

THE FUNCTION OF CULTURAL NORMS ON EATING AND DRINKING
PRACTICES BASED ON FRAMEWORK OF DISTINCTION THEORY IN
TURKISH CINEMA DURING THE 1980s AND 1990s

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
OZYEGIN UNIVERSITY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF DESIGN, TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY

MAY 2022

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To the people who have sincerely supported me and stood by me



ABSTRACT

Food consumption practices are one of the fields of study that have focused on the increasing interest in food since the 1980s with the effect of globalization. Expressing that food represents a lifestyle, status, and class belonging as a form of consumption, Bourdieu's theory of distinction has become a valuable method in the sociology of food. The focus of this thesis is on eating and drinking practices, which are one of the areas where changes have been effective since 1980, which was a turning point with the military coup that caused political changes and economic liberalization for Turkey. Within the scope of the thesis, which aims to use the films of the period as a data source, the phenomenon of food is evaluated within the framework of Bourdieu's theory of distinction. According to Metz, who applies the method of semiotics to film studies, although films are fictional works, they contain cultural codes in their narrative structure. In this direction, the texts and visual contents of the films of the period were analyzed with structuralist and semiotic methods. The scope of the thesis was extended until 2000 in order to evaluate the approaches that the effects of the 1980s on food habits became evident in the 1990s. Thus, Turkish films released in the 1980s and 1990s formed the research universe and were divided into two sample groups. In order to determine the valid results for the research period, the socio-political structure of Turkey before 1980 was examined and the factors affecting the eating and drinking habits were investigated. Afterward, the prominent scenes among the findings obtained from the films were grouped to determine the analysis titles. Within the help of the theoretical framework, the effects of modernization on table manners and dining etiquette, eating and drinking out practices, and alcohol consumption as a form of status representation were analyzed separately in two sample groups.

Keywords: Turkish Cinema, Food Culture, Eating and Drinking Habits, Distinction Theory, the 1980s, the 1990s

ÖZET

Küreselleşmenin etkisiyle 1980’lerden itibaren yemek konusuna artan ilginin odaklandığı çalışma alanlarından biri yemek tüketim pratikleridir. Yemeğin bir tüketim biçimi olarak yaşam tarzını, statüyü ve sınıf aidiyetini temsil ettiğini ifade eden Bourdieu'nun ayırım kuramı yemek sosyolojisinde değerli bir yöntem haline gelmiştir. Bu tezin odak noktası Türkiye için gerek siyasal değişikliklere sebep olan askeri darbe gerek ekonomik liberalizasyon ile bir dönüm noktası olan 1980 yılı itibariyle gerçekleşen değişimlerin etkili olduğu alanlardan biri olan yeme içme pratikleridir. Yemek olgusuna Bourdieu’nün ayırım teorisi çerçevesinde yaklaşılacak tez kapsamında, döneme ait olan filmlerin bir veri kaynağı olarak kullanılabilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Film çalışmalarına göstergebilim metodunu uygulayan Metz’e göre, filmler kurgusal eserler olmasına rağmen anlatı yapılarında kültürel kodlar barındırmaktadırlar. Bu doğrultuda dönemin filmlerinin metinleri ve görsel içerikleri yapısal ve göstergebilim metotlarıyla analiz edilmiştir. 1980li yıllarda yemek alışkanlıklarında ortaya çıkan etkilerin 1990lı yıllarda belirginleştiğine yönelik yaklaşımların değerlendirilebilmesi için tez kapsamı 2000 yılına kadar genişletilmiştir. Böylelikle, 1980’ler ve 1990’larda çekilmiş Türk filmleri araştırma evrenini oluşturmuş ve iki örneklem grubuna ayrılmıştır. Araştırma dönemine yönelik doğru sonuçların tespit edilebilmesi için 1980 öncesi Türkiye’sinin sosyo-politik yapısı ele alınarak yeme içme alışkanlıklarını etkileyen faktörler incelenmiştir. Devamında, analiz başlıklarının belirlenmesi için filmlerden elde edilen bulgular arasında öne çıkan sahneler ile gruplandırma yapılmıştır. Teori kapsamında modernleşmenin sofrada adabına ve yeme-içme görgü kurallarına etkileri, dışarıda yeme içme pratikleri ve bir statü temsil biçimi olarak alkol tüketimi başlıkları iki örneklem grubunda karşılaştırmalı olarak analiz edilmiştir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I have to thank my thesis advisors, Asst. Prof. Metin Çavuş and Assoc. Prof. Özge Samancı, for their exciting ideas and contributions to my thesis. I would especially like to thank my advisors for believing in me for my postgraduate research topic, which I have dreamed of for many years.

I would also like to express my deepest appreciation to my respected lecturers in my master's program for allowing me the freedom to express my ideas openly and for encouraging me to push my imagination. I truly appreciate you and the time you spent helping me on many occasions.

I would also like to acknowledge Asst. Prof. Lalehan Öcal, Assoc. Prof. Ayşe Hazar Köksal and Asst. Prof. Zeynep Merve Uygün Azizoğlu as the defense committee of this thesis, and I am gratefully indebted to them for their very valuable comments on this thesis.

Additionally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my mother Mine, to my aunt Lümeysa, to my aunt Fatma, to my partner, to my classmate, and to my best friend Aysu Gürses for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank the directors of the films that constitute the data of my thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Justification

Turkish cuisine, which can be traced historically to Central Asia, has a deep-rooted food culture heritage. The food culture heritage, which was influenced by factors such as migration, trade, religious restrictions, and cultural rituals, gained structural features in the geography of Turkey during the six-hundred-year Ottoman Empire domination. In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were changes in the food culture with the steps taken in the name of modernization. European eating and drinking practices, conceptualized with the term *Alafranga*, slowly began to show themselves in this geography, for example, new table manners, new cooking techniques, new varieties of dishes, and new eating and drinking habits (Samancı, 2020a). In the period when *Alaturka* vs. *Alafranga* dichotomy was experienced, although it was quickly accepted by the elites in urban life, it did not spread to rural areas too much (Samancı, 2016). However, by 1980 it had spread from the urban elite to the middle classes and gradually to wider circles including rural areas (Yenal, 2000). One of the reasons for this diffusion is that the consumer society that became widespread throughout the world during the late capitalist period and the transition of the government to a free market economy after the 1980 coup in Turkey took place simultaneously (Bali, 2002). In this cultural change that surrounds the world, society has been exposed to a top-down approach with its socio-political breakthroughs in Turkey (Kozanoğlu, 1992; 69). How society adapts to the changes in the food culture during this process is a matter that needs to be justified. Besides, the literature review has determined that there are historical studies on Turkey's food research studies (Bilgin & Samancı, 2008; Halıcı, 2009; Ünsal, 2010; Samancı 2016; Samancı 2020a), but there is still a need for studies in the sociological field (Yenal, 2000; Sauner, 2008; Akarçay, 2016).

1.2 The Aim of the Study

Cultural consumption practices, which help social classes and individuals to differentiate themselves in social space, came to the fore, especially with late capitalism (Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1991). The cultural showcase and encouraged Western consumption practices, which started to be created under the guise of cultural values coming to the fore in the 1980s in Turkey, brought their effects to the forefront in the 1990s. Increasing flow of foreign capital, development of the food industry, development of retailing, and the new chain restaurants are important issues affecting the diversification of eating and drinking practices (Yenal, 2000). An additional important factor is the rise of the advertising and media industry (Kozanoğlu, 1992; Bali, 2002). In the 1990s, the effects of the dominant new world order and globalization have become clearer. Hence, films between 1980 and 2000 were divided into two separate sample groups as the 1980s and 1990s. In this way, it is aimed to evaluate the changes in eating and drinking habits chronologically within the films that contain cultural codes with the method of content analysis. In other words, it is intended to look at the social transformation process in Turkey through the lens of cinema, by virtue of the concepts such as foodstuffs and drinks, table manners, and dining out. One of the main purposes of this study is to conduct an interdisciplinary study by combining the changing food habits from 1980 to 2000 with the field of film studies. For this research, films are expected to be a data source by reflecting socio-cultural changes in social class tastes and eating habits. In line with these purposes, the research question 'Do Turkish films of the 1980s and 1990s provide a source to reflect the changes in eating and drinking practices?' was developed. In order to find an answer to this question, it is aimed to develop an approach to a number of more fundamental questions:

- Do the films reflect the cultural codes of the period they belong to?
- Does the analysis of the film narratives with a structuralist and semiotic method enable an analysis of a period?
- Do the given characteristics of the characters in the film narratives provide useful data within the scope of the theory of distinction?

1.3 Scope

With Christian Metz's application of semiotics to the cinema, the claim that cinema contains cultural codes belonging to the audience it addresses has become a pioneering approach in determining the data source of the thesis. In order to analyze the text and visual contents in the film narrative with the same method, a suitable sample group was obtained by scanning the feature films of the period. The scope of the films released in Turkey was limited between 1980 and 2000, and films were selected by examining their themes; only the films exhibiting practices from daily life were included. In this period, films dealing with political issues such as the 1980 coup were excluded because of the overt symbolic characteristics of the representation of the events. Films telling stories from the periods before 1980 were excluded because they do not express the cultural norms of the analyzed period. At the same time, films in which foods and beverages were not properly detected due to the poor image quality of the viewed copy were excluded and that one was one of the main factors affecting the limitation of the sample group. Around 100 films were scanned and among them, those that did not comply with the mentioned conditions were eliminated. After the first elimination 60 films were watched, and those that did not contain enough scenes related to eating and drinking were not included in the sample group because they did not provide the necessary data. 22 films (Table 1) were selected as the research sample of the thesis, considering the subject of the films, the characteristics of the characters in the story, and especially the quality and quantity of the eating and drinking scenes. Among the selected films, there are films belonging to the genres of comedy, drama, and fantasy.

1.4 Method

Contemporary sociological theorist Pierre Bourdieu analyzed the distinction between the cultural tastes of different classes and their predisposition to their cultural consumption, with his research on French society in his work *Distinction* (1984). He argues that the field of food and nutrition is one of the consumption

practices that individuals internalize to maintain or increase their status in the social structure. Thanks to his extensive research in that field, which he studied with great care, his theory was accepted as a useful method in the sociology of food.

Therefore, the terms conceptualized by Bourdieu in the theory of distinction constitute a theoretical background for this thesis. In particular, the correspondence analysis applied by Bourdieu has been determined as a guide in framing the theory of distinction within the scope of this thesis. Bourdieu's theory of distinction and the terminology related to this theory have been chosen so that this study, which is carried out in a cultural consumption field such as eating and drinking practices, can sit on a sociological basis for the behavior of individuals and classes.

The primary source used is Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984), and the secondary sources used for elaboration and deepening of the study are books and scientific articles written within the framework of Bourdieu's theory of distinction.

In the continuation, the factors affecting the food culture of Turkey in the period until 1980 are explained by reviewing the literature with a historical approach. In this study, which used qualitative research methods, the content analysis technique was used to collect data.

In this direction, Turkish Cinema films produced between 1980 and 2000 were scanned and 22 films (Table.1) were analyzed according to the structuralist and semiotic film theory. In addition to daily eating and drinking behaviors, which are the symptoms of changes in food culture, food-related materials such as kitchen equipment, tableware types, table setting, and table cutlery were examined within the scope of the research. Moreover, with whom, where, under what conditions, and in what environment the practices of eating and drinking take place were also included in the evaluation in order to enhance the role that food plays in social interaction. In the light of the data obtained from the films, the findings gathered under three main headings were examined comparatively between the 1980s and the 1990s. The sociological effects of the practice of eating, which is a daily activity, and its place in the cinema narrative have been investigated.

1.5 The Originality of the Study and Contribution of the Field

Food studies started to take place in the 1970s as an interdisciplinary branch of social science that analyzes food-related issues such as taste, health, and status (Belasco, 2008: 6). It provides useful study data in the analysis of cultural structures by being in a reciprocal relationship with art, humanities, and social science disciplines such as history, geography, and sociology. While food studies research is highly popular in academia, interdisciplinary studies have also increased recently. Similarly, cinema studies reveal many new studies in academic research areas. Studies on cinema and sociology, food and sociology, and food sociology in cinema are also listed in the literature review section of this dissertation. However, no similar study has been conducted in terms of the functional use of cinema in the analysis of food culture in a particular society or the historical change in food culture in a particular period. Simultaneously, the effects of the changes in the social structure, which are discussed according to the analysis titles, on the food culture are interpreted through the scenes in the film narrative. Besides, it is an original work in terms of using cinema as a mirror in the analysis of the change in a certain cultural field of a certain period.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE METHODOLOGY

2.1. Bourdieu: Habitus, Field, and Cultural Capital - Theoretical Background

Bourdieu, one of the most influential sociologists of the 20th century, has written many works (Bourdieu (1977; 1984; 1989; 1990; 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; 2003; Bourdieu & Whiteside 1990) in the field of social sciences to understand the structure of society. Since his works are on various subjects such as education, aesthetics, economics, capital structures, class distinction, popular culture, arts, interests, reproduction, and consumption practices, he has been read and referenced by many scientists, primarily from the fields of sociology and anthropology (Duvall, 2007). One of the reasons for the widespread use of his theory is that its basic concepts based on human relations are illuminating in explaining social structures in different fields. His works which are some of the most commonly cited references in the sociology of culture (Neuman, 2019), involve a broad range of empirical research from ethnography to sociological analysis of linguistics, religion, consumer and cultural tastes, the field of education, and science in modern French society in the nineteenth century (Swartz, 1997; Dursun, 2018). The key theoretical tools comprise habitus, field, practice, and forms of capital; cultural, economic, and social (Warde, 2011). Apart from these concepts, the weighty social approaches he developed were used to make the thesis more explanatory. Bourdieu is not a mere theorist because he also introduced a methodology that offers empirical research paths used in social science research. Bourdieu's conceptual richness and complexity make a simple summary impossible.

Within the scope of this thesis, the concepts used to analyze the change in Turkey's social structure specific to food culture, are mainly based on Bourdieu's sociology. He did not only follow a structuralist approach to analyzing society, but also adopted a method called *constructivist structuralism*, *structuralist constructivism* (Flecha et al., 2001), or *genetic structuralism* method (Harker et al., 1990). It is useful to look at the formation of the methodology in order to present the right approach to the notion distinction that is basically intended to be emphasized.

While positivism is a doctrine that claims that the only real source of knowledge in natural sciences is in nature and that it can be reached through observation, it presents an approach that is believed to exist independent of the will of individuals when integrated into social sciences. Akin to Bachelard, who studies the philosophy of knowledge, Bourdieu takes a critical approach to empiricism and positivism and focuses on the research process itself. Based on Bachelard's dialectical trajectory, he develops a structural constructivist model for this sociological approach. Along with this model, he provides tools to theoretically, and methodically integrate and relate dichotomies, such as micro/macro, material/symbolic, subjectivity/objectivity, structure/agency, freedom/necessity, and interactionism/structuralism, (Power, 1999; Aslan, 2016). The best example is the concept of *habitus*, which breaks the dualism of subjectivism and objectivism.

Bourdieu combines structuralism, which advocates an objective reality independent of individual wills, and phenomenology, which accepts agents' representations of the world as reality (Bourdieu, 1990 as cited in Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007). While suggesting that there are structured structures, he does not reject both ways of thinking, on the contrary, he composes a view that includes both ideas. He explains the formation of these structured structures that he put forward with the concept of *habitus* (Flecha et al., 2001). This term, which goes beyond the dichotomy of objectivity/subjectivity, also goes beyond the dichotomy of individual/society (Turner et al., 2002). In *habitus*, the socialized individual is not in opposition to the society, but s/he is one of the forms of existence of the society (Swartz, 2011). This term, which signifies a system of socially constructed dispositions, gives birth to action (practices) that are extremely spontaneous and creative, in contrast to the word 'habit' (Çeğin G. and Göker E., 2015). *Habitus* is essentially a variable and class-specific concept, and process that is shaped and constructed according to the position of each agent in the social sphere. In this way, it provides a fundamental mediation, freeing it from objectivism, which understands action as a 'mechanical' reaction without an 'agent', and subjectivism, which portrays it as the deliberate work of conscious intention. It refers to the embodied structures of tendencies that shape how the individual both internally perceives the world and externally acts

within these social structures. In this context, it is possible to read habitus as internalized and embodied social structures. Primary habitus such as family structure and ethnic identity in childhood is more dominant than the predispositions of the individual in later periods (Power, 1999). For example, the reason why the lower classes prefer public coffeehouses as opposed to cafes and restaurants that appeal to the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois is not only the inadequacy of their economic capital. Coffeehouses are friendly places where you can interact with strangers by having a drink together. Restaurants, which form a small jurisdiction where each table is separated, are cold and repulsive to the class habitus that prefers the coffeehouse (Bourdieu, 1984: 183). In other words, what is meant by the concept of habitus is the qualification that emphasizes both the cognitive and bodily basis of the action.

According to Bourdieu, ‘fieldwork in philosophy’, is the most convenient definition to describe the sociological examination approach. Moreover, the unifying problems of both sociology and anthropology; the strategies developed by groups to produce and reproduce the conditions of collective existence and the role of culture in this reproduction process (Swartz, 2011). Habitus presents the principles by which individuals choose the strategies they will use in the social world. The concept of strategy does not mean a conscious choice or a rational calculation here. Even if the functioning of the habitus is not conscious, it expresses itself in the most practical actions such as eating, talking, and even walking. After all, for Bourdieu, individuals are not considered completely rational, however, they have reasonable and practical feelings (Aslan, 2016). In summary, habitus¹ is a system of internalized dispositions that mediates between social structures and practical activity, shaped by the former and regulated by the latter.

Bourdieu portrays his understanding of taste as a form-changing manifestation of social need without reducing it to individuality. In order to make sense of actions in social structures, it is necessary to give information about the concept of field

¹ In a sense, habitus is the collective consciousness of those in a similar position, because it provides a cognitive and emotional guide that enables individuals to present the world in a similar way and to classify, choose, evaluate, and act in a particular way (Çeğin G. and Göker E., 2015).

together with the concept of habitus. In order to better understand field, it is useful to briefly present the game analogy. The game analogy was used to understand the general properties of the ordered universe in the structure of the fields. Entering a field requires conscious or unconscious recognition of the rules of the game, thus legitimizing certain forms of struggle and excluding others (Harker et al., 1990). The analogy can be expressed simply with a card game, as in the example given by Bourdieu; about the poker game (Swartz, 1997). There are certain rules to win the game, and the cards in the hands of the participants are seen as their various capitals from their primary and secondary habitus. These social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capitals are unevenly distributed. Individuals play the game with the aim of winning a prize by determining strategies with the cards in their hands. The term '*illusio*' is associated with the concept of habitus; It is conceptualized to express the feeling of being involved in the game and being persuaded to play. In this way, he suggested that the following structure was constructed to explain the relationship between social practice, the individual, and the structure: $(\text{Habitus} \times \text{Capital}) + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$ (Bourdieu, 1984:101). The field briefly determines the structure of the social environment in which the habitus functions (Swartz, 2001: 167). In the concept of field, it gathers all the phenomena (subject and object) in its center of gravity, such as a magnetic field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2003). Everyone who participates in the field wants to have the power of the relevant field and to regulate the hierarchy in the field. Various resources and values used by actors to compete in these fields are called 'capital' (Gartman, 2002). Bourdieu and Wacquant (2003) stated that the area is like the battlefield where this struggle takes place. For instance, someone who wants to be a chef must obtain cuisine capital in that field of the kitchen department as the starting point for himself, that is, s/he must adhere to the rules of this field.

The basic concepts of Bourdieu on this subject are "habitus" and "field". Bourdieu applied the notion of habitus to taste as a criticism of the Kantian aesthetic theory. At this juncture, it is necessary to open a parenthesis to Kant's theory of aesthetics. Marx added new perspectives to the proposed approaches to 'aesthetic theory and

judgments of taste'. In this way, the layered structures presented by Bourdieu can be understood more clearly.

2.2 The road to Distinction: Judgment of Taste

Kant brought the concept of “aesthetic experience” to the agenda by refusing the father of Rationalist philosophy, Baumgarten, who privatized the term aesthetics, to connect aesthetics to sensory capacities. Thus, Kant is the first philosopher to base the concept of aesthetic experience and beauty on purely subjective grounds and to change the concept of aesthetics (Söylemez, 2017). With the philosopher's inferences, the aesthetic judgment is not the concept of the object; the subject's feeling determines. As stated in *First Transformations in Aesthetic Methodology and Effect of Kant, Hegel, Marx* (2017), the artistic impasses of the period were overcome and a turning point in art was achieved with the subject's emotion coming to the fore. He called an object the "judgment of taste" to what he described as beautiful. These are phenomena of aesthetic enjoyment and pleasure and are based only on sensible perception. In other words, it is simply the 'thing' that we perceive without relying on anything. With his unique attitude, he tries to reach objectivity in this subjective structure. To achieve this objectivity, he proceeded in line with the theory of knowledge.

After Kant's breakthrough in the 18th century, there was a great transformation with Hegel in the 19th century regarding the aesthetic view. From this point of view, Hegel claimed that the work of art was a product of talent and genius, and he particularly emphasized the natural element in them. Talent is the specific competence that man does not have the power to give to himself purely through his own self-consciousness (Acar, 2012, as cited in Söylemez, 2017). Marx takes his aesthetic views from Hegel. Hegel's aesthetic is not a reflection of the real world; It is the relationship between everyday reality and the real causes of events. Since the Marxist understanding of art cannot be considered separately from the social and economic structure of the society, the development of Marxist aesthetics in class societies has been accepted together with the classifications. With a Marxist sociological approach, art is both a historical phenomenon and a social construction

(Graham, 1997). Art, which cannot be developed and thought of individually apart from social life and labor, has a social function on the basis of it. It can confirm and it can unsettle the preconceptions upon which the structure of social and economic power rests. One question which arises from this is how well or badly given forms and works of art perform these functions (1997: 37).

On the contrary, according to Bourdieu, individual preferences such as expensive merchandise, luxurious products, etc. are taken by an individual's habitus (Johnson, 2002). Furthermore, daily activities such as eating, and dressing are substituted for the embodiment in life of the mind by his sociological perspective (Swartz, 1997). However, as Bourdieu's experience in Algeria denoted, sociology was in real life; it was closely connected with ordinary people and ordinary events (Timur, 2007). And he also worked on a more general theory by placing Marx's concept of "capital" in the concept of "symbolic capital", by adding some spiritual values (Timur, 2007). There are symbolic interests, just like material interests (Swartz, 2011).

Concepts like habitus, cultural capital, the concept of field, and theory of practices were constituted by Bourdieu; they played a key role in studying the relationship between culture and social structure. It should be noted that Bourdieu's Theory of Distinction had three founding schools by which he was influenced. He was influenced by the Marxist school while drawing attention to its position in class production relations. He also benefited from Weber in terms of status and reputation analysis and took advantage of Durkheim's thoughts in the field of social classification struggle (Çeğin G. and Göker E., 2015). Each of the countless autonomous "fields" (philosophical, political, religious, scientific, aesthetic, etc.) which have a certain "symbolic capital" constitutes a microcosmos; those who are ruled and the dominant class constantly struggle for power (Palabıyık, 2011).

Symbolic capital is either mental or cognitive; that is, any form of capital turns into symbolic capital when it is perceived by social agents who are in a position to recognize and evaluate it (Timur, 2007). Bourdieu uses this structure in the analysis of contemporary cultural forms, which he expanded by arguing that despite the dominant hierarchy and struggle in the structure of the social order, unity creates systems that provide an integration with symbolic power. Because the

correspondence between social structures and mental structures continues through symbolic systems within fields. Because it offers an eye-opening method in answering one of the fundamental questions of this thesis. This theme opens a door to analyzing the historical changes in the social structure of Turkey after the 1980s, and how its symbolic system has been strengthened in the field of food culture through cinema.

Therefore, while citing his theory in *The Logic of Practice* (1980), he emphasized the symbolic meanings of practices in daily life. The act of eating out, which looks ordinary, is actually one of the representations of distinction between classes. For Bourdieu, the dominant or upper class struggles to maintain or elevate its privileged position through cultural and social reproduction mechanisms (Bourdieu, 1984). This social structure includes a process that accepts a certain amount of social change through large institutions such as education and religion and transmits culture over generations. The class struggle aims to expand its volume with various strategies for their positions, either consciously or unconsciously (Swartz, 1997). Thus, the daily habits of people, especially when eating and drinking behavior are examined through Bourdieu's concept of distinction, it is realized that individuals do not act autonomously but depending on the habitus they live in.

Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste ([1979] 1984) is the book in which he examines the relations between culture and social classes (Swartz, 1997) by analyzing the data set created with a questionnaire applied to a sample of 1217 people in 1960s (Bourdieu, 2015). Through these analyzes, Bourdieu addressed the discussion of the distinction and hierarchy-formation between the cultural tastes and cultural consumption disposition of different classes, and the theory-building of the interaction in the most abstract sense between 'cultural capital, habitus and field'. Bourdieu both refers to the Marxist approach to the distinction constituted by the social structure with socio-cultural interactions and includes the term habitus which is based on Durkheim's sacred/profane dichotomy into the work (Swartz, 1997). Adopting Durkheim's method of treating social phenomena as 'things', Bourdieu tries to find the social element in the behavior patterns that seem individual. Just at this point, the 'habitus' explained above

emerged as a key concept. One of the sociologists who influenced Bourdieu intellectually, interpreted Durkheim's statement 'society is God' as 'God is never other than society' (Harker et al., 1990: 191) and argued that it is a society that has the power to deify. Subsequently, Bourdieu agreed with the idea that the data emerging from the practices of consecrated cultural forms such as art, literature, theater, and cinema in the field of consumption should be analyzed (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2003). This approach, which is very useful for understanding the reflections of the eating and drinking practices portrayed in the field of cinema, on the social structure has formed one of the main ideas of this thesis. Finally, the section on Durkheim not only clarifies Bourdieu's point of view but also makes the approach to be conveyed in the context of this work transparently.

2.3 One of the Basic Structures of Distinction in Consumption: Food

One of the most important reasons why *Distinction* (1984) is frequently used as an inspirational work in food studies is that Bourdieu has published extensive food studies that he has done for many years. He exhibited and analyzed the data obtained from his research through tables and graphs. In general, he classified the foods according to their structures and interpreted them comparatively according to the occupations of the participants, that is, their class differences. He first compared a food study he conducted in 1972 between close class structures and then compared it with a grouping of participants from the dominant classes (1984: 181-182, 188). This research, which is quite comprehensive, focused on habitus tendencies over food expenditures. He classified food products as grains, vegetables, fruits, meat, alcohol, delicatessen, etc., and so compared their consumption by different occupational groups. According to these findings, he analyzed the tastes of food products between classes by considering their chemical structures. Another of his research is about hospitality, in which he incorporates many different dynamics. In his research, which was divided into many titles from who the guests are to what they wear and what they bring when they come, all kinds of details about the food such as the type and amount of food served were taken into consideration (1984: 198-199). In another study, he compared the consumption structure of the cases that

he grouped as food, representation, and culture, and the ratio between occupational groups (1984: 184). Finally, he analyzed the relationship between food products, which he classifies as healthy, natural, nutritious, fatty, salty, exotic, and the capital ratios of consumers, in another graphic he named food space (1984: 186).

In essence, he analyzed various forms of culture, including food, by applying *correspondence analysis*² to consumption practices. Since the habitus, which signifies a dispositional systems scheme, cannot be observed directly, the clustering of different practices according to different segments is interpreted by Bourdieu (Çeğin & Göker, 2015: 20). In this way, he exhibits many indicators of that habitus. In summary, Bourdieu presents a socio-historical and empirical method by addressing the multivariate and ambiguous character of cultural consumption without reducing taste to individuality in class warfare. Thus, he finds that taste is vital in imposing as knowledge of how to enjoy life and in maintaining positions in the class struggle. In the continuation of this explanation, some of the important academic studies related to food studies will be exemplified within the framework of distinction theory.

Douglas B. Holt, who argues that taste becomes a resource in the functioning of consumption practices as a mechanism of social reproduction, has written a comprehensive article to pave the way for socio-historical research in contemporary American sociology (1997). In this work, in which Bourdieu's theory of distinction was reformulated, he conducted empirical studies to clarify the functional structure of the transformation of cultural capitals into patterns of taste specific to a particular field. In this context, he applied qualitative research to a sample group of 50 randomly selected from the phone book in Pennsylvania (1998). Bourdieu had studied in many areas before Holt's research in American sociology, but his interviews included questions about consumer preferences in music, television, films, and food. The questions in the dining area are quite comprehensive and detailed, such as eating out, eating alone or together, and the characteristics of the meals. The criterion of cultural capital accumulation was classified under three

² Correspondence analysis is a statistical technique used to obtain a graphical representation of the relationship between rows and columns in a crosstab.

headings as family structure, education, and work. For example, respondents with high cultural capital have at least a bachelor's degree, while respondents with low cultural capital have the most a high school education. For family background, father's education and occupation were classified by the criteria applicable to the participants. Working-class and/or unemployed are categorized as low cultural capital business areas. The data revealed that low cultural capital (LCC) participants lived in local areas and tastes were regionally shaped. And these people preferred traditional options for indoor and outdoor food consumption. On the contrary, high cultural capital (HCC) are people who have lived or tended to be around the world and tend to exotic tastes in their food choices. In summary, by pointing out the relationship between aesthetics and ethical consumption, it was concluded that while the low-capital group's food consumption preferences are oriented towards material characteristics, on the contrary, there is a thoughtfully interpreted and aestheticized perception of taste that emphasizes subjective experiences (Baumann et al., 2019). Within the scope of the article, ethical consumption was discussed as a discourse shaped by the desire to make changes through consumption practices such as environmentalism, social egalitarianism, and protecting animal rights (Baumann et al., 2019: 2). One of the important findings of the study is that gender emerges as an unimportant factor, which is why it is important that Holt formulated theories to study Bourdieu.

When a study similar to this is implemented in Turkey, it is inevitable that it will obtain very different results due to the cultural structure. At this point, it would be useful to pass on to Erhan Akarçay's inspiring study, '*Beslencenin Sosyolojisi: Orta Sınıf(lar)ın Yeme İçme ve Eğlence Örüntüleri*' (2016). Akarçay's book, based on his comprehensive qualitative field research (2014), focused on food consumption and consumption of eating and drinking places in Eskişehir, and looked at how the new middle class differentiated itself from other social classes through these variables. In this field study, which is close to Bordieuan cultural analysis, it has been observed that the middle class has developed more than one language, although they have a common language within themselves. In this heterogeneous structure with different layers, each layer has built its own social and cultural codes, language, and space.

Thereby, the layers become clear and separate. The fact that the choice of dining venue itself has turned into an inherent habitus that draws the boundaries of the layers within the middle class has been an indicator of the validity of a Bordieuan view, at least partially. As a result, it was concluded that the middle class in Eskişehir did not differentiate itself to a great extent from other social classes in terms of food consumption and eating-drinking place preferences (2016: 365-366). Social classes, one of the indispensable issues of sociological research, describe social class distinctions within the fields in a Bordieuan sense. One of the situations that most affected Bourdieu while he was creating this theory was the efforts of people with 'legitimate' culture within the fields to keep the distinction with their reproduction mechanisms, in other words, their actions, in order not to slide down hierarchically (Berger, 1986). Of course, as an important difference in this approach, it should not be overlooked that habitus is one of the main factors in practical dispositions.

Food, Culture & Society is a peer-reviewed international publication that has been conducting sociological research with many different disciplines on the relationship between food and culture since 1996. 'An Introduction to Pierre Bourdieu's Key Theoretical Concepts' by Elaine M. Power (1999), which is one of the most read academic articles in this resource compared to the others, is quite remarkable. In this study, it was discussed how the 'food habitus' of single mothers receiving social assistance were shaped, and it was aimed to clarify how they used the different forms of capital they had. This family structure, which is maintained as a single parent, symbolizes anxiety as it disrupts the traditional family form, and also violates work ethics due to social assistance. All of this results in a massive reduction in their symbolic capital. Values such as class, gender, and culture, the source of their cultural, economic, social and symbolic capitals, shaped the 'food habitus' of these mothers. An example is the child's lunchbox; It means that it depends on factors such as the child's preferences, school standards and cultural appropriateness, as well as being nutritious and committed to purchasing power. As a result, the tendency to take care of the lunchbox in order to 'feed the family' by reducing its economic capital from other areas is related to the mother's habitus. In

her conclusion, she argues that the sociology of food and nutrition, which was developing at that time, had critical and empirical foundations and potential for application from a theoretical and methodological point of view. Thereby, this study is an important source of motivation for new research in the field of food sociology with a Bordieuan approach.

The article "Eating isn't just swallowing food: Food Practices in the Context of Social Class Trajectory" is an example of qualitative research that analyzes the impact of class habitus on food dispositions (Power et al. 2015). In this study conducted in Canada, semi-structured interviews and photo-elicitation methods were used with 16 households selected as the sample group that experienced social class mobility. The disposition to consume expensive food and to ethical eating is observed in people who experienced downward mobility in the class hierarchy, because they still want to keep class distinctions alive. In other words, the symbolic power of food practices allows individuals to present themselves as belonging to a class to which they do not belong. Since healthy eating is more valuable than unhealthy consumption types, choosing this practice indicates moral superiority. Likewise, being thrifty symbolizes symbolic power, which is perceived as a virtue. One of the strategies used by the ruling class, which tries to keep its distinction against the class with relatively low economic and cultural capital, is to examine the consumption behavior of classes with the theory of practices. Additionally, this is the most productive part of *Distinction*: It provokes research questions for the culture and class researcher, and asks methodological questions, so there is a guiding aspect of the study (Bourdieu, 2015). In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu defined a wide range of tastes and cultural practices as “active variables”; he also included sociodemographic and professional knowledge as “additional variables” (Çeğin G. and Göker E., 2015). The coordinates of the variable map were defined as capital types, and a three-dimensional "social space" framework emerged as capital volume, capital composition, and class fraction.

The best examples of class-based differences can be given through food consumption. According to studies, it stated that working-class men prefer salty, nutritive, clearly masculine foods, such as soup, meat, and cheese, which reinforce

their class-specific masculinity (Bourdieu, 1984). In this context, fish has not considered suitable food for working-class men because of not only its lightness but also the niceties required. This food has been found to be unique for women and children due to the diligence required in preparing the fish for cooking (Bourdieu, 1984). On the contrary, these features and their high prices are the reason why middle-class men prefer fish, especially sole and salmon (Bourdieu, 1984). In a sense, Bourdieu suggests that the middle class is relatively distant from the pressure of material imperatives, ideally displaying a general attachment to form and style in all cultural patterns rather than sensory and functional (Çeğin G. and Göker E., 2015).

In the article “Eating for Taste and Eating for Change: Ethical Consumption as a High-status Practice” written by Huddart Kennedy, Baumann, and Johnston, a comprehensive survey was conducted in Canada in 2011 regarding socio-demographic information as well as food consumption preferences (2019). The data obtained from 828 people who shopped for food items were analyzed by Tukey's post-hoc test and Chi-square tests. Cluster analysis emerged from 4 significant groups; Convincing evidence emerged that the group with high economic and cultural capital had an ethical consumption and a foodie orientation. The findings of the article revealed that foodie tendency is associated with high social status, but as cultural capital increases, the tendency is also related to ethical consumption as well as foodie tendency. One of the most important findings of the article is that the combination of these two emerges as the highest status of consumption in the context of taste. It states that the moral and aesthetic approach in consumption should be evaluated as cultural capital.

The article 'Covert Distinction: How Hipsters Practice Food-based Resistance Strategies in the Production of Identity' published in 2014 actually achieved a very similar result in not using Bourdieu's theories. Because, according to the research, one of the strategies he applied to display the differentiation of the structured style from the mainstream within a particular community was food (Cronin et al.). By not consuming mass-market food, they use food both as a mechanism of resistance against mediocrity and as a tool for identity production. In other words, with the

symbolic power of the practice of eating, they created a distinction against the social structure they adopted as the other in their own social space. It should also not be forgotten that according to Bourdieu, the cultural taste is an important factor for distinguishing social groups themselves in the areas of cultural consumption (Turner et al., 2002).

An example of research conducted on the impact of generations on cultural change as an alternative to the class took the generation known in Australia as the post-war baby boomers (Turner et al., 2002). The elites have chosen as the sample group describe a segment that grew up in a wealthy post-war society and had significant social and cultural advantages after a series of processes. As in Holt's research work mentioned above, it has already been understood that Bourdieu's theories need to be formulated because societies differ according to their socio-cultural backgrounds. In the case of Australia, this generation of anti-authoritarians developed new lifestyles and exhibited counter-culture movements. The social structure, which evolved into multiculturalism with the increase in immigration after the war, also affected the cuisine, and a cosmopolitan taste that rejected the traditional was formed, for example, intense interest in Italian and Asian cuisine. Elites, who adopt medium and low-brow tastes instead of high cultural tastes in their daily practices, expressed in their interviews that they consume popular food culture such as fast food, as well as having a sophisticated taste as their food disposition. It turned out that although the participants of the study were highly educated and had a career, they did not apply strategies by not specifying social high cultural activities as an indicator that would cause discrimination with other social groups through cultural appreciation (234). In other words, they adopted an eclectic structure by stating that they see attending opera, theater and exhibitions as practices that have the same effect as watching mainstream cinema or a football match. Finally, due to the larrikanism morality of Australian culture, showing highbrow taste in public is badly received, it is clear that it is important for the formation of taste in this community. In addition, it was stated that the financial capital was low in the family origins of the participants. In addition to the findings of the article, it should be said that; habitus of the participants were very effective in the formation of the distaste of taste.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. A Brief History of the *Alaturca* (Traditional) & *Alafranga* (Modern) Cuisines Dichotomy: Maintaining Distinction

Before scrutinizing the effects of the socio-political changes experienced in the social structure of Turkey between 1980 and 2000, it is necessary to take a historical look at the food culture of Turkey. Turkish cuisine is a wealthy cultural heritage that can be traced in a wide geography from Central Asia to the Balkans since the 10th and 11th centuries. While the cuisine in Central Asia was simply based on meat and dairy products, it started to change and enrich with the migrations to the West from the 10th century. These lands hosted the Ottoman Empire for a long time, combined with the influences of Arab and Persian culture, and the food culture inherited from the Seljuk, Byzantine, and ancient Anatolian societies until the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The food rituals of Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Muslim communities living in this geography were blended with each other, and a shared culinary culture was formed through interactions such as migration, war, and trade (Samancı, 2019). The privileged dishes of the Ottoman Imperial cuisine, which were shaped in Istanbul, the capital of the period, played an active role in the formation of the basis of today's Turkish cuisine (Bilgin, 2015). In the middle of the 17th century, it reached its widest borders with the lands it dominated on three continents: Most of the Mediterranean, northern Africa, and some parts of the Middle East. With this expansion, the foundations of a comprehensive food culture were laid with the mutual interaction of foodstuffs grown in different geographies, cooking techniques, and traditional food consumption habits.

Distinguishing the differences of food habits among the different social classes in Ottoman society is challenging. As witnessed by studies realized by Ottoman food historians the information about the daily activities of the ordinary people including eating and drinking habits is much less than the courtiers (Bilgin, 2015). This also shows that there are more written sources about the high class, such as palace kitchen records, banquet lists, and purchasing records. However, according to the information obtained from the sources, it is possible to state that, the quality and

variety of food served in the Ottoman imperial kitchen were, of course, quite different from what the common people consumed (Samancı, 2020a). For example, the spices consumed by the palace inhabitants, who had economic capital, indicated elitism, and refined tastes, or the meat types that the Ottoman elites consumed in high quantities were a symbol of power and distinction (Samancı, 2020a: 4). Food was one of the indicators of class differences in the Ottoman palace and Ottoman society, and it also had symbolic meanings. Artan in her study that analyzed the food consumption habits of the 18th-century Ottoman elites demonstrates that these food habits were reproduced through rituals in which socially constructed symbolic meanings were hidden (2000). Her study examines how Ottoman elites differentiated themselves from other societies and lower strata of society through the stratification of food consumption practices. As it can be understood from the examples given on products such as bread, although it is the most indispensable and staple food product of the society, even the difference in processing and preparation features in the palace kitchen ascribes a symbolic power to bread (Artan, 2000: 133). One of the other examples from the Ottoman classical period which represents the symbolic and reproductive power of food consumption habits is in the organization of table setting the table seating was arranged according to the hierarchy determined by the laws, separate tables were used to set up for the senior officials, and after they left the table, the lower-level officials would sit at these tables and eat the leftovers from them (Bilgin, 2008).

It can be noted that there is a mechanism of distinction that can be understood through the projection of food consumption patterns that can be traced since Ottoman times. Different social classes in Ottoman society continue to distinguish themselves from each other through tastes for generations. It should be noted that this continuity is not experienced in the same structure, and the distinction will continue with different consumption practices and taste tendencies, which lead to the formation of new concepts that emerged with paradigm shifts. The modernization movement, which started in the Ottoman palace in the 19th century and embraced by bureaucrats, also started a change in daily life practices.

The European lifestyle (*alafranga*) had a striking effect among the Ottoman elite's daily life including food habits since the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, fundamental changes such as the transition from the low dining table (*sini*) to the high dining table, from the use of communal plates to individual porcelain plates, from eating with a spoon and fingers to eating with cutlery, and from two meals to three meals a day, have emerged gradually during the whole 19th century, especially in Istanbul. Eating the food from a separate plate led to the individualization of the table culture, and the use of forks instead of eating the food by direct contact revealed a new concept of hygiene. Although the eating habits in Ottoman culture were not dirty and had the etiquette required by a civilized culture, it was considered an illegitimate behavior. European table manners were accepted as contemporary, especially in circles that adopted the European lifestyle. In this process, the new table setting was conceptualized as "*alafranga*" and the old table setting as "*alaturka*" style. These brand-new cultural patterns have turned into a norm that must be followed in the society over time, and the traditional method has now been described as vulgar and dirty. The new order, which started as a fashion with the influence of European culture, turned into a symbol of civilization with the acceptance of modern cultural forms and was associated with the modernization process that continued in the Republican period (Samancı, 2013).

During the same period, banquets with French characteristics were served during the official banquets given in the Ottoman palace. Ottoman cookbooks published at the end of the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century reveal also the modern (*alafranga*) cuisine culture inspired from Western style, which began to influence Istanbul cuisine. Thus, dichotomy of *alafranga* and *alaturka* cuisines became visible in printed cookbooks.

Traditional Turkish recipes along with modern *alafranga* recipes were taught through the cookbooks and publications that were used as course materials in girls' institutes which were opened during the Republican period. In these schools, it was aimed to introduce new cooking techniques and modern kitchen tools, together with table setting, table manners, and scientific kitchen training to the girls (Samancı, 2020a: 18). The two most important examples are *The Perfect Cookbook in*

Alaturka and Alafranga written by Fahriye Nedim (1933) and the *Alaturka and Alafranga Cookbook* written by Ekrem Muhittin Yeğin (1944). In the cookbooks published a short time later, Alafranga dishes were adapted to Turkish Cuisine (Samancı, 2020b: 209).

Another factor affecting the spread of these relatively new practices in the social structure is a new restaurant culture, which has different characteristics from the traditional eatery shops called '*esnaf lokantası*' of the Ottoman Empire. The concept of new restaurant was developed in cities such as İstanbul, İzmir, and Ankara. With the Westernization movements that started after the Tanzimat period and accelerated with the Republic (Keyder, 2000), restaurants, cafes, hotels, and patisseries serving European cuisine started to be established first in Pera and Galata regions in Istanbul (Ünsal, 2010). With the modernist approach embraced by the political elites of the Republican era, these new eating habits became known among the newly formed Turkish bourgeoisie. It should be noted that while these new habits were effective in developed cities, they interacted very slowly in rural areas in Anatolia, and even they did not reach some of them up until 1980's (Samancı, 2020a: 19). Dramatic changes occurred in eating outside habits in big cities of Turkey since the 1960s. While the non-Muslim population of Istanbul decreased rapidly due to new decisions such as the wealth tax taken by the government at the end of the Second World War, internal migration from the countryside since the 1950s gave the city's structure a different atmosphere (Bartu, 2000). In this process, Istanbul met with *kebabçılar* (kebab restaurants) where Antep, Adana, and Urfa style kebabs sold and Anatolian delicacies such as *lahmacun* (a kind of flatbread topped with minced meat mixture made of parsley, onions, red peppers, tomatoes), *kibbeh*, *çiğ köfte* (raw meatball), *acılı ezme* (hot pepper spread) (Ünsal, 2010). The change was expressed as follows in Bartu's quote from an old man of Istanbul family origin; 'We became the land of those who eat *lahmacun*.' his quote from an author is as follows: 'Beyoğlu used to smell of perfume and sesame. Now it smells like *lahmacun*.' (2000: 50).

3.2. Economic and Political Conjuncture of Turkey Before 1980

In the early 1960s and 1970s, the modernizing effect of the disintegration of traditional social structures as a result of economic growth in Turkey was recognized. The integration of a significant part of the population into city life and the gradual participation of small peasant producers in the market was considered a European future (Keyder, 1989). Through the Import Substituted Industrialization (ISI) policies, the villagers, who migrated on the grounds of the need for labor and new markets of industrialists, got into the market and kept up with the social system. Workers were paid high wages and economic growth was achieved with subsidies to small producers, who, in this way, they were included in the social system through cultural practices, albeit unevenly. During this time course, a social democratic movement was expected to defend democracy, inhibit the emergence of traditionalist and nationalist movements, and achieve economic prosperity. However, by the end of the 1970s, things have changed by contraries since it was realized that the economic growth was not successfully improved. Basic economic problems such as high inflation, budget deficit, the large amount of short-term external debts, unemployment, import reduction, and export stagnation were experienced (Polat, 2019). The state, which seemed to have completed the process of capitalist transformation, faced the obstacles of intense political competition, and could not respond to the demands of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, according to Öztürk, as a result of globalization which started in the 1970s and accelerated in the 1980s, the world became centralized in political, economic, and cultural fields by gathering it in a single-center, and along with that centralized world, the economic decisions were made according to the world capitalism's capital accumulation (Öztürk et al., 2008). After the 1974 OPEC's oil price rise policy, there were systematic deviations in the working mechanism of the world economy against less developed countries. The depression and recession conditions that affected the world economy also had effects on Turkey. Bourgeois democracies tried to develop adaptative policies against the economic depression however intensified political competition after 1974 made it impossible to pursue any policy against this depression. After 1977, it became impossible to postpone the

economic depression (Boratav, 2010). This period ended with the transformation of the economic crisis into a political one.

As Keyder indicates, the 1980 military intervention headed towards radical reconstructions at all levels of the state, propagating the idea that old political, economic, and legal arrangements were responsible for the crisis. In this period, values such as limited democracy, authority, hierarchy, order, and national benefits were exalted (2000; 21). For these reasons, the bourgeoisie and bureaucracy accepted that the period in which the economy expanded without the sanction of the world economy was over and a new regulation was needed. The Economic Stability Decisions of January 24, 1980, aimed to achieve foreign expansion with export-oriented industrialization, reduce inflation with tight monetary policy, and close deficit loans (Polat, 2019). Turkey's economy, which was based on import substitution, was largely closed to foreigners and prohibited from holding and carrying foreign currency in the pre-1980 period, made the Turkish Lira Decree No. 32, which was accepted in 1989, convertible and freed capital movements toward the country. (Polat, 2019). Within that period, the monopoly of the public sector in the agricultural industry was ended and it was left entirely to the private sector and the market (Öztürk et al. 2008). This renewal of industrial capacity has allowed only the large-capacity, credit-capable units and the companies that could implement the expensive restructuring required by new markets to survive. The uncertainty of the democratization process after 1983 prompted the bourgeoisie, trade unions, and the majority of intellectuals to seek a closer relationship with Europe, especially the European Community (Keyder, 19). After the 1990s, the decrease in competitiveness in the export of some traditional manufacturing industry products caused economic development strategies to turn to the services sector. In this direction, with the development of technology after the 1990s, the share of the service sector in total employment began to increase.

3.3. Food Industry in the 1980s

In order to understand the important differentiation in the taste of eating and drinking in the 1980s, it is necessary to mention the features such as the development of the food industry in the Republican period. The 1950s can also be called the second liberal period in the history of the Republic. As a result of the economic policy between 1950-1960, it underwent a radical change with the mechanization of agriculture, the support of product prices and the opening of new areas to production, the rural area was opened to the market and the urbanization process began (Özdemir et al., 2016). As the esteemed Turkish economic historian Keyder wrote, the American government promoted a development plan for the new dominant roles in the world system. Until the political events of 1974, long-term loans, donations, and aid were provided to Turkey, which was included in 1947, in return for economic liberalization (1989). The party that came to power in the 1950 elections directed Marshall Aids towards mechanization in agriculture to a large extent and introduced the tractor to the producers and the first serious steps of mechanization in production were taken (Yenal & Yenal, 1993). Progress has also been made in the livestock sector, although not as much as in agriculture. Applications such as irrigation systems, the use quality seeds, and agricultural pesticides gained momentum during the 1970s. The first factories in the modern sense opened in these years can be listed as follows: sugar factory (1927), tea factory (1947), canning factories (1948), Meat and Fish Corporation (1952), milk factory (1957), Dairy Industry Corporation (1963) (Samancı, 2016: 100). The outputs produced and the food products made from these outputs have been the pioneers of a great change in the food consumption practices of the Turkish community. Until the 1980s, the dominance of small-scale and local enterprises' production rather than foreign investment in Turkey brought about food consumption practices close to each other between classes (Yenal, 2000: 63). Unilever and Nestle, the multinational brands that entered the Turkish market in the 1950s, progressed slowly due to official obstacles and the lack of foreign currency. Nestle was active in the market with confectionery and baby food, and Unilever with the production of margarine. Unilever ran a serious advertising campaign for

margarine, which is sold at lower prices than butter, so it's no coincidence that margarine was the staple fat used in Turkish cuisine in the 1970s, from rural migrants to middle-class families.

This industrialization process entered into daily life uses with the increase in the production of beverage types and canned foods. Of course, this process is closely linked to the transition to the transport and urban model. Because the same transportation network enabled the consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables in regions that were not consumed before (Sauner, 2008). The development process of railways, which was prioritized before the 1950s, was changed by the development of highways, again under Marshall Aids (Deniz, 2016). In the past, only local products and foods produced by families in rural areas were consumed, but the increase in transportation made it possible to diversify food products. Breaking new ground in the history of the Republic with the international food retailing established by the joint venture of Migros and Istanbul Municipality in the mid-1950s, it pioneered the establishment of sales points and cooperatives in order to provide cheap food. The operation volumes of food packaging, food catering, and ready-made and semi-ready foods have grown as the conglomerate has reached a bone structure and these big companies cooperate with international brands.

However, although the 1970s were its most successful period, retailing did not become a large corporation until the 1980s (Yenal, 2000). Besides, companies with international partners have increased their product range, for example, a dairy brand has started to produce fruit yogurts, special dairy products, and milk desserts. New products, previously unknown to Turkey, such as frozen vegetables, frozen pizzas, quick drinks, cakes, imported processed meat and cheese, potato and corn chips, and ice cream have been introduced to the public in the market. Kitchen equipment is marketed in media such as commercials, billboards, and newspapers. In the 1970s, electric stoves and refrigerators became commonplace in kitchens (Karaosmanoğlu, 2006).

3.4. The 1980s and 1990s: Transition to the Free Market: Creating the Consumer Society

In the 1950s, economic development with import substitution industrialization initiatives led to an increase in urbanization and welfare level experienced in the same period (Yenal, 2000). However, the structural change in the world economy that came with the raw material crisis in the central countries in the 1970s, as well as ideological conflicts, dragged Turkey into depression both economically and politically (Öztürk, 2018). Because of all these, the military coup that took place was considered the beginning of a brand-new era. The outward-looking policies implemented by the Özal government radically restructured the production, trade, and consumption patterns in the country and came under the influence of global powers. While military martial law was being enforced in the first half of the 1980s, Turkey, which entered a relatively liberalization process with a more civilian and modern administration in the second half, became an area ready for exploitation (Yenal, 2000). In the period until the 1980s, while the press was broadcasting on the axis of political and social factors, it had to put forward an apolitical approach model with the disappearance of the freedom of press and communication (İlgaz, 2000). The publication bans and closure penalties imposed by the National Security Council, which was established in 1983, brought the press about to turn towards the phenomenon of depoliticization.

While these were happening in Turkey, a very important issue discussed by various social scientists in many parts of the world was on the agenda, Consumer Culture. Featherstone's (1991) interpretation of Consumer Culture from various aspects such as art and economy in the context of Postmodernism should be mentioned in a few important approaches. According to him, consumption culture is grouped under three headings. The first of these is the increase in the ideological manipulation capacity of the population with the expansion and accumulation of capitalist commodity production. He attributes this result to the increasing importance of leisure consumption activities to contemporary Western societies. Second, there is the view that satisfaction with goods is linked to the establishment and maintenance of social ties through socially constructed status. The focus here is on the need for

access to status to exhibit differentiation. The last one is more about problematizing its relation to the desires and images it creates as consumption becomes an emotional pleasure. As a result, the second approach reminds the concepts such as cultural capital and habitus, which are effective in the formation of social aesthetic tastes in the struggle for status, which Bourdieu emphasized in his theory of distinction. Featherstone's example of how the consumption of an expensive port wine actually carries many symbolic meanings, such as elite or prestige, continued with the Bordieuan concept of distinction referring to the use of goods as traces of social differentiation in the context (1991: 16-17). As the premise of this approach, the transformation of use-values of cultural commodities into exchange-values claimed by Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) points out that commodities thus become free to undertake a wide range of cultural associations and illusions (Osborne, 2020).

On the one hand, in the 1980s, the term "postmodern" was being discussed as a concept that was debated by philosophers and sociologists such as Lyotard (1979), Baudrillard (1983), Jameson (1984), and Foucault (1986). While there are those who accept postmodernism as the end of modernism, there are also those who argue that it is the period of late modernism, the post-industrial age, late capitalism, etc. In other words, approaches and analyzes are diverse. However, it is possible to define postmodernism as a cultural movement that carries the confusion and uncertainty of the post-industrial society (Kumar, 2004: 134). This period should be accepted as a phase related to the late capitalism stage. Because the production, which was at the forefront of modernism, left its place to consumption, which gained great momentum during the postmodernism process. Although it is claimed that in this new stage of capitalism, there is no clear class structure, the society is homogenized and gradually moving towards a classless society, it is a reality that the class antagonisms and inequalities are in fact sharpening instead of disappearing (Selçuk, 2011: 3882). Parallel to this thought, according to Bock, people preferred to resort to other ways of forming identity rather than the concept of social class (1997). According to Featherstone, cultural questions arose as a result of those situations (1991: 13). Additionally, the current stage of oversupply of symbolic goods in

contemporary Western societies has had broad implications for a culture-enhancing conceptualization of the relationship between culture-economy-society. The fact that everything in social life has become 'cultural', that is, the radical change in the relationship between culture and society, has caused the determinant of social, economic, and political reality to be culture itself. Postmodernism played a key role in transforming into image societies in which daily life is aestheticized and reality is conveyed through representations, by revolting against the distinction between mass culture and high art, which represents hierarchical taste (Jameson, 1991). The adaptation of the individual to the changing production system and accordingly the transforming consumption patterns worked in favor of the system. In order to ensure the continuity of the system, the increasing product variety encourages individuals to replace the products with new ones before the end of their lifespan (Artan Özoran, 2019). Thus, products have become not only consumer goods for needs but also an indicator that includes many varied reasons such as identity, status, and belonging to a group. In other words, consumption is the culture of modern societies in which it permeates daily life as a network of signs and symbols (Topay & Erdem, 2019).

The most crucial factor that disseminates and feeds this process is the transition of newspaper and advertising, which was born in the seventeenth century, in parallel with production, transportation, and communication, to modern advertising in the nineteenth century (Orçan, 2004). The advertising and film industries that developed at the beginning of the 20th century faltered under the influence of the Great Depression and World War II until the 1950s in the USA (Best & Kellner, 1999). The eruption of mass media such as cable and satellite televisions, internet websites, and multimedia technologies in the 1980s (Virilio, 1998) function as a mechanism for massifying, transmitting and distributing the produced message, products, and culture to the society. As Baudrillard pointed out, mass media formed the basis for the creation of a simulation universe consisting of signs and images and the formation of a superficial culture (1983). It would not be wrong to describe this culture as a structured new version of popular culture. Because popular culture has become a commercial culture that describes the process that started with the

transition to mass culture, included in the international market economy and became a part of advertising culture (Erdoğan, 1999: 16). Popular culture, produced by cultural producers (1984: 460) and disseminated by 'new cultural mediators', as defined by Bourdieu, points to an area where the struggle for dominance takes place (1984: 359-360). New cultural mediators are individuals and organizations such as those responsible for radio and television cultural programs, magazine and newspaper critics, and newspaper writers. They have assigned to themselves the role of presenting the legitimate culture for the masses. This situation, which Bourdieu considers as an active role in social class differentiation, is a discourse for both class habitus and taste of the society. The petty bourgeoisie wants not to identify with the working class, but it does not have enough capital for the ruling class lifestyle it is trying to get involved in. New cultural mediators try to produce objectified images of petty-bourgeois culture by combining outdated legitimate products with noble products, with a mixture of different genres, styles, and levels. Thus, the petty-bourgeois exhibit average or degraded taste and turn to such works. Examples of these explanations can be given by Lyotard's interpretation of eclecticism: "Eclecticism is the degree zero of contemporary general culture: one listens to reggae, watches a western, eats McDonald's food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and 'retro' clothing in Hong Kong; knowledge is a matter of TV games." (1989: 76).

CHAPTER 4

FILM ANALYSIS

Among the examples where Bourdieu is used as a method in film studies are those who consider the position of the film itself as a production area: Heise & Tudor (2007), Duval (2019), King (2019), as well as those who analyze the effects of the film on cultural capital and social taste, for example, Blewitt (1993), De Valck (2014). A qualitative study published in Turkey in 2020 is among the examples. In this work, İpek sought an answer with the sociology of Bourdieu to the question of whether there is a partnership in the viewing experience of the *Başka Sinema* audience (2020). In the light of the data obtained through semi-structured interviews and participatory observation methods, it has been concluded that *Başka Sinema* is compatible with the theoretical structure as a field where the actors unite as an art cinema audience and create a mass partnership (2020: 157). However, this study has been handled on the basis of Bourdieu's terminology and the theories he put forward, rather than film content. According to Chris Cagle's work, Bourdieu expresses that artists perform social analysis through literary form, especially by centering the narrative of the novel. Most importantly, as Cagle suggests, the Bordieuan agenda offers social scientists a way to examine the phenomena of cinema in the field of film studies (2016: 47). At this point, the phenomenological view and cinema belonging to the 20th century, when the sense of integrity was shaken, is in a position to be evaluated among the ideas that are claimed to be the witnesses of the era with its aesthetic and style partnership (Savaş, 2002: 75). Beyond the producer and consumer division, two film analysis methods were used in order to apply a Bordieuan analysis to the film narrative. Semiotics and structuralism, two of the most frequently used qualitative methodologies in film studies (Benshoff, 2016), were found appropriate within the scope of this thesis. But first, it should be admitted that this study also benefits from Marxist theory in terms of evaluating class relations in the text, historical and cultural contexts of production (Hayward, 2000: 61). However, it moves away from Marxist theory in terms of audience-oriented ideological impact analysis and/or not considering structures such

as labor, finance, and manufacturing. Returning to structuralism, this method that Saussure built on linguistic structures is considered the beginning of an intellectual movement in the 20th century (Rushton & Bettinson, 2010: 32). This method, which does not only emphasize the need to examine the relationship between the elements in a structure, expresses that it should be reconstructed within a theoretical discourse. It allows analyzing the deep structuring logic of many cultural products and practices, namely social formations, in a scientific understanding (Rushton & Bettinson, 2010: 14). Through this method constructed from systems of differences, social scientists such as Levi-Strauss (1977) and Barthes (1972; 1983) have analyzed structures in many different fields (Rushton & Bettinson, 2010: 14). Christian Metz (1974), who comes from the same school of thought, compared the ways in which cinema conveys meaning and messages with the ways written and spoken language do. Considering cinema as a discourse based on codes, Metz focuses on how the fact that the film includes cultural codes belonging to the audience it addresses determines the dimension of meaning in cinema (1974 as cited in Kanik, 2018: 68). He divided these meaning-creating codes into two, cultural and specialized. Since culture consists of the building blocks of society, a film that conveys cultural codes is easily deciphered and understood by the audience. The second is the specialized codes that the director puts his own style and form in the shooting and editing stages. Semiotic analysis reveals these codes that are hidden in the film, creates the codes, explains them, and determines them like objects (Büker, 1985: 42 as cited in Sivas, 2012: 534). Within the framework of this set of codes, Metz claims that meaning is largely dependent on culture, due to the fact that even the most iconic sign has cultural codes. In addition, Wollen (2004: 126) states that the signs used in cinema have symbolic meanings, but the symbolic sign is secondary and limited (Sivas, 2012: 534).

In summary, while analyzing the films in the sample group (Table 1), structuralism and semiotics were determined as the two basic methods for analyzing the hidden cultural codes in the narrative. Simultaneously, Bourdieu's theory of distinction, which reveals the functioning of the social structure, has been used to make sense of eating and drinking practices. The relationship between the cultural change and

trends in eating and drinking practices in Turkey from 1980 to 2000 was analyzed in line with the volume of the capitals of the individuals in the film narrative. In the next section, the effects of modernization and westernization on Turkish food culture will be analyzed first in the 1980s and then in the 1990s, through film narratives.

Table 1: List of Films Used in the Study

Title of the Film	Director	Production Year
Talihli Amele	Atıf Yılmaz	1980
Beş Parasız Adam	Osman F. Seden	1980
Banker Bilo	Ertem Eğilmez	1980
Ah Güzel İstanbul	Ömer Kavur	1981
Çiçek Abbas	Sinan Çetin	1982
Mine	Atıf Yılmaz	1982
Faize Hücum	Zeki Ökten	1982
Bir Yudum Sevgi	Atıf Yılmaz	1984
Züğürt Ağa	Nesli Çölgeçen	1985
Kırlangıç Fırtınası	Atilla Candemir	1985
Sen Türkülerini Söyle	Şerif Gören	1986
Aaahh Belinda	Atıf Yılmaz	1986
Kaçamak	Başar Sabuncu	1988
Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni	Yavuz Turgul	1990
Amerikalı	Şerif Gören	1993
Yengeç Sepeti	Yavuz Özkan	1994
Bay-E	Sinan Çetin	1995
Böcek	Ümit Elçin	1995
Nihavend Mucize	Atıf Yılmaz	1997
Karışık Pizza	Umur Turagay	1998
Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak	Ömer Vargı	1998
Kaç Para Kaç	Reha Erdem	1999

4.1 Representation of Westernization Trends in Turkish Culinary Culture & Dining Etiquette

It was previously stated that the Westernization process in Turkey started since the 19th century in the Ottoman era. This transformation, which started first and foremost in the Ottoman Palace, began to spread through Ottoman urban elites. Subsequently, the Republic of Turkey also supported this modernization process by various state policies and economic investments up until 1980's. The modern acceptance of cutlery in table manners rules, the preference for high dining tables instead of low dining tables, the increase of daily meals from two to three, and adapting them to business life have taken their places among the most fundamental changes. However, rural living conditions, which are distant from urban life, have not been places where these changes can be observed. Even in urban life, it cannot be claimed that all segments accepted these practices.

On the other hand, with the global economic developments during the last decades of the twentieth century, the consumer society phenomenon that surrounded the whole world in the last phase of capitalism caused also radical changes in consumption habits in Turkey as well. Culinary cultures, which are one of these consumption areas, have also had their share of changes. The diversity of imported food products and eating and drinking establishments has increased in Turkey, which has entered into an integrated process with the global economy with neoliberal policies. Concomitantly, Western lifestyles, which were encouraged to the public by the developing mass media and advertising sector, resulted in society's acquiring new habits. Following the modern approaches in table manners, the gradual introduction of developing kitchen equipment into home kitchens both paved the way for the production of new food varieties and gave the kitchens a different look from the Anatolian kitchen structure.

Various eating out practices have existed in the geography of Turkey since the Ottoman period. However, the diversification and increase in the number of restaurants parallel to the development of the marketing and advertising sectors in the 1980s is remarkable. The habit of eating and drinking out, started to play an

important role in constructing and exhibiting the identities in the image world by the new middle class (Yenal, 2000: 269), has been deemed worthy to be evaluated under a separate heading. The culture of eating and drinking out is actually a food behavior that affects Turkey after it emerges and develops in the West. The eating and drinking habits in Turkish society will be evaluated under a separate title to be more comprehensive, as they provide many data in the light of analysis. In this section, the scenes in the sample films in which culinary consumption patterns that denote Westernization tendencies will be analyzed in the context mentioned above.

4.1.1 Table Manner, Daily Meals, Eating and Drinking Habits in the 1980s

Mehmet Ali (İlyas Salman), the protagonist of Atıf Yılmaz's film *Talihli Amele* (1980), leaves his wife and children in the village and comes to Istanbul to earn money by working for a while. When he came to Istanbul, he started to work as a laborer on a construction site in favor of an acquaintance. One of the newly built apartments on that construction site will be given as a gift to the winner in a lottery drawn by a bank. One day, when the advertisers came to the construction site for a photoshoot, they discovered Mehmet Ali and decided to play him in the commercials. Simultaneously, both Mehmet Ali and the public are deceived by saying in the newspapers that Mehmet Ali won one of the apartments built by the bank in a lottery. A newspaper that wants to increase its circulation publishes Mehmet Ali's story on the front page. As a result, the protagonist is caught in a conflict of interest in the advertising and press world. The relationship between the media and advertising industry, which has emerged as a new power center since the 1980s, with capital and power is emphasized in the film (Hepkon & Aydın 2010). Because the basic priorities of the press have changed with the 1980s, readers are not considered citizens who need to be enlightened, but advertisers are viewed as customers to be marketed, and all aspects of journalism are designed based on profit and loss logic. It is a period in which the public responsibilities of the media are quietly replaced by their responsibilities to capital (Topuz, 2003 as cited in Arık & Akgün 2019). In all this confusion, the apartment promised to Mehmet Ali is not delivered. Thereupon, Mehmet Ali and his family imprison themselves in the

apartment under construction promised to him, and try to resist the police, the media, and the building owners who want to get in. At the end of the film, the protagonist is taken to a mental hospital.

Similar to the film *Banker Bilo*, which will be examined in the following sections, the theme of migration is handled. It is necessary to mention an important detail found in both of these films. While urban individuals, in a way, conforming to modern life patterns, are associated with craftiness, greed, and miserliness, the peasantry is depicted as being naive, diligent, and bighearted. This representation of peasants in films matches up with Bourdieu's tendency to settle for less in the working-class tastes. The cultural capital level of the villagers is low because they are uneducated, but also because they live in a small social environment without interaction, their social capital level is low, so they represent a class with low cultural and social capital. On the other hand, people in villages and small towns where mass communication does not reach are not aware of the Westernization tendencies that are motivated. While continuing their traditional consumption practices in Anatolia, they are subjected to cultural shock when they suddenly come to the metropolis. Here, the effect of the period comes into play, the citizens, who were under the influence of the consumer society, acted swiftly in order to adapt to Western trends. However, as Bourdieu particularly emphasizes in the distinction theory, people belonging to the working class tend toward the taste for necessity in their consumption practices. That is, Mehmet Ali wants to live a modest life, and he also intends to save money and return to his village.

When the food scenes were examined, it was noticed that the dishes used in the scene where the workers take a lunch break are among the basic and staple foodstuffs grown in Turkey. They consume vegetables and fruits grown in Turkey such as tomatoes, peppers, spring onions, olives, and melons, as well as dairy products such as cheese and yogurt accompanied by ordinary town bread (*somun ekme*) and tea. Bread, which is frequently consumed in Turkish nutrition and considered sacred, has taken its place on the tables of the poor as its main food (Beşirli, 2010: 164; Solmaz & Altınır 2018: 110). In other words, the presence of bread on the tables symbolizes both a traditional style and poverty. Moreover, in

addition to economic reasons, they exhibit their tastes shaped by the influence of their habitus origins in this way. Going back to the film, in the food-eating scene, the workers cut and share the bread with a knife instead of dividing it by hand, which is a non-modern style. Instead of the tablecloth, which should be according to the new table manners, newspaper paper is laid, but on the other hand, they have high dining tables, individual plates, and cutlery in the room where they stay. They take the food in the pot or the chopped vegetables on the serving plate to their own plates on behalf of the common meal in the middle. Due to the lack of time during their short breaks, they cannot chop the fruits and vegetables and put them on the plates. Thus, it can be concluded that the working class has had its share of Westernization tendencies and has implemented at least some of the new table manners rules. However, as Bourdieu argues, the tendencies to represent status through consumption practices and conspicuous consumption observed in the bourgeois class do not apply to the working class. Even though Mehmet Ali has a table in his apartment where he is temporarily staying, he sits on the floor and drinks when tea is brewed.

Banker Bilo (1980), written by Yavuz Turgul and directed by Ertem Eğilmez, starring Şener Şen and İlyas Salman, was released in the same year as the other two films. This comedy film deals with social problems, as can often be observed in other comedy films produced in the 1980s (Şen, 2019). In the film with the theme of migration from the village to the city, the villager Bilo (İlyas Salman) symbolizes purity and cleanliness, and the manipulative and cunning Maho (Şener Şen), who has adapted to city life, are diametrically opposite characters (Gülpınar, 2020). One day, suddenly coming to his village, Maho promises to take a group of villagers, including Bilo, to Germany as workers illegally in exchange for money. However, he takes them to Istanbul instead of Germany and loses his track. Bilo, who needs to save money to marry the girl he loves, gets into trouble as he works as a laborer, peddler, and doorman. Meanwhile, he and Maho cross paths again, and he is tricked and swindled over and over by Maho. When Bilo finds out that Maho is having an affair with the girl he loves, he confiscates all of his property, taking the opportunity of Maho to give him power of attorney. Whereas the character of Bilo has good

intentions at the beginning, he moves away from his values in order to adapt to the modern life in the city and keeps his individual interests above everything else, so he resembles the villain Maho in the process.

The process of Turkey's immigration from rural to urban places, which started in the 1950s due to the developments in the industry, continued to increase over time.

Some of the villagers who came in the pioneering migration flow were able to develop their capital in various ways and come to an economically strong position. Although it is an open-ended situation where the character Maho went to Germany or Istanbul to work, in any case, it is possible to say that he came to the city with a wave of immigration earlier than 1980. Maho, who is a member of the peasant and working class, thus increased his economic capital in the city and rose to a higher level as a social class. He strengthened his economic ties by marrying the daughter of his commercial partner Ali Ağa (Ali Şen), who later adapted to city life like him. As Kozanoğlu stated, the 1980s, was a period when economic upgrading and cultural upgrading were dissolved in each other. In light of social history the newly rich people who have advanced economically but not culturally, follow the path of the Haute bourgeoisie. In this way, s/he aspires to live the life of the bourgeois in order to enjoy the economic capital s/he has earned and to acquire a new identity (1992: 47). In parallel, Bourdieu analyzes the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois habitus as tension and predisposition tendencies that carry the in-betweenness caused by avoiding identification with the working class but not being able to be included in the class he emulates (as cited in Swartz, 2011: 245).

The idea that there is a Western image spread by mass media has been expressed in the previous chapters. In *Talihli Amele* (1980), there are scenes where Mehmet Ali is featured in a beer and in an oven commercial. In this context, it can be considered as ironic that a person belonging to the Anatolian culture is presented in advertisements that encourage consumption. However, the consistent aspect of this is that it is given the impression that there are modernization and westernization practices that have spread even to the Anatolian food culture. The dishes chosen for the lines in the oven advertisement in which it says how nice 'kebabs, grills, meatballs, *lahmacun*' will be cooked in the oven are the dishes identified with the

arabesque culture of the 1980s. This situation sets an example for the Eastern Anatolian Cuisine and European cuisine practices to reproduce themselves with integration into the food culture of the period.

In the films of the 1980s, eating activities usually take place in the house. For instance, in *Çiçek Abbas* (1982), written by Yavuz Turgul and directed by Sinan Çetin, there is no eating and drinking scene out of the house apart from the coffeehouse. *Çiçek Abbas* is one of the popular comedy-drama films of the period, starring İlyas Salman and Şener Şen. *Çiçek Abbas* (İlyas Salman) works as an assistant in the minibus of Şakir (Şener Şen), an imposter and womanizer minibus driver. Contrary to Şakir, Abbas, who is an extremely well-intentioned and honest man, only dreams of owning a minibus and marrying the girl he loves. The problem is that they both love the same girl and therefore a big conflict begins between them. This girl is Nazlı (Pembe Mutlu), whom Şakir tricked with the promise of marriage. When she learns that she was cheated, she breaks up with him and begins an emotional relationship with Çiçek Abbas, who is attracted to her. In order to realize his dreams and marry Nazlı, he buys a minibus with debt and becomes a rival to Şakir on the Alibeyköy minibus line. Şakir, who cannot stomach this situation, one night secretly smashes this minibus. Nazlı's father (İhsan Yüce) wants to marry his daughter to Şakir, who has a better economic condition, instead of Abbas, who has no money left. Nonetheless, Abbas abducts Nazlı by marrying and the film ends happily. In the film, where the economic conditions between Şakir and Abbas are different, it is generally described with the difference in living spaces. There is a distinct difference between Abbas, who has almost nothing in his rented room, and Şakir, who has more than his basic needs in the house where he lives with his mother and sister. The fact that Abbas rented a room in Şakir's house, and that he was the assistant in his minibus clarifies the status difference between them. One of the main themes of the film is to own a minibus by working diligently and the idea of raising status (Güneş, 2012: 223).

The narrative of the film, which includes scenes from the daily routine life, is knitted around home and work life and the coffeehouse that is sometimes stopped by. In the film, food is eaten at the table in three scenes, two of which are at the high

dining table at Şakir's house and the other at the low dining table at Nazlı's house. Although small in scale, Şakir is the boss of his own business. In addition, when his consumption habits are evaluated, it can be claimed that he belongs to the middle class. On the other hand, the characters of Abbas and Nazlı present a working-class representation, in line with the previously mentioned portrayal of the kind-hearted characters as people of village origin. While one of these two characters aims to raise his status by increasing his economic capital, the other one submits to his father's wishes in a patriarchal structure. His father's wish is to increase his economic capital through his daughter. At this point, it is useful to examine the scene where Nazlı and his family eat at the low dining table. Around the table, this crowded family is struggling with limited food and poverty. There is onion, yogurt, one kind of dish, bread, and water on the table. The food in the pot brought to the table is shared on the plates, bread and onions are divided by hand. Quite the opposite, Şakir's dinner table includes *piyaz* (dried beans salad) and salad as appetizers, and raki alongside the *İzmir Köfte* (a pot dish made of meatballs in tomato sauce with potatoes) served on plates. Apart from the meatballs, which can be described as expensive, there is not much expensive food at this table. In this way, contrary to Bourdieu's argument (1984: 58,176,330), there was no pretentious attitude, representation of status, or an effort to imitate the standards set by the ruling class in the eating and drinking practices of the middle class. In summary, the difference in status has gained a symbolic meaning in the narrative of *alaturca* and *alafranga* duality in eating and drinking habits in *Çiçek Abbas* (1982).

Among the films of this period, there are films that depict the rural people by clearly dealing with the theme of migration, as well as the films that tell the story of the characters who evidently belong to the lower classes, but whose habitus of origin is not fully conveyed. At this point, the information given in the narrative about the characters is interpreted together with the conditions they are in and the practical tendencies of the characters. An example of one of these films is *Bir Yudum Sevgi*, produced in 1984.

Bir Yudum Sevgi (1984) is another film directed by Atıf Yılmaz, about Aygül's (Hale Soygazi) attempts to change her life, who is not satisfied with the conditions

she is in. Aygöl has four children and struggles with poverty in the shantytown where she lives. On the other hand, she has problems because her unemployed husband (Macit Koper) spends time in the coffeehouse and neglects his family. She decides to work to get out of this troubling situation. Thus, she starts working in the factory through Cemal (Kadir İnanır), whose father runs a grocery store in the neighborhood. Cemal also works at the factory and a love story begins between them. And then Aygöl, who is both working and caring for her children, leaves her irresponsible husband and moves to a new house. In the sequel, Cemal's troubled marriage also ends, and the film ends with a happy marriage of Cemal and Aygöl. In addition to the emotional love story, one of the focal points of the film is shantytown life, one of the important themes of the 1980s. Social scientists interpret shantytowns as intermediate forms that emerged in the transition from traditional society to modern society (Erman, 2004 as cited in Öztürk, 2009: 168). The people living in the shantytowns could neither remain peasants nor adapt to urban life. As a result of the unbalanced development brought about by the capitalist system, this people, who could not integrate with the city and benefit from the opportunities of the city, were hierarchically positioned lower due to the peasant tastes and lifestyle (Öztürk, 2009: 168). This is also another definition of the arabesque culture. *Bir Yudum Sevgi* (1984) is one of the classic works about migration to Istanbul and the modernization process. In this film, the dichotomy between modernization and tradition is represented, while affirming the diversity of lifestyles in Istanbul. In one aspect, it reveals the effects of modernization in socio-cultural fields (Öztürk, 2004). The character of Aygöl puts into practice the tendencies of her habitus, which is formed by features such as gender, age, and marital status, in her daily practices. She lives a very constricted life, dealing with housework in a daily routine, spending time only with her neighbors, and also trying to earn additional income by doing small packing works at home. Regardless of whether the women in shantytowns work or not, they have many home-based duties such as running the house, cooking, and taking care of the children (Öztürk, 2009). The social circle of this group, which consists of women's relatives and neighbors, men's work environment, and coffeehouses, is very narrow. Hence, it can be argued that the life routines of

individuals with low cultural, economic, and social capital are represented, as in the majority of contemporary films in the 1980s.



Figure 1.1: The scene of women having lunch at the low dining table (*Bir Yudum Sevgi* 1984)



Figure 1.2: The scene of men having lunch at the high dining table (*Bir Yudum Sevgi* 1984)

When the effects of modernization are traced through food culture, a striking transformation is encountered. When Aygöl leaves her husband and moves to a new house, she prefers to buy a high dining table. However, in the house where she lives with her husband, they eat at the low dining table. This woman's revolt against the conditions she lived in began when she started working in the factory, and it spread to other areas in her life. After obtaining her economic power, she expanded her social circle by becoming friends with the employees in the factory, increased her attention to her personal care, and changed the order of her home life. In her daily routine, she and her children tended to eat at the high dining table in accordance with modern table manners. In Cemal's home life, which is followed in parallel scenes in the film, the men of the house eat the dishes by serving them to their plates at the high dining table (Figure 1.2), while the women of the house eat with a spoon from the pot in the middle, although they have plates in front of them on the low dining table (Figure 1.1). In this house, where the patriarchal structure is dominant, women continue the traditional structure because they are under pressure or they consider it an usual behavior according to their habitus of origin, although Cemal is not an oppressive husband. Besides, in the scenes where food is eaten on the low dining table, it is seen that the bread and onion are eaten by dividing them by hand instead of cutting them beforehand and serving them on a plate. On the contrary, when it comes to the high dining table, the bread is usually sliced and served on a plate or basket, and onion or spring onion is sliced and served on a serving plate. The common features of these two table types are that bread and water are indispensable elements, the dish is placed on the table in a pot and a salad is usually served in the middle. These scenes represent the gradual change of class and food consumption patterns. The claim that shantytowns are an intermediate form is identified with the fact that the characters Aygöl and Cemal in the film represent a transition between traditional and modern. Immigrant people have started to adapt to the modern Turkish Cuisine rules of urban life with the increase in all their capital. The arabesque culture, which can be interpreted as a response against this modernization movement, has also been effective in the culinary culture. The film,

which was determined as a clear example among the sample group, will be discussed in the next section.

4.1.2 As a Movement Against Modernization; *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980)

Beş Parasız Adam (1980) written and directed by Osman F. Seden, as the name suggests, is about five friends struggling to earn money by putting their heads together. In addition to the financial difficulties, the main characters Şehmus (İlyas Salman) and Kazım (Ali Poyrazoğlu) try to reach the girls they love. The last person to be added to the four friends who rented the room of a woman named Zehra (Adile Naşit) is Şehmus. Meanwhile, each of these four friends tries a different way of making money. One tries to earn money by repairing engines, one by stealing chickens from the coops and selling them, one by playing bingo, and the other by singing arabesques songs. However, when Şehmus arrives, he has an idea to bring them all together. The character of Şehmus is a naive and hardworking person from the village, not much different from the characters of Mehmet Ali and Bilo played by İlyas Salman. Nevertheless, the important feature of this character is that he is a kebab master. Thanks to their barely balanced capital, they start to sell the kebabs they prepared at home. First, they cook various kebabs strung on skewers on the barbecue, which they place in a wheelbarrow, serve them between bread or pita and sell them in crowded squares. As they increase their fund, they enlarge the business and buy a rowboat. Five friends try to sell kebabs from boats to people sunbathing and swimming by the sea in rich neighborhoods. But after they realize that the rich and socialite people there will not eat kebabs, they sell well in the working classes and buy a truck with the money they earn. When his uncle Bekir is convinced that Şehmus has become rich and successful in the kebab business, he comes up with the idea to open a kebab shop. Şehmus will sell the truck, and his uncle will fund it, so they will open a kebab shop. However, things do not turn out as expected. Dramatically, after a child had a car accident, they gave the money they had saved to the family to pay for the surgery. As a result, the child's life is saved and the lovers reunite, but the struggle for lack of money continues and the kebab business could not be initiated.

The most important reason for this film to be included in the sample group, as Gürbilek suggests, is the cultural pluralization or the change that can be called the fragmentation of culture that left its mark on the 1980s in Turkey (1992: 103). It was the reaction of the suppressed experiences within the modern cultural identities that the society had built up to that day. The mass culture, which started to form in Turkey in the 1960s, began to take root in the style of music called arabesque in the 1970s, and in the 1980s it became an object of discourse symbolizing 'cultureless' (Gürbilek, 1992: 69). The search for the cultural identity of the immigrated crowds involved a direct reaction to the modern identity that society had built up to that time (Gürbilek, 1992: 103). Some intellectuals of the period insulted this generation, which they symbolized with kebab and *lahmacun* (Kozanoğlu, 1992: 101-102). Hot red peppers, onions, garlic, and other mentioned foods have been given symbolic meanings and have been criticized by the intelligentsia. On the other hand, not only the discovery of aesthetics but also the re-evaluation of bourgeois culture has come to the fore in the urban values that shape the bourgeois lifestyles. Because of bourgeois values, the taste has become a status symbol (Kozanoğlu, 1992: 42-43). In summary, Şehmus and his friends' starting a kebab business, and the idea of opening a kebab restaurant are good examples of the food culture practices of the period, which were not perceived as modern, as well as their tendency to maintain their own habitus of origin.

4.1.3 Modern Dining Tables and Eating Etiquette in the 1990s

From the 1980s to the 1990s, it was determined in the light of the analysis that the representations related to food in film narratives changed in several ways. The films released in 1990s, which will be analyzed in this section, will be compared with the films of the 1980s in the discussion chapter of this dissertation. To begin with, it must be said that in the films included in the sample group between 1990 and 2000, scenes that show table manners and eating and drinking habits are completely modernized. To put it in another way, there is no longer a place for a low dining table, eating from a common bowl, not using cutlery, and tables without a tablecloth. In a way, the discourses about the working-class lifestyle have been

abandoned, and a transition to the practices of the bourgeois lifestyle have been spotted.

One of the films that best express this transition, *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990), directed by Yavuz Turgul, also marks a turning point because of the subject it deals with. The plot of the film is based on the director Haşmet Asilkan (Şener Şen), who has gained fame in many love films in Yeşilçam, decided to make a film of different genre to adapt to the new order of the cinema industry. Despite being popular, Yeşilçam films were always shunned by a particular clique and never received any awards. Whereas Haşmet, who needs praise and appreciation like every artist, gives up the films he has made up to that time and starts working on a political film in order to keep up with the times. He does not have a sufficient budget and can barely find money by making a deal with a producer. When begins to film the story of the rich father-daughter taken hostage by three terrorists, many setbacks such as financial troubles and player problems emerge. Thinking that this film is the most important project of his life, Haşmet does his best to overcome all the difficulties. Finally, he completes his film thanks to the financial assistance of his ex-wife, who is a local film lover. When the film is screened for the first time, most of the invited guests do not come, and attendees leave the film theater because they do not like the film. This great failure drives Hashim to commit suicide but a producer calls him and makes an offer for a love film project. The film ends with the main character accepting the offer and giving up on suicide. While telling the story of Haşmet, who wanted to keep up with the change but failed, the story was strengthened with daily life practices. Haşmet Asilkan, with his desire for change, first starts with his own personal change and wears some accessories. Moreover, he goes to painting exhibitions and operas, which he obviously does not like and is not interested in. Furthermore, he removes the photographs of Yeşilçam actors and actresses hanging on the walls of his house and replaces them with modern reproductions. When Jeyan (Pıtırık Akerman), the leading actress of the film, comes to his house, he plays Mozart and offers whiskey. All of this mise-en-scenes arose as an expression of the desire to acquire a new identity. While confessing the lies he told to get Jeyan, he says that he did not

actually graduate from Galatasaray University. Haşmet, who could not even finish secondary school, says that he always admires faculty graduates, painters, sculptors, and writers who appear in art magazines. In fact, he is Mümin, the son of a shoemaker Fahir. He adds that he has read thousands of books and put a lot of effort into improving himself. According to what the character of Haşmet conveys, it is understood that he is uneducated and that he comes from a family with low economic capital, as can be understood from his father's profession. However, over time, he invested in himself to enhance his personal cultural capital, which enabled him to become an artist who could produce artistic works. Considering his home decoration and consumption habits, it is understood that he has risen in status and at least belongs to the middle class. He usually drinks raki for dinner and eats a snack in his house where he lives alone after ending his marriage. Apart from this habit, he regularly goes to one of the popular venues of the period in Cihangir. While the attitude he exhibits when he is alone at home and the attitude he exhibits outside the home expresses an effort for change, it also emerges as a pretension of the upper classes in the middle-class social taste (Swartz, 2011: 245). People who are inclined toward elite tastes such as going to an art exhibition or opera are expected to have a habitus of origin or educational capital, and cultural and social capital accumulations. But the reason why people who do not have this capital like Haşmet tend to have these tastes is interpreted as some pretentious consumption. And as the areas where these predispositions are most clearly exhibited, analysis can be made thanks to daily practices. Alcohol consumption, which Haşmet displays more simply in his home life, becomes ostentatious when he is out of the home. When he goes to the coffeehouse, which is one of the areas where he consumes out of the house, he can again exhibit the tastes of his habitus of origin. Because this area is not one of the places where it is needed and enables him to display a pretentious attitude. In the same way, he drinks raki at a simple dinner table, just like at home, in the *meyhane* where he went with Nihat, one of the actors and his friend during the Yeşilçam period. This dual structure is an indication that Haşmet is trying to adapt to urban life with elite lifestyle consumption practices. More detailed analyzes of alcohol consumption will be examined in the relevant section.

Bay-E (1995) and *Böcek* (1995), which were released in the same year, are films with absurd features in terms of both their themes and narrative techniques. While the first one touched on a subject related to Turkish society, the second one focused on the psychology of the individual. Mr. E is the short name of İsmet Berkan, a wealthy journalist and famous TV personality. The film is shaped around the fantastic events that happen to this main character while he tries to reach his wife. On a vacation trip with his wife Leyla (Natalie Heroux), Mr. E confesses infidelity to her, and his wife goes to a gas station. In an instant, there is a transition to a dream world, and Leyla falls into the clutches of a stranger in a red sports car. This stranger Don Johnson (Terran Greene), who owns his own television channel and wields the power of the media, is a respected figure in the town they live in. He is also a cut-throat murderer and blames the murders on Mr. E. Thus, Mr. E finds himself in a complex chase between murderers, cops, moralistic rural folk, and women. As a result of this chase, Mr. E, who saved his wife and child from Don Johnson, cannot justify himself with the statement he made in front of the cameras. In other words, the gap between what is publicly reported in the media and the reality is getting wider and what remains is the reality of the media (Çağıltay, 2019: 19). In this film, Sinan Çetin attacks the exaggerated, negative, and increasingly harmful function of the media in the Turkish society (Dorsay, 2004: 42). Describing the relationship of individuals and society with the media like a nightmare, the director processes the film with imaginary and absurd elements. While analyzing this film, it is not possible to make individual or class descriptions because the characters in the film have both fantastic features and insufficient information is given. It can be mentioned that there is a rural population that is portrayed as bigoted, easily convinced, and inclined to violence. However, since they do not exhibit eating and drinking behavior, no interpretation can be made in this sense. It can be more or less inferred from the living standards that the characters Mr. E, Leyla, and Don Johnson belong to the middle-upper class and have a certain economic and social capital. Even though it contains absurd elements, it is represented by the restaurants and bars they go to, where the film characters are a part of the modern life order.

Ümit Elçi, a director who successfully filmed stories of novels, adapted Erhan Bener's *Böcek* (1982) book for the big screen in 1995. The film is about the trauma-filled life story of Recai (Halil Ergün), who is a police officer. Recai, whose family broke up when he was a child, has a childhood full of torture and devoid of love while being raised by his uncle. Recai, who was brutalized by the childhood traumas that affected his whole life and the effect of the police profession, reveals a character who suffers mental problems. The oppressive order of society results in him hating women, youth, intellectuals, and almost everyone else. His unhappy marriage with Binnur (Nurseli İdiz) deepens Recai's problems even more. The only situation that alleviates the troubles of Recai, who is deeply offended by the transformation of his obsessive obsessions into delusions, is the closeness of his young neighbor (Meltem Cumbul) to him. But now it's too late for everything, and the film ends with Recai collapsing in the middle of the street with a heart attack. As it can be understood from the subject of the film, the hallucinations, and flashbacks in the narrative of the film have left open-ended what exactly is experienced and what is fantasy. Since this situation becomes a metaphorical expression depicted in a fantasy rather than daily consumption habits, it creates a negative effect by directing the analysis to a symbolic consumption. However, Recai's representation of the middle class overlaps with his profession and home life. At the modern breakfast table, that he set up for his wife, there is a lot of food on the serving plates and freshly squeezed orange juice in the glasses, and they have a conversation about whether to fry or not to fry the sausage. This breakfast table scene represents a period when their marriage was going well and a common sharing, as well as familiarity with a modern and western life order. In scenes other than that, this couple does not meet around a common table again. Another table scene is the dinner table set on a center table, which was also observed in other films of the 1990s. At this table, various appetizers were placed on serving plates as an accompaniment to the raki. Apart from these, serving food with a tray draws attention as a practice related to food. This situation, which is repeated several times, is symbolized as an offer or suggestion in the film narrative.

Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak (1998) and *Karışık Pizza* (1998) are a second group released in the same year. As the other duo group, this group also creates a similarity with the fantastic elements, which is a common point in the films of the period. In his article, Cantek categorizes these two films as commercial films that have been influenced to varying degrees by Independent-Hollywood productions (2000: 71). Hollywood, which is a part of global culture, has had a differentiating effect on Turkish cinema, especially in the choice of subject and expression styles, as it has affected all cultures (Cantek, 2000: 55; Pösteği, 2004: 53). Although similar references are made, they are clearly polarized as positive and negative in the critic's comments. *Karışık Pizza* (1998) received bad reviews from critics. The film begins when deliveryman Murat (Olgun Şimşek) is detained by a woman at the house where he goes to deliver a pizza order. This woman who ties Murat to a chair in the middle of the hall is Emel (Meltem Cumbul), a representation of a *femme fatale*³ character. The continuation of the film tells the story of the conspiracies between Emel and her lover, the mafia member Celal (Cem Özer), both among themselves and the members of the mafia. In the end, thanks to the work of Emel's plans, she both gets the money she is after and loses her track. Dorsay argues that the film is 'a wannabe late-era American heist and crime film with Tarantino sauce' (2004: 104). He goes on to add that the film makes no sense and has no depth or substance. Supporting these ideas, Cantek makes the claim that it is a 'Tarantino-like' film (2000: 66). *Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak* (1998) differs from *Karışık Pizza* (1998) because of its initial optimism. The plot begins when the brothers Altan (Cem Yılmaz) and Nuri (Mazhar Alanson), whose characters are quite opposite to each other, cross paths one night at a hamburger kiosk in Taksim. When the irresponsible and dreamy Altan finds out that his brother Nuri works in a drug store, he decides to steal some of the drugs. By selling these drugs, he will be able to open a bar, which is his biggest dream. However, things go wrong and he gets into trouble with the mafia. He will come out of the mafia fight safely, but he can't save the money. In the last scene of the film, he and his brother talk about the bar or

³ A mysterious, enigmatic, and attractive female character who traps male characters by using her sexual power in the narrative.

Chinese restaurant they plan to open in the future. One of the common features of the two films is the representation of the mafia in suits, producing masculinity and speaking slang. This American-like narrative structure is reinforced by the excessive consumption of alcohol and marijuana. In *Karışık Pizza* (1998), there are many alcohol bottles on the tables and floors at home, and at the same time, whiskey and sometimes raki is drunk in many scenes by the mafia characters Celal and Kenan (Erkan Taşdöğen). The nightclubs where the two friends go are also modern and stylish places where there are many people and various kinds of alcohol are consumed. The only scene where food is eaten at the table in this film does not give much opportunity to obtain information about the table setting or table manners. However, a distinct subtext reading of the scene can be made with the dialogues and close-up shots of the table. In the scene where Leyla, Celil, and Kenan plan a plot against their boss, there is a close-up shot of the plate where Celil cuts the meat, and then Celil is shown chewing the morsel. In the analysis group, the symbolic use of food like this is seen only in two films. The first one is a close-up shot of the plate of Don Johnson cutting meat with a razor in *Bay-E* (1995). The second example, the scenes where Mine's husband Cemil eats with an inexhaustible appetite and disgustingly are shot in close-up in *Mine* (1982). Cemil's overeating but never being satisfied with his appetite is a symbolic expression of his endless greed for power. *Kaç Para Kaç* (1999) is a film directed by Reha Erdem, about an ordinary middle-class family suddenly having a large amount of money. The protagonist Selim is an honest tradesman who owns a shirt shop in Taksim. His normal life with his wife, Ayla (Binnur Kaya) and his daughter, changes a lot when one day he finds \$450 thousand dollars by chance. Selim, who does not know what to do with the money at first, begins to spend them slowly and begins to be dominated by them. This film, which sets an example for Turkish cinema to change its crust, is a contemporary story about how money suddenly changes life. The honest and virtuous Selim slowly turns into a dishonest liar because of money. Breakfast tables and dinner tables are the daily routines that this middle-class family gets together. Family members gather at the tables prepared in accordance with the modern table setting,

chat and have a pleasant time. It is an ordinary practice for Selim, who has modest consumption practices, to consume wine at dinner.

Finally, *Nihavend Mucize* (1997), the most obvious example of the effect of modernization and westernization, will be examined in detail under a separate title. In the next section, the results obtained from the sample group data analysis of international fast-food chains that stand out in the literature review will be examined.

4.1.4 Reflection of International Fast-Food Chains on the Screen

The information obtained from many sources claims that the patterns of eating habits and the meaning of food consumption have changed depending on the arrival of international fast-food chains in Turkey. Yenil states that with the new cultural structure affecting the society, these new chains are perceived as an opportunity for the middle classes to differentiate themselves from other consumers in their food consumption habits (2000: 269). According to Ünsal, one of the effects of globalization and liberalization in the Turkish economy is the spread of American-style fast food franchises and international organizations to big cities. However, Istanbul's strong and relatively inexpensive street flavors had a successful course against Western fast-food chains, such as doner shops, kebab shops, mussel shops, and *kokoreç* shops (Ünsal, 2010: 417). Samancı argues that the developments in the food industry since the 1960s, the development of the fast-food industry in the 1980s, and the recognition of world cuisines with the entry of foreign food companies into Turkey caused the appreciation of local cuisines and the Ottoman cuisine in the 2000s (2016: 102).

The representation of international fast-food chains is almost non-existent in the contemporary Turkish films examined within the sample group. A scene using any international fast-food chain was not observed in the 1980s films in the sample group. In the films of the 1990s, it was shown with a very limited number of scenes. Among the films analyzed, only a few scenes of the *Amerikalı* (1993) and *Karışık Pizza* (1998) films are clearly shown. *Amerikalı* (1993), directed by Şerif Gören, tells the story of a citizen who returns to Turkey to take revenge after he went to

America and became rich. According to Dorsay, this film is an example of parody comedy that makes plenty of references to Hollywood films that made incredible revenues in Turkey, which has made progress on the way to becoming "Little America" (2004: 34). In the opening scene of the film, one of the first questions asked by journalists at the airport, who eagerly await Şeref's (Şener Şen) return from America, is "Will you establish a fast-food chain?". Afterward, he got into his private car and escaped the conflict he entered due to the assassination attempt on him on the way to the hotel, by jumping out of the car. He comes face to face with an empty Pepsi can and McDonald's takeaway garbage on the floor. Then a scene appears in front of a billboard of Şeref with a Coca-Cola poster hanging. In another scene, Şeref, having a picnic with his lover, clinks the glass of raki with the can of Coca-Cola in his lover's hand. This is an exaggeration of how the traditional Turkish food culture and the consumption of fast food derived from America are integrated into each other.

The only scene in which a McDonald's packaged product is consumed is the McDonald's hamburgers eaten by two detectives going to the crime scene. This scene, as mentioned above, is one of the very clear scenes in which American films are mocked. Two detectives pretending to be Detective Lieutenant John McClane, played by Bruce Willis in the Die Hard series, are eating a hamburger while examining the evidence at the crime scene. At the end of the scene, one detective says to the other, "Eat your hamburgers and let's go."

Because considering that the detective profession is a middle-class civil servant, it can be argued that middle class of the period ate hamburgers from McDonald's as a status representation, even though it contained a comedy element. Furthermore, the film *Karışık Pizza* (1998), which can be predicted to have fast-food-related content due to its name, is actually not very relevant. The film *Karışık Pizza* (1998) begins with the delivery of the pizza order by the deliveryman with the Pizza Hut branded bike. Subsequently, the events develop within the framework of the themes of robbery and crime, which are conveyed by the dark world of the mafia, as mentioned above. Therefore, it does not provide any data on the analyzed topic. To add a little detail, in the scene where Altan and Nuri go to a restaurant around

Taksim in *Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak* (1998), they pass by a McDonald's chain, that's all.

4.2 Eating and Drinking Out Practice: *Meyhane*, Restaurants, Bar

While examining the effects of the globalization process in Istanbul, Keyder emphasizes the luxury needs of a new social global class (2000: 224). In order to meet these needs, bankers of Istanbul, traders, or visitors of the city, built mansions, hotels, clubs, restaurants, cafes, as well as entertainment venues suitable for their social class. These global actors were also pioneers in the dissemination of symbolic status displays and control over knowledge and taste (2000: 224). The lifestyles and distinctive sense of taste structured in this process, which is very valuable in terms of reconstructing the social group that Bourdieu describes as the dominant class, can be read through consumption practices (Featherstone, 1991: 106). In other words, the practice of dining out by the upper classes becomes indicators of entertainment, taste, status, and distinction (Warde & Martens, 2003, as cited in Akarçay, 2016: 112). On the other hand, the lower classes, which have a habitus opposite to this dominant class, show tendencies according to 'the taste for necessity'. The 'taste of necessity' is the acceptance of necessity by the adaptation form that the working and farmer classes, that is, the lower classes, developed because they are constantly deprived of necessary goods, resulting in necessity becoming a virtue in their habitus (Bourdieu, 1984: 372). According to his research, 44 percent of the working class, 51 percent of the farmer class, and only 6 percent of the upper classes have never eaten in a restaurant, with rare exceptions (Bordieu, 1984: 180).

Gürbilek, in her book *The New Cultural Climate in Turkey: Living in a Shop Window*, emphasizes a very important phenomenon related to the cultural characteristics of Turkey in the 1980s: the promise of emancipation (1992: 102). According to her, the cultural pluralization that followed the greatest period of violence and oppression that society had ever experienced, sparked off the release of suppressed identities. Contrary to the move of introversion or withdrawal expected after the repressions, the outward orientation that took place both in media language and in individual attitudes blurred the distinction between private and public sphere.

While the private sphere is depicted as the representation of freedom in the modern urban bourgeoisie, the public sphere has begun to function as a commercially active consumption area formed by the free market economy (Gürbilek, 1992: 57-58). In light of these facts, in the process of including the private sphere in the public sphere, the type of restaurant chosen when eating out determines the status of consumers and assigns them identity.

The remarkable point in the articles of Yenal, who has written important works in food sociology, is the consumption habits of the middle class (2013). Yenal stated in his article that some of the developments that point to a new middle class after 1980 are breakthroughs in the food and beverage sector. Eating out, which is an elite pleasure, is now beginning to appeal to the middle class. Thus, the restaurant sector, which was designed considering the economic capital capacity of the middle class, gained momentum.

One of the factors affecting the increase of restaurants and similar places is the developments in the tourism industry in the 1980s and especially in the early 1990s (Ekinci, 2010). The revival of tourism movements in Turkey only took place in the 1980s, until the 1990s, there was a tremendous increase in the number of tourists and tourism revenues, and these increases continued in the following years (Çımat ve Bahar, 2003).

According to Bali, yuppies (young businessmen) were going to McDonald's both for spending minimal time during meals and because it was the best-known example of the American way of life they admired in films (2002: 46). Bali's impressions are that by the 1990s, the famous fast-food chains of America and Europe lost their popularity among businesspeople because this elite segment prefers high-quality venues at the level of their social class. The fact that young businessmen achieved decent incomes like their peers in Western countries guided the rising of a luxury and entertainment industry targeting this audience. Therefore, luxury restaurants such as Plaza, Etiler 29, Vaniköy 29 (later Çubuklu), Dört Mevsim, Şamdan, and bars such as Ece Bar which were opened in the 1980s, have become the haunts of intellectuals and famous businessmen (Bali, 2002: 48). Correspondingly, Ahıska and Yenal state that when McDonald's first opened in Turkey, it was a fast-food

chain preferred by high-status groups, but over time, it turned into a consumption environment for middle and lower status groups (as cited in Akarçay, 2016: 99).

Table 2: The Number of Meyhane, Bar, Nightclub, Restaurants and Other Places Scenes in the Films

Title of the Film	Production Year	Meyhane	Bar	Nightclub	Restaurant	Other
Talihli Amele	1980	-	-	-	-	-
Beş Parasız Adam	1980	-	-	-	-	-
Banker Bilo	1980	-	-	-	1	-
Ah Güzel İstanbul	1981	3	-	-	-	2
Çiçek Abbas	1982	-	-	-	-	-
Mine	1982	-	-	-	-	1
Faize Hücum	1982	1	-	-	-	-
Bir Yudum Sevgi	1984	-	-	-	-	-
Züğürt Ağa	1985	-	-	-	-	1
Kırlangıç Fırtınası	1985	1	-	-	-	1
Sen Türkülerini Söyle	1986	-	2	-	-	3
Aaahh Belinda	1986	-	2	-	-	-
Kaçamak	1988	2	1	-	-	-
Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni	1990	1	3	-	1	-
Amerikalı	1993	-	1	-	1	-
Yengeç Sepeti	1994	-	-	-	-	-
Bay-E	1995	-	2	-	1	1
Böcek	1995	-	-	-	1	-

Nihavend Mucize	1997	-	2	-	3	1
Karışık Pizza	1998	-	-	2	-	-
Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak	1998	-	2	1	1	2
Kaç Para Kaç	1999	-	-	1	4	-

4.2.1 Eating and Drinking Out Practice in the 1980s: Restaurants, *Meyhane*

It was revealed that in eight of thirteen films in the sample group of the 1980s eating and drinking out were practiced at least once. Eating and drinking out behavior, which is only performed once in most of the stories, indicates that especially the working and middle classes have not yet acquired this habit in the 1980s.

The first example of this subject to be analyzed in this section is the film *Banker Bilo* (1980). Maho, one of the main characters in the story, has adapted to the city rules in his own way, and while he is inclined to the consumption tastes of the bourgeoisie, he reveals his social and cultural capital, which he brought from his family habitus, with various practices. For example, when he wants to have a good communication with Bilo, who comes from the same social habitus, he brings raki and raw meatball (*çiğ köfte*) ingredients. Not only the act of eating but also the act of kneading the raw meatballs emerges as a practice that establishes a certain partnership and is symbolized. According to Bourdieu, in order to reconstruct the space of lifestyles in which cultural consumptions are defined, it is necessary to reveal the productive formula of habitus, which translates the conditions of existence of each class fraction into a lifestyle (1984: 208). Because all the preference spaces from nutrition to clothing and cosmetics are organized according to the same basic structure as the social space determined according to the volume and structure of capital. However, in order to adapt to the new social order Maho entered, he engages in consumption practices when his capitals allow in this new field. In addition to commodities such as clothing, car, and home decoration that represent Maho's belonging to the high class, the lunch they went to with Ali Ağa

also depicts the image that he wants to exhibit. In this scene, which is the only example of a restaurant scene in the film *Banker Bilo* (1980), Maho and his father-in-law Ali Ağa prefer Moda Deniz Club, one of the popular venues of the period, to talk business. While these two men in suits are sitting at the table drinking raki, there is an atmosphere of women walking around in bikinis, people swimming in the pool, men sitting in their swimsuits, and families spending time together. Maho and Ali Ağa explicitly display their habitus of origin with their oriental accents, gold jewelry, suits, and consumption of raki, which is their choice of alcohol.

One of the stories in which eating and drinking out is internalized is *Ah Güzel İstanbul* (1981), which is adapted from the story of the same name in Firuzan's storybook called *Kuşatma* (The Siege) directed by Ömer Kavur. The film tells the bittersweet love story between truck driver Kamil (Kadir İnanır) and prostitute Cevahir (Müjde Ar), two people from different worlds. Kamil, who earns his living as a long-distance driver, falls in love with Cevahir, whom he met at a brothel with his friends. However, since their economic situation was not sufficient for marriage, Kamil started to smuggle while going to eastern provinces such as Gazi Antep, Mardin, Şanlı Urfa to buy or deliver goods through a friend. Not only the economy but also social conditions, pressure from neighbors and friends drags this relationship into depression. As in Kavur's other films, he focuses on the alienation and loneliness of the individual with a unique style. Thus, with a "socialist realist" approach, he actually settles accounts with social conditions through the reckoning of these characters (Esen, 2002 as cited in Gökmen, 2018). As can be understood from this sentence, the aim of the director is to look at the society from a realistic point of view. Thus, he adopted a narrative that included the ordinary daily routines of the characters. The first eating out scene takes place in a *meyhane* (tavern) where they go man-to-man to celebrate Kamil's return from the long distance. There are many appetizers on small metal plates in the middle of the table, and while they take these appetizers to their plate and snack, they toast and drink raki. On the one hand, they watch the women dancing to the live music with *saz* (Turkish long-neck lute), and on the other hand, they chat among themselves about work and daily life. The second eating out scene is the *ocakbaşı* (grill restaurant with an open fire pit in the

middle) in Mardin. In Mardin, where they go to load goods on the truck, they have a lunch at an *ocakbaşı* with his helper (Hakan Tanfer). The audience sees them sitting at the table in the corner, from an angle taken in front of the stove. While eating the meat on the skewer wrapped in lavash, they drink raki, while arabesque music is playing in the background. The restaurant he went to with his lover Cevahir is the third dining out scene, these three places have different features from each other. Unlike the *meyhane* where they go man-to-man with their friends, Turkish Classical Music is played in the background instead of live music in an environment where there is a calmer atmosphere. The tables are covered with tablecloths and there are a few accessories hanging on the wall. In the following scenes, this time he goes to the *meyhane*, where he used to go with his friends, with his helper. Since his relations with Cevahir are problematic, he drinks raki to distract himself. Finally, in an Anatolian province where Kamil and his helper go to deliver goods, they go to a different restaurant to dine. This is a sleazy restaurant, one wall of which is covered with photographs of Yeşilçam actors and the other wall with rugs. On the table without a tablecloth, there are glass bottles of cola and soda, and an *ibrik* (a water ewer with a handle and long spout) in which they fill water. Next to the soup served in metal bowls on a porcelain plate, they divide and eat the bread standing on the table by hand. The places depicted from the scenes have different characteristics from each other, but they belong to the traditional Turkish food culture: *meyhane*, *esnaf lokantası* (traditional eatery shop), and *ocakbaşı* (grill restaurant with an open fire pit in the middle). In most of them the tables are not covered, there is no regular cutlery service, and the food is served on metal plates, so the spaces do not exhibit any modern features.

Another of the films with a single outdoor eating scene takes place in a restaurant in Çiçek Pasajı in *Faize Hücum* (1982). This venue, which has hosted a wide spectrum of guests from artists to politicians and has a long and influential history in Turkish food history, is a cultural heritage. The story of the film *Faize Hücum* (1982) is the events that happened to the retired state official Kamil (Genco Erkal) as a result of selling his house and investing it in a banker. The film presents problems such as high cost of living, financial difficulties, and the unstable structure of Turkey's

economy after the coup (Lekesiz & Aker 2021: 139). Director Zeki Ökten identifies the people's financial difficulties with the depression experienced by the character of Kamil and the problems he experiences to support his family. He emphasizes that social values of society have changed with the consumption approach that covers the whole country with the influence of the January 24 Decisions, and money comes before all values. Kamil sells his house, where he lives with his wife Saniye (Asuman Arsan), children and grandchild, and invests it in a banker as a result of what he heard from the people around him and the effects of the media. The story of this family, which for a short time surpassed the working-class living conditions and opened the doors of bourgeois living conditions, ends in disappointment. A successful example of economic-based social change, *Faize Hücum* (1982) conveys how the change in the living standards of a civil servant family is structured according to the volumes of economic, cultural, and social capital. Cité de Péra building, named Çiçek Pasajı in the 1940s, opened its doors in Galatasaray in 1876 (Ünsal, 2010: 398). Ünsal states that the taverns in Çiçekçi (Çiçek) Pasajı in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, which he refers to as "Old Beyoğlu", were a place that inspired writers, lecturers, and university students for generations. In the newspaper column Sofra, where Ali Sirmen writes gastronomy articles under the name Bekri Çeşneci, while talking about the memories of Stop Birahanesi (Brewery) in Çiçek Pasajı where he went in the 60s, he mentions that it is frequented by artists and writers, that customers talk about art-related topics and that it is quite cheap. He adds that he was disappointed when the Stop Birahanesi went back to it after the restoration, as it turned into a place with arabesque music and tasteless and unnecessarily expensive food. After its façade collapsed in 1978, Çiçek Pasajı, which was restored and reopened in 1986, has changed its face and has become a place that evokes longing for its old days. The marble tables that used to be placed on top of huge beer barrels are gone, and it has become a tidier and cleaner place. Lambo's Meyhanesi and Degüstasyon Restaurant, a small venue loved by valuable artists such as Sait Faik, Afif Yesari, Abidin Dino, Münir Özkul and Orhan Veli, never opened again (Ünsal, 2010: 412-415). Ünsal states that the affordable prices are one of the reasons why the intelligentsia consisting of writers, poets, painters, illustrators, and theater actors

frequently come here. In the light of this information, it makes a lot of sense that Kamil, who lived as a civil servant, preferred to go to a tavern in Çiçek Pasajı when he had economic capital. In the scene where many different foods are shown in close-ups, Kamil preferred only two slices of feta cheese and melon as appetizers. When he comes home from the tavern drunk, while arguing with his daughter, he asks, "Why couldn't your father have a drink with pleasure one day?" Kamil continues his speech by complaining that the pension he receives once in 3 months is not sufficient for any expenses. In summary, it turns out that the obstacle to Kamil's desire to go to taverns, drink alcohol and spend time with his friends, as in Çiçek Pasajı, is the lack of economic capital. Similarly, according to Bourdieu, the obligatory taste of the working class does not take a conservative approach when it comes to going to restaurants and eating, unlike their tastes in other areas.

Additionally, *Züğürt Ağa (1985)* film establishes a partnership with this film with its last scene in Çiçek Pasajı. However, Ağa (the landlord) came to this passage not as a customer, but as a peddler of raw meatballs. Ağa, who lost his status when his economic capital ran out while trying to adapt to city life, started to earn his living as a working class member.

Another film in the sample group, *Kırlangıç Fırtınası (1985)*, is about the negative consequences that Kemal (Halil Ergün), who lives in a small town faces while acting in line with his ideals. Kemal, the son of one of the prominent families in a small town, is engaged in shoemaking, his father's profession. However, Kemal's whole goal is to migrate to a big city like Istanbul, which everyone praises. His father opposes this request of his son because he wants Kemal to live with them in the small town and continue his family business. Meanwhile, Gönül (Perihan Savaş), the teacher assigned there, is placed in Kemal's and his family's house by the district governor's office. The emotional relationship that started between Gönül and Kemal turns into a marriage after a while and the couple moves to Istanbul. Their happiness is shaken by their livelihoods, economic problems, different social backgrounds, and identity crises. The socio-economic structure of the metropolitan city that Kemal has not experienced before and Gönül's search for her own identity brings the relationship between them to an end. The first of the two dining out

scenes in the story is the *meyhane* that Kemal went to in the town before he came to Istanbul. A close friend and Kemal go to a tavern with live music playing saz to clear their minds. There are only men here, and some are drinking raki and some beer. They clink glasses, chat, and accompany the music while snacking on cheese and tomatoes from appetizers on metal plates. It is not a very elegant and expensive place in terms of appearance and is a place where some of the rules of modern table manners are not followed. Secondly, Kemal takes his wife to the tavern to celebrate their relationship in the early days of their marriage. First, they have dinner with wine at a modern table, and then they hug and dance in the area in front of the singing soloist.

4.2.2 An Example of the *Meyhane's* Use of Cultural Capital Instead of Status in Modern Urban Life: *Kaçamak* (1988)

Suna (Müjde Ar) and Orhan (Çetin Tekindor) are two strangers who met in the morgue where they were called because their spouses died in a traffic accident. The paths of these two people begin to cross after that day when they learn that their dead spouses were cheating on them. The film is about the interesting relationship that develops between these two characters as a result of encountering each other while chasing the places their cheating spouses use to go together. The *meyhane* named 'Dereboyu' in Göksu, which is the focal point of the film, is the last place where their spouses meet secretly. Because they lost their lives in a traffic accident that night when they left the place drunk. Within the sample group, it can be considered as a film in which a restaurant stands out in its story. The first scene where Suna and Orhan gather their courage and come to Dereboyu is the first scene where the audience learns what kind of atmosphere the *meyhane* has. It is an unpretentious, homely, and neat *meyhane* with nautical accessories hanging on the walls, red-white-checkered tablecloths, and lively flower decorations. Couples and groups of men and women spend a pleasant time chatting while having a drink and a meal in the venue. There are various appetizers, salads, fried fish, raki bottles or beer bottles on the tables. It draws attention that there are regulars who chat with the

owner of the *meyhane*, an old fisherman named Barba⁴ (Orhan Çağman). Being a regular is a concept where for some clients it represents a community formation in which they exhibit common behavioral patterns, and for some clients, it can display their local authority and professional status (Turan, 2011: 49). This situation is a functional practice that prepares a field for the continuity of social taste at some point. While Suna and her sister-in-law eat fried fish and drink beer at the Dereboyu in the afternoon, Turkish Classical Music plays in the background. His aunt criticizes the tavern for being too shabby and of poor quality. The sister-in-law, who displays ostentatious taste values in her clothing, make-up, and hair, is a person who later became rich. While revealing her economic capital with her outward appearance, she cannot go beyond playing cooncan with his female friends in the social environment at the same time. In another scene, Osman is sitting at the bar with his brother-in-law in a pub with bottles of whiskey, gin, and various kinds of imported alcohol on the shelves. With posters of American stars (e.g., Elvis) and films (e.g., *Casablanca* and *Gone with the Wind*) hanging on the walls, large pots of flowers, and wooden decorations, this place looks decent and stylish. However, on the one hand, it resembles a restaurant with tablecloths and candle decorations on the tables. In other words, it does not look exactly like a pub or exactly like a restaurant. This is one of the places called pubs, although it does not resemble classical pubs in terms of service and decoration, as Kozanoğlu expresses (1992: 44). In this period when the scope of likes is expanding, everyone chatting with each other in the bar consumes a different type of alcohol. For instance, her brother-in-law drinks cognac, Orhan drinks raki, an actress drinks raki, the producer drinks whiskey. Apart from Orhan being there to clear his head, it is understood from the communication between them that the people there often come to this place. In a word, having appetizers and drinks with friends in a stylish bar in the evening has become a daily routine.

Furthermore, the last scene takes place in Dereboyu, which is both the beginning and the end of the film, where Suna and Orhan arrive unaware of each other after an

⁴ This word, which means old, bearded man, is used to address the old Greek taverns.

argument. Through Barba, these two get well together, and they snack on the fruits on the metal plate and drink chilled white wine. Thus, there is a reversal in the general opinion of the *meyhane* and raki duo, because raki has been popular for a long time in these places where wine is originally consumed. One last important point is that this shabby *meyhane*, which has a lot of regulars and fans, is liked by these two middle-class people who have relatively economic and social capital. Osman is a representation of the middle class with his architectural profession, the decoration of the house he lives in, and his clothing. As a working woman Suna comes from a family of citizens, civil servants, and professionals (Kıray, 1999: 253). This place is not at all suitable for displaying a pretentious attitude as her aunt criticizes. The emotional state of these two characters should not be ignored, as they develop a high level of taste for Dereboyu *Meyhanesi*.

4.2.3 Eating and Drinking Out Practice in the 1990s: *Meyhane*, Restaurants, Bar, Hotel Restaurant

First of all, the eat-out phenomenon is more common in the second sample group than in the first sample group. One of the reasons for this is that the middle class or marginalized segments were mainly the subjects of the films of this period. Besides, when the 1980s moved to the 1990s, the changes in the narrative forms followed a path in the direction of telling the events experienced by the marginalized segments in the subject selection. At the same time, ideas have been put forward that some films are American-style films with the elements used in narrative techniques (Pösteki, 2004; Cantek, 2000; Dorsay, 2004). There are similarities with the procedures and principles of the Classical Hollywood Cinema regarding the structure of film narration (Bordwell, 1986). Among the analysis of the sample group, all the films have eating out scenes except *Yengeç Sepeti* (1994). *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990) and *Nihavend Mucize* (1997) stand out as the two films that have the most drink-out scenes.

The protagonist Haşmet of *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990) tries to get used to the new world order through consumption practices. For this, he often goes to a popular bar of the period in Cihangir. The depiction of class rise through a bar

is an example of individuals in the consumer society defining their identities through their consumption.

Further, the biggest dream of Altan's character in *Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak* (1998) is to open a bar. The fact that an individual's biggest dream is to open a bar has become a symbolic reflection of the popular out-of-home consumption of the period. The abundance of restaurants, buffets, and bars in the Istiklal streets in the credits of the film, also reveals the increase in eating and drinking venues in the 1990s. In the last film of the sample group, there is a clear example of how dinner in a fancy restaurant is represented as a status symbol.



Figure 2: The dinner scene of Selim and Ayla at a Luxury Restaurant (*Kaç Para Kaç* 1999)

In *Kaç Para Kaç* (1999), Selim regularly goes to the Gar Restaurant during his business lunch breaks. Instead of the pretentious consumption in the middle-class habitus, it reveals the social taste with more cautious tendencies. However, once he has money, all his practices in the fields of consumption become pretentious. In other words, it concentrates on areas of consumption where it can represent a rise in status when its economic capital increases. Two remarkable examples of this situation refer to eating and drinking habits. First, Selim changed the middle-class

restaurant he went to every day and started to prefer a more elegant and expensive elite restaurant. The second striking example is the elegant and elite restaurant where Selim takes his wife Ayla out for dinner (Figure 2). The sudden change observed in consumer tastes with the increase in income level indicates that Selim shows tendencies according to the amount of his economic capital. And as represented in many other films similarly, the middle classes tend to prefer conspicuous consumption when their economic capital increases in volume.

4.2.4 An Example of Representation of the Elite Class in the 1990s: *Nihavend Mucize* (1997)

Famous director Atıf Yılmaz, who passed away in 2006, proved that he was still young and followed the era with this film (Dorsay, 2004: 123). Yılmaz, who has produced numerous works in the Yeşilçam school, made films within the framework of two themes due to some cultural changes in Turkey in the 1980s: comedy and women (Yetkiner, 2014: 149). In this film, he presents a comedy that combines the surreal and fantastic elements of daily life. In addition, it is a film in which the director, who is of urban and bourgeois origin, demonstrates his propensity for bourgeois themes. Based on a screenplay by Zeynep Avcı, *Nihavend Mucize* (1997) is about the interesting events between a film studio owner and advertiser Erol (Haluk Bilginer) and his mother's ghost. Because of grappling with the memories of his beautiful mother Suzan (Türkan Şoray), who died 25 years ago, Erol cannot focus on his relationship with his fiancée Iris (Lale Mansur). Since he lost his mother at a young age, he could not grow up and was stuck in the Oedipus Complex, so he looks for his mother in his relationship with every woman. One day, a miracle happens, and his mother is sent to earth to help her son. However, Suzan is a floppy, a little crazy woman who has weaknesses like every human being rather than approaching with a mother's attitude. When she realizes that the world she returns to is very different from the world she left, she hesitates for a while, but soon adapts to this new city and order. During this adaptation process, a close relationship develops between Suzan and Erol's business partner Nejat (Beyazıt Öztürk). When Erol, whose life is turned upside down with his mother's return,

realizes this closeness, the mother complex grows even more. Suzan does her best to help her son give up his obsession with the past, put his life in order, and get things right with his fiancée. The film ends with the departure of Suzan, who has fulfilled her duties on earth after the problems in the relationship between Erol and Iris are resolved.

In his article, Metin, who identifies the character of Suzan with Yeşilçam and the character of İris with Turkish Cinema, argues that the composition completed with Erol's ownership of a film studio is a representation of the transformation of Turkish Cinema. Turkish Cinema was freed from the influence of Yeşilçam with the departure of Suzan from the contemporary period she came to by fulfilling her duties and was free to make new productions (Metin, 2019: 417). In the film where Yeşilçam faces his own death, Dorsay describes this film as a 'Hollywood-like fantasy' with the emphasis on the inevitability of adaptation to contemporary Turkish conditions and the changes in the narrative structure (2004: 123). In a column in the Cumhuriyet newspaper, Sungur Çapan stated the following: "We watched it like the local version of the emotional comedy genre films that tell the stories of some dead heroes of Hollywood cinema returning to the world from the other side from time to time." (1997, as cited in Süme, 2018: 59). As these two writers stated in their comments, *Nihavend Mucize* (1997) paints a different portrait of Turkey with both cinematographic elements and scenario preference. A metropolitan environment is presented, where the problems specific to women are eliminated and equality between men and women in both the private and public spheres is ensured. In other words, in general, a post-Turkey landscape was reflected in the film.

The duplex house, which is Erol's living space, is furnished very luxuriously, just like his office in a very elite lifestyle with home decoration, clothing, cars, behavior, hairstyles, and make-up. Bourdieu includes all of the material and cultural consumptions that can be the object of judgment on tastes in his research area (1984: 99). Because of the structured dispositions that make up the habitus act in the direction of legitimizing the fallacy of spontaneous formation by disguising it as an innate disposition. The function of examining the relationship between the

dispositions that are generally considered with aesthetic appreciation and the system of predispositions that form the habitus is provided by including these consumption patterns in the analysis. To put it briefly, all preference spaces from food to clothing and cosmetics are organized according to the same basic structure as the social space determined by the volume and structure of capital (Bourdieu, 1984: 208). For example, in the scene where Nejat comes to visit Erol with a friend at noon, while they are talking about what they will drink, Erol makes a statement that 'Nejat is drinking a Margarita at this hour'. While Erol is preparing cocktails by choosing the necessary liqueurs and alcohols from the large alcohol bar in the living room, Nejat turned on jazz music on the player. He dips the outer rims of the original Margarita glasses in salt, decorates them with lemon slices, and prepares a cool presentation. Erol, on the other hand, preferred the whiskey he routinely drank. Afterward, these two watch the Monte Carlo Rally on a German channel and talk about it. In the scenes of the evening of the same day, they eat the sandwiches they prepared as a quick snack while drinking alcohol in front of the television. Margarita and whiskey consumption practices, which they normalized in domestic consumption, symbolize that these people have elite tastes and belong to a certain high class. The fact that they prefer to eat their dinner in front of the TV instead of at the dinner table draws a more Western image by going beyond the modern table manners. With seven scenes taking place in places such as a hotel restaurant, hotel bar, elegant restaurant, and a restaurant with a Bosphorus view, this is the film with the most dining out behavior. Finally, the fact that it has the highest rate of eating and drinking out shows that the elite class has internalized eating and drinking out as their daily routine. Erol, whose family habitus is understood to be above a certain economic and cultural level, is the only one who represents the legitimate class among the characters. It provided the analysis group with the necessary data to serve as an example for the analysis of legitimate classes.

4.3 Alcohol Consumption Habits and Social Status Representation of Alcohol in the 1980s and 1990s

It has been stated above that Bourdieu conducted comparative research on the consumption practices of foodstuffs and social classes. In his book (1984), he included comments on the alcohol consumption of the ruling classes and the working class, who were interviewed. However, it was also pointed out that it is inevitable for these foodstuffs to change according to the origins of the food culture. For instance, the production, consumption, service, pairing with food, and symbolic meanings of wine, of course, are pretty different from the meaning of wine in the French food history and in the Turkish cuisine. If this comparison is made over raki, it will be quite explanatory. For these reasons, it is more appropriate to evaluate the representation of these alcoholic beverages within the social and cultural structure. Nevertheless, since there are common points in Bourdieu's studies, it was concluded that it would be useful to mention them as well. According to him, legitimate styles form their values through the power they maintain in the temporal dimension. In other words, the legitimate classes own what is now available from the past, such as aged wine (Bourdieu, 1984: 53). The taste for old things reveals a certain set of representations and symbolized mechanisms with a temporal superiority (Bourdieu, 1984: 280-281). Further, Bourdieu integrates this taste with the rootedness of the legitimate class in permanent things, exemplifying long-term skills such as gastronomy and oenology⁵ knowledge. It was not surprising to encounter examples of wine in the French Cuisine. However, raki is never mentioned in his work and the information about beer is used only as consumption rate data in figures and tables. When it comes to whiskey, it has been determined that the rate of having whiskey at home is clearly high among private-sector executives (Bourdieu, 1984: 305). He even criticizes it because the champagne of former French patrons was set aside for the sake of whiskey. In conclusion, Bourdieu argues that alcohol use undoubtedly has great importance in legitimate values (1984: 180).

⁵ the study of wines.

Before moving on to the film analysis, it is useful to take a look at the information on alcohol consumption, a concept that has undergone great changes over time in the Turkish cuisine. With the acceptance of Islam by the Turks, it was forbidden to drink alcohol in addition to food products within the scope of religious restrictions (Solmaz & Altıner, 2018: 119). However, when the Ottomans conquered Istanbul, the production and the consumption of wine continued by the non-Muslim communities. *Meyhane* were run by non-Muslim minorities such as Greeks, Armenians, or Jews (Sauner, 2008). In the *meyhanes* (wine houses), which is a combination of the words 'mey', wine, and 'hane', house, cold and hot appetizers called mezes were served as accompaniments with alcohol, for example, fruit, seafood, salad, and nuts. Raki came to the fore instead of wine only during the 19th century (Öney, 2019). According to the sources, especially during the nineteenth century, besides non-Muslims, Muslims also drink wine and raki at *meyhane* in Istanbul (Georgeon 2002, as cited in Samancı 2020a: 9; Ünsal, 2010: 394). The effects of modernization have also spread to *meyhanes* and in time they have become places where Muslims participate legally. Ünsal states that at the beginning of the 20th century, there were folk-type *meyhanes* in various districts of Istanbul and there were shopkeepers in the Grand Bazaar who ate appetizers with raki (2010: 404). Besides, imported alcoholic beverages such as beer, champagne, and spirits were among the consumption habits of the elites in cities during this period (Samancı, 2020a:17). Of course, since the nineteenth century, there are also places where alcohol is consumed apart from *meyhanes*. *Alafranga* restaurants, cafes, wineries, and beer houses were hosting their guests, especially around Pera and Galata region. One of the various-style places, the number of which increased rapidly during the Republican period, was the Western-style places that played French music and served wine alongside special world cuisine dishes (Ünsal, 2010: 411-412). As a result, it can be claimed that it is a culture and tradition shaped by alcoholic beverages (Zubaida and Tapper, 2000 as cited in Öney, 2019).

Apart from the Muslim and non-Muslim discrimination, gender discrimination was also a very effective factor in alcohol consumption. Gender was favored in alcohol consumption, both in the public sphere and in the traditional sense. Alcohol

consumption by women, both in the public sphere and in the traditional sense, was not welcome. While it was not welcomed for Muslim women to drink in the restaurant even with their families, they had the opportunity to act more actively in social life, quite slowly during the Republican years (Ünsal, 2010: 409-410).

According to Sauner's accounts, *meyhanes*, where you can drink raki or wine with meze and fish, were mostly frequented by men (2008: 262). The fact that women do not consume alcohol in a social environment has a relationship with the deep-rooted patriarchal structure in Turkish society. Mübeccel Kıray stated that in the early stages of the Republic, it was aimed to give women equal opportunities with men in education and business life in terms of law and regulation, but because they did not have the necessary social foundations, women's working life followed a fluctuating path (1999: 252). And she adds that the life status of women is far lower than that of men. The basic social and structural transformation, which gave its core with the change in agriculture and the old peasantry in the 1950s, shook the old rural society thousands of years ago and affected the social stratification system, occupational structure, and all human relations (Kıray, 1999: 333). According to Kıray, the historical background that affects every aspect of life and society, especially the changes in the status of women in Turkey, is the new lifestyles, new consumption patterns, changing values, new commercialized entertainment events, the increase in the influence of mass communication and the media (1999: 333). In the 1980s, which were important turning points for the women's movement (Çağatay ve Soysal, 1995: 336), women became relatively stronger in the social sphere, both with the increase in their education level and with their adaptation to working life. The development of a language of their own by women is one of the elements of cultural change in the 1980s (Gürbilek, 1992:102). In addition to the effects of the arabesque culture mentioned earlier, urban values that shaped the bourgeois lifestyle were also prominent (Kozanoğlu, 1992: 42).

Table 3: The Number of Raki, Whiskey, Wine, and Beer Scenes in the Films

Title of the Film	Production Year	Raki	Whisky	Wine	Beer
Talihli Amele	1980	-	-	-	
Beş Parasız Adam	1980	1	4	-	
Banker Bilo	1980	3	2 + 1 cutscene	-	1
Ah Güzel İstanbul	1981	4	-	-	-
Çiçek Abbas	1982	2	-	-	-
Mine	1982	4	2	2	1 cutscene
Faize Hücum	1982	2	1	1 cutscene	1 cutscene
Bir Yudum Sevgi	1984	2	-	-	1
Züğürt Ağa	1985	3	1	-	
Kırlangıç Fırtınası	1985	3	-	1	4
Sen Türkülerini Söyle	1986	2	2	-	1
Aaahh Belinda	1986	4 + gin +2cognac	-	-	-
Kaçamak	1988	2 + 2 cutscene	1 + 1 cognac	2	-
Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni	1990	8	6 + 2 cognac	3	-
Amerikalı	1993	1	2	1 +1 champagne	-
Yengeç Sepeti	1994	-	2	-	-
Bay-E	1995	1	1	3	1
Böcek	1995	3	-	6	-
Nihavend Mucize	1997	3	2	4	-
Karışık Pizza	1998	3	3	-	1
Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak	1998	-	1	-	1
Kaç Para Kaç	1999	1	1	3	-

The most consumed alcohol types in movies were grouped and tabulated according to how many scenes they were consumed (Table 2). First of all, the phenomenon represented by alcohol in films shot in the ten-year period since 1980 will be discussed with examples. The fact that raki has a deep-rooted history in the geography of Turkey is also evident in the films. Raki consumption was observed in all but one film in the sample group. The characters, who have high or low economic levels, are from the working class or the bourgeoisie, from the village or from the city, drink raki in some way in the film narratives, and this situation emerges as a consistent practice. For example, in *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980), the five friends make kebabs from minced meat and drink raki with the money they earn daily, despite their poor economic situation. Likewise, in *Ah Güzel İstanbul* (1980), there are scenes where Kamil, who is a long-distance truck driver, and whose economic situation is not very good, drinks raki both with his friends and with his girlfriend when he returns from a long way. In the first example, the barbecue activity, which was carried out to celebrate or share joy, is used in more than one sense in the second film. In the second, the various symbolic power of consuming raki as a daily routine in the narrative as well as for celebration and distraction purposes is utilized. Another example of the consumption of raki by a group with a low economic level emerges in the eating and drinking practices in *Banker Bilo* (1980). In the scene where the peasants representing the working class take a break on the way during the mass migration to Istanbul, the peasants sit on the grass and eat various vegetables and fruits with their hands and drink raki. In this scene, the ordinary and routine consumption representation of raki is used. However, in the continuation, Maho, who is the boss of his job and rises up the class, goes to Bilo to share his troubles and brings raki and raw meatballs ingredients with him, and this event is done in order not to forget their origins and to establish a partnership. In *Çiçek Abbas* (1982), the raki that Şakir, who has a middle-class family structure, drank in his dinner routine and out of sadness when his fiancée left him, had similar symbolic meanings to the previous examples. In *Faize Hücum* (1982), which reveals that raki is expensive for daily consumption, or rather an alcohol that cannot be consumed because the wages of retired civil servants are insufficient, the character

Kamil realizes a nostalgia he longs for by drinking raki in Çiçek Pasajı when he has money. In another scene, he shows that when he has enough money, he can have a drinking routine at home in the evenings with some accompaniment.

Mine (1982), one of the most important films of its period and perhaps in the history of Turkish Cinema, that symbolically prioritized food, has many scenes where alcohol is consumed. Many of these are positioned in the story as banquets of a large group of friends with a wide variety of alcohol and food. One of the scenes with these crowded groups of friends is an entertainment with live music and belly dancers, where only men participate and drink raki. All of these examples of the film *Mine (1982)* are dinner meetings held for entertainment purposes. However, in one of the scenes, Cemil drinks raki at an elaborate table with his dinner, and in another scene, the hoodlums of the neighborhood sit on a newspaper in a secluded and wooded area and drink raki accompanied by tomato and cheese. Significantly, the fact that agents belonging to different classes and having different levels of capital consume raki in both cases supports the argument that drinking raki is a common consumption practice. On the other hand, one of the most important structures that reveal what class consume, is the atmosphere of the consumption space, and these are related to where the place is and what is eaten as an accompaniment.

To continue with the examples of raki drinking, in *Bir Yudum Sevgi (1984)*, a neighbor prepares a barbecue to share with the neighborhood with the material and joy of making money in gambling, and drinks raki while eating grilled chops. In the same film, Aygül's irresponsible husband drinks raki with a few small meals at home with his malicious friends. Here, raki is symbolized as a harmful consumption practice such as idleness and rakishness. In this sense, there is almost no other example that is exactly the same with usage. But a similar example at one point is the representation of an individual as a habit that reinforces his loneliness in *Kırlangıç Fırtınası (1985)*. At the beginning of this film, the father of the house drinks raki at a celebratory dinner for the sale of land.

One of the films in which raki stands out clearly as a representation of identity is obviously *Züğürt Ağa (1985)*. The situation that reinforces this claim is that raw

meatballs are served with raki as an accompaniment in a great ritual. The very rich Ağa (the landlord) invites guests at every opportunity to demonstrate this wealth and offers to set up a raki table. Of course, it is useful to remind the information that these tables are low dining tables and even that food is eaten on the cover laid on the floor. The practice of raki consumption in three different scenes has slightly different characteristics, even if they do not have extreme opposites. The first is the raki table that he has set up for his business partners, where he kneads raw meatballs with his hands and serves them to his guests. The other is the raki table set for his father's marriage celebration, in this scene, someone else kneads the raw meatballs instead of him, as he is deeply unhappy with the marriage. In the last example, Ağa (the landlord) and his family, who left his village to switch to city life, have dinner at the house of his villager, who had migrated to the city before him. Only men drink raki at the high dining table, but as a harbinger of change, there are no raw meatballs on the table.

In *Aaahh Belinda* (1986), raki has built a social platform of its own as a common type of alcohol consumed by two different social groups in modern city life. Raki is consumed in different environments as a means of socialization in these two different social communities, whose cultural and social capital is quite different from each other, consisting of intellectual artist groups and traditional families. In two scenes, some of the theater crew go to Ece Bar and Studio 54, two of the popular venues where the artists of the period were regulars, and some of them drink gin, most of them raki. Families in the traditional structure, which has a very different lifestyle from theirs, have a barbecue at a place they go to picnic and drink raki. In addition, only men drink raki at the dinner table where they gather in a house to celebrate a happy event. *Kaçamak* (1988), the last film in the sample group of the 1980s, focuses on Dereboyu *Meyhanesi*, where it begins and ends.

Consequently, raki consumption is expected to come to the fore. But surprisingly, when the protagonists go to the tavern, they drink beer one time and wine the other time. However, it is understood that other customers are drinking raki in the tavern scenes. On the contrary, Orhan prefers to sit at the bar and drink raki in a newly flourishing pub-style venue.

When all these data are brought together, it becomes clear that the comprehensive dimension of raki consumption makes it a discourse-producing practice rather than a consumption practice. This discourse, which includes too many parameters in social space, has already been revealed in other research (Zat, E 2012; 2018). One of the interesting common points of the findings is that women generally do not consume raki. There are a few exceptions to this. For example, when Cevahir, a prostitute in *Ah Güzel İstanbul (1980)*, falls in love with Kamil, they go to a tavern with him and drink raki together. Moreover, in *Aaahh Belinda (1986)*, the character of Naciye, in which the character of Serap transforms by changing dimensions, goes to the picnic with her family and neighbor and pours herself a glass of raki while the men are drinking raki. This is considered a shocking event because it is not seen as a female-friendly consumption. On the other hand, the modern and intellectual character of Serap drinks gin at the bar with her group of friends consisting of men and women. And in this environment, some women and men drink raki. And similarly, in *Kaçamak (1988)*, Suna and her aunt comfortably drink beer in a tavern without being judged by anyone. As a result, the consumption of raki, which is generally represented as a masculine drink, has been used in the story of the film as a symbolic cultural consumption of different social interactions such as celebration, entertainment, socialization, and dissipation. It will continue with the practice of consumption in 1980s films of other types of alcohol.

When the representations of other alcohol types are interpreted after raki, which has a deep-rooted history, quite different results emerge. As it can be understood from the low number of scenes (Table 2), consumption of other types of alcohol is a foreign element that has not become a habit in Turkish society. As an exception to this, only the film *Mine (1982)* depicts a drinking habit of wine, cognac, raki, whiskey, and other types of alcohol, which are frequently consumed by large groups of friends consisting of men and women at banquets. The reason why this alcohol consumption is presented as an ordinary habit is actually in line with other film narratives. The narrative characters with high social status conveyed through their professional positions in the town they live in, indicate an elite stratum. Banquets, which are generally a sign of power, coincide with the fact that imported alcohol

also represents the elite, thereby reinforcing an elite class representation. More obvious and absurd examples of this situation can be found in other films. For example, in *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980), Şehmus, who does a favor to a rich man, is very unfamiliar with the whiskey offered to him and he coughs when he tries to drink it. In the same film, in most of the scenes in which the rich antagonist Mithat appears, a branded whiskey bottle and glass stand on the table. The status of the Mithat character is characterized by his consumption of whiskey. Similar usage is found in *Banker Bilo* (1980), an ice bucket, whiskey glass, and branded whiskey bottle stand on the desk of the immigrant Maho, who has adapted to urban life and has a higher status. At the end of the film, Bilo, who somehow manages to adapt to modern life, imitates what Maho does and drinks whiskey in his office. Another example is when Kamil goes to the banker to deposit money in *Faize Hücüm* (1982), the office worker he met says, 'Can I offer you something? Gin? Whiskey? Cognac or something...'. Despite Kamil's reluctance, the office worker instructs the secretary to bring two whiskeys. This situation in the bank represents the guarantee that Kamil will be very rich in the future. The character of Abuzer in *Züğürt Ağa* (1985), who adapted to the city life, increased its economic capital, and thus increased its social capital, chose whiskey while having fun in a tavern. Meanwhile, Ağa (the landlord) is kneading raw meatballs in the tavern, while Abuzer eats raw meatballs and drinks whiskey. This cultural turmoil depicted quite coincides with the cultural change in Turkish society in the 1980s. Further, a consistent and comprehensive conclusion was not obtained from the beer and wine consumption data.



Figure 3: The scene where Haşmet and Jeyan drink whiskey at home (*Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* 1990)

Continuing with the analysis of the second group, the changing of the topics covered and the processing of more marginal themes changed the representation of alcohol consumption compared to the 1980s. By the 1990s, the film that played a leading role in alcohol consumption is *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990) by far. This film, which has the highest alcohol consumption among the analyzed ones, draws attention with its high number and symbolic meanings. Raki and whiskey drinking almost represents the dichotomy between the Traditional and the Modern. The transition from Yeşilçam to New Turkish Cinema in the film establishes a parallel narrative structure with the transition from raki to whiskey. After Haşmet Asilkan made an agreement with the producer, a celebration is organized to which the whole team is invited. Elegantly dressed guests have different drinks in their hands. The dialogue between the producer and the assistant is remarkable:

Producer: Who told you to buy whiskey? Raki, gin not enough?

Assistant: Well, Haşmet Bey ordered it.

Producer: Then you get his money from him.

On the other hand, Haşmet, who took pictures with a whiskey glass in his hand and accepted the congratulations, seems quite happy. Haşmet, who has a tendency to drink alcohol in a way that is contrary to his economic conditions and cultural tastes, thus expresses his high status through his consumption practices. Another scene where he tries to show that he is an educated, cultured and modern person, that is, his status, is when he invites Jeyan to his house and drinks whiskey with him (Figure 3).

There is a commonality among the drinking-related findings that three alcoholic characters with mental and social disorders are placed in stories. In this film, Nihat, who used to be a famous Yeşilçam actor, consumes raki at home and brandy from a hip flask in the social environment, and the continuous wine consumption of Binnur character in *Böcek* (1995). In addition, the raki drinking scenes in this film can be considered among the daily consumption habits in general. The third alcoholic character is Nuray in *Yengeç Sepeti* (1994). This film is a drama film by director Yavuz Özkan about the problems of a large family that are secretly coming to the surface. Three siblings come to visit their parents, who have settled in a lakeside beach town. However, the weekend does not pass as the old couple expected, who are very happy for their children and grandchildren visit. As the family members' personal problems slowly emerge, they come into a big showdown with each other. They continue their unhappy lives without being able to help each other and solve their problems, just like crabs in a basket pull each other down. In this dramatic story, the character of Nuray, who learned that she was cheated on by her husband, is a depressed woman trying to maintain an unhappy marriage. She drinks the whiskey he secretly brought in his bag, without revealing it to anyone. She does not exhibit pronounced drunkenness, but an alcoholic tendency can be claimed. In an order in which women's drinking is disliked by a certain group, the excessive alcohol consumption of these two female characters is an expression of suppressed anger.

Furthermore, in *Amerikalı* (1993), which is a Hollywood parody, Şeref can be portrayed as a 'yuppie', although he is not considered very young. "Yuppie" is a new concept that emerged in connection with the economic and cultural global

developments, following the rise of the concept of 'business' with the January 24 Decisions in the 1980s. The term, which is referred to with the first letters of the English words "Yuppie", that is, "young", "urban" and "professional", is used to describe a "new middle class" that differs from the previous classes (Özonur, 2010: 188). In these years, it is possible to see the representatives of this class, who worked at the top levels of large companies with high salaries, was well-educated, curious about consumption, distinguished from other classes with their lifestyles, different perspectives and tastes, in many other countries in the globalization process (Ahıska & Yenal 2006: 60). Athletes, dancers, young, dynamic, smart, stylish and 'gusto' are defined by their developed tastes and social class rise is of key importance to them (Kozanoğlu 1992: 94, Kozanoğlu, 1993: 56). The fact that Şeref stayed in a luxury hotel room in Istanbul and drank champagne proves these data. Şeref, who has valuable tastes in an elite lifestyle, drinks wine while watching live jazz performance at the hotel bar. Similarly, he prefers to order whiskey even at the pavilion he goes to because he has to. Moreover, whiskey is the type of alcohol he drinks to get drunk and get away from his troubles when he is in love and is very unhappy. For these reasons, it is one of the films that most clearly shows the habitus and eating and drinking practices of the elite class. However, it should not be overlooked that this is an exaggerated parody.

Another example of use as a status symbol is the drinking of whiskey, which marks a daily routine in the hotel room of the character Don Johnson in *Bay-E* (1995). In a scene where Çetin makes political references in his fantastically structured narrative, a rebellious youth with a gun says the following words: 'While you are drinking whiskey in the Bosphorus, our stomachs are cracking because we will change and fix the world on the panels'. It can be claimed that whiskey is predominantly a consumption that distinguishes itself from the elite, as it is the practical consumption of whiskey that is emphasized to criticize the luxury consumption of the upper classes.

One more very similar example from the sample group appears in *Nihavend Mucize* (1997). In any case, all the characters in the story belong to the upper class, and in this film, which stands out clearly, alcohol is frequently drunk in the daily routine.

The characters, who frequently go to restaurants in their daily routines and drink at dinners, are all upper class, and it is clearly evident with their clothing, home decorations and external appearances. They even have the habit of drinking cocktails as an aperitif, which is a very European habit, not only at dinner but also at noon. When they go out for dinner, Erol, Iris or Suzan, who go to luxury restaurants, sometimes prefer white and sometimes rose wine, proving that they have the oenology, which is the taste of the ruling class, as suggested by Bourdieu. On the other hand, the fact that the character Suzan, who symbolizes Yeşilçam in the narrative of the film, frequently prefers raki, sets an example for a nostalgic symbol of raki and the taste of a traditional Turkish society. In the drinking scenes that are frequently encountered in *Karışık Pizza (1998)*, the choice of whiskey is a symbol that reinforces the representation of a mafia world. Apart from whiskey, drinking raki also takes its place in the narrative of the film as a descriptive element that mafia members are uncanny, restless, and constantly drunk. In *Kaç Para Kaç (1999)*, the last example of the analysis group, Selim's economic capital suddenly rose and caused some disintegration in his honest and chaste character. While watching the women's dance performance at a nightclub, Selim's choice of alcohol is whiskey. Selim, who drank wine at dinner in his home life, chose whiskey at a nightclub because he started to show a pretentious taste as his financial situation improved.

In the next section, in the light of all the data analyzed, the similarities and differences between the sample groups, which were divided into the 1980s and 1990s, both within themselves and among each other, as well as their outstanding consistent features will be discussed.

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In his works *On Television* (1998a) and *Photography: A middle-brow art* (1990), Bourdieu reviewed cultural production and popular culture's effects with a critical attitude. One of the most important claims he puts forward is that the impact on culture in the interpretations of globalization is huge, but it is not accepted enough (Austin, 2016: 9). It is inevitable not to benefit from the concept of field to make a clearer analysis of the globalization effects on culture. Therefore, the characteristics of the field should be thoroughly analyzed while conducting research on a particular field. In this context, cinema production, which is the subject of this thesis, is characterized as one of the fields of art. According to Bourdieu, art fields are positioned as autonomous areas that are evaluated away from social and economic effects (Austin, 2016: 9). However, the fact that the fields of culture and art are not independent of economic concerns in the globalizing world order proves that they cannot be expressed as autonomous fields. For these reasons, cultural production, for example, television programs, books, and films are threatened to become commercial commodities (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 77). Applying the sacred/profane dichotomy he gathered from Durkheim to the field of film studies, Bourdieu criticizes that cinema is the representation of pure aesthetic tastes that expand the cultural capital within this structure where culture is fetishized and sanctified (Fowler, 2016: 13-14).

In the 1980s, the impact of globalization led to the import of Western culture to society through the culture industry in Turkey (Arslan, 2011: 281) and opened the door for popular culture to internalize popular tastes in society. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the concept of popular culture began to be used instead of the concept of mass culture. The rise of bourgeois democracies has legitimized the concept of popular by transforming it into the meaning of 'the taste preferred and accepted by most of the people' (Selçuk, 2011: 3886). To summarize, Bourdieu argues that popular culture products are areas open to analysis within the framework of globalization and that they should be viewed critically.

Before moving on to the discussion, a very brief look at the structure of Turkish cinema of the period will be useful to justify both why this period and the cinema field were chosen for analysis. According to studies in the field of cinema, there was a period of crisis and collapse for Turkish cinema in the 1980s. One of the reasons for the serious decrease in the film production rate was the high production costs. On the other hand, the same period marks a very important period in terms of structural changes and innovations in Turkish cinema. According to some sources, the 1980s are considered the beginning of the New Turkish Cinema, according to others, the 1990s. For instance, according to Nigar Pöstekci, the 1990s was the period when a new Turkish cinema emerged (2004: 30). Yeşilçam, which started to make repetitive films, lost its popularity over time, while art films, auteur cinema, independent films, and commercial films began to enter the lexicon of Turkish cinema. The parallel transformation that took place in the social structure and the cinema sector made some representations more evident in the symbolic meanings of cultural values. During the depoliticization process after the coup, the directors of the period tended to move away from ideological approaches and touch on more individual subjects. One of the reasons for this was the restrictions imposed on the media by the military coup that followed the crisis period in which intense conflicts took place. Consequently, the fact that the directors reflected some contemporary issues of the period such as women's issues, immigration problems, and the reflection of modernization in the films brought functionality to the thesis in the process of film analysis.

5.1 Distinction Discourse

One of the distinguishing features of this thesis is that food functions as a mechanism that produces meaning again in social interaction, instead of making sense of the final product with the use of structuralist approach that can be seen in food studies, for example the use of theories of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966) and Mary Douglas (1972) (Symons, 1994: 338). According to Symon's article (1994), Simmel made it possible to consider meals as social interactions that reproduce social ideologies, rather than making sense out of from the purchasing, preparation,

and cooking stages of food. In other words, Simmel considers food as a form of social interaction, using a dialectical model (Symons, 1994: 341). Although Bourdieu does not refer to Georg Simmel in his work, he adopts a common view in this context. With his functional-structuralist theory, Bourdieu states that eating and drinking practices maintain the distinction within socially shaped structures by social factors. Food consumption practices emerge as one of the styles of the dominant class to distinguish itself from other social classes (Bourdieu, 1984: 184). On the other hand, consumption trends vary not only according to social class, but also according to the volume of capital owned by individuals. Bourdieu has conducted comprehensive research from the representation of the individual as a diligent to the time allocated for the preparation of the meal, and to the observance of table manners while eating. As a result of these studies, it has emerged that eating with refined tastes, superior and exclusive cuisine techniques and various rules that reject the cost concerns; begins to produce a discourse that supports the status quo. In the next section, the analysis titles will evaluate the eating and drinking practices scenes that have been found to maintain status in the context of this theory.

5.1.1 The Impact of the Upper Class and the New Middle Class on Maintaining Distinction

The comparative analysis started with the first of the titles, namely the representation of Westernization tendencies in Turkish Culinary Culture and dining etiquette. Within the scope of this title, table manners, table arrangement, daily meals, and eating and drinking habits, which have seen great changes in traditional consumption practices in the geography of Turkey since the late Ottoman period, were evaluated. First of all, considering the films of the 1980s, it should be noted that more than half of them focus on the stories of the individuals who have not yet adapted to the modern lifestyle. In this sample group, which has no dominant class representation, the highest-class level is the middle class. One of the most obvious and remarkable findings is the duality of the low dining table and high dining table setting featured in the five films. The first example is the use of different table types as a status indicator in the home life of two families, namely Nazlı and Şakir, from

two different social classes in *Çiçek Abbas* (1982). Dinners are eaten at the low dining table in the house of Nazlı, who has a working-class and poor family, on the other hand, at the high dining table in the house of Şakir, who is a member of the middle class and has a relatively higher economic level. Even if their classes are not completely clear, it is at least a situation that symbolizes the difference in status between them. One of the most important reasons why Nazlı's father wants her daughter to marry Şakir or anyone with a high economic level is the desire for a rise in his status. Another successful example is the story of the film *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980), where five working-class friends are eating at home on a blanket on the floor, while Bekir, who owns a grocery store, eats at a high table at his home. Invited to Bekir's house for a celebration, these five friends display rude table manners at the lavish table full of different dishes. Eating food quickly and using their hands is quite far from modern table manners. One of the most powerful examples of status representation is in *Bir Yudum Sevgi* (1984). The use of a low dining table in the house where Aygül lives with her husband is replaced by the use of a high dining table after she enters into work life in a factory and moves to a new house. This situation marks a beginning in the transition of Aygül's character to modern life. Again, in the same film, women eat at the low dining table and men eat at the high dining table in Kamil's home life, symbolizing that men have a higher social status than women in the patriarchal structure. The last example is that in *Züğürt Ağa* (1995), the village squire eats at the high dining table when they move to the city life, while they eat on a blanket on the floor in the scenes in the village. The tendency to eat on the floor is shaped by the habitus of the Ağa (the landlord), especially by cultural and social capital, rather than an economic situation. Furthermore, when the bread is divided by hand on the low dining table, it turns into being sliced beforehand and served with a plate or basket when moving to high dining tables. As a result, the transition to the high dining table emerges as a factor that can be evaluated within the food consumption practices where class distinction is clearly ensured.

Besides, the transition to modern table manners began with the abandonment of the habit of eating from the common bowl and the use of tablecloths. Two indispensable

food products have been identified in both table types, these are bread and water. Similarly, dishes that are usually served with a ladle, such as stews or braised dishes (*tencere yemeği*) or rice, are brought to the table in a saucepan and served. When these examples were left behind, table etiquette and manners, eating and drinking habits were completely modernized in the films *Mine* (1982), *Faize Hücum* (1982), *Kırlangıç Fırtınası* (1985), *Aaahh Belinda* (1986), *Sen Türkülerini Söyle* (1986), and *Kaçamak* (1988). From tablecloths to cutlery, from various dishes to different drinks, modern table habits and rules have shown their effect. One of the reasons for the emergence of these modern tables is that the family origins of some of the characters in the movies have been adapted to urban life with previous generations. In the new middle classes, these modern tables often cause to maintain the distinction.

The second analysis title is the eating out practices, which is a relative extension of the first title. In the light of the findings, it was determined that the film narratives have consistent integrity in the change in eating and drinking out habits. 9 out of 13 films in the first sample group mostly have a one-time dining out scene (Table 2). Eating out places have a wide spectrum; *meyhane*, taverns, *esnaf lokantası* (traditional eatery shop), *ocakbaşı* (grill restaurant with an open fire pit in the middle), ice cream shops, bars, nightclubs, *gazino* (entertainment place where food is eaten, the show is followed), and discos can be listed as examples. The purpose of going to the venues is mostly for entertainment and socialization and displaying the status that maintains the distinction in social classes. As a status symbol and a pretentious consumption, Maho prefers to go to Moda Deniz Club to talk business with his father-in-law in *Banker Bilo* (1980). In a very modern environment with people in bikinis around, it is obvious that they do not belong to this place and their clothes, accessories, and accents are indicators of this. The same behavior emerges as a pretentious middle-class habitus when Ağa (the landlord) and his friend knead raw meatballs and drink whiskey at the *gazino*. In *Faize Hücum* (1982), which has single eating out scene, Kamil goes to the Çiçek Pasajı as soon as he gets the money. Drinking raki with two slices of feta cheese and melon is not a pretentious behavior, and it belongs to the obligatory taste of the working class.

On the other hand, there are no examples of eating and drinking out activities in the films *Talihli Amele* (1980), *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980), *Çiçek Abbas* (1982), and *Bir Yudum Sevgi* (1984). It has been revealed that eating and drinking out practices do not turn into a habit for the working classes except for going to *meyhane*, but for the middle class, bars and similar places become a habit due to a need for socialization and mostly being a status indicator.

The results show that there is an example of the habit of eating out in the working classes due to their professional life. A generalization can be made for *meyhane* with seven examples, they are places that have more than one type, where the working class and middle class have already made a habit of and create a common area of taste. The second generalization, with five examples, is bars, casinos, nightclubs, and hotel clubs. They have been transformed into a habit as a status indicator.

In the 1990s, all but one film featured a scene of going out for eating or drinking. On the other hand, in the film *Yengeç Sepeti* (1994), in which there is no an eating or drinking out scene, the events take place in a coastal town during two days. As a common point with the first sample group, the eating and drinking places vary considerably in both groups. Among these, the most prominent ones in the 1990s were the hotel restaurants and hotel bars, which were popular venues of the period. Jazz bars where elite tastes were exhibited did not exist in the 1980s but were used in a few films in the 1990s, for example, in the films *Amerikalı* (1993), *Bay-E* (1995), and *Nihavend Mucize* (1997). Only the last film, in which an elite lifestyle is exhibited, has been examined under a separate title due to the resources it provides. In this film, the characters often go out for dinner or go to various places as a daily ordinary routine. It is clear that these places appeal to a high class lifestyle in almost every aspect, including the decoration, the food served, the table arrangements, and the music in the background. As Bourdieu states in his theory, luxury consumption functions as a reproduction mechanism that maintains class distinction. When the film *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990) is examined, Haşmet Asilkan is a regular at a bar in Cihangir, where celebrities of the period are regulars. The function of the place is that Haşmet wants to legitimize the identity he is trying to

establish with a place of belonging, that is, by being a regular. In the same film, he goes to two different *meyhanes*, the first is to chat with his old friend and the second is to celebrate their finished film.

There are no examples of *meyhane* scenes in any other film, except for the two scenes in this film. The decrease in numbers compared to the first sample group is an important finding. It is concluded that *meyhanes* are not preferred places to go among the middle and upper-middle classes. Apart from this finding, there has been a certain increase in bar and restaurant preferences, and this has become an internalized trend in the middle and upper classes. There are two films that make this finding consistent: *Nihavend Mucize* (1997) and *Kaç Para Kaç* (1999). Because they are among the films in the second sample group in which daily life continues as usual, even though there are some fantastic scenes or extreme events. Besides, male-only drinking venues were featured in the 1980s, but not in any films in the 1990s. Since some of the drinking scenes took place in the venues, all of the eating and drinking venues in the 1990s were described as places where men and women spent time together. In the first sample group, drinking alcohol was generally represented among men's daily practices.

In the third and final chapter, alcohol consumption habits and how alcohol has become instrumental in identifying and representing status are analyzed.

In the title where the two sample groups were closest to each other and gave consistent results, the findings focused especially on raki and whiskey. For this reason, it can be argued that although the practice is different in both periods, the approach to alcohol types is similar. The first product to be examined is raki, for which many analysis data are provided. Apart from one film in the first sample group and two films in the second sample group, there are raki scenes in 19 films in total. Consumption of raki from all walks of life, that is, popular classes and legitimate classes, is valid for both sample groups. Besides, the fact that the data is so numerous and positive causes it to be interpreted as a field that includes and unites individuals from all classes in social taste. Examples of how it is enjoyed and consumed by different classes include *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980), *Ah Güzel İstanbul* (1980), and *Banker Bilo* (1980) among the working classes. Similarly, consuming

raki when economic conditions allow, as in the example of Kamil drinking raki in a tavern in Çiçek Pasajı in the film *Faize Hücum* (1982), expresses a great pleasure. *Mine* (1982) reveals that people from different social classes, the neighborhood vagrants and the notables of the town, share in raki consumption in different places and in different ways. Similarly, a lower-middle-class neighbor who earns money from gambling in *Bir Yudum Sevgi* (1984) celebrates this and drinks raki.



Figure 4: The scene where Ağa (the landlord) and guests drink raki and Ağa (the landlord) kneads raw meatballs (*Züğürt Ağa* 1985)

One of the films in which raki stands out both as a celebration and an element of identification is *Züğürt Ağa* (1985). Raki and raw meatball are consumed together during celebrations when Ağa's father gets married, and guests come to the village (Figure 4). Consuming raki with an eastern food such as raw meatballs (*çiğ köfte*) transforms both into products that symbolize Eastern culture. In summary, it was supported by the data obtained that the type of drink consumed in the 1980s was quite distinctly raki. Although raki is consumed in many different functions, it has never been used as a status symbol as a culturally accepted beverage product. Whiskey, which is the second most important type of drink after raki in the

narratives, has a completely different function. Whiskey, which is consumed by the middle and elite classes as a symbol of status and distinction, is a product that the lower classes are foreign to. In *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980), the scene where Şehmus coughs while drinking whiskey, which he sees for the first time in a rich man's house, and the presence of a whiskey bottle and glass in front of him in every scene where the rich mafia Mithat appears are two examples of different practices. In *Züğürt Ağa* (1985), the behavior of the village origin Abuzer, who drinks whiskey while Ağa (the landlord) kneads raw meatballs in a *gazino*, is portrayed as a status symbol, which he tends to show his adaptation to urban life. Moreover, the small number of scenes with cognac and gin drinks in addition to wine and beer consumption, did not allow for a consistent conclusion. Finally, scenes in which many people eat and drink at the same time in their drinking habits are clearly divided into two. The main feature of the group with the first and higher ratio is that they drink raki and only on men's tables, for example, *Ah Güzel İstanbul* (1980), *Mine* (1982), *Faize Hücum* (1982), *Bir Yudum Sevgi* (1984), *Züğürt Ağa* (1985), and *Kırlangıç Fırtınası* (1985). In the second group, there are scenes where men and women come together around a table. Alcohol variation is always seen in these films, for instance, *Mine* (1982), *Aaahh Belinda* (1986), *Sen Türkülerini Söyle* (1986), and *Kaçamak* (1988).

When it comes to the 1990s, there are scenes where whiskey continues to be used as a symbol of representation of the elite class. However, it has often become an internalized symbol of elitism rather than a foreign symbol of elitism as in the 1980s. There are two instances where it is not internalized. The first is Haşmet's choice of whiskey in a nightclub, in *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990), while the other is the choice of whiskey in a nightclub, with Selim turning to luxury consumption when he has money in *Kaç Para Kaç* (1999). However, Haşmet consumes raki in his home life, and Selim consumes wine in his home life.

On the other hand, among the films in which whiskey is accepted as an internalized habitus practice, the first is *Amerikalı* (1993), a parody of Hollywood, the second is *Bay-E* (1995), which takes place in a dream world, the third is *Nihavend Mucize*

(1997), which is completely the representation of the ruling class, and the last one is *Karışık Pizza* (1998), which describes the dark world of the mafia.

Moreover, a symbolic feature of raki is that it is accepted as a traditional product, which indicates nostalgia. While Haşmet Asilkan, who tries to keep up with modern life in the *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990), prefers whiskey in his effort to create a new identity, the consumption of raki, which stands against it, reflects its lack of modernity. Haşmet, who drinks whiskey outside the home, for example at the premiere of the film and at the bar, regularly drinks raki home.

Similarly, there are many drinking parties attended by the wealthy and cultured Suzan character in the film *Nihavend Mucize* (1997). Suzan, who has a high cultural capital to have the necessary drinking knowledge, chooses drinks according to the requirements of the atmosphere. However, in the story where no one drinks raki but whiskey, wine, and cocktails, Suzan tends to drink raki the most. This indicator also symbolizes Yeşilçam, that is, Turkey's past.

In *Amerikalı* (1993), Şeref returns to Turkey and drinks raki at a picnic in order to instill a sense of nostalgia. And as the last example of this indicator, middle-class Recai's drink preference in the film *Böcek* (1995) was raki. When all these examples are combined, the fact that raki has turned into a socially internalized consumption practice emerges. In this context, it is concluded that the continued consumption of raki in the first and second sample groups indicates a common taste. When it comes to alcohol consumption habits from the 1980s to the 1990s, an increase in alcoholic role characters is observed. In the 1980s, only Nuriye's father in *Aaah Belinda* (1986) and in the 1990s, Mithat in *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990), Nuray in *Yengeç Sepeti* (1994), and Binnur in *Böcek* (1995) are alcoholic characters.

5.1.2 The Ineffectiveness of Distinction in Cultural Continuity

As stated with examples in the previous section, Westernization tendencies in Turkish Culinary Culture and dining etiquette, which is the first analysis topic, have emerged as status representations at a very high rate. However, two important points need to be emphasized. The first is 'the choice of the necessary' expressed by Bourdieu (1984: 372), and the other is the practices that do not determine status in

cultural food consumption that continues with the cultural continuity that emerges in the light of film analysis. The first example is the workers sitting on the floor and eating on the newspaper in *Talihli Amele* (1980). This can be considered a very expected behavior, but the interesting thing is that the character of Mehmet Ali sits on the ground next to the samovar and drinks his tea even though he has a sofa and high dining table. On the other hand, the scenes where the workers eat at the high dining table in the room where they stay and use plates and cutlery are a representation of the transition to modern table manners.

Another issue that came to the fore in the literature review is the dishes of *lahmacun*, kebab, and raw meatball, identified with the Eastern culture, which were criticized and despised by some of the intellectuals of that period. The film narratives establish a consistent partnership by using these dishes to describe the tastes of working-class habitus. The most obvious example of this is *Beş Parasız Adam* (1980), which is examined under a separate title. The decision of Şehmus, who emigrated from the village, to open a shop after making kebabs and selling them with a wheelbarrow was evaluated as an anti-modernization trend. Because, considering his consumption practices, Şehmus has a low level of social capital with his features such as eating on the floor, not knowing modern table manners, sloppy clothes, never drinking whiskey in his life, being surprised when he sees a woman in a bikini, and marrying a girl in return for a bride price. It is understood that the cultural capital level is also low due to the fact that he has just come from the village and is not educated. As a result, the desire to sell kebabs, first on the streets and then by opening a restaurant, will make this consumption practice more legitimate in the social space, and this situation has a connection with the non-modern values. In *Talihli Amele* (1980), Mehmet Ali's lines in a bakery advertisement, 'kebabs, grills, meatballs, *lahmacun* are cooked well in this oven' show that traditional and modern structures are reshaped in each other. In *Banker Bilo* (1980), although Maho's class and status have risen, the fact that he brings raki and raw meatball ingredients to be intimate with Bilo expresses the structure of their common habitus and the fact that their past habitus reveals itself in the slightest case. In another example, in *Züğürt Ağa* (1985), Ağa (the landlord) sells raw

meatballs on the street in Çiçek Pasajı as a way of earning money, in line with his habit. Meanwhile, another villager is seen selling *lahmacun* in a basket. As a result, these foods clearly show a consistent fit in relation to the class habitus. On the other hand, no critical approach or humiliating example has been identified. To summarize, the consumption of these foods, which have a cultural origin, does not emerge as a status symbol representing the dominant class under the western influence of the society.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Bourdieu, aiming to overcome the subjective/objective dichotomy as mentioned earlier, suggested that a dialectical relationship should be established between habitus and social structures. According to Bourdieu as a practice theorist, the relations of individuals with social structures stem from a practical logic in which actions are embodied (Cochrane, 2013: 67). The operation of practical applications with social structures continues with the aim of maintaining domination through implicit systems (Swartz, 2011). The interests internalized by individuals are embodied in harmonious bodily tendencies in the social environment. In other words, the action emerges from the combination of the habitus and capital volumes of the individual with the fields (Swartz, 2011:197). In summary, while internalized tendencies reproduce themselves, there is a zero-sum domination struggle within the fields and implicit patterns become suitable for misrecognition by individuals. Bourdieu developed a socio-historical and empirical approach to cultural analysis by approaching from a class perspective in his work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), in which he examined French society. One of the three consumption structures he examined in order to analyze the structure of implicit patterns in social space is the field of food and nutrition (1984: 183-184). Comprehensive correspondence analysis, in which he analyzes the relationship between the food products he grouped and class positions, is the first of the theoretical background of this study. Further, semiotics is another field that derives from structuralism, which constitutes one of Bourdieu's theoretical foundations. Film theorist Christian Metz has developed a new approach to semiotics, which examines all kinds of structures that produce meaning. Metz argued that cinema consists of two kinds of codes that produce meaning, and one of them is the cultural code (1974: 113). With a semiotic analysis, these implicit codes hidden in the film are revealed and determined as objects. Within the scope of this thesis, an interdisciplinary research study was carried out by combining these two approaches, which have different application areas but are close to each other in method.

Therefore, the eating and drinking practices in the films were determined as the data source.

In the 1970s, when capitalism became widespread on a global scale, technology developed and mass communication increased, Turkey was going through a difficult period due to its economic and political reasons. Then, with the 1980 coup, it passed a major turning point and adopted a free-market economy and neo-liberal policies. Thereby, it is inevitable that Turkey, which has been exposed to the influence of the global economy, will be affected by the changes in the global world order. On one hand, postmodernism, which started to be discussed at that time, played a key role in the transformation of everyday life into image societies in which daily life is aestheticized and reality is conveyed through representations. On the other hand, consumer societies were formed in which products became not only consumer goods for needs but also a set of indicators that included a wide variety of reasons such as identity, status, and belonging to a group. Turkey has led to the prominence of consumption practice in cultural areas with the effect of global influences, policies based on exports, and developments in areas such as marketing and advertising. One of the cultural areas that have been highly affected by all these changes has been the food culture. Holding companies established partnerships with large international companies, and thus the food product variety in the market began to increase. The society, which was introduced to new imported products, was encouraged into a Western consumer society with the effect of mass communication. During this period when Turkey met with McDonald's, the first multinational fast-food chain, the number of places such as modern restaurants serving world cuisines, luxury hotel restaurants, and club restaurants was increasing especially in big cities. Moreover, another important reason for the matching of this period and the field of cinema is that after the 1980 coup, the recessive administration affected the field of cinema, as it did in other fields. The fact that the directors also included daily consumption practices in the films that no have themes such as migration and women issues or psychological genres focusing on the individual. The scope of the thesis, which aims to examine these cultural and social changes experienced in the geography of Turkey in terms of food culture, starts

from 1980. However, the above-mentioned changes, which started to be experienced in 1980, occurred gradually over a long period of time. Thus, the covered period has been extended to reveal when and how the results of the impacts bear fruit, and also to see in which direction it is going.

The films analyzed within the scope of this thesis were primarily used as a source for collecting data on eating and drinking practices. Secondly, it aimed to analyze whether taste has a function that works in favor of the ruling class and maintains the distinction in terms of eating and drinking practices. By virtue of this two-way analysis, both a historical observation was made, and this observation was interpreted sociologically, and it was possible to analyze how the transformations reproduce themselves in eating and drinking practices. The fictional characters in the film narratives were analyzed with these methods and the scenes related to their eating and drinking practices were subjected to a sociological analysis with Bourdieu's terminology. Thus, the door of a sociological approach to the food culture of the period was opened.

About 100 films were scanned to select analysis films for two sample groups consisting of two decades. Among them, 22 films were selected, 13 of which belong to 1980s cinema and 7 of which belong to 1990s cinema. The main element of film selection is that it does not take place in a previous or future time period, other elements include daily life routines, and films are as realistic as possible. The first analyzed topic is the effect of Westernization trends on table manners and eating and drinking out habits, the second topic is eating practices outside the home, and the third and last topic is alcohol consumption habits and their function as a status representation. First of all, it should be noted that consistent results were not obtained for every title. Although there were 7 different families using low dining tables in the first sample group, no examples were observed in the second sample group. It has been revealed that the families using low dining tables are generally members of the working class and more than half of the samples are in search of a status rise. In these films, there is usually a character of higher status, and these characters' status is indicated by the scenes where they use a high dining table. This phenomenon also includes the symbolic expression of the transition to modern and

urban life. The first reason for this result is the eating habits that are lost when the use of a high dining table is started. Habits such as eating from a common bowl, dividing bread and onions by hand, and eating vegetables by biting without cutting were abandoned when they transitioned to the high dining table. As a result, the contrast between the low dining table and the high dining table has created a consistent unity in which class distinction is a social status indicator and a consumption practice that depicts the transition to modern life.

When the class habitus is taken into consideration, the working class should not have the intention of leaving the dining table as its own cultural code in line with the taste of necessity. However, it is determined that they are mostly in an effort to rise in the social hierarchy. In addition, high dining tables have tablecloths and separate plates, as well as bread and other foods that are pre-chopped and placed on a serving platter. One of the common features of the two table types is the presence of bread and water on all tables. Another common feature is that pots are often placed on the table and served with a ladle. According to Bourdieu, this situation is an indication of an economic inadequacy due to the expensiveness of the foods that can be sliced and counted, as well as an indication of sincerity in the class habitus. This is a consistent result that the people sharing the table behave sincerely and comfortably. The tables shown in all the films included in the second sample group have been modernized in terms of table manners and eating and drinking habits. The main reason that overlaps with this situation is that there are no working-class members in the stories, they usually are members of the middle class and the ruling class. In the second sample group, there is a new habit that was not observed in the first group, center tables started to be used for eating or drinking.

Foodstuffs such as *lahmacun*, raw meatballs (*çiğ köfte*), kebab, onion-garlic, and red hot pepper have become a phenomenon that fully encompasses a mass identity through the arabesque culture that came to the fore in the 1980s.

The second analysis title was determined as eating and drinking practices outside. The common point valid for both sample groups is the variety of eating and drinking places in the period. There are scenes involving a tavern, albeit at least once. There are scenes involving *ocakbaşı* (grill restaurant with an open fire pit in the middle),

esnaf lokantası (traditional eatery shop), ice cream shop, tavern, *gazino* (entertainment place where food is eaten, the show is followed), bars, disco, nightclub, club restaurant, modern world cuisine restaurant, workplace cafeteria, local hamburger kiosk, hotel restaurant, jazz bar, and hotel bar at least once. Next, there is no restaurant scene in 9 out of 13 films in the first group, and only 1 out of 9 films in the second group. When the scenes in the first sample group are evaluated proportionally, the most obvious and consistent place for eating and drinking outside is the *meyhane*. *Meyhanes*, which are visited for purposes such as socializing, celebrating, and having a heart-to-heart talk, are represented as places that the society is familiar with. At the same time, an admiration for the *meyhane* has developed from all class societies. And the only place not used as a status indicator in the sample group and in the listed table (Table 3) is the tavern. In this context, a common practice of admiration emerges, structured by individuals with different habitus and different capital volumes. On the other hand, when it comes to the 1990s, there is no other *meyhane* scene other than 2 scenes. Eating out increased in the 1990s, with films telling the stories of the middle and upper classes. The most prominent group of venues are hotel restaurants and bars that were not in the 1980s films. As the class habitus rises, the places visited become more elegant and the practices of pretentious consumption emerge. A representation of an elite class emerges, who drank wine in elegant hotel restaurants, and various cocktails and whiskey in jazz bars. This situation constitutes a positive response to the proposal that the changes that started in the 1980s gave significant results in the 1990s. In the last chapter, alcohol consumption and related indicators were analyzed. Because the findings related to raki and whiskey are high in number and used in the same sense many times, it constitutes the title with the most consistent results. Raki, the most consumed type of alcohol in the 1980s, continued to be consumed in the 1990s. Among the entire sample group, 19 out of 22 films have raki scenes. On average, 13 of the 52 raki scenes in the two sample groups were matched with the traditional structure and represented as the cultural background of the society. The other majority of consumption practice was used for basic purposes such as socializing or relaxing. The most prominent finding that remained unchanged

between the two sample groups both in terms of habits and purposes of use is raki. Another alcohol consumption supported by many examples, whiskey underwent a very consistent transformation from the 1980s to the 1990s.

Whiskey, which was an imported alcohol, especially for the middle and lower classes in the 1980s, was a valuable showpiece for the upper classes. Whiskey, which generally carries modern and new meanings, has created a contrast with raki. One of the differences between the two sample groups is that there were only male raki drinking scenes in the 1980s and none in the 1990s. Another difference between the two samples regarding alcohol consumption habits is that raki is consumed only in places where men are present or that it is not considered appropriate for women. In the first sample group, there were scenes where only men drank among themselves, but there were no examples in the films of the 1990s.

Within the scope of this thesis, it has emerged that in order to be able to analyze the cultural codes of a period through cinema narrative, the films of that period should be appropriate both in terms of narrative form and focused topics. In this context, more consistent results were obtained from the films in the sample group of the 1980s compared to the films in the 1990s. The 1990s Turkish Cinema, as a period in which many different forms were tried in an effort to find its own identity, made it difficult to analyze the culture of the period due to the presence of surreal and fantastic scenes and use of food products as metaphors. On the other hand, since the 1980s cinema chose its stories from the lives of the lower and middle classes and included daily practices, it provided consistent. Among these, the conclusion that the 1980s was an active period in the spread of modern table manners and table etiquette to the working classes was revealed as an important finding. At the same time, when the high dining table began to be used, traditional table manners were sharply abandoned. In this way, it has emerged that a food consumption practice has become symbolic as one of the indicators of modernism. Furthermore, the wide variety of eating and drinking out places in Turkey, the difficulty of defining the observed places, and their sparseness in numbers have been obstacles in the analysis of eating and drinking places. The *meyhane* scenes that were prominent in the films of the 1980s were replaced by hotel restaurants and jazz bars in the 1990s. The

reason for this is not the change in consumption practices, but rather the telling of the stories of the middle and upper classes in the 1990s, instead of the lower classes in the 1980s. Nevertheless, the importance of the approach that hotel bars and restaurants, modern elegant restaurants, and jazz bars were popular venues for the middle and upper classes in the 1990s should not be underestimated. Besides, two consistent conclusions were reached, as the final analysis group focused on the varieties of a single product and the abundant examples were presented in almost all the films in the research universe. The first of these is that raki consumption has become a field where individuals from different social classes in Turkey structure a common taste. At the same time, this situation has been evaluated as a practice that provides cultural continuity without the aim of a status representation and class distinction. Scenes related to the consumption of whiskey, which is foreign to Turkey by entering the market as an imported product, are the second consistent findings obtained under the last topic. It was a type of alcohol that the working classes kept at a distance in the 1980s, while it was represented as a luxury consumption product that allowed the modernized bourgeois and elite to maintain their class distinction in the 1990s.

In the light of the data obtained from the films, new research topics that can be examined in the field of social sciences have been determined. Especially in the 1980s, practices such as buying, serving, and consuming food abound in the narrative of the film. For example, the abundance of coffeehouse scenes in films released in the 1980s draws attention. In addition, these places where tea and coffee are usually consumed are a tool for the socialization of working-class men. This consumption practice, which takes place as a daily routine, reveals a research area that can be analyzed in terms of structuring the consumption of tea, coffee, and similar beverages. Another interdisciplinary study proposal is the function of tea gardens. Tea gardens, where tea and coffee are generally consumed, similar to coffee houses, are in a position to mediate the socialization of the working classes, regardless of gender. Studying these two areas, it has been determined that such common tea and coffee consumption habits in Turkey can be analyzed within the film narrative as the effective factors in structuring the taste of the working classes.

At the same time, it has been determined that there are many grocery and market scenes that can provide resources in terms of researching the phenomenon of marketization, which made great strides in the 1980s. The position of grocery stores in the consumption habits of society is another research topic that can be studied by examining both the product variety and the way the products are sold. Apart from the subject suggestions, an idea has been put forward to support the development of an interdisciplinary approach that will allow the sociological analysis of societies by combining food studies and film studies.



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