlations between educational status and per capita income or ownership status (See Appendix B) This also proved my assumption to assign high socio – economic status based music students (See Appendix B).

Social Capital Analysis

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

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

In the study conducted in Britain, focus groups were held in order to deepen understanding of the patterns of cultural life. However, because of concentrating on limited sample size, I only asked three types of questions to measure preferences related to television, spare time activities and somewhere to eat out. Elizabeth, Warde and Wright (2009), on the other hand, state their formation of focus groups as the following:

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

In order to deepen understanding of the patterns of social life, I have conducted motive analysis (focusing on the reasons behind preferences) and concentrated on the widely recognized motives (See Appendix C). This technique was also used to analyze cultural capital.

Cultural Capital Analysis

When assessing cultural capital, questions related to knowledge of acclaimed Turkish musicians, prominent directors and painters in Turkey were asked. I have converted questions in the original survey conducted in Britain into Turkish context (See Appendix D). This effort was achieved with the help of two people professionalized in the fields of art and cinematography. The first person is Deniz Artun who has been operating Nev Art Galery in Ankara. Lecturing the course called '*Sociology of Art*', she was also my teacher in METU for a while. After my request, she thought of more Turkish painters, similar to the ones in the original survey, in relation to trends, degree of popularity and artistic stance. The other person is my friend, Yiğit Küçükibar, director of movies and documentaries. After all, I have changed the other questions to the national context by my own efforts. These questions were the ones related to music. In this process, I have benefited my knowledge and professional experiences in musical field. In this section, rather than converting musicians one by one, I have chosen musicians according to three categories: The most popular, unpopular but outstanding and pioneering musicians. The original survey in Britain also aims to provide a wide range of musicians, representing highbrow and lowbrow tastes. Then students were expected to answer according to four choices: "have listened to and like it", "have listened to and did not like it", "have not listened to (but heard of)" and "have not heard of". I have focused on the first answers: "have listened to and like it".

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

I also have to note that none of the directors, musicians or painters was chosen randomly. The most important factor in the selection process among many directors, musicians, and painters was to determine the long lasting effects of the chosen ones. In this process, while the most prominent ones were chosen, popular and unpopular ones were mixed. Therefore, analysis of the answers might also be an inquiry about how media has impacts on the imposition of popular arts through culture industries. Among these directors,

political and apolitical art/movie producers were also mixed to draw a comprehensive framework.

Overall Findings of the Study

In this study, the most notable finding is the impact of rhythm on students. Whether the appreciation of the rhythm of the song in 9/8 time signatures is related to the recognition of the rhythm or it is just because of the cultural familiarity of this rhythm was crucial to observe. My question proposing to ask rhythm of the song is very important to understand whether embodied cultural capital is developed consciously or unconsciously.

Regardless of their representative taste groups, almost every student stated that they like to listen to Ele Güne Karşı from MFÖ because the rhythm of the song is so appealing. However, surprisingly, when I asked whether they knew how to count the beats of the song to assess time signature, only a few students told me they knew it is a song in 9/8 time signature. I have been going to pubs in Turkey to listen to live music since I was a teenager. The first question that comes to my mind when listeners are clapping their hands is that whether this is a conscious or unconscious act. After conducting my interviews, I realized that this is mostly an unconscious act about a cultural heritage. I remember a woman whom I have interviewed; she had told me that definitely she knows 9/8 time signatures and likes Ele Güne Karşı, because she is Thracian. However, she was one of a handful people who knew the time signature of the song and also liked the rhythm.

Another striking finding is related to univore/omnivore dichotomy. Cultural omnivore and univore tastes cannot be easily observed in taste groups. "Bennett *et al* in their studies, find a cultural omnivorousness which challenges the high and low culture distinction used by Bourdieu" (Gibson, 2009, p. 1). However, only two students representing high status and having a broad taste pattern in cultural consumption might be classified as omnivores² in my study (See Appendix A and E). This might be related to my limited sample size and different sample focus than the study in the UK.

Regarding TV preferences and related findings, regardless of the different taste groups, watching television is an activity that strengthens the social network and therefore, empowers social capital among family members or friends. Putnam blames the technological changes that are responsible for the privatization or individualization of leisure: "The main obstacle for the construction of social capital during free time is, however, television and its supremacy in the competition over the uses of leisure."

² The only criteria to group students, was to consider the ones marking "Like it very much indeed" for the musical types mentioned. However, in order to detect cultural omnivores, when deciding admirable types of music, I have also included the ones marking second highest level of enjoyment for musical types (See Appendix E).

(Putnam, 1995, p. 74, 75). However, watching television with other family members as exemplified by many *bağlama* students prove us that social capital might be also upgraded by the impact of domestic habits and sharing within the family and television might be the most efficient tool to bring people together inside the home.

To continue, it shouldn't be ignored that these students share the same purpose by taking *bağlama* courses in the same music store: They all attend the courses because of their passion for Turkish Folk Music. However, although there are hundreds of music courses in Ankara, they all chose an urban based music school and pay the same amount of money. Before conducting fieldwork, when we think of the choice of a music school and a certain instrument as a preference, we could have predicted that these twenty students would represent us a homogenous group. However, findings illustrate that twenty students form an exact heterogeneous group. "The key finding of the study conducted in Britain is that class is the most powerful indicator when it comes to the structure of cultural consumption in contemporary Britain" (Bennett et al, 2009, p. 53). However, my findings illustrated that class wasn't the most powerful indicator when it comes to the structure of cultural consumption among *bağlama* students. My fieldwork proved me that a person representing high education status, per capita income and ownership such as A9 may have a tendency to appreciate only one type of music. Here, I need to repeat that this might be related to my limited sample and different sample focus than the study in the UK. Therefore, whether class is a powerful indicator when it comes to the structure of art taste among music receivers in Turkey is an emerging question for a wider study.

Lastly, the effect of social media and popular arts is very easily observable. The most obvious question manifesting the imposition of social media is the one asking whether the student recognized the mentioned painter. However, only Bedri Baykam was stated as a known figure, although I have asked the names of very prominent painters in Turkey. This section illustrated me that Turkish young music receivers consider painting as an intellectual and elite leisure activity. Therefore, when classifying cultural omnivores, Turkish young music receivers ignored the field of painting because of its distinctive characteristic treated as an intellectual and elite leisure activity.

Conclusion

Tracing the original study conducted by Bourdieu and sticking to the later study in Britain, which is more applicable and easier to operationalize, in this study, it was aimed to offer a methodological tool to assess art taste of music receivers in Turkey. More specifically, it was in-

tended to provide a meaningful and valid methodological formulation in Turkish context to observe art tastes of music receivers with regard to their economic, social and cultural capitals. This effort intended to contribute in many ways to the further studies in the fields of cultural consumption and taste studies based on musical preferences in Turkey.

Firstly, I have proposed rhythm analysis in the musical field. I believe that this is the most important methodological contribution of my study. The reason of this is that musical field plays a crucial role in the analysis of Bourdieu and it has a very distinctive characteristic in the survey design conducted in Britain. In other words, as mentioned, “music is very distinguished from other cultural forms. Music can stand for, symbolize and offer the immediate experience of collective identity.” (Frith, 1987, p. 140). Considering music as a very distinguished cultural form, rhythm of the songs, as the core of musical preference and the basic to form embodied cultural capital with long – lasting dispositions deserves a careful analysis.

Another methodological contribution, conversion of questions in the original survey in Britain into Turkish context, aimed to understand how long – lasting dispositions have been shaped in relation to Turkish cultural heritage exemplified in musical analysis, how appreciation and/or dislikes show frequencies with relation to popularity of the painter or a musician or by the effect of social media.

Lastly, to assess economic capital, I have suggested using urban based SES studies as I have benefited variables from measurement tool developed to measure socio – economic status in Ankara. For further studies, when assessing economic capital, a separate socio – economic status questionnaire previously designed, implemented, and giving significant results in a large sample such as SES study (Kalaycıoğlu, et. al., 2010) should be integrated into the main questionnaire to yield more concrete results in terms of socio – economic base of the respondents. Then, considering distinguished characteristic of music differed from other cultural forms as mentioned earlier, a comparative and comprehensive study needs to be conducted by a project group investigating art tastes based on musical preferences among music receivers such as music students in order to question whether class is a powerful indicator when it comes to the structure of art taste among music recei-

vers in Turkey. Potential cultural omnivores and univores among music students should be also detected in order to illustrate the correlations between socio economic status and broad/narrow taste patterns. In addition, a wide range of questions assessing social and cultural capitals need to be addressed by converting related questions in the survey design conducted in Britain into Turkish context as I did for painters, directors and musicians. Unfortunately, I only asked three questions in order to assess social and cultural capitals of music students in my study because of my limited sample size. In further studies, the original study conducted by Bourdieu to measure the tastes should be traced and further studies would be better sticking to the later study in Britain, which is more applicable and easier to operationalize as discussed before.

To conclude, I tried to make methodological contributions to the fields of cultural consumption and taste studies based on musical preferences in Turkey. However, my study only represents a small group of students in an urban-based music school in Ankara. The findings cannot be generalized to any place outside the examined music school. Even the findings cannot be generalized to the music school, because it doesn't represent all students. It should be also noted that this study only proposed an attempt of measuring art taste of music students considering the non – existence of valid and applicable preliminary studies in Turkey. So, there is a need to start promising wider investigations regarding tastes of music receivers in Turkey.

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APPENDIX A: Economic Capital Assessment of Cultural Omnivores

	Educational Status	Per Capita Income	Ownership (1: Having the item 0: Not having the item)
	Average: 12,21 years Very Low: (4,5 – 7,8) Low: (8,75 – 10,5) Middle: (12 – 14) High: (15 – 17,5) (Based on twenty students)	Average Income: 1447,4 Low Income: (300 – 860) Middle Income: (1000 – 1500) High Income: (2000 – 5000) (Based on twenty students)	High Status → At least having 2 high valued property Middle Status → Having 1 high valued property Low Status → Not having any high valued property (Lower) Low Status → Having at most 3 high valued goods (Upper) Low Status → Having 4 or 5 high valued goods
A12	Average Years of Schooling of the Family Members: 17 years (The second highest level of schooling)	5000 TL (The highest per capita income in the music school)	Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car: 0 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 0 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1
Status	HIGH	HIGH	MIDDLE
A6	Average Years of Schooling of the Family Members: 15,3 years (The fifth highest level of schooling)	2200 TL (The third highest per capita income in the music school)	Inhabited House: 1 Second Home: 0 Car: 0 Warming Conditions: 1 Dishwasher: 1 Second TV: 1 DVD Player: 1 Internet Connection: 1
Status	HIGH	HIGH	MIDDLE

APPENDIX B: Students with High Socioeconomic Status

		Educational Status	Per Capita Income	Ownership	HIGH SOCIO – ECONOM- IC STATUS
1st Group	A9	High	High	High	X
	A20	Low	Low	High	
2nd Group	A1	Middle	Low	Middle	
	A2	Low	Low	Middle	
	A5	High	High	(lower) Low	X
	A7	Middle	Middle	(Lower) Low	
	A8	High	High	Middle	X
	A10	Very Low	Low	Middle	
	A13	Low	Middle	High	
	A18	Middle	Low	(Upper) Low	
3rd Group	A3	Low	Low	High	
	A11	Low	Low	Middle	
	A12	High	High	Middle	X
	A14	High	High	(Upper) Low	X
4th Group	A4	High	Middle	(Lower) Low	
	A16	Very Low	Middle	High	
	A17	Middle	Low	High	
	A19	Middle	Middle	High	
5th Group	A6	High	High	Middle	X
6th Group	A15	Very Low	High	High	

APPENDIX C: Social Capital Assessment

		TV preferences	Spare time Activity	Somewhere to eat out
1 st Group	9	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Taking a rest on my own	Doing something creative Motivation: Math, brain teaser	At least once a week Motivation: A sense of belonging to Turkish cuisine
	20	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: People from similar ages encourages more sharing	Doing something creative Motivation: Painting	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Coming together with friends
2 nd Group	1	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: To be a fan of the same team with my two brothers; similar tastes	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Family atmosphere enables laughing	At least once a week Motivation: It is a necessity since I am out of my home town
	2	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Habit	Relaxation Motivation: To be alone	At least once a week Motivation: Coming together with friends
	5	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Different tastes with friends	Doing something useful Motivation: Personal development, in addition to occupational development	At least once a week Motivation: Coming together with friends
	7	Watching TV with friends Motivation: It seems like they all watch TV, they come together and talk in front of the television.	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: To get away from everyday woes	At least once a week Motivation: It is a necessity since I am a student

	8	Watching TV by himself Motivation: Living alone	Relaxation Motivation: Personal and physical relaxation	At least once a week Motivation: Due to social status and marital status
	10	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: A sense of belonging towards family	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: To relax	At least once a week Motivation: Because of my love of good food
	13	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Watching the same soap opera	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: To have a laugh with friends	At least once a week Motivation: Due to the conditions of the course
	18	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Brother; cannot watch TV because of ÖSS exams Other family members don't like to watch TV	Doing something useful Motivation: Doing something useful for the society	At least once a week Motivation: Because of social conditions
3 rd Group	3	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Running away from the fatigue life	Once a year or less Motivation: Adaptation to friend environment or because of family ties
	11	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Existence of only 1 TV and similarity of tastes	Doing something creative Motivation: To get something in return for the time spent	At least once a week Motivation: Due to school conditions
	12	Watching TV with husband/children Motivation: Similarity of tastes and commenting all together	Relaxation Motivation: Physical relaxation	At least once a week Motivation: Spending a lot of time outside

	14	Watching TV with husband/children Motivation: Similarity of tastes	None of these Motivation: Travelling	At least once a week Motivation: Lack of time to cook because of working conditions
4 th Group	4	Watching TV by herself Motivation: Living alone	Entertainment Motivation: Having an exhausting profession	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Peer influence
	16	Watching TV by himself Motivation: Because of everyone sleeping	Relaxation Motivation: Having an exhausting profession	At least once a week Motivation: Due to the participation of non-business courses
	17	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes	Relaxation Motivation: Having time with friends	At least once a week Motivation: Dining out with my friends
	19	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes with mother	Having a laugh/larking around Motivation: Having time with friends	Less often but at least once a month Motivation: Peer influence
5 th Group	6	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Not similarity of tastes but existence of 1 TV	Doing something useful Motivation: Sense of responsibility towards the society and the world	Less often but at least several times a year Motivation: Eating at home is more affordable (I have no concern for socialization)
6 th Group	15	Watching TV with other family members Motivation: Similarity of tastes	Developing new interests Motivation: Intellectual development	At least once a week Motivation: Peer influence

APPENDIX D: Cultural Capital Assessment

List of Painters	
Original Survey Conducted In Britain	Conversion Into Turkish Context
Vincent Van Gogh	Mübin Orhon
Frida Kahlo	Hale Asaf
Pablo Picasso	Nejad Devrim
JMW Turner	Nazmi Ziya
Tracy Emin	Şükran Moral
Andy Warhol	Bedri Baykam
LS Lowry	Yalçın Gökçebağ
List of Directors	
Original Survey Conducted In Britain	Conversion Into Turkish Context
Pedro Almodovar	Atıf Yılmaz
Ingmar Bergman	Zeki Demirkubuz
Alfred Hitchcock	Ömer Kavur
Stephen Spielberg	Sinan Çetin
Jane Campion	Yeşim Ustaoglu
Mani Ratnam	Yılmaz Güney
List of Turkish Songs from Acclaimed Musicians	
Song: Benimle Oynar Mısın?	Artist: Bülent Ortaçgil
Song: Rapstar	Artist: Ceza
Song: Nazım Oratoryosu	Artist: Fazıl Say
Song: Kalamış	Artist: M. Nurettin Selçuk
Song: Bir Ömürlük Misafir	Artist: Erkan Oğur
Song: Geri Dönüş Olsa	Artist: Murat Boz
Song: Gidersen	Artist: Jehan Barbur
Song: Ele Güne Karşı	Artist: MFÖ
Song: Olsun	Artist: Halil Sezai

APPENDIX E: Cultural Omnivores

	A12	A6
Admirable Types of Music	Anatolian Rock Turkish Classical Music Turkish Folk Music	Rock Modern Jazz Anatolian Rock Classical Music Country Turkish Classical Music Turkish Folk Music
Acclaimed Directors In Turkey (Answering: would make a point of watching)	Atıf Yılmaz Zeki Demirkubuz Yılmaz Güney	Zeki Demirkubuz Yeşim Ustaoglu Yılmaz Güney
Admirable Turkish Songs	Benimle Oynar Mısın? Nazım Orotoryosu Kalamış Ele Güne Karşı	Benimle Oynar Mısın? Kalamış Bir Ömürlük Misafir Ele Güne Karşı
Overall Socio – Economic Status	High	High