

Cultivated citizens? Cultural capital, class, gender and generations in contemporary Turkey

Özgür Arun*

*Akdeniz University, Department of Gerontology, Antalya/Turkey
e-mail: arun@akdeniz.edu.tr*

Abstract

Cultural capital can be defined as the sum of skills acquired through education and it can also be said that it is tantamount to knowledge regarding high culture (Bourdieu, 1986). In this regard, it may not only be the means for upward social mobility, but also the source of the social inequality. In that case is it possible to talk about differentiation in the distribution of cultural capital empirically, besides, what statistical regularities can be observed in differentiated cultural capital distribution in Turkey? The focus of this study is on the composition of cultural capital at the individual level, and efforts will be made to assess whether cultural capital has led to distinctions among different generations in Turkey. The European Quality of Life Survey, 2004 is utilized while analyzing the distribution of cultural capital in Turkey. It is found that, the group enjoying the highest level of cultural capital consists of professionals and managers within the 18-49 age groups. This state of younger generations enjoying relatively more cultural capital than older generations is also the source of symbolic conflict between generations.

Keywords: cultural capital, social class, generation, gender, Bourdieu, Turkey.

1. Introduction

*Why should my vote be equal to that of a shepherd in the mountains? Do you think he can approach [issues in the country] as sensitively and responsibly as I do?*¹ These words uttered during a TV programme by a show hostess (who is a university student), and her partner, a well-known writer (who holds a degree in sociology as well) revitalized an age-old debate in Turkey. The discourse was actually intended to highlight the rather intractable language of a new

* I am particularly grateful to the anonymous reviewer(s) whose comments helped me to refocus my arguments.

¹ A part of what is said by one of the program maker of the programme "Come on join us" aired on Thursdays in the channel NTV in 2008.

constitutional amendment prepared by the Turkish Government, and how people would vote for a draft whose content is not well understood. Nevertheless, the words are still remarkable, not only as a manifest declaration of an elitist attitude, but also for reflecting a class antagonism both in its form and content. The status of programme participants mentioned above suggests that cultural practice can be thought of as the constructing dimension of class position. Tastes –including political ones as in this case- may distinguish one’s social position from the other as carrier of cultural practice. Manifested as attitude or behaviour, they may draw the line of demarcation between two stances. Hence, those at higher culture level, “cultivated bourgeoisie” (Bourdieu, 1984: 490) or with *highbrow culture* can distinguish themselves from other classes by standing against their taste which seems as not cultivated and is only an enjoyment (Bourdieu, 1984). Then, is it possible to construct an overall framework in order to understand possible mechanisms of distinction and the nature of associated cultural practices in Turkey? In the case we have just conveyed, do clues that can be gathered point to a singular and coincidental case? Or, empirically, can we speak about a cultural capital that is differentially distributed as well as some statistical regularities that can help to identify this distribution?

This paper attempts to focus exclusively on the inter-generational distribution of cultural capital in Turkey. As such, this paper seeks to find answers to two significant questions: (1) Which unique components make up cultural capital repertoires that individuals have in Turkey? (2) In which fields of daily life does cultural capital introduce distinction? To respond to these questions, the 2004 European Quality of Life Survey was used. Based on the same survey analysis, Arun (2009) obtained that the elderly in Turkey has the lowest cultural capital. In order to explore further the dynamics behind this fact this study will focus on the composition of cultural capital at the individual level in Turkey, and efforts will be made to assess whether cultural capital has led to distinctions among different generations.

2. Cultural capital: Sign of social position

Cultural capital can be defined as the sum of skills acquired through education and it can also be said that it is tantamount to knowledge regarding high culture (Bourdieu, 1986). Education is not materialized only in schools; it also includes the inheritance of some familial characteristics. It can, however, be disseminated and reproduced through schools as educational background and institutional structure. While individuals from the dominant class are present at schools equipped with some social and cultural signs acquired from their families, children of the working class usually attend school to obtain such information and skills. Hence, school is

not an impartial and ineffective institution; it is the reflector of the experience of *dominant classes* in particular. Though members from the working class may acquire in schools those social and cultural skills possessed by the middle and upper classes, they can never develop a natural familiarity with these skills that actually belong to the latter (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 155).

In this respect, cultural capital gained through the process of socialization in both school and family is used to analyze the impact of culture on classes and the relationship between social structure and action. Cultural capital is important as a signifier of class position. Cultural attitude, preference and behaviour, in other words cultural capital as a whole, emerge in such a way as to mobilize social preference through a person's tastes. In this context, cultural capital (and tastes associated with it) marks social differentiation/distinction as well.

At this point, it is appropriate to briefly address the significance of cultural capital as a concept. Its importance derives from the fact that cultural capital (as a factor that fuels social inequality in addition to the effect of economic capital) is functional in grasping the ways that social stratification is built. Furthermore, if analyzed in a comparative way, the repertoire of cultural capital possessed by generations may unlock for us the mechanisms of cultural transfer. Considering that social transformation starts with transformation and development at the level of the individual, a volumed cultural capital possessed by individuals will enable them to create a more favourable world. One of the significant debates going on in Turkey today is related to the argument that individuals with weak educational background (who form the majority) cannot wisely elect those who will best govern. Although this critique frequently stated by middle and upper classes has an elitist flavour, it can also be taken as an implicit expression of sensitivity towards the process of modernization in Turkey. Since its foundation, Turkey has taken some serious steps in the process of modernization; yet, its shortfalls constitute the hand-burning aspect of debates going on at present. The troubles of the Republican project in terms of education and culture policies make themselves manifest in each and every sphere of life from the voting behaviour of individuals to the level and form of debates through which politicians make their understanding of government explicit and to judicial processes reflecting how some universal values such as rule of law and human rights are perceived. All these continually remind us, though with a sad smile, that discourse *education is a must*. If this assessment sounds high-tempered or somewhat extreme, we direct the reader to ponder the word of advice frequently given by members of lower classes to the next generation, "*get educated and save yourself*". In this discourse, *getting educated* is a precondition for *saving oneself*. Thus, *getting educated* is seen as the means to gaining increased value in regard to economic capital. Because education is seen as the means to securing a good

job – the prerequisite to material accumulation (i.e. *saving oneself*), *getting educated* is assigned value, especially in rural Turkey.

In this respect, families in rural areas in Turkey have the tendency of presenting their children with economic rather than social and cultural values. In other words, a person and his/her deeds are accorded respect to the extent that they bring in economic rather than social or cultural capital, and cultural capital is appraised only to the extent it is associated with some material return. Indeed, *broke* artists and those fond of literature are mostly regarded as marginal by society and such occupations are certainly not among those that families living in rural areas find appropriate for their children. What is worth doing is to get enough education to “save oneself”. It is exactly for this reason that cultural capital is an indicator or signifier of social position and it is therefore important to explore the issue empirically.

The concept of cultural capital will be used in this paper as suggested by Bourdieu. Our effort will focus on how cultural capital is distributed across generational lines in Turkey. Cultural capital is acquired through one's education and system of dispositions, which may have emerged in a specific field in the country and internalized by specific economic and social circumstances. To pave the way for this analysis and to respond to the first question of this paper, it is worthwhile to dwell on possible components of cultural capital, and how they can be measured.

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can be measured by developing an index on the basis of such variables as the level of formal education, size of community wherein one's formative years are spent delineating availability of cultural activities, and frequency of participation in such activities (Bourdieu, 1974: 327). To put it differently, formal education and habitus can be conceptualized as two important components of cultural capital. As discussed above, educational background (education provided in both schools as an institution and families) is implicitly and potentially the cultural capital itself since the majority of socio-cultural practices are organized as the latent part of the cultural accumulation of an individual (Bourdieu, 1986: 243–6). As for habitus, it is associated with the practice of cultural production and consumption in a manner to equip its practicing agent with the power of perceiving his/her social world from a more complex and detailed point. In other words, it is the source of social respect and prestige (Böröcz and Southworth, 1996: 799-801). Hence, the present paper will strive to measure cultural capital by assessing both skills acquired through formal education and habitus as the source of prestige and social reverence. This approach is reasonable since cultural capital gains its meaning as the totality of such variables as skills, values, habits and educational background.

3. Methodology

3.1. Conceptualization

As discussed earlier, cultural capital can be measured by developing an index including variables such as level of formal education and size of living space - which delineates the extent and frequency to which a person may take part in cultural activities. In this way, the emerged cultural capital can be assessed in three different ways: *embodied*, *objectified* and *institutionalized* forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1974: 327). Embodied cultural capital embraces legitimate cultural attitudes, preferences and behaviours, and it is internalized in the process of socialization. Objectified cultural capital entails such transferable products as books, pictures, computers, etc., while their appreciation necessitates an embodied form of cultural capital. Finally, institutionalized cultural capital entails diplomas and certificates obtained from official institutions to document embodied cultural capital. (Bourdieu, 1986). This paper seeks to measure and evaluate cultural capital mainly by emphasizing its first and third forms.

Table 1
Conceptual Model of Cultural Capital

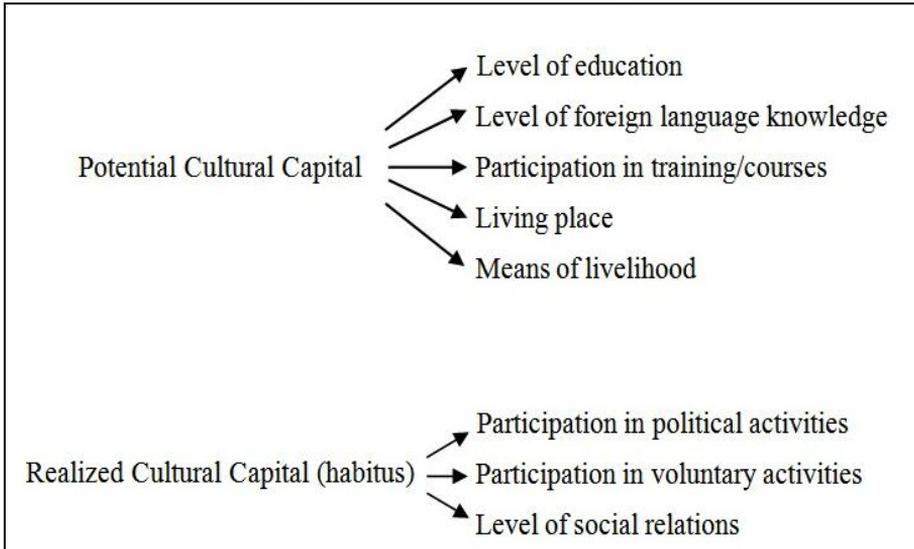


Table 1 shows the conceptual model of this study as well as variables constituting cultural capital. Under this conceptual model that we developed, cultural capital is operationalized in two dimensions: (1) potential cultural capital, and (2) realized cultural capital (*habitus*). While potential cultural capital is based on educational background, realized cultural capital is associated with lifestyle. Below, the operationalization of this conceptual model will be discussed in detail.

3.2. Operationalization

Within this conceptualization, the repertoires of cultural capital (including its potential and realized dimensions) are measured through utilizing the *European Quality of Life Survey 2004*

The *Quality of Life Survey* is conducted in 28 countries; 27 of these countries are presently EU members while the remaining one, Turkey, is a candidate. The survey uses a standard form of questionnaire and data is collected through face-to-face interviews with households representing the population. (Rose and Özcan, 2007: v).

In Turkey, the *European Quality of Life Survey 2004* (Nauenburg and Mertel, 2004) was conducted from 14 to 28 June 2003 at 165 sampling points representing the overall population selected by using stratified sampling technique, which entailed face-to-face interviews with 996 persons (Rose and Özcan, 2007: 2-3). Dependent and independent variables and questions forming these variables and their categories are given in Table 2.

There are two types of variables: *observed* and *latent*. Observed variables (i.e. level of education) consist of questions forwarded and responded to participants. Apart from these, there are also *latent variables* derived from responses given to a series of observed variables. Latent variables are obtained by transforming a series of categorical variables into an index value, i.e. social relations. Table 2 shows what these latent variables are, and from which variables they have been constructed.

All dependent variables were derived from the factor analysis and, as suggested by the conceptualization, it was observed that five variables were located in the potential cultural capital dimension, while the other three remained in the habitus dimension. In the literature (see Böröcz and Southworth, 1996; Eitle and Eitle, 2002; Katsillis and Rubinson, 1990), however, although attempts are made to measure cultural capital through a series of questions, it is observed that the following questions are not addressed: a) whether variables assumed to be measured do come together to constitute a statistically significant structure, b) what kind of structure they form if they come together, and c) to what extent this possible structure can explain the cultural capital aspect of the issue. Yet it is important to check whether the conceptual model works statistically and whether analytical observation of cultural capital as it is defined with reference to an area is coincidental or not. It is beyond doubt that empirical measurements have their limitations, but it is nonetheless impossible to grasp these limitations and their nature without any measurement at all. Moreover, without measuring, neither is it possible to understand those elements that threaten the theoretical structure nor to develop new strategies of understanding on this basis.

For all these, evaluation of findings obtained from factor analysis carried out to test the validity of the conceptual model bears importance in guiding the discussion embarked upon in this paper.

Table 2
Dependent and Independent Variables

Dependent Variables	A. Potential Cultural Capital	
	Variables	Questions/Categories
	Level of education	1: Illiterate; 2: Primary; 3: High school; 4: University
	Foreign language	1: None; 2: Little; 3: Fair; 4: Excellent
	Means of livelihood	a) Afford keeping your home adequately warm b) Afford paying for a week's annual holiday away from home (not staying with relatives) c) Afford replacing any worn out furniture d) Afford meal with meat, chicken or fish every second day if you desired e) Afford buying new, rather than second hand, clothes f) Afford having friends or family for a drink or meal at least once a month (1:yes/0:no) Index = a + b + c + d + e + f (0-6). The higher the index value, the higher-level of means of livelihood.
	Participation in training/courses	1: Yes 0: No
	Living place	1: Urban 0: Rural
	B. Realized Cultural Capital (habitus)	
	Variables	Questions/Categories
	Participation in political activities	a) Attended trade union, political party or political action group meeting, demonstration, signed petition b) Contacted politician or public official (1: yes/0: no) Index = a + b (0-2). The higher the index value, the higher level of participation to political activities.
	Participation in voluntary activities	a) Attended meeting of charitable or voluntary organisation b) Served on committee or participated in volunteer work for voluntary organisation Index = a + b (0-2). The higher the index value, the higher level of participation to voluntary activities.
Level of social relations	Time spent on: a) other social contact (not family) b) own hobbies/ interests c) taking part in volunteer work or political activities (0: none, 1: too little, 2: just right, 3: too much) Index = a + b + c (0-9). The higher the index value, the higher level of social relations.	
Independent Variables	Questions	Categories
	Age	18-88
	Gender	1: Female 2: Male
	Occupational classes	1: Unskilled worker 2: Farmer 3: Skilled workers 4: Self employed 5: Other non-manual professionals 6: Professionals, managerial
	Net household income (in Euro)	75-5625

3.3. Limitations

Claiming that variables constructed on the basis of available data are adequate to measure comprehensive cultural capital possessed by individuals has its limitations for two reasons. Firstly, with due consideration of limitations to any empirical work, the extent to which available data can measure cultural capital should not be overlooked. The survey conducted in Europe in 2004 and used in this paper aimed to compare countries in terms of life quality. The present survey, while not designed to measure cultural capital directly and exclusively, can be seen as an attempt to measure formal education and lifestyles, which are central to the conceptual model of cultural capital. Thus, keeping in mind its limitations, the *European Quality of Life Survey 2004* may be useful in examining inter-generational distribution of cultural capital. The second threat derives from the point discussed above that is, the conceptualization of the field. In analytical terms, Bourdieu defines the field as the *network or configuration of objective relations* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). Cultural capital in more general terms is field specific. Hence, assessments made without defining a field can have statistical meaning only at random. Only in a given field, cultural capital of an individual serves as the source of struggle for social position. It may then be appropriate to take a look at the repertoires of cultural capital and its inter-generational distribution in Turkey while keeping in mind the two aforementioned limitations.

4. Cultural capital, class, gender and generations in Turkey

The variables *Means of Life*, *Participation in Political Activities*, *Participation in Voluntary Activities* and *Level of Social Relations* that will be used in measuring cultural capital have their index values derived from the sum of responses to questions in two categories (yes/no or there is/none). Table 3 shows in detail which questions make up these variables and their respective characteristics in the data. These latent variables constructed by recoding are used to measure cultural capital.

4.1. Repertoires and distribution of cultural capital in Turkey

In Turkey, is it possible to measure the repertoires of cultural capital empirically? Outcomes of factor analysis conducted to respond to this question are given in Table 4. Factor loadings in the table from 0 to 1 denote the weight of respective variables in their corresponding dimensions. In terms of factor loadings, level of education, foreign language, means of livelihood, participation in training or a course within the past year and living place constitute one dimension of cultural capital whereas the form and level of social participation make up the other. As envisaged earlier in

Table 3
Characteristics of Participants

Variables		%	Mean.	Std. Dev.	Range	
Gender	Female	49.3				
	Male	50.7				
Age			37.63	15.11	18-88	
	18-49	76.2	-	-	-	
	50-64	16.6	-	-	-	
	65+	7.2	-	-	-	
Social Classes					1-6	
	Unskilled workers	12.4	-	-	-	
	Farmers	6.2	-	-	-	
	Skilled workers	25.5	-	-	-	
	Self employed	14.3	-	-	-	
	Other non-manual professionals	28.5	-	-	-	
Level of education	Professionals, managerial	13.2	-	-	-	
					1-4	
	Illiterate	7.9	-	-	-	
	Primary	51.4	-	-	-	
	High school	28.2	-	-	-	
Foreign language	University	12.5	-	-	-	
			0.37	0.76	0-3	
	None	77.5	-	-	-	
	Little	9.4	-	-	-	
	Fair	11.0	-	-	-	
Means of livelihood	Excellent	2.1	-	-	-	
			2.98	2.11	0-6	
	Afford keeping your home adequately warm*	56.1	-	-	-	
	Afford paying for a week's annual holiday away from home (not staying with relatives)*	34.3	-	-	-	
	Afford replacing any worn-out furniture*	30.7	-	-	-	
	Afford meal with meat, chicken or fish every second day if desired*	47.8	-	-	-	
	Afford buying new, rather than second hand clothes*	58.1	-	-	-	
	Afford taking friends or family out for a drink or meal at least once a month*	72.0	-	-	-	
	Participation to training/courses					0-1
		No	87.0	-	-	-
Living place	Yes	13.0	-	-	-	
					0-1	
Participation in political activities	Rural	24.9	-	-	-	
	Urban	75.1	-	-	-	
Participation in voluntary activities			0.13	0.43	0-2	
	Attended trade union, political party or political action group meeting, demonstration, signed petition*	6.5	-	-	-	
	Contacted politician or public official*	7.2	-	-	-	
Level of social relations			0.06	0.31	0-2	
	Attended meeting of charitable or voluntary organisation*	3.7	-	-	-	
	Served on committee or participated in volunteer work for voluntary organisation*	2.7	-	-	-	
Net household income (in Euro)			3.66	1.62	0-9	
	Time spent on: other social contact (not family)	-	1.63	0.66	0-3	
	Time spent on: own hobbies/ interests	-	1.29	0.84	0-3	
	Time spent on: taking part in volunteer work or political activities	-	0.74	0.82	0-3	
		-	405.56	491.12	75-5625	

* Proportion of those responding "yes".

the conceptual model, one of the dimensions emerging after analysis measures the educational background of the individual, while the other does the same for habitus. The variance explained by each dimension individually or in total is shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Repertories of Cultural Capital in Turkey, 2004
(Analysis of Principle Components, Factor Loadings)

Cultural Capital	Variables	Factor Loadings
Potential Cultural Capital	Level of education	0.808
	Level of foreign language knowledge	0.733
	Participation in training/courses	0.724
	Living place	0.511
	Means of livelihood	0.471
Realized Cultural Capital (habitus)	Participation in political activities	0.794
	Participation in voluntary activities	0.790
	Level of social relations	0.443

The variance that Potential Cultural Capital dimension explains =28.11 %

The variance that Realized Cultural Capital (habitus) dimension explains =19.45%

Total Variance Explained= 47.56%

Educational background as a potential cultural capital encompasses the level of education, participation in any training or course within the past year and knowledge of any foreign language. Since ones' living place (urban or rural) directly determines access to education in Turkey, it emerges as a component of potential cultural capital. The organizational structure of educational institutions, curriculum and personnel in rural Turkey stands as one of the most salient shortcomings of the modernization project (Smits and Gündüz Hoşgör, 2006). Hence, the nature of the living place may directly influence opportunities of education. On the other hand, habitus that corresponds to lifestyle consists of forms of social participation (in voluntary and political activities) and level of participation. The "means of livelihood" dimension in the field of potential cultural capital questions the means and possibilities of having a vacation at least once a year; renewing old and worn-out furniture, household items and clothes; having meat or fish every two days if desired, and taking family or friends out to dinner at least once a month. Yet even when there are opportunities for such activities, since the level of realization (i.e. actually using such opportunities) is directly associated with education ($r = 0.525$; $p < 0.01$), the variable "means of livelihood" is represented in the dimension of potential cultural capital. Hence, living in a place that accommodates participation in cultural activities, ease in satisfying and pursuing ones' chosen livelihood, social

participation and the possibility of attaining the desired level of educational have their significance in two dimensions as repertoires of cultural capital.

Two factors obtained as a result of factor analysis consist of factor loadings of potential and realized cultural capital. Factor scores corresponding to these two variables were first divided into equal parts from 0 to 10 and then by taking the average of these two variables. Variable cultural capital was obtained with scores ranging from 0 to 10. Here “0” denotes the lowest and “10” denotes the highest level of cultural capital. Finally, scores were divided into four equal parts and denoted in the following categories: *very low*, *low*, *average* and *high*. Table 5 shows the distribution of cultural capital in Turkey by gender and generations.

Table 5

Distribution of Cultural Capital by Gender and Generations in Turkey, 2004

Gender	Level of Cultural Capital (%)				Total
	Very low	Low	Average	High	
Female	24.8	35.8	28.9	10.6	100.0
Male	14.1	38.1	31.0	16.9	100.0
Total	19.4	36.9	29.9	13.8	100.0
$\chi^2 = 22.64$ $df=3$ $p=0.001$					
Generations	Level of Cultural Capital (%)				Total
	Very low	Low	Average	High	
18-49 years	17.7	33.9	31.4	17.0	100.0
50-64 years	20.5	47.0	28.3	4.2	100.0
65+ years	33.8	46.5	18.3	1.4	100.0
Total	19.3	37.0	29.9	13.8	100.0
$\chi^2 = 45.641$ $df=6$ $p=0.001$					

Examining the distribution of cultural capital in Turkey by gender, we find a statistically significant difference between males and females ($\chi^2 = 22.64$; $df=3$; $p=0.001$). According to Table 5, while 14.1% of males have *very low* cultural capital, this figure is almost double for females (24.8%). A similar case can also be observed in the distribution of *high* cultural capital, again in favour of males. In Turkey, while 17 in every 100 males were found to have high cultural capital, only 11 in every 100 females enjoy the same status. This seems due in large part to the fact that the rate of school enrolment among females is still relatively low in Turkey. There are many women and girls in rural areas and eastern parts of the country who could not even complete compulsory primary education as many families bar females from being present in a public setting as empowered individuals (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 545). This situation becomes even more salient when we consider the broader spectrum of variables that constitute cultural capital including level of education, socio-geographic location and

participation in political or voluntary activities. Insufficient exercise of citizenship rights by women in Turkey emanates from the existing patriarchal social structure. While gender inequalities make up one dimension in the reproduction of this structure, the other is related to other inequalities that are preserved and transferred from one generation to the other. Table 5 includes the figures of inter-generational distribution of cultural capital in Turkey.

Individuals covered by the survey were divided into three groups by specific age intervals. Participants from the youngest age up to 49 make up the first group, which represents the youngest generation. The second group comprising participants from age 50 to 64 is the older generation; and the last group, representing the oldest generation, is composed of persons age 65 and over. Table 5 also shows the distribution of cultural capital for three different generations that our classification has yielded. The table shows that the level of cultural capital varies by generations and falls as age increases (Gamma = -0.321, p=0.001).

For the greater majority (80.3%) in the oldest generation (age 65+), cultural capital is *low* or *very low* compared to the two younger generations. For the older (age 50-64) and youngest (and 18-49) generations the categories *low* and *very low* are more limited (67.5% and 51.6%, respectively). Meanwhile almost half (48.4%) of participants in the oldest generation enjoy fair and high levels of cultural capital. Yet, only one-third of individuals in the older generation and one-fifth of those in the first enjoy a cultural capital of such level. In conclusion, it is significant that the youngest generations have the highest level of cultural capital and this endowment is expected to increase with each subsequent generation. Various social and economic factors may explain these different levels of cultural capital over different generations. However, the purpose of this discussion is limited to understanding how the use of accumulated cultural capital organizes daily life with respect to different generations rather than exposing these factors. Consequently, the topic of discussion here is the extent to which distribution of cultural capital affects the likelihood of individuals leading successful daily lives. To put it differently and perhaps more concretely, this discussion focuses on answering whether among different fields of social life differentiated distribution of cultural capital over generations gains significance as a factor that brings distinction.

4.2. *Outcomes of cultural inequality in Turkey*

The way that cultural capital organizes paths leading to success in daily life and its possible effects in this context is not a theme that is alien to existing literature. For example, it has been suggested that there is a similar relationship between the system of dispositions/habitus among upper classes and criteria for admission and success adopted by school systems which may also explain the relatively higher level of success on the part of upper class individuals (Bourdieu and Passeron 1964: 37, cited by Bennet et al., 1999).

The second argument that the present paper puts forward is that the distribution of cultural capital is not random and its regularities are associated with human actions and other dimensions of a given social structure. As shown in Table 5, the distribution of cultural capital in Turkey varies with respect to generations. If gained cultural capital raises an individual or a group of people above and makes it distinct from others, this means it creates not only a social difference but inequality as well. Furthermore, it also needs to be clarified as to what inequalities in which fields are preserved while differentiating what cultural capital is transferred from one generation to the next. In such a situation, would it be possible to argue that cultural capital is a class-based signal that helps in maintaining class dominance and shapes life chances? Next, the mechanisms of cultural inequality transferred from one generation to another will be addressed.

Table 6
Distribution of Cultural Capital by Social Classes across Generations in Turkey, 2004

Social Classes	18-49 years [†]				50-64 years ^{**}				65+ years ^{***}			
	Level of cultural capital (%)				Level of cultural capital (%)				Level of cultural capital (%)			
	VL	L	A	H	VL	L	A	H	VL	L	A	H
Professionals	0	13.8	48.3	37.9	0	27.3	63.6	9.1	0	28.6	57.1	14.3
Non manual prof.	7.9	31.0	38.9	22.2	14.8	55.6	25.9	3.7	30.0	50.0	20.0	0
Self employed	11.1	34.9	39.7	14.3	0	37.5	50.0	12.5	0	33.3	66.7	0
Skilled workers	19.1	43.5	27.8	9.6	25.0	54.2	20.8	0	0	83.3	16.7	0
Farmers	15.0	55.0	25.0	5.0	16.7	66.7	16.7	0	22.2	66.7	11.1	0
Unskilled workers	35.2	37.0	22.2	5.6	69.2	23.1	7.7	0	66.7	33.3	0	0
Total	14.0	34.4	34.6	17.0	20.6	45.4	29.9	4.1	18.4	52.6	26.3	2.6

VL: Very low, L: Low, A: Average, H: High

* $\chi^2=79.837$, $df=15$, $p<0.001$; ** $\chi^2=40.054$, $df=15$, $p<0.001$; *** $\chi^2=20.912$, $df=15$, $p<0.1$

Table 6 shows the distribution of cultural capital by social classes over generations. It is necessary to draw attention to a critical point here: In inter-generational comparisons, novelties that modernization provides access to resources and assets may have both facilitating and impeding roles depending on times and periods. Hence, while engaged in inter-generational comparisons, it is critical to assess any situation unique to a generation with reference to its particular place, space and context.

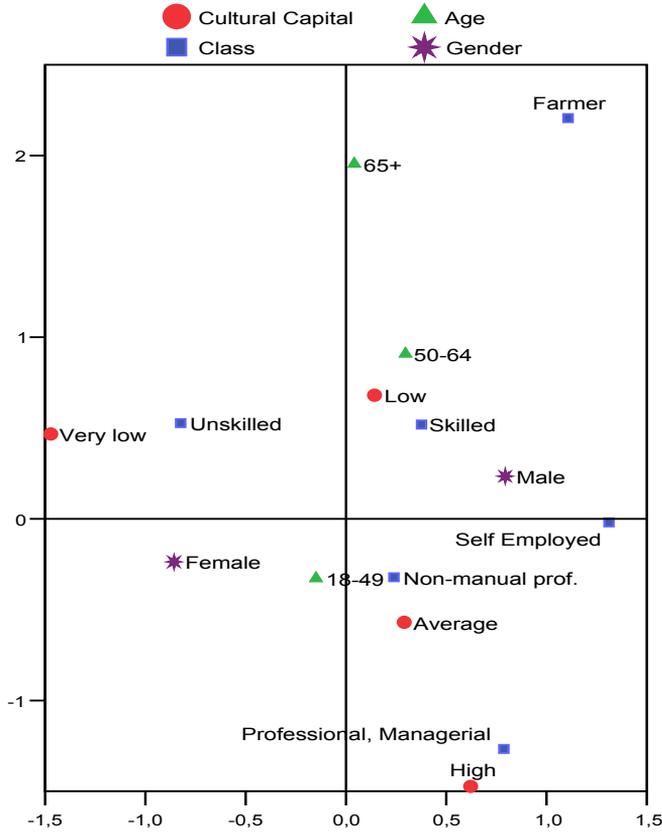
In case inter-generational comparisons are made exclusively with respect to the variable “education”, the impact of the process of modernization in Turkey will of course be observed in a more pronounced way. Some outcomes of the process of modernization include the present rate of literacy compared to what it was 20 years ago and rather expanded

organizational structure of educational institutions and employed personnel. Nevertheless, both the nature of cultural capital and its repertoires constructed in the context of this paper were arranged in a manner to allow for inter-generational comparisons and thus partially independence from its context. As a consequence of these analyses and also bearing all these critical points in mind, it would not be too daring to state that cultural capital endowment functions as a signifier of occupational class position in Turkey.

Socio-professional groups (i.e. Professionals, managerial) constitute the class that have the highest level of cultural capital for each generation. Looking at the oldest generation (age 65+) it is interesting to note that managers constitute the only occupational group with high level of cultural capital (see Table 6). A similar situation can also be observed with individuals making up the youngest generation (age 18-49). It is possible to argue that higher levels of cultural capital accompany upward mobility in terms of class position. Within this generation, while only 5.6% of unskilled workers are endowed with a high level of cultural capital, this percentage goes up together with rising social position in terms of occupation and upon reaching professionals and managers, we observe that 37.9% of this group has the high level of cultural capital (see Table 6).

Inequality in the proportional distribution of cultural capital by occupational classes can also be observed in the capacity of cultural capital possessed (see Table 7). In the group forming the youngest generation (age 18-49), cultural capital possessed by the professionals and managerial class is the highest compared to the same position in the other two generations (7.01 points in a scale from 0 to 10). In divergences observed at statistical level, unequal distribution over generations may of course bear the imprint of the time of the process of modernization and of that particular generation. However, aside from this, the fact that the possession of cultural capital by occupational groups display the same pattern for all generations and that it is distributed unequally so as to be the highest among professionals and lowest among unskilled workers is the most important indicator that cultural inequality in social life is preserved and transferred to subsequent generations. In this sense, it is meaningful that class position determines overall parameters that perpetuate and transfer inequality in the field of culture and throughout successive generations (see Figure 1).

Figure 1
 Social Structure of Class, Gender, Generations and Cultural Capital in
 Turkey, 2004
 (Correspondence Analysis)



Hence, as can be seen in Figure 1, it is possible to state that in social life not only cultural capital but also class positions can be transferred from one generation to another. Here, class structure is transferred as a whole together with its inherent struggle. Yet, an additional point which should not be missed is that due to inter-generational cultural conflict, breaking points in tastes and practices bear the imprint of this conflict. Therefore, in social space, the factors that create differences in the distribution of cultural capital are not the inherent biological features of a generation but its sociological characteristics. It is exactly for this reason that it would not be wrong to argue that generations are in essence constructed socially rather than biologically.

To move a little further in this discussion, conflict between generations can be seen as a struggle between systems of aspirations

[expectations and tastes] formed in different periods (Bourdieu, 1993: 95-9; cited by Turner and Edmunds, 2002: 223-4). These aspirations, expectations and tastes are shaped by different educational systems and different levels of system. In other words, the sphere of inter-generational conflicts is moulded through conflicts in practices displayed by individuals as a result of different processes of education and socialization. Bourdieu argues that rate of change in cultural space is affected by the intensity of struggle between generations for scarce cultural resources (Turner and Edmunds, 2002: 223-4). A part of this impact is displayed above, for example, so as to point out the dimensions of cultural capital to be acquired in order to attain certain occupations (see Figure 1). This line of reading can continue by taking a look at the distribution of cultural (CC) and economic capital (EC) possessed by occupational groups in different generations as given below.

Table 7

Distribution of Cultural and Economic Capital by Social Classes in Turkey, 2004

Social Classes	18-49 years* (mean)		50-64 years** (mean)		65+ years*** (mean)	
	CC	EC	CC	EC	CC	EC
Professionals, managerial	7.01	797	6.20	591	6.13	544
Other non manual professionals	5.90	519	4.52	385	4.01	437
Self employed	5.50	620	5.93	563	5.49	388
Skilled workers	4.76	340	4.27	285	3.91	299
Farmers	4.56	186	4.53	284	3.77	171
Unskilled workers	3.87	222	2.97	407	2.01	163

*F = 20.656, p<0.01; ** F = 3.458, p<0.01; *** F = 1.609, p<0.1.

Economic capital is indicated as monthly income in Euros.

Amounts of economic capital possessed display a pattern similar to the distribution of cultural capital with respect to occupations; as upward mobility in class position increases, so does economic and cultural capital possessed by an individual. It can still be observed, however, that the distribution of cultural and economic capital possessed by some occupational classes may vary with respect to generations. Different from occupational class hierarchy, in the oldest generation comprising the elderly people (65+), the self-employed enjoy a higher level of cultural capital than those from the field of other non-manual professionals while the economic capital of the latter (437 Euros) is higher than that of the self employed (388 Euros). In the older generation (50-64 years) the self-employed again have a higher level of cultural capital than individuals from the field of other non-manual professionals while, in this case, economic capital of the self-employed too is higher than the other group. As far as this generation is

concerned, a similar situation can be observed with respect to unskilled workers and farmers, who are at the bottom of the occupational classification. Further, differences within the generation composed of persons age 18-49 can be traced in Table 7. To conclude, comparative proportional distribution of economic and cultural capital does display important variations.

Hence, the type, amount and proportional distribution of capital take shape in the respective fields in which the actors act in line with their respective interests and in a way to enable them to take their specific positions in a given field. In some cases cultural capital determines economic capital, while in others economic capital determines the structure, proportion and extent to which cultural capital may be acquired. The type of capital that is dominant within the field determines the nature of the position taken (or contested for) in that field and individuals contest over resources in order to acquire a type of capital in line with their objectives. Hence, it can be argued that not only cultural but economic capital possessed as well determines the course of events in this path.

In this sense, governing classes as holders of privilege within the cultural field demarcate the boundaries (to the extent they possess cultural and economic capital) of this field and determine the legitimate patterns of attitudes and behaviours. As a group enjoying the highest level of capital (cultural or economic depending upon their specific interests), these classes hold the power of influencing, changing and transforming the world in which they are active.

5. Conclusion

A person who is endowed with a high level of cultural capital which basically consists of educational background and lifestyle (*habitus*) may perceive probable changes that await him/her and may claim the social life best fitting for him/her in a more definitive and perfect way. Thus, the size of acquired cultural capital functions in a way so as to distinguish its owner from others by raising him/her to a different social position. By looking at those fields to which individuals attach importance in their lives, one can see in which ways and by which means cultural capital creates distinctions in those fields. As shown by analyses above, scarcity of resources available in the social field and the unequal distribution of assets are preserved over generations by governing classes who legitimize the processes of acquiring (economic and cultural) capital along with their particular interests as well as the mechanisms of unequal distribution in Turkey. Hence, unequal distribution of assets and resources offered to individuals in society feed a social hierarchy and individuals contest to take hold of resources offered in a particular field in order to gain power, privilege or influence. This struggle proceeds in a way that determines and legitimizes specific class positions. The preservation of this inequality, based on unequal distribution of cultural capital that typically secures dominance for the minority upper echelons

over the masses suggests the existence of a social life where there is no winner.

Socio-cultural policies pursued throughout the process of modernization in Turkey have not only reproduced social groups who support these policies, but also laid the ground for cultural inequality in the social sphere. Still, again in the process of modernization, one can observe an increase in cultural capital accumulated from one generation to the next. In contemporary Turkey, the group enjoying the highest level of cultural capital consists of professionals and managers within the youngest generation (age 18-49). Also, the level of cultural capital of unskilled workers in the oldest generation (65+) is higher than that of the same group in the youngest and older generations. That is, even among “unskilled workers”, youngest generations enjoy a higher level of cultural capital than their counterparts in the oldest and older generational groups. This situation reflects the fact that in Turkey there is an upward social mobility in the context of cultural capital endowment. This state of youngest generations enjoying relatively more cultural capital than older generations is also the source of symbolic conflict between generations. The symbolic conflict becomes more visible particularly in the field of politics, where individuals from different generations come in contact with each other. Conservative approaches championed by the older generations in the field of social policy, for example, are geared to block youngest generations’ access to scarce resources that would otherwise enable them to ascend and compete for limited positions of status. The struggle for holding positions particularly in the realm of politics is important in the sense that it is where inter-generational conflict becomes more visible. While older generations are engaged in political initiatives geared to the preservation and transfer of inequality for maintaining their present positions, resistance and capital accumulation strategies of the younger generation widely differ.

Today in the daily life of Turkey, there are considerable inequalities in terms of access to adequate living conditions and material resources. It is possible to explain these inequalities as resulting from a longstanding attachment to cultural capital. Equity between age groups social classes and men and women is a fundamental component of social justice and human rights. At the same time, the level of political maturity in a ‘*modern society*’ is reflected in actions and commitments to social policies. The key decision makers in Turkey need to accept that there is currently a system failure in terms of integrating the principles of gender and social class equity and gender mainstreaming throughout the whole of society. In particular, positive actions are required to redress a range of ‘*gender gaps*’ that currently exist in many social contexts that include education, training, labour market participation and provision of social welfare and social security benefits. The fact that women are over-represented in part-time and casual or temporary work places them at a disadvantage compared to men who generally experience full-time work on a sustained basis. The

spasmodic working opportunities for women combined with wage differences between men and women places women at a great disadvantage during their working life and even more so in older age. Again, the fact that social services provision to the citizens in Turkey is more favourable to men represents a clear case of gender blindness and a blatant infringement on gender equity.

Consequently, gender, class and age responsive policies in the area of health and social security will be essential in order to prevent the triple jeopardy of being female, old and poor. It has to be acknowledged, however, that any future development agenda that considers class and gender equity will require a commitment to making fundamental changes to existing social and economic structures along with a full acceptance of the human right of gender equity.

While unequal distribution legitimizes given class positions and associated oppression, more equivalent distribution of cultural capital may serve as the spearhead of desire for a more democratic society and equal opportunities. As an intervening variable in this context, cultural capital is important in that it may help achieve social equity. This intervening role can be translated into life not by creating individuals *who can save themselves by getting educated* but through a level of organization that brings along fairer modes of social reproduction.

References

- ARUN, Ö., (2009), "Yaşlı Bireyin Türkiye Serüveni: Türkiye'de Yaşlı Bireyler Arasında Kültürel Sermaye Dağılımı" *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 8(1), 77-100.
- BENNET, T., M. EMMISON, and FROW, J. (1999), *Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1993), *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- (1986), "The Forms of Capital." in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology Education*, edited by John G. Richardson. New York: Greenwood Press. 241-58
- (1984), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- (1974), "The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic Achievement and Cultural Inequalities" in *Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Eggleston. London: Methuen.
- BOURDIEU, P. and WACQUANT, L. (1992), *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BOURDIEU, P. and PASSERON, J.C. (1964), *Les Héritiers: Les Etudiants et la culture*. Paris: Ed. de Minuit.
- BÖRÖCZ, J. and SOUTHWORTH, C. (1996), "Decomposing the Intellectuals' Class Power: Conversation of Cultural Capital to Income, Hungary, 1986." *Social Forces*, 74 (3), 797-821.
- EITLE, T.M. and EITLE, L.J. (2002), "Race, Cultural Capital, and the Educational Effects of

- Participation in Sports.” *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 75 (April): 123-146.
- KATSILLIS, J. and RUBINSON, R. (1990), “Cultural Capital, Student Achievement, and Educational Reproduction: The Case of Greece.” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 55 (April): 270-279.
- LAMONT, M. and LAREAU, A. (1988), “Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments. *Sociological Theory*. Vol. 6 (Fall), 153-168.
- NAUENBURG, R. and MERTEL, B. (2004), European Quality of Life Survey. Technical Report. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung.
- ROSE, R. and ÖZCAN, Y. Z. (2007), *First European Quality of Life Survey: Quality of Life in Turkey*. Dublin: European Foundation.
- SMITS, J. and GÜNDÜZ HOŞGÖR, A. (2006), “Effects of family background characteristics on educational participation in Turkey.” *International Journal of Educational Development*. Vol. 26, 545-560.
- TURNER, B.S. and EDMUNDS, J. (2002) “The Distaste of Taste.” *Journal of Consumer Culture*. 2(2) 219-240.

Özet

Eğitimli yurttaşlar?

Çağdaş Türkiye’de kültürel sermaye, sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet ve kuşaklar

Kültürel sermaye, eğitim yoluyla elde edilen hünelerinin bir bütünüdür ve yüksek kültüre ait malumatın ta kendisi olarak tanımlanabilir (Bourdieu, 1986). Kültürel sermaye, bir grup insanı diğerlerinden farklı bir toplumsal pozisyona çıkararak ayırıyorsa, bu durum sadece sosyal bir fark değil, aynı zamanda sosyal bir eşitsizlik de yaratıyor demektir. Kültürel sermayenin dağılımı bu çerçevede değerlendirildiğinde, ampirik olarak Türkiye’de farklılaşarak dağılan kültürel birikimden ve bu dağılımı gözlemleyebilecek istatistiksel düzenliliklerden söz edilebilir mi? Bu soruya yanıt vermek üzere, 2004 yılına ait Avrupa Yaşam Kalitesi Araştırması veri seti kullanılarak, çağdaş Türkiye’de kültürel sermayenin sosyal ayrımı nasıl şekillendirdiği değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye’de daha hacimli kültürel sermayeye sahip genç kuşak yönetici sınıflar, kültürel alan içinde imtiyazın sahibi olarak alanın sınırlarını çizer ve oradaki meşru tavır, tutum ya da davranış kalıplarını belirlerler. Bu beğeni ve pratiklerdeki kırılmalar, Türkiye’de kuşaklar arası sembolik çatışmanın da kaynağını oluşturur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kültürel sermaye, sınıf, kuşak, toplumsal cinsiyet, Bourdieu, Türkiye.