

CULTURAL DISTANCING ATTEMPTS OF MIDDLE CLASS CONSUMERS IN MEDIA CONSUMPTION

A Master's Thesis

by
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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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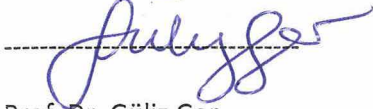
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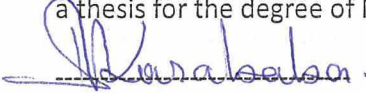
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ABSTRACT

CULTURAL DISTANCING ATTEMPTS OF MIDDLE CLASS CONSUMERS IN MEDIA CONSUMPTION

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The consumption practice itself or a characteristic of a consumption practice tells a lot about the (re)production of social boundaries and inequalities in the societies. That makes the social class a fertile field to study in consumption studies. How consumers define and practice their social class position is answered by three research streams. The first research stream focuses on consumers who define their social class position within a specific class boundary by exhibiting a tendency towards consumption practices aligned with the taste of their social class, and an aversion towards consumption practices of other social classes. The second research stream focuses on consumers who define their social class position by emulating consumption practices of upper classes. The last research stream focuses on consumers who define their social class position by participating consumption practices of different social classes undulatingly. These three distinct streams of research concentrate on inter-class relationships of consumers to define their social class position and, to distance themselves from other social classes. However, the rise of new middle classes since the 1960s in emerging economies turn the middle class into an accumulation of different middle classes instead of one homogeneous group. In this research, I aim to understand jockeying of new middle classes for positioning by focusing on how new middle class consumers attempt to mark their middle class positions and to distance from others they deem to be of a lesser status with the help of consumption practices. I chose to look at a documentary show called Ayna because it carries both established middle class qualities as a genre and new middle class sensibilities with its content. I conducted an ethnographic research to look at how middle class consumers watch, interpret, and comment on Ayna. According to the findings, middle class consumers attempt for distancing either by acquiring cultural capital or engaging in critical mockery, and these attempts happen by consuming the same product – watching the same documentary. The findings also suggest that consumers may evaluate Ayna as being a “normal” example of documentary genre or not. If they think that a scene is “normal” by providing new or interesting information, they acquire cultural capital; and if they think it is not, they engage in critical mockery. Therefore, consumers may switch between these two styles of consumption while watching the show.

Key words: Cultural Distancing, Media Consumption, Middle Class, Mockery, Taste

ÖZET

MEDYA TÜKETİMİNDE ORTA SINIF TÜKETİCİLERİN KÜLTÜREL UZAKLAŞMA TEŞEBBÜSLERİ

Taltekin Güzel, Gülay

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Tüketim pratiği ya da tüketim pratiğinin özelliği, toplumlarda toplumsal sınırların ve eşitsizliklerin (tekrar) üretimi hakkında çok şey söylemektedir. Bu, tüketim çalışmalarında sosyal sınıfları incelemeye verimli bir alan haline getirir. Bu alanda tüketicilerin sosyal sınıf konumlarını nasıl tanımladığı ve uyguladığı, üç araştırma akımıyla cevaplandırılır. İlk araştırma akımında, sosyal sınıfın zevk ile uyumlu tüketim uygulamalarına yönelik bir eğilim sergilemek ve diğer sosyal sınıfların tüketim uygulamalarına karşı bir isteksizlik sergilemek suretiyle, sosyal sınıf konumlarını belirli bir sınıf sınırında tanımlayan tüketiciler üzerinde durulur. İkinci araştırma akımında, üst sınıfların tüketim uygulamalarını taklit ederek sosyal sınıf konumlarını tanımlayan tüketiciler üzerinde durulur. Son araştırma akışında, farklı sosyal sınıfların tüketim uygulamalarına dalgalı bir şekilde katılarak sosyal sınıf konumlarını tanımlayan tüketiciler üzerinde durulur. Bu üç farklı araştırma akışı da tüketicilerin sosyal sınıf konumlarını tanımlamak ve kendilerini diğer sosyal sınıflardan uzaklaştırmak için sınıflar arası ilişkilere odaklanmaktadır. Fakat, 1960'lardan bu yana gelişmekte olan ekonomilerde yeni orta sınıfların yükselişi, orta sınıfı bir homojen grup yerine farklı orta sınıfların birikimine dönüştürmüştür. Bu araştırmada, yeni orta sınıf tüketicilerin, tüketim uygulamalarının yardımıyla nasıl orta sınıf pozisyonlarını işaretlemeye ve daha az statüde olduklarını düşündüklerinden uzaklaşmaya çalıştıklarına odaklanarak, konumlandırma için daha avantajlı bir yer aramalarını anlamayı amaçladım. Bu çalışmada, medya tüketim uygulamalarına "normal" ve "kabul edilebilir" tanımlanması için kurulan orta sınıflar için bir araç olduğundan, medya tüketimine odaklandım. Hem tür olarak yerleşik orta sınıf niteliklerini hem de içeriği ile yeni orta sınıf hassasiyetlerini birlikte taşıdığı için Ayna adı belgesel programını incelemeyi tercih ettim. Orta sınıf tüketicilerin Ayna'yı nasıl izlediğini, anladığını, ve yorumladığını incelemek için etnografik bir araştırma yürüttüm. Bulgulara göre, orta sınıf tüketiciler ya kültürel sermaye edinimi ya da kritik bir alay konusu yaparak, uzaklaşmaya çalışıyor ve bu girişimleri aynı ürünü tüketerek - aynı belgesel izleyerek gerçekleştiriyorlar. Bulgular ayrıca, tüketicilerin Ayna'yı "normal" bir belgesel türü örneği olup olmadığını değerlendirebileceğini önermektedir. Eğer yeni veya ilginç bilgiler vererek bir sahnenin "normal" olduğunu düşünürlerse, kültürel sermaye kazanırlar; eğer olmadığını düşünürlerse, kritik alay konusu yaparlar. Dolayısıyla tüketiciler şovu izlerken bu iki tüketim stili arasında geçiş yapabilirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alay Etme, Kültürel Uzaklaşma, Medya Tüketimi, Orta Sınıf, Zevk

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. New Middle Class in Turkey.....	6
CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	11
2.1. Consumption and Taste	12
2.1.1. Consumption Practices within Own Class Boundaries.....	12
2.1.2. Emulation of Consumption Practices of the Upper Classes.....	15
2.1.3. Consumption Practices in Different Class Territories	17
2.2. Consumption Practices of New Middle Classes.....	20
2.3. The Normality in Consumption Practices.....	22
2.4. Taste and Media Consumption.....	23
2.5. Taste and Humor.....	25
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY.....	27
3.1. Data Collection.....	28
3.2. Sampling.....	31

3.3. Time Period and Political Environment during the Study	34
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS.....	36
4.1. Acquiring Cultural Capital from Ayna.....	37
4.1.1. Learning about Foreign Countries	37
4.1.2. Learning about Turkish & Ottoman Heritage	38
4.2. The Experience of Watching Ayna.....	39
4.2.1. Feeling Happy and National Pride.....	39
4.2.2. Bragging about Newly Acquired Knowledge	41
4.2.3. Having Fun by Feeling Superior.....	41
4.3. Evaluating Ayna as a Documentary.....	42
4.4. Critical Mockery.....	43
4.4.1. The Host Related Mockery.....	44
4.4.1.1. The Manner of The Host.....	44
4.4.1.2. The Dressing Style of The Host.....	46
4.4.1.2. The Dialect of The Host.....	48
4.4.2. The Production Related Mockery.....	50
4.4.3. The Content Related Mockery.....	53
4.4.3.1. Giving Information Related to Turks & Ottoman Heritage.....	54
4.4.3.2 The Choice of Manner in Delivering Information.....	56
CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION.....	60
5.1. Conclusion.....	63
5.2. Limitations and Further Research Directions.....	67
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	69
APPENDICES	
A. Articles Related to Ayna in <i>Zaytung</i>	79
B. Selected Posts in <i>EkşiSözlük</i> about Ayna and Saim Orhan.....	83
C. Selected Caps and Memes about Saim Orhan and Ayna.....	94

LIST OF TABLES

1. Participant Profiles	32
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Consumption practices can be read as signifiers of social class positions as well as boundaries between different social class territories. Therefore, the consumption practice itself (i.e. Bourdieu, 1984) or a characteristic of a consumption practice (i.e. Holt, 1998) tells a lot about the (re)production of social boundaries and inequalities in the societies. Furthermore, focusing on how consumers define and practice their social class position about their taste, help us to understand the choice of consumption practices of individuals. That strong link between consumption and social class creates a fertile interdisciplinary field between Sociology and Marketing

to understand inequalities and generate socio-political implications to solve them in addition to understand consumer behavior and consumption patterns.

The CCT field focuses on cultural aspects of consumption practices and their sociological and anthropological roots. So that social class and Bourdieu's famous concepts of taste and cultural capital have been popular topics in CCT articles (i.e. Allen, 2002; Arsel and Bean, 2012; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Bernthal et al., 2005; Henry, 2005; Holt, 1998; McQuarri et al., 2013; Üstüner and Holt 2007, 2010). Consumption studies that are concerned with how consumers define their social class position with consumption practices associated with class boundaries and/or movements along with the different social class territories can be grouped into three research streams.

The first stream of research is interested in the relationship between taste and consumption practices that are happened within a particular class boundary without any movement to other class territories (i.e. Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1997; Holt, 1998; Allen, 2002; Üstüner & Holt, 2010; Arsel & Bean, 2013). In line with their habitus, consumers could form a tendency towards consumption practices aligned with their taste of belonged social class, and an aversion towards consumption practices of other social classes (Bourdieu, 1984). Also, consumers may express their taste by showing disgust, dislike or distaste towards a consumption practice (Wilk, 1997). In these ways, consumers define their class position in relation to other class positions.

The second stream of research is interested in conspicuous consumption practices that are engaged in unidirectionally to have a chance of upward mobility. Since upper classes engage in consumption activities publicly to show off (Veblen, 1899),

people from middle and lower classes may develop an aspiration to emulate these consumption practices to climb up at the class hierarchy (Simmel, 1957). However, it is a challenging task since people need to not only acquire necessary capitals to engage in such consumption practices but also show embodied forms of these capitals in the public space (Bourdieu, 1984).

The third stream of research is interested in undulant/free flow motioned consumption practices of middle and upper class consumers into other class territories. Firstly, as Peterson and Kern explained, consumers may engage in consumption practices by pacing around different class territories as being cultural omnivores (1996). Omnivorousness is a way to approach lower classes, but it entails specific combinations of different class associated practices to distance themselves from lower classes (Hazır & Warde, 2015). Therefore these combinations may include consumption practices of lower, middle and upper classes. Secondly, slumming is an occasional consumption practice that is held by upper and middle class people by going to slum areas to have an exotic activity as tourists (Heap, 2009; Steinbrink, 2012). Slumming involves lower class associated consumption practices but its reflexive exotic interpretation of these consumption practices makes it a special and occasional event. Thirdly, camp sensibility is a way to juxtaposing kitsch items, newly acquired and badly managed status objects (Binkley, 2000), to the regular consumption practices to create an absurd and ironic way to express their taste (Kates, 1997; Halperin, 2012; Wolf, 2013). Therefore, camp sensibility may also include a resistance motive opposed to established and well-accepted middle class taste (Ross, 1993; Kates, 2001). Lastly, in ironic consumption, middle class consumers may watch lower class associated “trashy/bad” television programs with guilty pleasure experience and/or camp-sensibility (Mccoy & Scarborough, 2014).

The ironic consumption practices happen with an excuse of a long day and motivations of relaxing and having fun.

Although these three research streams focus on entangling how consumers define their social class position with consumption practices associated with class boundaries and/or movements along with the different social class territories, they have the assumption of relatively homogeneous lower, middle and upper class and their stereotypical consumption practices. Therefore, they are failing to explain within class distancing practices or their attempts to distancing practice of consumers. In this research, I aim to understand jockeying of new middle classes for positioning by focusing on how new middle class consumers attempt to mark their middle class positions and distance from others they deem to be of a lesser status with the help of consumption practices.

The distancing practices of middle classes within the middle class territory gained importance with the rise of new middle classes since the 1960s in the emerging economies such as Brasil, India, and Turkey, due to neo-liberal policies resulted in marketization and migration to urban cities from rural areas. The rise of new middle classes culminated into different middle class fractions (Lamont, 1992), and faced with the struggle to secure their position in the class hierarchy (i.e. Beşpınar, 2010). In the consumption studies, these newly formed diverse middle classes started to show their own taste in consumption practices in emerging economies from South America to Asia (i.e. Cotton & van Leest, 1995; Chan, 2000; Fernandes, 2000; Gerke, 2000; Kılıçbay & Binark, 2002; Kim, 2000; Appold et al., 2001; Fernandes & Heller, 2006; Gumuscu, 2010; Mathur, 2010; Sandıkçı & Ger, 2007; 2010; Kravets & Sandıkçı 2014; Hazır et al, 2016 etc.). New middle classes both correspond with established middle class consumption practices in the society, and also they may

carry traces of their own past consumption habits. So that, they form their own fractions in consumption practices by showing off their attained position publicly to gain recognition. Although their consumption practices shaped by taste are studied, the distancing practices and their attempts to distance of these diverse and competing middle classes by using consumption practices remained undiscovered. Media, with its rich narrative capability, reflects well accepted middle class consumption practices in the society (i.e. McRobbie, 2004; Bell and Hollows, 2005; Dunsmore and Haspel, 2014; Eriksson, 2016). Therefore, in this study I focused on media consumption in which established middle classes may set the rules of the game by defining what is “normal” and the struggle of new middle classes for jockeying for positioning is highly visible.

In Turkey, major new middle class fractions appeared since the 1980s due to marketization and migration to urban areas from rural in line with Neoliberalism. According to a recent study, there are 5 different middle classes due to accumulated capitals with inheritance, education, and migration and over half of the middle class, the population is new middle classes (Hazır et al., 2016). These new middle classes may carry traces of their past consumption practices related to traditions, religion and rural life. Among different clusters of new middle classes, the most visible one is the religious new middle class since it also enjoys gaining a loud voice with the rise of JDP by introducing of Islamic sensibilities into Turkish politics.

STV was established to gain visibility and give education about Islam to the public with the rise of religious new middle class at the beginning of the 1990s (Binark & Çelikcan, 2000; Öncü, 2000). The majority of the programs in STV is about Islam and Muslim way of life in line with the ideology of Gülen movement fraction of Islam (Bilici, 2006). Additionally, STV similar to other national television channels

broadcasts soap operas, daytime shows, and documentaries, but all of these programs have pious sensibilities such as no alcohol, no nudity, no sexuality, etc. Among all these programs, Ayna, which is a travel documentary show about foreign countries, has the highest viewer ratings since 1995. Ayna carries both traditional middle class qualities such as informative and interesting, and pious sensibilities in line with the Gülen movement as the general motive of STV. Therefore, Ayna with its hybrid form is a perfect setting to investigate new middle class consumption practices and their distancing strategies in a traditionally established middle class practice. Therefore, I aim to understand jockeying of middle classes for positioning by looking at how different middle classes watch, interpret and comment on Ayna.

1.1 New Middle Class in Turkey

Turkey faced with a major shift with the wave of Neoliberalism and marketization in the 1980s. Accordingly, the migration from villages and towns to city centers is also increased. The proportion of towns and villages in the total population has decreased drastically to 8.2% in 2014 from 71.3% in 1970 (TÜİK, 2014). These shifts assist upward mobility and the rise of new middle classes.

The study of Hazır and her colleagues conducted in Ankara (2016) suggests that 3 of the 5 middle class clusters in Turkey is new middle classes and all together, they are %54.5 of the total middle class population. According to their findings, these new middle classes were appeared due to migration and/or education and the stratifications of these clusters is based on participation in religious/local practices and social/cultural activities (Hazır et al., 2016). Therefore, they named these 3 new

middle class clusters as the first generation, moderate engagement; first-generation traditional engagement and first-generation, limited engagement.

Among different new middle classes present in Turkey, the most visible one is the religious new middle class. Since early 20th century, Westernization and/or western taste with secular sensibilities were social markers of distinction for the middle classes (Karadağ, 2009), therefore prior to the rise of this new middle class, religiosity was associated with lower classness. However, the growth of economy and possibilities of upward mobility in the 1980s were enjoyed by the provincial entrepreneurs as the nucleus of a new middle class (Insel, 2003) and they fused their religious piety in production and consumption activities to build their own middle class identity (Gumuscu, 2010). For example, when we look at the consumption practices of middle class pious women, we can observe a trend to distance themselves from a rural lower class woman (Kılıçbay & Binark, 2002; Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010; Ger, 2017). Therefore, their visibility due to opposition to established middle class sensibilities regarding West and secularism in addition to their demonstration to distance themselves from lower classes, in other words from their past, makes the religious new middle class a suitable setting to discover new middle class positioning strategies.

Since the rise of the religious new middle class took advantage of the rise of JDP as an Islamist party for the government of Turkey, JDP's political and economic acts also played a role in distancing strategies of the religious new middle class. First and foremost, JDP and its supporters gained wealth, recognition, and power in the public space by winning party all elections since 2002. Therefore, Islamists as a rising new

middle class attained a loud voice comparing to established secularist middle classes. They incorporated Islamic values with their accumulated economic and social capital in unique sensibilities that are actualized through consumption (Kravets and Sandıkçı, 2014; Hazir, 2014). On top of that, Islamist, traditional, rural and eastern associated consumption practices they engage in continue to be perceived as lower class/low cultural capital (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010; Üstüner & Holt, 2010; Rankin et al., 2014) in contrast with their effort to distance themselves from them.

Although the religious new middle class can be read in one cluster of stratification of middle classes due to their consumption practices tied to tradition and rural past as presented in Hazir and her colleagues' study, the group contains different fractions of Islam and their political standings. One of the most powerful fractions among them is Gülen movement. Gülen movement appeared at the end of the 1960s in Turkey.

Although it was born in Turkey, it broadened its scope with the purpose of introducing Turkish culture and Islam with Said Nursi's ideas to the whole world.

The movement also includes the interfaith dialogue and fight against poverty with the donation system called "*himmət*". Therefore, the movement is both a religious act and a civil movement (Bilici, 2006). The Gülen movement's success in the world and its presence in the media with mutually supporting relationships with the JDP contributed the visibility and gathered social and economic capital of the Islamist new middle classes.

STV (Samanlı TV) is a Turkish TV channel, was established due to gain visibility and as a source of power to Gülen movement in the media (Binark and Çelikcan, 2000; Öncü, 2000). The majority of the programs in STV is about Islam and Muslim way of life in line with the ideology of Gülen movement (Bilici, 2006). These religious programs also carry the purpose of educating the public in line with the

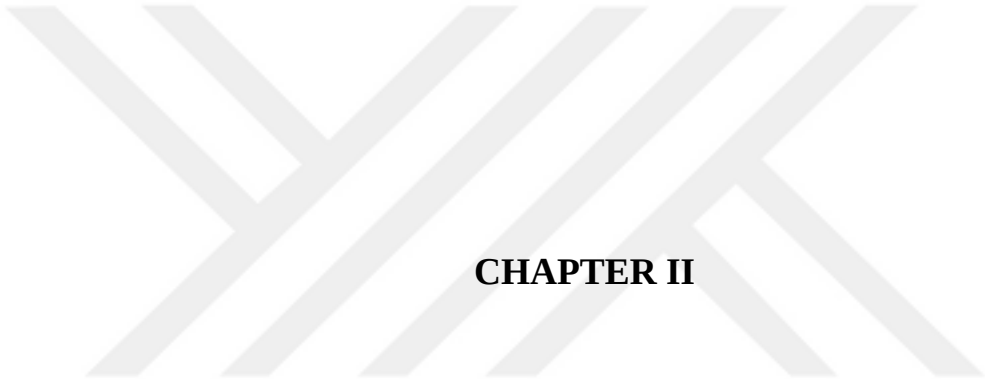
political ideology. STV also broadcasts soap operas, daytime shows and documentaries similar to other national TV channels but all of the programs respect to pious sensibilities such as no alcohol, no nudity, no sexuality, etc.

Among all of the programs broadcasted in STV, Ayna, which is a travel documentary show, had the highest viewer ratings of documentary genre in Turkey since 1995 (RTÜK). Ayna is produced and presented by Saim Orhan who is named as the sect leader of İstanbul in Gülen movement. In the show, Saim Orhan visits a different country each week and introduce its culture, touristic features, sightseeings, natural beauties and life of natives. Therefore, Ayna carries the middle class quality of a documentary show which is educational (Lutz & Collins, 1993) and contribute to cultural capitals of viewers. Unlike other documentary shows broadcasted on national TV channels, Ayna has pious Muslim sensibilities such as no nudity and no forbidden foods in Islam at the program content which are consolidated by the pious image of Saim Orhan and STV. Therefore, Ayna combines established middle class qualities with the new religious middle class sensibilities which make it a suitable setting to observe attempts of the middle classes to distance themselves from other middle classes.

To understand consumption of Ayna, I collected data first from the secondary data sources such as official websites, online forums, etc. and then, conducted in-depth interviews with informants. In explaining the findings, I followed footsteps of consumption studies utilizing Bourdieu's concept of taste and cultural capital (i.e. Allen, 2002; Arsel and Bean, 2012; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Bernthal et al., 2005; Henry, 2005; Holt, 1998; McQuarri et al., 2013; Üstüner and Holt 2007, 2010 etc.). I also benefited from Holt's approach to taste (1998) by focusing on how consumers engage in Ayna rather than the consumption itself. The studies about the

relationship between taste and humor (i.e. Kuipers, 2006; 2009; 2015; Friedman & Kuipers, 2009; 2015; Friedman, 2011) also helped me to understand consequences of mockery in the findings.

The thesis is structured as follows: In the next chapter, I review the Bourdieu's theory of distinction (1984) and then, consumption studies that are concerned with how consumers define and practice their social class position. In the third chapter, I give details about the empirical context and the methodology. In the fourth chapter, I give details of findings of the study by presenting engaging Ayna for attempts to distance by acquiring cultural capital and critical mockery. I finish with the discussion of the findings by comparing and contrasting them with prior studies, and present limitations, further research suggestions and implications of the study.



CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Consumption practices (i.e. Bourdieu, 1984) or characteristics of a consumption practice (i.e. Holt, 1998) display class positions of consumers. They also play an important role to define and (re)produce boundaries between different social classes, and display of social inequalities in the society. At the same time, social class of consumers and how that position is defined may have an impact on the

choice of consumption practices due to habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). That two-ways relationship between social class and consumption attracts the attention of different fields to come up with both managerial implications by contributing the understanding of consumer behavior as well as producing solutions to social inequalities in the society. Consumption studies that are concerned with how consumers define and practice their social class position can be grouped into three research streams.

2.1. Consumption and Taste

2.1.1. Consumption Practices within Own Class Boundaries

The first research stream focuses on consumers who define their social class position within a specific class boundary. On account of this approach, consumers who belong to one of the three distinct social class positions as lower, middle, or upper, exhibit and enact the taste of their own social class. As Bourdieu stated, taste is the primary instinct behind our consumption choices and an accumulation of economic, social and cultural capitals we have (1984). The economic capital which is tangible and monetary resources individuals have is the most basic capital form and easily inherited from parents (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu's taste goes beyond this form of capital because having that resources do not guarantee to display and use tastefully or approval of the public. Bourdieu observed that his foreign friends even though have money and education may still struggle to gain a prestigious public position in public due to lack of other types of capitals (Bourdieu, 1984). The second form of capital which is social capital is basically social resources, and networks individuals have (Bourdieu, 1984). Like other forms of capital, social capital can be translated into

other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984). For example, children who study at Ivy League colleges can form a network consists of powerful and successful friends, and those friends may be turned into business partners in the future and help the individual to accumulate economic capital. The last and most important form of the capital is cultural capital which can be present in three different forms: objectified which is cultural goods such as paintings, musical instruments, designer cloth etc, institutionalized which is a formal education institution such as having a PhD and embodied which is long-lasting embraced traces of culture in the set of mind as well as in the body (Bourdieu, 1984). The cultural capital in embodied form is the most desired and hard to acquired type of capital because it is hard to have such kind of embodiment of certain culture. It is the most reliable source of taste behind consumption choices (i.e. Holt, 1997; 1998), so that is emphasized in consumption studies.

By following footsteps of Bourdieu's theory, taste is shaped by our class habitus which is a learned set of behavior coming from our early ages and education we gather from our family (1984). Since each social class has a distinct habitus, each social class develops a different taste towards consumption practices in various fields. So that, inside the boundaries of each social class, we can observe a common set of choices regarding consumption practices across different fields (Bourdieu, 1984). Since the taste is stable across different fields, our choices are transferable and predictable one field to another.

The relationship between taste and consumption practices is bidirectional, in other words, our choice of consumption practices also have an influence on our taste. Therefore, as to Bourdieu, the taste is both shaping behavior for our consumption

choices and is also shaped by our consumption choices that make our taste structure an ongoing process with the sensibilities coming from our habitus.

The determination and execution of the social class position are also an ongoing process for Bourdieu which requires constant comparison with the consumption practices of others. Consumers who show a tendency towards some consumption practices, as well as an aversion towards some other consumption practices, culminates into a set of choices which makes them a social class with a distinct taste. These set of choices entails an embodied experience of perfect fit arising between consumer and chosen objects (Allen, 2002). Thereby, consumers may reproduce taste regimes in the marketplace by showing similar tendencies towards consumption practices (Arsel & Bean, 2013).

Bourdieu's approach to the relationship with the taste and consumption practices is useful but highly criticized due to its emphasis on the choice of consumption practices. By focusing on this weakness, Holt went a step further in his study on Bourdieu's taste in America. According to Holt, Bourdieu's concept and approach are useful when we add the factor of how consumers engage in the consumption practices of their choice. Accordingly, he calculated the accumulated cultural capital of informants and investigated how they engaged in consumption practices across different fields (1997; 1998). Holt's study explains that the level of accumulated cultural capital consumers has which is either high or low would determine the way consumers consume (1998). For instance, a very same book can be read and enjoyed by consumers with different social class backgrounds, consumers with low cultural capital may compare the content of the book and their own life while consumers with high cultural capital may critically engage the reading (Holt, 1998).

In addition to engaging in consumption practices, consumers may express their social class position by showing disgust, dislike or distaste towards a consumption practice (Wilk, 1997). These consumption practices are also determinants of class position of consumers because showing disgust, dislike or distaste towards consumption practices not only for the mirror images of tastes and desires but instead they help consumers to express themselves very differently (Wilk, 1997). Unlike consumption regular practices, distaste can be invisible due to not leaving any material trace so that they may accept as taken for granted in line with class habitus (Wilk, 1997). The rejection of particular consumption practices is as important as engaging in some because the boundaries between social groups are mostly defined by rejections of certain consumption practice and non-consumption is always present next to the consumption itself (Wilk, 1997:183). In line with that, consumers by proposing distaste regarding certain consumption practices, are able to identify undesired end-states which may function as a tool to define themselves (Hogg & Banister, 2001). These mechanisms may also serve to (re)produce borders between different group of consumers (Freitas et al., 1997). Additionally, showing distaste is showing a taste which may be acquired later in life unlike a childhood experience based on Bourdieu's theory, so that his theory may be broadened as a lifetime interconnectedly acquired habitus (Cornelissen, 2016).

To sum up, for this stream of research, whether consumers show a tendency or an aversion towards consumption practices, they define and practice their social class position within boundaries of one social class and stays there.

2.1.1. Emulation of Consumption Practices of the Upper Classes

The second stream of research focuses on consumers who define and practice their social class position by emulating upper classes. This approach started with consumption practices of upper classes. They not only possessed status items but also display them publicly to show off and assure their class position (Veblen, 1899). However, the displayed practices may cause other social classes to develop aspirations to obtain these status objects. Therefore, lower and middle classes try to imitate consumption practices of the class above (Simmel, 1957). The motivation of the emulation practices to have a chance of upward mobility. However, it is a challenging task because consumers need to acquire necessary capitals (Bourdieu, 1984) to perform these consumption practices properly. Additionally, obtaining status objects may not be enough to have a chance of upward mobility since the public display of these objects require embodied forms of capitals.

Later, studies conducted to explore different ways to engage in status consumption practices. Shipman in his study looked at the mass production of symbolic goods in high-income economies and their potential of economic development in addition to their conspicuous function of status symbols (2004). Consumers by buying branded products show their ability to buy premium instead of regular versions of products and they need to have some knowledge to choose specific brands or even brand combinations. Therefore, status consumption departure from its traditional form of ability to buy status objects by number to the knowledge about the objects to discern your own taste by choosing (Shipman, 2004). Furthermore, researches conducted to explain how consumers use consumption practices with complex systems to participate status games such as employing demythologizing practices (Arsel & Thompson, 2011); displaying taste by describing the taste practice publicly (McQuarrie et al., 2013), etc.

In this stream of research, Holt's approach on social position was also followed by looking at tastes expressed by consumption practices to help distinguish between the lifestyles based on level of acquired cultural capital of individuals (Bernthal et al., 2005) and how status consumption is held differently for consumer who has low cultural capital and high cultural capital in emerging economies (Üstüner & Holt, 2010). In addition to these studies which focus on explicit signals of status in consumption practices, Berger and his colleagues showed that conspicuous consumption might be present with subtle signals especially for consumers who have high cultural capital (2010). Moreover, it is possible for lower class individuals to display their acquired cultural capital to attempt for acceptance as legitimate middle-class consumers in social spaces (Üstüner & Thompson, 2012).

To sum up, this stream of research is interested in consumers who try to imitate consumption practices of classes that are above them in addition to participating consumption practices of their own social class to define their social class and as an attempt to have a chance of upward mobility.

2.1.2. Consumption Practices in Different Class Territories

The last research stream focuses on consumers who define their social class position by participating consumption practices of different social classes undulatingly. Firstly, consumers may define their class position by engaging a combination of consumption practices of different social classes. Apart from traditional class boundaries, Peterson and Kern coined omnivores as an alternative way to engage in consumption practices (1996). According to them, consumers who pace around different class territories and engage in consumption practices of all different social

classes called omnivores (1996). Later studies also suggested that omnivorous is omnivore is not particularly distinctive as it previously suggested (Warde et al., 2007) and consistent with what Bourdieu suggests in the *Distinction* (1984) because the differences in the preferences of different consumption choice (music genre) is present in the findings (Atkinson, 2011).

Omnivores also associated with voracious consumers who carry a symbolic status with that characteristics, so that omnivorous is not only to have possessions of diverse items but at the same time an admired status of leisure (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). The cultural omnivore may have an advantage of distinction thanks to the symbolic resources acquired from high, middle and popular associated consumption practices (Emmison, 2003). Moreover, the analysis of individual repertoires also indicates that classification, hierarchical ordering, and legitimation are applied to come up with a set of components of a repertoire (Bellavance, 2008). In the end, omnivores may seem to stretch class boundaries by pacing around, in fact, omnivorous itself require an accumulation of capital to come up with specific combinations of consumption practices associated with different social classes (Hazır & Warde, 2015). Omnivores seek for variety and eclecticism in their consumption practices so that they may distinguish from members of other classes by the breadth of their cultural repertoires (Veenstra, 2015). In other words, omnivorous can be a way to culturally distance themselves from lower classes for the middle and upper class consumers by defining their own social position according to specific combinations of consumption practices of upper, middle and lower classes.

Secondly, slumming is a way to experience lower class associated consumption practices to define their own social position. It is an occasional event done by upper and middle class consumers by going to slum areas and participating consumption

practices of them to have an exotic experience as a touristic event(Heap, 2009; Meschkank, 2011; Dyson, 2012; Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Steinbrink, 2012). Slumming may involve lower class associated consumption practices, but its reflexive interpretation by the consumers as an exotic experience makes it an occasional event. Also, the way middle and upper class consumers engage in the practice of daily consumption practices of people who live in slums as a touristic activity, can be read as a way to define their social class position and reproduction of social class boundaries between them.

Thirdly, camp sensibility is another way to participate lower class associated consumption practices to define their own social position for middle and upper class consumers. It involves the playful juxtaposing of kitsch items, which are newly acquired and badly managed status objects (Binkley, 2000), to the regular consumption practices. Therefore, camp sensibility is a way to create absurd and ironic combinations of consumption practices to express consumer's taste (Kates, 1997; Halperin, 2012; Wolf, 2013). Therefore, camp sensibility may also include a resistance motive as opposed to established and well-accepted middle class taste (Ross, 1993; Kates, 2001). Additionally, the camp sensibility requires the necessary cultural capital to pick and combine items together to express irony, so that it reflects of consumer's social class position by practicing juxtaposition of the lower class associated consumption practices.

To sum up, this research stream focuses on consumers who participate consumption practices of lower classes and/or a combination of all three classes undulatingly to define and practice their own social class position. Although all three research streams focus on different types of consumer behavior, their focal point is to look at inter-class relationships. Therefore, all of the class boundaries and distancing

practices happens between classes. Accordingly, they have the assumption of relatively homogeneous lower, middle and upper class and their stereotypical consumption practices. However, in emerging economies with the rise of new middle classes, especially middle class become stratified and distancing strategies of these competing middle classes left undiscovered in all of these research streams.

2.2. Consumption Practices of New Middle Classes

In the 1960s, emerging economies faced with major changes leading to the rise of new middle classes. This rise is tied to neo-liberal policies that opened local economies up to global forces and resulted in marketization and migration to urban cities from rural areas. The rise of middle classes culminated into different middle class fractions (Lamont, 1992). And also, these diverse middle classes started to show their taste in consumption practices in emerging economies from South America to Asia (i.e. Cotton & van Leest, 1995; Chan, 2000; Fernandes, 2000; Gerke, 2000; Ayata, 2002; Kılıçbay & Binark, 2002; Kim, 2000; Appold et al., 2001; Fernandes & Heller, 2006; Gumuscu, 2010; Mathur, 2010; Sandıkçı & Ger, 2007; 2010; Kravets & Sandıkçı 2014; Hazır et al, 2016 etc.). These studies reveal that new middle classes not only participate in established middle class associated consumption practices but carry their own sensibilities in consumption.

The new middle classes carry a liberal approach towards consumption, so they are eager to participate consumption practices. The economic growth in the emerging economies encourages them to do so. However, the dissemination of economic wealth to the different middle classes in the country may create parallel but different consumption practices within the middle class boundaries. Although their approach

towards consumption encourages them to participate new consumption practices to display their newly acquired position and also past consumption practices that are in line with their own sensibilities, how they use this combination of consumption practices to define and practice their social class position is remained unanswered in the literature although consumption studies about the taste of new middle classes give some ideas.

Even though new middle classes accumulate economic capital to participate middle class associated consumption practices, they also carry sensibilities from their past consumption habits which make them distinct. For instance, new middle classes who migrate to İstanbul, the biggest city in Turkey, after the 1980s are caricatured as *maganda* type. *Maganda* is portrayed as newly rich, carrying heavy golden accessories such as watch or chain, wearing white sleeveless undershirt and long white socks with shiny classic shoes (Öncü, 1999), therefore they have a hybrid form of consumption practices which makes them the cultural “other” compare to İstanbulites with established middle and upper class associated consumption practices. Additionally, migrants who live in big cities shows distinct combinations of consumption practices such as living in long apartments in gated communities but hanging out the laundry from the balcony and taking off the shoes outside the door (Ayata, 2002).

To sum up, new middle classes have their own sensibilities and unique taste regarding consumption practices. Their taste appropriates both past -lower class- and new -middle class- associations so that they have a combination of lower and middle class associated taste which is new middle class taste. In new middle class taste, consumers try to keep up with what is “normal” and “acceptable” which is middle class associated consumption practices (i.e. McRobbie, 2004) and at the same time

they carry their past consumption habits (i.e. Öncü, 1999; Ayata, 2002) which make them a unique group to study.

2.3. The Normality in Consumption Practices

The notion of “normal” is socially constructed and disseminated through consumption practices over time (Shove, 2004). The understanding of “normal” in consumption practices is open to different processes to disseminate and accepted in the society (Shove, 2004). For example, freezer may be accepted as a necessity in the West as a means of managing contemporary pressures associated with the scheduling and co-ordination of domestic life. Therefore it is a “normal” product in British house (Shove and Southerton, 2000). Besides the discourse of normal has in relation to consumption practices, the use of “normal” both emanates from transformations to the material landscape and serves to transform it (Fehérváry, 2002). In that perspective, “normal” is equated with the bourgeois middle classes of European states as well as Western sensibilities in consumption post-socialist era in some countries such as Hungary (Fehérváry, 2002). Therefore, in such countries, “normal” life is associated with the desire to money on ephemeral pleasures such (Fehérváry, 2002). However, in real middle class life, “normal” is pursued with attempts to invest in the concrete and permanent materials such as a house (Fehérváry, 2002). Moreover, “normal” can be used as a tool for middle classes to distinguish themselves from lower classes. The middle class may define and display itself by showing disgust and distance towards lower class but it is not related the characteristics of the lower class but accepting middle class associated consumption practices as “normal” and disseminate as “acceptable” to the society (Lawler, 2005). That puts lower class associated consumption practices in an “unacceptable” position and may end up with disgust reaction of other classes (Lawler, 2005)

2.4. Taste and Media Consumption

Media consumption as other consumption practices can be read as a reflection of taste. As Bourdieu pointed out, consumers who are position at the close positions show a tendency to participate similar consumption activities (1984). With this logic, consumer behavior in media consumption is expected to be in line with other consumption fields. For example, a working class consumer may enjoy doing sport and also watch games on television (Bourdieu, 1984: 391).

Bourdieu's approach to the media consumption is based on choice and participation similar to other fields of consumption, and it is advanced by Holt's study. According to Holt, consumption practices by themselves are not enough to explain taste factor and the effect of cultural capital (1997; 1998). Therefore, we also need to look at how consumption practices are done by consumers who have high cultural capital vs. consumers who have low cultural capital. In media consumption, people may enjoy very same television show or book, but consumers who have low cultural capital tries to find similarities between the text and their own life while consumers who have high cultural capital engage in the text with a critical eye (Holt, 1998).

Besides Holt's explanation on how taste shapes media consumption, consumer literature also suggests some media genres carries clear social class associations such as reality television (i.e. Skeggs and Wood, 2008; Skeggs, 2009; Wood and Skeggs, 2011) with lower class and shifting boundaries between highbrow, mid cut and lowbrow taste television programs (Glynn, 2000: 3). Also, fans of the television shows may create doppelganger brand images and contribute to the co-destruction of serial brands they have avidly followed (Parmentier and Fischer, 2014), therefore

how viewers interpret the media product may add powerful meaning associations to the product. Additionally, the content of the media text can be a determinant of viewer's social class. For example, since documentary as a genre carries educative features (Lutz and Collins, 1993) that would feed cultural capital, they carry middle class associations. The recent studies also suggest that middle class consumers may also engage in media consumption through ironic consumption by watching lower class associated programs with a camp sensibility or guilty pleasure (McCooy and Scarborough, 2014) and also media consumption may show omnivorous pattern in lower class associated genres such as low budget films (Sarkhosh and Menninghaus, 2016). The tendency towards watch lower class associated television programs is also present in the most recent multiple correspondence analysis in Turkey in the omnivorous pattern (Rankin et al., 2014).

In addition to social class associations some media forms may carry, media is also a platform for middle classes to reflect their taste and disseminate as “normal” to the public. For example, in a reality show called “what not to wear”, it is accepted that judges in the program have the accepted “normal” taste and show how to dress for the ones who do not have that “taste” (McRobbie, 2005). In other words, media enables middle classes to live and (re)produce their hegemonic taste structures because what we see on the television and accept as “normal” is, in fact, middle class taste with “ordinary” lifestyle programs (Bell and Hollows, 2005). For the new middle classes, the lifestyle media is a perfect medium to learn know-how and legitimate their taste (i.e. Holliday, 2005; Taylor, 2005) but also it reflects their emphasis on lifestyle as an attempt to gain authority (Bell and Hollows, 2005: 8).

To sum up, because media is a field in which “normal” is defined and disseminated by middle classes, it is a perfect setting to observe how new middle classes negotiate

middle class norms. The media platforms owned by new middle classes enable us to observe both these established middle class norms and also new middle class sensibilities they carry. In addition to possible new middle class sensibilities covered, humor is present in popular culture as a reaction to new middle class owned media products, therefore in the next section, the relationship between taste and humor is summarized.

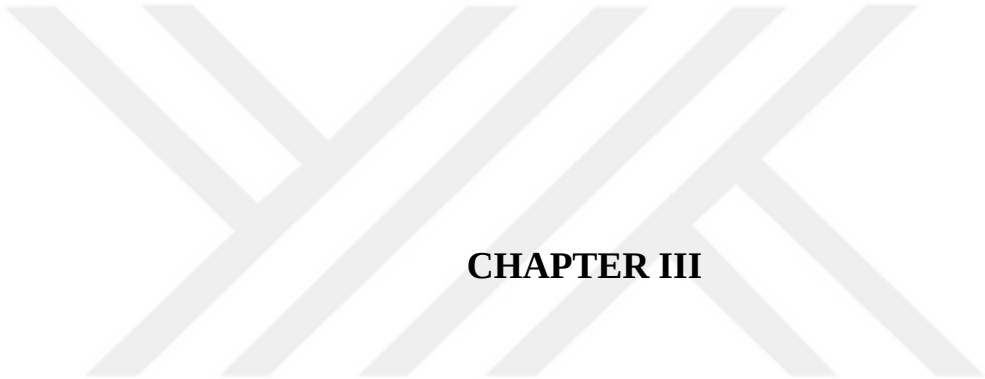
2.5. Taste and Humor

Humor is the uncalculated and heartfelt reaction of all human beings (Meyer, 2000). It is a common language which brings people together since there should be a shared meaning among them to laugh at the same time (Kuipers, 2006). Therefore, humor is deeply related with group boundaries (Friedman & Kuipers, 2013), and laughing together is a sign of belonging with group's distinct sense of humor (Kuipers, 2009; 2015). Since humor is so tied with group boundaries, it can be read as a taste indicator (Friedman & Kuipers, 2013) and a good sense of humor may indicate a good taste, in other words, a social status (Friedman, 2011). When we read humor as a taste indicator, what makes us laugh is tied with our class habitus. While humor with its boundary-definer quality signifies a distinction, mockery poses distancing. In the mockery, whom do you laugh at matters most since the mocker puts what s/he mocked in an inferior position (Carroll, 2014). When we apply that function of mockery into taste hierarchy, what we mock at may signify an inferior taste as well as the superiority of our own taste.

To sum up, taste shapes our sense of humor as well as our choice of what we laugh at. In the social media, humor, and mockery regarding new middle class owned

media products are very popular in Turkey. There are various memes, and caps of the new middle class owned TV programs circulated on the internet. Therefore, humor and mockery is included in data collection from secondary sources as well as creating a *caps* was added as a projective technique to discover the source of mockery to the study.

In conclusion, the theoretical background section enables us to have a broad understanding of the relationship between consumption and taste to shed light to the consumption of Ayna with its social class associations. The consumption practices of new middle class help us to understand different sensibilities Ayna may carry because it is owned by a visible new middle class group in Turkey. The normality in consumption practices helps us to understand how consumers interpret and compare Ayna in relation to the middle class association of “normal”. The relationship between taste and media consumption help us to broaden our understanding of Ayna as a media product and a documentary. Lastly, the relationship between taste and humor help us to understand humorous interpretations of Ayna.



CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The study started with an inquiry about how middle class consumers defined their social class position with consumption practices associated with class boundaries and/or movements along with the different social class territories in 2014, September and ended in February 2016. Since the media is where established middle classes define “normal” and “acceptable”, I chose to look at media consumption practices. Among different genres, documentary, with its didactic aspects (Lutz & Collins, 1993) and promise of contribution to cultural capital has very clear middle class

associations. So that I narrowed down my focus to documentary genre, and to see the relationship between social class and documentary consumption.

3.1. Data Collection

First, I listed all current documentary shows broadcasted (November 2014) in Turkey and watched ten episodes of each show. Then, I did an introspection to be aware of my biases and gain some distance from the topic as a researcher conducting research in my own culture (McCracken, 1988; Belk et al., 2013).

In the next step, since the internet offers a varied and vibrant pool of rich qualitative data (Belk et al., 2013), I conduct an online ethnography to gather more information about documentaries broadcasted in Turkey. I look at the official websites of documentary shows, online archival of newspapers and magazines to find articles related to documentary shows, pages of documentary programs on social networking websites, discussions conducted in social media and blogs related to these shows, and official viewer ratings of documentary shows from Radio and Television Supreme Council of Turkey.

According to official ratings, the most viewed documentary show was Ayna (October 2014). Additionally, online ethnography reveals that unlike other documentary shows, Ayna has some memes and caps circulated on the internet. Caps is a created image circulated on the internet by taking one scene of a broadcasted product and add a caption to highlight irony or humor aspects of the scene and what

the viewers think about it. The meme is a form of caps in which using a popular scene and adding different captions each time to recirculate and highlight irony or humor aspect of the scene. Therefore, both caps and memes emphasize possible humor and irony aspects customers have on their minds about Ayna and Saim Orhan. Additionally, there is an article about Ayna in the *Zaytung*, which is a Turkish humorous and ironic news website similar to the Onion in the USA. These mockery elements circulated on the internet poses an anomaly for a documentary show in comparison to its high viewing ratings and respectable image present in websites. Accordingly, I shifted the research interest specifically to Ayna and how different middle classes watch, interpret and comment on that.

For the next step, I conducted another online ethnography to gather more information about Ayna and its mockery for 1 month. I also watched over 100 random episodes of Ayna starting from the time it was first broadcasted on television in 1995. I utilized all these information as a background for further steps of the research.

Since Ayna is a television program, various possibly different meanings can attack to it by different stakeholders such as screenwriter, producer, director, presenter, etc. during its production phase. When the viewers watch the show on the television, they may interpret previously attached meanings differently and may add new meanings to the show. Each consumer can read these co-created meanings differently, and their background plays a vital role in that process. For example, an expert on Feminism can read a scene as a criticism of the role of women in the society while common-culture readers do not interpret such a meaning (Scott, 1994). Accordingly,

interpreting the show and its mockeries as a researcher may not give how common culture consumers interpret the show. In order to detect interpretations of the consumers, I used Reader Response Theory (Scott, 1994; Hirschman, 1998) in the study and employed in-depth interviews (McCracken, 1988).

For the research, I designed a three steps interview process for the informants taking 2 – 3 hours per informant. Firstly, I asked the participants to choose one episode of Ayna to watch it together, so that I employed participant observation in a naturalistic, non-interventionist, non-manipulating environment (Adler & Adler, 1994). While we were watching the show, I took ethnographic field notes (Scott, 1994; Hirschman, 1998), noting in which scene the informants laugh, get bored, comment, etc. Then, I conducted in-depth interviews (McCracken, 1988) by highlighting parts of the episode that we watched in addition to other episodes and general views of the show and Saim Orhan. I also used the information I gathered from the internet and the episodes I watched to open up the discussions with the informants. Lastly, after informants thought and talked about the mockery related to Ayna, I asked them to make a caps of the show and then explain it. The caps are created by taking a scene of a motioned film and then a note is written at the lower end of the scene to highlight humor and/or mockery element the scene has. In this stage, I employed a projective technique to understand subconscious and unconscious meanings in the people's mind (Zaltman & Coulter, 1995) since participants had difficulty in explaining what makes them mock a scene and the meanings behind their mockery. I transcribed all interviews and employed first open coding, and then axial selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to see common themes and points of differences. A

hermeneutic approach was employed to interpret the data set (Thompson, 1997). At first, I read all of the written material to have an overall understanding and then, applied open coding. I reread and recombined open codes into groups after evaluation during the each iteration cycle. After the groups of themes are formed, I employed axial coding to reveal consumer insights from interviews. During the final stage of the iteration process, I employed selective coding to understand cultural capital sources (Bourdieu, 1984) informants mentioned during talking about their experience of watching the show. Therefore, I could combine insights gathered from informants with the theoretical view I have in order to answer the research question. After the interviews, I also watched the episodes by myself to reveal themes and compare them to field notes I took during the interviews. I utilized that knowledge and apply to iteration cycles of the interpretation of the data. To attain reliability, the research was done systematically and repeatedly (Adler & Adler, 1994), and therefore employed hermeneutic framework (Thompson, 1997) to continue the iteration process helped me to attain reliability during my analysis. Since the research question is about the experience of consumers, I employed Reader Response Theory to focus on how informants responded to scenes and analyzed their own interpretations rather than intended meaning or associations producers attach to show during the production stage. Furthermore, all of the informants are chosen as non-expert television viewers as Hirschman (1998) suggested and it is assumed that they would reflect common knowledge rather than expert interpretations of the scenes.

3.2. Sampling

The sampling is done by recruiting middle class informants in order to answer the research question. Whether the informants have a middle class taste or not is evaluated through demographic background and Holt's formula of accumulated cultural capital (1998). The first informant in the study was found through an acquaintance. The informant's background was known as middle class, and it is known that she watched Ayna before. After that, other informants were found through snowballing. According to principles of employing Reader Response Theory, none of the informants is chosen as experts on media studies, marketing or sociology but they are accepted as common-sense readers (Hirschman, 1998) of Turkish society.

Since Ayna is an Islamist show due to its broadcasted channel's relationship with Gülen's movement, middle class people who identify themselves as Islamist and/or non-Islamist were included in the study. The participants of the study can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Participant Profiles

	Name	Age, Gender	Father's education	Father's profession	Education	Occupation	Cultural Capital Rating *	Frequency of practice
1	Beyza	25, Female	Middle school	factory worker	high school	Factory worker	3	Regular
2	Okan	45, Male	primary school	merchant	high school	Merchant	4,5	Occasional
3	Semra	55, Female	primary school	public officer	high school	Retired public officer	5,5	Occasional
4	Mehmet	53, Male	Middle school	factory worker	some college	Accountant	6	Regular

Table 1 (cont'd)

5	Yasemin	40, Female	High school	Public officer	High school	Housewife	6	Regular
6	Bahar	38, Female	primary school	factory worker	some college	Teacher	7	Regular
7	Can	28, Male	Some college	Retired worker	High school	University student	7	Occasional
8	Nalan	47, Female	Middle school	factory worker	some college	Teacher	7	Occasional
9	Seyhan	24, Female	High school	butcher	some college	Journalist	8	Regular
10	Efe	21, Male	Some college	Engineer	some college	University student	9,5	Occasional
11	Derya	24, Female	Middle school	public officer	elite college, MSc	MSc student, Teacher	9,5	Occasional
12	Arda	21, Male	Some college	public officer	elite college	University student	9,5	Occasional
13	Bora	20, Male	Some college	public officer	elite college	University student	9,5	Regular
14	Esra	23, Female	High school	public officer	elite college, MSc	MSc student, Engineer	10	Regular
15	Erdem	24, Male	Some college	teacher	elite college	University student	10	Occasional
16	Merve	25, Female	Middle school	merchant	elite college, MSc	Producer in a tv channel	10,5	Occasional
17	Alp	30, Male	Some college	Retired police officer	elite college, MSc	Some college	12	Occasional
18	Emrah	30, Male	High school	public officer	elite college, PhD	PhD student	12	Occasional
19	Aylin	31, Female	High school	public officer	elite college, PhD	PhD student	12	Occasional
20	İpek	26, Female	Some college	doctor	elite college, PhD	PhD student	13,5	Occasional

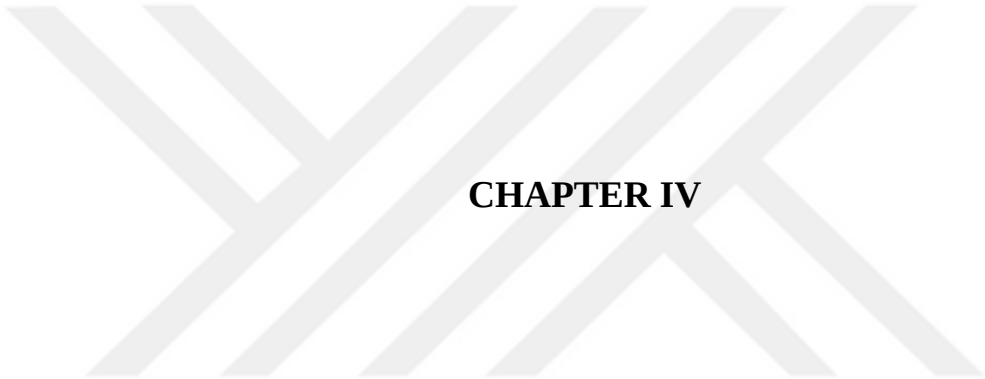
*Cultural Capital Rating Calculation: Education ratings: 1 = high school or less; 2 = some college; 3 = B.A.; 4 = Masters/some graduate school; 5 = Ph.D. or elite B.A. (i.e., from a prestigious, selective college or university). Occupation ratings: 1= unskilled or skilled manual labor; 2 = unskilled or skilled service/clerical; 3 = sales, low-level technical, low-level managerial; 4 = high-level technical, high-level managerial, and low cultural (e.g., primary/secondary teachers); 5 = cultural producers. Cultural capital rating = upbringing (father's education + occupation /2) + education + occupation. (Holt, 1998)

3.3. Time Period and Political Environment during the Study

Prior to the start of the study, the conflict between the Turkish government and Gülen movement has arisen in 17 and 25 December 2013 with the Corruption Scandal. In relation to that Gülen movement was declared as a terrorist group after decades of good relations with government and being representative of conservativeness movement in Turkey as a solid and major power in Turkey with the JDP. Several operations are done since then to arrest people who are related to Gülen movements. The conflict cooled down due to local elections in March 2014 and presidential elections in August 2014. Although the conflict sustained and investigations held throughout 2014 and 2015. At the end of 2015, the Gülen movement was named as a terrorist group and Fethullah Gülen as the head of the terrorist group. Accordingly, all educational and financial institutions related to Gülen movement was closed, all media platforms from newspaper to television channel belong to them was shut down, and tens of thousands of people were arrested due to membership of Gülen movement as a terrorist act. The distinction

was sharpened since the coup attempt 15th of July, 2016 because the responsibility for that was declared as Gülen movement.

The study started after the Corruption Scandal but before the Gülenist media shut down. After half of the interviews were conducted, STV, Ayna's broadcasted channel, was banned by Radio and Television Supreme Council of Turkey due to its support for Gülen's terrorist movement, on 15 November 2015. This political notice was included in the study and comments on that were asked to the previous informants by phone as small interviews, and new interviews conducted by addressing the conflict between JDP and Gülen movement as well as the cancellation of Ayna due to STV's ban.



CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, I go over cultural capital resources Ayna has by informants and their practice of acquiring cultural capital by watching the program. In the second section, I touch the experiences informants have by watching Ayna. The third section is the “normal” documentary definition of informants. The last section is spared for critical mockery and sources of that in the program according to informants.

4.1. Acquiring Cultural Capital from Ayna

Ayna as a travel documentary, each week displays a different country and give some information about the country. Therefore, it provides new information and a learning experience with each episode. That function of Ayna is the main reason why people watch Ayna. Viewer by watching Ayna, acquire cultural capital. This acquisition is sometimes for the viewer herself/himself or other family members such as children. For example, Mehmet explains why he watches Ayna as:

Mehmet: I watch Ayna whenever I come across on the TV, I also watch documentaries on other television channels because other programs on the television are just empty for me, but I can learn something from Ayna as well as other documentaries. (M, 53)

Mehmet watched Ayna alone, but for some families, Ayna is watched all together to benefit from its informative nature. Nalan explains how she watches Ayna as:

Nalan: We watch Ayna as a family because it suits with custom and usage of Turkish people, besides it is fun. I like to watch it as a family because it is informative for children as well. (F, 47)

The informative nature of Ayna enables its viewers to acquire cultural capital, and for informants, there is two main sources of cultural capital in Ayna as knowledge of foreign countries and Turkish & Ottoman heritage.

4.1.1. Learning about Foreign Countries

Ayna displays a different country each week and gives information about visited foreign countries. The desire for learning about foreign countries may motivate informants to watch Ayna regularly. For example, Bahar, as a regular viewer of Ayna over 10 years, explains why she watches Ayna as:

Bahar: I love traveling, and I want to do it all the time. I wish to have a chance to go and visit foreign countries. Even though I cannot go and visit

them in person, by watching Ayna, I feel as if I visited these places besides I can learn a bunch of things about them. (F, 38)

As we can see from Bahar's explanation, the information provided about foreign countries is appreciated. Similar to Bahar, Derya explains her experience when we watched Papua New Guinea episode together:

Derya: Before watching this episode (of Ayna), I didn't know that there are gold mines in Papua New Guinea. Now I have learned that. I like Ayna because it shows such things. I think everyone needs to watch and learn something new from it. (F, 24)

Derya appreciates what she learned from Ayna about foreign countries, but also she thinks that it is good for everyone because it is informative. This nature of the program makes it a source of cultural capital.

4.1.2. Learning about Turkish & Ottoman Heritage

Besides information about foreign countries, Ayna provides information about Turkish & Ottoman heritage in visited countries. For some of the informants, these type of information is highly valued and one of the reasons to watch Ayna. For example, Okan explains why he likes to watch Ayna as:

Okan: Saim Orhan is a very candid and sincere person, which makes us want to watch him. On top of that, he gives valuable information about Turkish and Ottoman history; I watch it to learn these things. Also, I show it to my children for them to learn as well. (M, 45)

As we see from Okan's explanation, heritage quality of information Ayna provides is valued by him, and he wants to transfer that knowledge to his children in cultural capital form.

Mehmet explains why he values the cultural heritage Ayna provides as:

Mehmet: Almost every place he visits, he finds some monuments from the heritage of Ottoman or Turkish. It makes me so happy and as a Turk, I proud

of learning them. In each episode, I get excited to see what Turks made in that country or city. (M, 53)

As we can see from his quote, he is proud of Ottoman and Turkish heritage, so that appreciates the information provided by Ayna. These type of information similar to foreign countries is valued and can be read as a source of cultural capital for viewers.

4.2. The Experience of Watching Ayna

The informants pointed out that Ayna with its informative nature related to foreign countries and Turkish & Ottoman heritage is watched so that it can be read as a source of cultural capital. Besides the learning experience, Ayna enables its viewers to have three different types of emotions while by watching the program.

4.2.1. Feeling Happy and National Pride

Ayna provides comparisons of life conditions in visited countries with Turkish standards. When the comparisons made in very poor regions of 3rd world countries, it displays a powerful and wide gap between them and Turkey. These scenes may create an emotional moment for informants. For example, Beyza explained what she felt about these comparisons as:

Beyza: I like comparisons with Turkey. There are many people who suffer from hunger and couldn't even find food to eat, especially black people are so poor. When I see their conditions, I feel blessed to be born as a Turk and become happy. We, as a country, are very developed and in a good position. (F, 25)

Beyza works as a factory worker and has a stable minimum wage income (1400 TL, approx. 400 USD). However, the portrayed poor people and their living conditions in the program make her feel blessed as being Turkish. Accordingly, viewers like to see

such comparisons in the program so that they may feel happier and proud of their nation.

Ayna also displays remaining cultural heritage from Turkish and Ottoman times in visited countries by referencing glories times of Ottoman Empire. The comparisons also made with contemporary conditions of the country with the Turkish/Ottoman era they had in the history. These dramatic scenes are also praised by some of the informants because as Emrah stated, they make them feel proud:

Emrah: I really am impressed by poor African countries that are displayed in Ayna. They were a much better condition in Ottoman times, but later they couldn't be happy. There are some monuments from Ottoman times, and the fact that these monuments are still remaining stand makes me so proud. (M, 30)

There in, either way, Ayna displays these countries very dramatically and enables viewers to make comparisons. That would lead them to feel proud of Turkish/Ottoman heritage, or in other words, from their own heritage.

Another important point about poor countries is the displayed in Ayna is Turkish colleges. If the visited country has a Turkish college, Saim Orhan shows it and conducts interviews with the teachers and students. Most of the administrative staff and teachers are Turkish, but the students are mostly natives. These scenes also praised by some of the informants. For instance, Esra explains her experience with these types of scenes as:

Esra: Especially in African countries, there are black children who can speak Turkish and sing songs or read poems in Turkish make me so happy. Who would not be proud by these things as a Turk? (F, 23)

In addition to comparisons of life conditions and knowledge gathered of these comparisons, noticing the expand of Turkish culture with language to other countries is read as a source of pride because the heritage is displayed as something valuable and foreign people would like to acquire it. Therefore, these displays also enable

viewers to see that their heritage is valued in other countries as well and diffusing through Turkish education institutions with language, songs, and poems. All these cultural heritage items can be acquired as a cultural capital by Turkish people as well as foreigners. This type of cultural capital is appreciated by people who value that heritage and can make a source of mockery by other as I will explain in the critical mockery section.

4.2.2. Bragging about Newly Acquired Knowledge

Consumers by watching Ayna acquire cultural capital thanks to its informative nature whether it is related to foreign countries or Turkish & Ottoman heritage, and they may display that newly acquired knowledge publicly as a status symbol. For example, Semra told that:

Semra: I always watch Ayna. I wish everyone else watch it as well. I can tell things that I learn from Ayna to my circle. I wish to have the possibility to visit the places he shows. (F, 55)

For Semra, watching Ayna and information, she gathered from it are enviable. She shares what she learned from Ayna to other people because she values the information and treats as cultural capital. Accordingly, she is proud of watching Ayna and engaging this consumption practice so that talk about it.

4.2.3. Having Fun by Feeling Superior

Besides learning something new and bragging about that, Ayna is criticized by some weak points by informants. When they notice something is missing or “anormal”, they may react by mocking. The mockery by its function puts mocked object or person in an inferior position and mocker in a superior position (Carroll, 2014) that

may lead to a feeling of superiority by engaging mockery. Therefore, viewers may watch Ayna to have fun by mocking. Efe explains these type of an experience as:

Efe: People may watch Ayna because they like to travel but at the same time they may find some lacking points in the program. So that, watching the show becomes fun by finding weak points and laughing at them. We may even make a caps about that points and post it on the social media to show ourselves. (M, 21)

As we can see from his explanation, he can have fun by watching Ayna because he is able to find some weak points to mock. Thanks to mockery, Efe may feel superior and have fun is a consequence of that feeling of superiority. He also mentioned the possibility of creating a caps and posting it online. That type of practice is a type of communication Efe has with the world by displaying the superiority of his taste comparing to mocked points.

4.3. Evaluating Ayna as a Documentary

Viewers of Ayna watch it acquire knowledge and experience happiness, proud and fun while watching it. In order to evaluate Ayna, they define an imagined “normal” documentary and compare Ayna with that concept in their minds.

According to informants, there are two main characteristics of documentaries which are showing something new and/or interesting and possibility to learn that by watching. The promise of displaying something new and/or interesting is, in fact, the most basic definition of documentary as a genre (Lutz & Collins, 1993). The informants constantly touched the definition of documentary to evaluate Ayna. For example, Okan mentioned that:

Okan: “The main reason behind watching documentary is to acquire some kind of knowledge.” (M, 45)

Therefore, for him similar to other informants, the documentary should provide information. This function can be interpreted as useful for some informants. For example, as Bahar pointed out:

Bahar: “Watching documentary is useful because you learn something new from it, unlike other television programs that are empty.” (F, 38)

As we can see from her explanation, its usefulness by teaching something new differentiates documentaries from other television programs. Another important aspect related to the documentary is the novelty of the information it provides. Can put that very nicely as:

Can: “Documentary should show me something that I didn’t know before, and that needs to be interesting.” (M, 30)

As we can see from his interpretation of documentaries, the viewer is also important because new and interesting may change person to person. That puts some associations to the documentary viewer as well. For example, Arda defines people who watch documentaries as:

Arda: People who watch documentary shows are above some level of education, they need to have an interest in learning new things to watch them. Ayna displays different countries and to watch it as others (documentary shows) you need to be curious and willing to learn. (M, 21)

As we can see from Arda’s description, being a documentary viewer is something valuable. Its value is tied to education and interest of the person, in other words, cultural capital. Therefore, being a documentary viewers requires accumulation of necessary capitals.

4.4. Critical mockery

The informative nature of Ayna as being a documentary brings its standards as well. Since informants have a set of understanding about how a “normal”

documentary should be, they constantly evaluate Ayna and find that there are some lacking points. This criticality they have, showed itself in mockery because they responded what they criticize by laughing at. There are three main points informants criticized and mocked: the host, the production, and the content.

4.4.1. The host related mockery

In television programs, the host is the face of the show by embodying style and content of a show would like to display. The producer and the host of Ayna are Saim Orhan since the beginning. Therefore he embodies the show and highly associated with every aspect of from production to motion. Since he has such a strong connection, informants tend to criticize Saim Orhan as a projection of Ayna, so that Saim Orhan is criticized for his manner, dressing and dialect in relation to Ayna.

4.4.1.1. The Manner of The Host

The first element of a mockery of Saim Orhan is his manner for the informants. Some of the informants even start laughing the moment Saim Orhan first appeared during the program. For example, Aylin told her reaction when she first saw Saim Orhan as:

Aylin: When I first came across this program on the TV, I thought that it is very beneficial and then I saw him (Saim Orhan), and thought myself that did they spend a significant time and effort to find this guy as a presenter (laugh)? He does not look either educated nor charismatic. (F, 31)

Not every participant had the negative first impression Aylin had, but they had a rural image of Saim Orhan. For example, Derya explains him as:

Derya: He is like one of my cousins from Afyon goes abroad for a vacation, comes back and explains to us how was the city and the country (laugh). It is sincere but unprofessional. (F, 24)

There is an irony the way Derya describes Saim Orhan. He is the host of a documentary program, but he acts like a person from a small Anatolian city in the program which is not “normal” for Derya. On the good side, this rural image brings sincerity and candidness to Saim Orhan and make the audience feel closer to him, but at the same time, viewers may mock him because of that image. For example, Alp explains what he thinks about Saim Orhan as:

Alp: Saim Orhan made me feel that he is one of us and during the program, he acts as if he does something, but he does not have a clue about what he is doing. That makes him funny for me. In this episode, first he showed a camel and a child, then he told that they are both 10 years old. So what? (laugh) (M, 30)

As Alp pointed out, there is something odd in the manner of Saim Orhan according to Alp, and it makes him a source of mockery. For Merve, the oddness is about not being able to translate educational background into manner. She explained it as:

Merve: I can't believe that this guy is graduated from communication department and has a master's degree, I thought that when the program was started, they found a random guy from the channel and made him the producer. When I learned that he has such a background I just shocked, how come a person with that background can talk, wear and more importantly behave like that. (F, 25).

Education is seen one of the formal ways of acquiring cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Therefore, it is presupposed that people who are above some level of education carry traces of high level of cultural capital. In other words, the formal capital they acquired through education would be translated into embodied form of cultural capital such as manner. For Saim Orhan's case, informants did not see this translation in his manner, and it leads them to criticize and mock him.

Additionally, informants may mock the way Saim Orhan behave in specific occasions during the program. For example, Alp explains the scene that he laughed while watching most as:

Alp: In documentaries, you suppose to not to intervene natural habitat, you try to reflect the habitat as it is to viewers. In here, this guy took on a baby goat to his lap and said that in Djibouti, there are goats, Mashallah they are very cute. And then, draw the baby goat to the camera. I don't know, is there a Turkish person who have never seen a goat or do not know how a goat looks like? But I guess no one thinks that goats can exist only in Turkey (laugh). So, it was an unnecessary and stupid information. Then he made the same thing with a little boy for god's sake... (laugh) (M, 30)

As we can see from the example, the way Saim Orhan acts and his manner during the program may make him funny in the eye of informants. Alp approaches these scenes with criticism and reflects his frustration through mockery

The way Saim Orhan acts during the program or in other words, his manner, is a source of mockery for informants because they expect him to behave “normal” and “appropriate” as a documentary presenter and when his manner is out of what they expected, they may react with mockery. Alternatively, their mockery can be interpreted as a way to critically engage in the material as Holt's HCC consumers did (1998). Therefore, with the help of mockery, consumers position and practice their middle classness. At the same time, since there are multiple competing middle classes, by mocking they attempt to distance themselves from other middle classes.

4.4.1.2. The Dressing Style of The Host

The second element of mockery for my informants is Saim Orhan's dressing style. Dressing style is one of the key indicators of taste and reflection of cultural capital (i.e. Bourdie, 1984). How should a person dress depends on the norms of society and more importantly how the accumulated and well-accepted “normal” defined. As

other consumption fields, “normal” is defined by middle class associated consumption practices, but at the same time, each class reads “normal” with their own terms tied with their habitus. Therefore, each informant who criticize and mock Saim Orhan’s dressing style is an indication of their own taste and a reference to “normal” middle class associations. For example, Ipek commented on how Saim Orhan’s dressing style as:

Ipek: I think he (Saim Orhan) does not know how to dress as a person who appears on TV for years. His style is not fashionable or tasteful. He just wears shirts or collared t-shirts and linen trousers in a classic cut. It’s how old people in Turkey dress, you can see them on the street; nothing is special with that clothing style. He supposed to wear more tastefully, maybe sporty or even can be classic but tasteful... (F, 26)

It is important that Ipek comments on Saim Orhan’s dressing style as a person who appears on TV for years and finds it not fashionable or tasteful. The tastefulness she points out is that a reflection of her high cultural capital indication of taste and as well as “normal” in terms of a person on TV in middle class associated reference point. Seyhan also agrees with Ipek, and she gave some advice to Saim Orhan as:

Seyhan: He needs to dress more lively more young and cool. It was spring time in the episode, if I were the one who decides his clothes, I would choose a hooded jacket and a t-shirt with jean, also choose sneakers instead of classic shoes because as a person who travels abroad supposed to look like that, not the way he does. (F, 24)

The dressing style Seyhan explains is her interpretation of appropriate because but it carries the well-accepted middle class style. These critics informants detected may turn into a mockery. For example, Arda pointed out why he mocked Saim Orhan while watching the New York City episode as:

Arda: Saim walks on the 5th Avenue (Manhattan) in clothing which I never ever wear even going to a supermarket. That’s why, I mocked him and started to laugh the moment I saw him (M, 21)

As we can see from Arda’s explanation, he has a dressing on his head prior to seeing Saim Orhan’s style, and it is the reflection of his taste. By mocking Saim Orhan’s

dressing style, he appropriates and praises his own style and taste, so that he can culturally distance himself from Saim Orhan and people who have similar dressing style. It is an attempt to distance for Arda, and he defines and practices his middle class position by doing that.

Aylin also mocked the dressing style of Saim Orhan, and she explains the points she found “wrong” as:

Aylin: I did not like the way he dresses. It's color, cutting, fitting... they were all wrong. He does not look like someone above the average education level and more importantly not like a documentary host. That's way, the minute he starts to talk as if a documentary host, I started to laugh. He is not charismatic, is just like any other Turkish man. (F, 31)

What Aylin defined as “wrong” reflects her own taste, and more importantly she appropriates her thoughts by referring to education level and documentary presenter image which are both a source and indication of cultural capital. So that, similar to comments of Saim Orhan's manner, there is a mismatch between what informants expect him to be and his actual manner and style. This mismatch can be a source of mockery and an attempt to distance themselves from other middle classes.

4.4.1.2. The Dialect of The Host

The third element of mockery for my informants is Saim Orhan's dialect. Similar to manner and style, language is one of the key parts of individual's habitus because it is an embodied form of cultural capital. We learn how to talk from our parents, and in a way, it is inherited or thought in terms of know-how from them. Beside mother tongue and accent, we embodied, knowing foreign languages can be regarded as a cultural capital we have. Therefore, speaking fluently and/or knowledge of grammar rules of any language we speak clearly indicates our social class position. Informants

had problems with Saim Orhan's use of language in Turkish as well as in English.

Bora explained Saim Orhan's language as:

He is producing and presenting the show for years but he did not learn how to speak, he just repeats the same words and the sentences and his English is just terrible. Even his Turkish is not that good, he prefers to use some old words, and he has a weird accent. (M, 20)

Similar to style and dress interpretations of informants, Bora criticized Saim Orhan with his set of "normal" use of language and "good". These all serve to his taste and distancing strategy from Saim Orhan and people who are similar to him in terms of use of language. Alp also noticed that Saim Orhan's use of language does not match with his own taste and made it a source of mockery. He explained how he mocked as:

Alp: I got that he has own way to present things which are utilizing fallacy of ambiguity in forming sentences (laugh). He can speak Arabic and English besides Turkish but he spoke with Djiboutians in English, of course, there were no subtitles, but I could understand what he said. The point is that the woman whom he talked to, didn't understand what he said because most probably she does not speak English. So I think, he speaks English only to show that he can but the language is used for communication and it was nonsense. Therefore, I started to laugh the look she had when he spoke English; I guess she thought that what the hell he is talking about. There was a guy who studied in Turkey and can speak Turkish, so if he could use that man to translate to native language from Turkish, it would have made much more sense. (M, 30)

As we can see from his explanation, there is a deeper level analysis and thinking process behind the mockery of just one scene. In order to detect fallacy of ambiguity, Alp needs to know that concept and be good at grammar which shows his level of cultural capital. Also, Saim Orhan's lack of knowledge in grammar and speaking English with a person who does not know English lead Alp to mock him.

As we mentioned before, informants may both liked and mocked him. Esra explains her reaction to Saim Orhan's English as:

Esra: Actually, I laughed at the scenes that I didn't like. He is not comfortable in his English either he is not good at as a native speaker, or he tries to speak randomly. On the one hand, it is candid, but on the other hand, he needs to be professional and speak English fluently. When he starts speaking in English, I start to laugh and mock what he said. But as I said before, he is so candid. I guess I have a dilemma about him, I both like and mock him. (F,23)

The contradictory explanation of Esra is similar other informant's experience. She noticed the problems in Saim Orhan's language which lead her to mockery, but at the same, she liked that he is sincere. These two interpretation is competing for her, and in fact, these are competing tastes in the society. She approached these two positively, but other informants such as Derya, his use of language is irritating and mockable. Derya explained as:

Derya: What makes me irritated about Ayna is that repeating every sentence he formed in every conversation he made. It is like, can you understand me? I am repeating once again for you to understand... for the viewers. For example, he said that they could add iron to the mineral, we got that. Then, he said that they could add platinum as well, then opal, then gold and silver. After all of these, he repeated this thing twice more. This makes me bored. The point is, he told all of them to explain diamond but he didn't show the diamond. So, I started to laugh at the part and mocked. (F, 24)

As we have seen in Alp's explanation, Derya also had a background thinking process about mocked scene. For her, his use of language is irritating, and it makes her mock, but at the same time, she would like to learn something from the program but she couldn't. For her, the language Saim Orhan used to give information or in other words provide cultural capital is not right and make him funny for Derya.

As Alp, Derya also laughed a lot while watching the program and that was the scene she laughed at most. As we can see from her explanation, her mockery of Ayna includes criticism.

4.4.2. The production related mockery

In addition to the host, how the production phase handled is important to judge a media product. The consumer read the meanings and associations on a media product, and criticize based on their own interpretations. Informants criticized and mocked various issues related to the production of Ayna. For them, lack of knowledge and lack of technique makes Ayna mockable.

As being a documentary program, as we touched before, it has an informative quality which is appreciated by the informants. However, informants also stated that there is a lack of knowledge in the production phase of the show which they can detect.

These criticisms are tied with cultural capital of informant because how much knowledge should be delivered during an episode is a decision made during the production, but its criticism is based on viewer's own judgment of sufficient or enough information. For example, Yasemin criticized the episode that we watched together as:

Yasemin: It is more like a presentation of a country rather than a full explanation of it. Some part of the culture was mentioned but not all that I know about. For example, it is mentioned that there is a huge gap between rich and poor in the country, but they did not show any poor areas. How come an India episode of a documentary show can be complete without showing poor neighborhoods and people who live there? (F, 40)

As we can see from her explanation, her expectation of India episode did not completely meet because she would like to see and learn more. That type of criticism may turn into a source of mockery as Can's example. Can explain the scene he mocked as:

Can: When he talked about the currencies, he told that they have 5-10-20 banknotes. I think it was hilarious because it was absurd. Give some information about the currency, for example, tell us the value of Canadian Dollar to Turkish Lira. He showed images of each banknote taken from Google Images, and he claims that it is a documentary show (laugh). (M, 28)

As we can see from his explanation, for him how Canadian Dollar banknotes look like is not important, so showing their images is hilarious. Also, he would like to learn more sophisticated information such as the value of a currency compared to Turkish Lira rather than its appearance.

Besides the lack of knowledge, informants also criticized and mocked Ayna in terms of lack of technique in producing a documentary show. For example, Bora explained the scene he mocked as:

Bora: He constantly repeats himself. He gives same examples, same scenes with same words and sentences. For example, in the statue of liberty, he said that people come here and take photos. A minute later, he said people who come here spend hours in taking Picture. Then, he showed us people who are taking photos for 5 10 minutes. After that, he took photos by himself. For God's sake, there was nothing interesting about that. Okey, we got that people take photos in the statue of liberty, but it is normal and expected. If I were there, I would take a photo as well, but it is a documentary show. He needs to give more information about that. For example, he told that France made and gifted to the US. I really liked that information, and I just wanted to learn more about the statue of liberty. (M, 20)

As we can see from his explanation, he expected to learn more from the episode he watched because it is a documentary program, but rather he faced with a technical issue which is repeating scenes. These technical issues may lead to a lack of knowledge, but also they are criticized as it is. For example, Seyhan explained her criticism about the show as:

Seyhan: There was something wrong in informative parts of the show. Besides the lack of knowledge, some of the sentences were run-on, and complementary images of the related information were unprofessional. He needed to show different things not repeating images while he was talking about different things. On top of that, the shooting angle was all wrong, and there were several missing points in terms of visual aesthetics. (F, 24)

As we can see from her explanation, she detected different technical issues related to the production of the documentary. For example, she talked about details of the written transcript of the program and also camera details such as shooting angle in addition to visual aesthetics. Visual aesthetics she talked about is the quality of giving intended messages with the help of visuals such as images, graphs, etc., but in the show, different points are supported with same repeated images instead of complementary different images. Therefore, that point is not only about aesthetics but about technical issues of filming a documentary. As other criticisms, that type of technical issues may also lead to mockery when it is noticed. For example, Alp as a special interest in movie making explained why he mocked Ayna while watching as:

Alp: In the documentary, things that I can call interesting were quite a few. It has problems in technical issues such as visual quality, shooting angle, and speed, quadrature, etc. For example, when the scene was dark, all of a sudden it becomes brighten. These all clearly showed how amateur they are. Of course, not everyone who watches the program can notice such things, but when I detected, I started laughing at their amateurness. (M, 30)

As we can see from his explanation, he noticed the technical issues the program had and mocked. That reflects his field specific capital in media studies, and it can easily be interpreted as cultural capital. For him, Ayna's lack of the necessary field specific capital in the production phase makes the show amateur and mockable. It is also related to Alp's cultural capital and taste which is different than what Ayna represents.

4.4.3. The content related mockery

The last point that informants criticize and mock Ayna was the content of the show. Ayna provides some information, but it is criticized with how to deliver that information and the choices of information. These decisions were made by the

informants by comparing to how normal documentary should be. In the content of the show, they pointed out two main departure point of the normal documentary tradition which is giving local knowledge of Turkish and Ottoman in visited countries, and choice of matter in delivering information.

4.4.3.1. Giving Information Related to Turks & Ottoman Heritage

The first source of mockery related to the content of the show is that giving Turkish and Ottoman related information in visited countries instead of the country itself. Even local knowledge of the country is delivered through exemplifying life conditions of Turks and other Muslims in the country. For example, Arda reacted a scene from New York episode as:

Arda: When he visited the New York, he went to a Turkish supermarket. How does it even possible? He didn't go anywhere else but choose to visit a Turkish supermarket in New York to introduce us the city (laugh). (M, 21)

Arda was very excited to watch New York episode, but he was very disappointed because what he expected from New York episode of a travel documentary was different than what Ayna delivered. His disappointment was pursued with other scenes as well:

Arda: As far as I know, Newyork is famous for its hotdog. How come he didn't try that? I know that pork meat is not halal, but it is a traveling type of documentary show. He supposed to try that, and it was not only for this episode, but he also does not try things that are different from Turkish taste or not halal in any episode. (M, 21)

As we see from his reaction. He thinks that some scenes do not fit with the documentary format which leads him to criticize and sometimes mock that scene. Similar to Arda, Erdem noticed an expression of Saim Orhan which is not fit the documentary format for him. He explained that scene as:

Erdem: He (Saim Orhan) said “Mashallah you are so beautiful.” to appreciate her beauty (laughing) but congratulating for the winning the beauty pageant is enough for me, why would you say Mashallah to every beautiful woman you see. I think there is no room for such expressions in a documentary show; it was totally inappropriate. (M, 24)

As he explained the scene he mocked, he found Saim Orhan’s expression inappropriate in the show, and it was funny for him to use that type of expressions in a documentary show because they do not fit with the documentary format. Mashallah is an Arabic phrase used to show appreciation for a person or happening for positive aspects such as beauty, kindness, or goodness, etc. It also has a reference the will of God because that positive aspect is coming from God. Furthermore, in Turkish society, people use Masallah to show appreciation with a good intends such as no envy, jealousy or intolerance in line with the belief of Islam. Therefore, people prefer to use Masallah with any appreciation phrase in everyday language. For Alp, these connotations Mashallah has makes it an inappropriate to use in a documentary show because it is an everyday language with Muslim associations. This reaction of Alp indicates his own cultural capital and taste by showing distaste regarding using Mashallah in a documentary.

Besides the information about the life of Turks in the visited countries and employing everyday language with Islam emphasis, Saim Orhan is mocked due to his highlights regarding Ottoman heritage. One of the informants Esra prepared a caps related to that issue and explained it as:

Esra: If we interpret this with the help of heritage emphasis, the thing behind is obviously not a monument from Ottomans, but if we write a monument from our Ottoman heritage on that, I thought that it both highlights that and becomes funny. The thing that I want to explain in here is that he didn’t do that in South Korea episode or maybe it consists of several parts, we didn’t come across. Otherwise, he finds a heritage monument everywhere he visits. I’m mean, it is obvious that that monument is not from Ottomans, but he does that emphasis in everywhere, so there is an irony in here that I wanted to make.

In the caps Esra created, Saim Orhan stands at the Moon, and there is a monument behind it, and at the lower end of the caps it is stated that: “Ayda bile Osmanlı eseri bulabilecek adam.” Which means “A man who can find an Ottoman monument even on the moon.”. As she explained, by making an irony she critically mocked Saim Orhan. That critical mockery helps her to distance from Saim Orhan and people who have similar taste.

4.4.3.2 The Choice of Manner in Delivering Information

The second source of mockery related to the content of the show is the choice of matter in delivering information during the show. Besides the information related to Turkish and Ottoman history and monuments, informants criticized and mocked Saim Orhan’s choice of information as well as how he delivers that. For example, Derya explained the scene she mocked as:

Derya: During the episode, he put the ones with less clothing in the second line as if they were thrown to the back (laugh). He explained it as these are the ones with less clothing, but he didn’t show their full body because they were blocked by the people who stand in the first line. That was disturbing and at the same time very funny. Instead of two lines, he could put them on one line, and we could see the ones with less clothing ourselves. It is something human. They were not nude, so he could show all of them equally. And, even if they had been nude, they live in a tribe, and it is how they dress for God’s sake! (F, 24)

As we can see from her explanation, she criticized the way Saim Orhan delivers the information about the clothing styles of different tribes, and this criticism ended up with mockery. Because even though how different tribes dress fits travel documentary format, the matter of delivery was off for her due to nudity sensitivity of the show. That type of choices was also criticized as taste by informants. For example, Aylin explained Saim Orhan’s taste of choices as:

Aylin: He shows the city and introduces the monuments etc. but he does not go places that I prefer. For example, I have watched Paris episode, but when I went to Paris, I visited different places because his taste of the choosing is not good. (F, 31)

The criticism she has is based on judgement of appropriate taste of choices.

Therefore, it signifies her social class position as well as an indication of how she positions Saim Orhan which is apparently lower than herself. Erdem also thought that the taste is an issue in choices during the show and in fact in television in general. He explained the parts he mocked as:

Erdem: Generally speaking, I can call the situations I mocked as “absurd” or “nonsense” situations...Because, the things they do... I can’t call it wrong, but they are total nonsense for me. I think this is obvious and but they keep doing them anyway. This man in Ayna keeps going to Turkish colleges, or the other man keeps eating enormously, and odd people keep continue to show up in matchmaking shows. And, all those programs continue like that because they are watched anyway even without stopping such things. This situation makes them even more hilarious. Because all those things are unacceptable; or at least continue doing them on purpose is, I mock them. (M, 24)

As we can see from Erdem’s explanation, he called mocked situations “absurd” and “nonsense”. The way he approaches mocked scenes was based on his judgment of “normal” in a documentary show or broadcasted on television. Another important point of mocking at Ayna in terms of its content was that informants presuppose their own habitus as “normal” and “expected” which make them easily frustrated because they may have different sensibilities and style than Saim Orhan. Efe pointed out that difference with his frustration as:

Efe: I was curious about Buckingham Palace, it is on the top of my list that I want to see when I visit England. He made a very shallow explanation. I do not know maybe he had a lack of information. I’m mean, if he didn’t search the places he will visit in advance, it is expected that he needs to have the necessary information. For example, he spent most of the time on London eye instead of Buckingham Palace and told that the view is amazing from London eye. It is very simple and predictable; nothing is special or important regarding this information (laugh). At the end of the day, which one is more important, London Eye or Buckingham Palace? Of course Buckingham Palace. I am interested in English history, but he skipped the history part very

very quickly and shallowly. For instance, the building of Parliament... even if he does not anything about history, if you were watched V for Vendetta, you know that it is very important building with history, besides its importance is beyond what the film mentioned. He didn't even mention as much as the movie did. (M, 21)

As we can see from his explanation, he presupposed that Saim Orhan watched V For Vendetta and it is “normal” and expected to know that information. Also, he found some of the information Ayna provided is unnecessary because when he watches a travel documentary about London, he would like to see and learn more. All of the criticism he made is related to his own level of cultural capital, and it is a way to define and practice his own social class position by distancing himself from Saim Orhan through mockery. Additionally, as a popular movie V For Vendetta does not necessarily carry high cultural capital, therefore Efe's criticism was based on his own expectation of “normal” which can be put on words as middle class by looking at his own level of cultural capital.

In conclusion, critical mockery displayed in the findings section are typical scenes that are mocked related to the host, the production and the content of Ayna.

According to field notes and participant observations, mockery is started with critical comment and turn into laughter afterwards. If informants did not comment on a scene that they laugh at loudly, I asked them to explain why they laugh at and their process also started with criticism about the scene and turn into a mockery. Informants are conscious about their criticisms, but they were not sure about the source of mockery. Therefore, I employed a projective technique to have a deeper understanding of mockery by asking them to create a caps related to Ayna. That process helped informants to engage more carefully with the media text, and they enable to explain why they mocked particular scenes.

To sum up, findings suggested that middle class consumers watch Ayna learn something as about “the other” countries Ayna displayed, or about Turkish and Ottoman heritage. In the consumption practice of watching Ayna, viewers may feel happy and proud because of the information they learned. Also, viewers may engage in critical mockery Viewers think that displayed knowledge in Ayna should be new and interesting as a “normal” documentary does but if they detect some missing points, they may engage in critical mockery and having fun by watching Ayna. The critical mockery is engaged related to the host, the production and the content of the documentary.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

First of all, findings suggested that middle class consumers watch Ayna to learn something and either proud of or brag with that knowledge. The informants identified two different approaches towards knowledge they gain from Ayna. The first one is to learn more about “the other” countries Ayna displayed. These type of knowledge is a way to compensate traveling for some of my informants because they can see and learn a bunch of things by sitting at their homes and watching Ayna each week. The second one is to learn more about Turkish and Ottoman heritage. Ayna is a travel documentary which displays different countries in each episode, so it is not a history type of documentary, but in every visited country, Saim Orhan finds something related to Turkish and Ottoman heritage in that country and highlights that information. It is the most mentioned quality of Ayna, and various caps related to

that circulated on the internet such as “Saim Orhan is a man who can find a monument from Ottomans even on the moon.”. One of the informants, Esra created a caps similar to that one by highlighting finding a monument from Ottomans even on the moon. She criticized and mocked that quality Ayna has, but at the same time other informants such as Okan and Mehmet and even these types of information Ayna provides make them proud of being a Turk. Therefore, Esra by mocking that scene attempts to distance herself from Okan and Mehmet while Okan and Mehmet give values and appreciate that knowledge and treat as a capital. Therefore, they practice jockeying for positioning inside the middle class territory as competing middle classes.

Whether it is related to other countries or Turkish & Ottoman heritage, viewers would like to learn from Ayna. That inclination towards knowledge can be translated into acquiring cultural capital because whatever they learn from the show is valued by them. The desire for accumulation of cultural capital is common for middle classes because they have the struggle to maintain their position in the class hierarchy. So that, they are prone to acquire more cultural capital to show off their class position in addition to a possibility to climb up at the class hierarchy in a status consumption fashion.

In the consumption practice of watching Ayna, viewers may feel happy and proud because their national/cultural pride has been patted on the back. As a developing country, Turkey is mediocre in terms of economy and status, but the history of Ottoman was glorious in the past. Their roots to Ottomans and cultural heritage of them make some Turkish people very proud and help them to feel good about their nation. Therefore, they value the information, artifacts, and associations regarding Ottomans. Their tendency towards them leads to Ottoman heritage is treated as a

source of cultural capital. However, not everyone thinks that way as findings suggest even these attitudes towards Ottoman heritage is criticized and mocked by some other informants. The transition from acquiring cultural capital to mocking is related with how informants define “normal” in the context of a documentary show.

Although there are two different approaches towards the type of knowledge as a cultural capital, informants all agreed that the displayed knowledge in Ayna should be new and interesting. These characteristics are in fact defines what makes a documentary as a genre different than others (Lutz & Collins, 1993). The reason behind these desired qualities is to learn something from the program which makes it useful and not empty for its viewers with novel information. What will happen if the viewer did not see such qualities while watching the show and think that it is not “normal”? It is the point in which critical mockery appears in the picture.

The critical mockery starts with detecting points that are not “normal” for a documentary show, and these points may lead to mockery by having fun with that lacking. In other words, it is after the examination and diagnosis that some scenes are not providing cultural capital as the viewer expected. Informants engaged in critical mockery in three main categories of Ayna which are the host, production, and content. In each point, they first criticized and then had fun with mockery. Mockery enables mocker to culturally distance themselves from what s/he mocked because it is having fun with something inferior for your taste.

Similar to acquiring cultural capital practice, critical mockery also related to how each informant defines “normal” in middle class associated consumption practices and jockeying for positioning in the middle class. These attempts to distance themselves from so-called “inferior” taste which can be interpreted as lower class associated consumption practice. However, across the data different informants

acquire cultural capital or engage in critical mockery in the similar scenes. This contradictory standpoint among informants points out that jockeying for positioning is present inside the middle class even though it is framed as a middle class distancing from lower classes.

5.1. Conclusion

In the social class literature, there are three main research streams interested in how consumers define and practice their social class position, in other words distancing practices from other groups. These three research streams focus on consumers who define their social class position within a specific class boundary by exhibiting a tendency towards consumption practices aligned with the taste of their own social class, emulating consumption practices of upper classes and participating consumption practices of different social classes undulatingly.

All three research streams concerned with how consumers define and practice their social class position focuses on inter-class relationships between low, middle and upper classes. However, since the 1960s with the rise of middle classes in emerging economies, middle classes become stratified (Lamont, 1992). This study by focusing on how a consumption practice held in an emerging economy to display how inter-class distancing strategy works.

First of all, as a contribution to consumption studies about taste, the findings of the study support Holt's perspective on Bourdieu's study of taste because the consumption practice which is watching Ayna by itself does not indicate any differences. As the findings pointed out, all of the informants, who are middle class background watch Ayna although their frequency of watching may differ and their

frequency of watching is not clearly distinguished by looking at their level of accumulated cultural capital. When we focus on the characteristics of consumption practices as Holt suggested in his studies (1997; 1998) by focusing on consumers watch *Ayna*, we can observe two different strategies as acquiring cultural capital and engaging in critical mockery. Since the informants represent mid-level cultural capital instead of low-end and high-end in the level of cultural capital groups of consumers, there is not a segregation between different ways of engaging consumption practice as other studies display (i.e. Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Holt, 2009). Furthermore, unlike the previous studies using Holt's approach, informants except for Beyza and Okan, who have the lowest level of cultural capital across the data, may switch between acquiring cultural capital to engaging critical mockery in different scenes while watching the show. Those who did not switch between two different strategies did not engage in mockery as well, so there was not an alternative way to switch for those informants.

Secondly, as findings suggest although consumers participate in very same consumption practice which is watching *Ayna*, they can still try to differentiate themselves from each other. This argument is in line with the findings of research stream which is interested in consumers who define and practice their own social class position by participating consumption practices of different social classes undulating such as omnivore, slumming, camp sensibility and ironic consumption. Because middle and upper class consumers may engage a lower class associated consumption practice with a different style than the lower class consumer, and still attempt to distance themselves. Consumers come up with a repertuar of consumption activities as an omnivore, participate a lower class associated consumption practice to have an exotic experience as slumming, mix and match kitsch items into regular

consumption styles as camp sensibility and watch trashy/bad TV shows to relax and have fun as ironic consumption. More importantly, middle and upper class consumers can employ each of these different consumption practices as a distancing attempt. Similarly, the mockery is a critical way of looking at the context and response with humor to the points that consumer finds not “normal” in a middle class associated consumption practice. If we consider Ayna as a lower class associated consumption practice, it shows similarities to ironic consumption practice (Mccoy and Scarborough, 2014) because consumers watch a “bad” television show to have fun. However, none of the informants watch Ayna just to have fun because of its informative quality as a documentary. Therefore, consumption of Ayna shows a different pattern than ironic consumption. As a contribution to ironic consumption studies, consumption of Ayna shows that rather than consuming a media product ironically, we can observe ironic consumption traces in some parts of in a media consumption. Additionally, as Peters and his colleagues pointed out their studies, ironic consumption may help consumers to both crossing cultural boundaries in practice and, at the same time, to upholding class boundaries by distancing oneself from cultural activities that are considered enjoyable yet incongruent with one’s class identity (2017). Therefore, the ironic consumption quality critical mockery plays a role to both indicate mocker’s own social position and practice a distancing strategy by putting mocked consumption practices in an inferior position. Since critical mockery happens interchangeably with acquiring cultural capital within the consumption practice, the distancing strategy occurs in both ways both by defining what is culturally valuable to acquire and what is culturally inferior within the media product.

Thirdly, the findings of the study suggest that one media product may carry more than one social class associations within its content as Ayna does. Therefore, it may be hard to place media products with one class association in the class hierarchy. For example, media products of new middle classes may carry both the middle class and lower class, or new middle class, associations at the same time in addition to different interpretations of the similar scenes by different readers. Those findings of media products may carry more different class boundary due to shifting boundaries (Glynn, 2000: 3), and also the importance of the viewer in interpreting the media product as adding powerful meanings to the brand and the product (Parmentier and Fischer, 2014). This point of view highlights the importance of how a product is read and consumed, rather than the product itself in taste studies can be more important as Holt suggests (1998). Holt identified two ways to engage in media products as non-critical and finding commonalities with consumer's own life as a consumer who has a low cultural capital level and engaging critically with a consumer who has a high cultural capital level (1998). The research suggests critical mockery as an alternative way to engage in media consumption in addition to styles Holt stated. Although the mockery practice involves criticality, it occurs not only consumption practices of consumer who have high cultural capital but also medium level cultural capital holding consumers. Therefore, the research also suggests mockery as an attempt to distance with mockery for medium level cultural capital holding consumers.

Lastly, the studies concern with the humor suggests that humor is a common language that may identify groups (Kuipers, 2009) and also there is a connection between taste and humor (Friedman, 2011). In other words, what makes us laugh tells a lot about our taste. Mockery as a type of humor signifies the mockery as superior because what makes us mock is a type of inferiority we find (Carroll, 2014).

In this study, by marrying mockery and taste, there is a possibility of distancing strategy in the consumption practice. That distancing strategy as we touched before, happens by participating the consumption practice. Therefore, consumers by engaging mockery attempt to distance themselves from others they deem to be of a lesser status in consumption practices that carry new middle class associations. Therefore, mockery has a distancing quality to identify the taste of the mocker, unlike humor which has a unifying quality to identify the taste of a group.

5.2. Limitations and Further Research Directions

Besides the limitations related to the methodology of the study, several missing points were identified to suggest further research directions. Firstly, the findings point out the presence of critical mockery but due to the size of the sample, there is not a clear indication a possible relationship between the consumer's level of cultural capital and engaging in critical mockery as well as when criticism turns into mockery and why. Besides, the level of cultural capital, other factors such as gender may be taken into account to have a better understanding of critical mockery. Secondly, in the study, mockery is held as a distancing strategy. On the other hand, as taste studies about humor suggest, there may be ways to use mockery to get people together as a uniting strategy or a factor. As a future direction, that approach may be utilized to figure out different social implications. Additionally, the study also focuses on distancing strategy of consumers in terms of social class, but more research is needed to look at differentiation of different groups such as religion, political standings, ethnicity, etc. by using mockery. Lastly, the study focuses on a consumption practice held in an emerging economy in which multiple middle classes present but more

research is needed to understand how mockery works in established economies in which social class groups are relatively more homogenous. Also, the scope of the study is middle class consumers, but as a future direction, more research is needed to understand the critical mockery practice of lower and upper class consumers in emerging and established economies.



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APPENDIX A

ARTICLES RELATED TO AYNÄ IN ZAYTUNG

Son Dakika!

Ayna programı, hayvan bağlasan durmayacak olan bir ülkenin daha güzelliklerini Türk halkı için görüntüledi...

(yaz kızm35 Brüksel'den bildirdi)

Source: <http://zaytung.com/sondakikadetay.asp?newsid=203265>

STV, 2 Yıl Önce İşten Çıkardığı Ayna Programı Ekibine Hala Ulaşmaya Çalışıyor



STV, sevilen gezi programı Ayna'yı hazırlayan ekibi 2 yıl önce işten çıkarmasına rağmen halen kendilerine ulaşamadığı için kararı tebliğ edememenin sıkıntısını yaşıyor. Dur durak bilmeden dünyanın dört bir köşesini dolaşan ekibin izini en son olarak Tibet civarında kaybettiklerini açıklayan kanal yönetimi "Ekonomik kriz nedeniyle kendilerini 2 yıl önce işten çıkarmak zorunda kalmasak nerede olduklarıyla çok da ilgilenmiyorduk aslında." sözleriyle yaşadıkları çaresizliği dile getirdi.

Konuyla ilgili olarak açıklamalarda bulunan STV İç Yapımlar Sorumlusu Mustafa Erşahin, "Ayna adlı programı yaklaşık 10 sene evvel dünya üzerindeki farklı ülkeleri ve kültürleri tanıtmak ve bu ülkelerdeki Türk okullarının reklamını yapıp 72 milletten çocuklara 'allı turnam' türküsünü söyleterek aziz milletimizin gururunu

okşamak gibi halis niyetlerle yayınlamaya başlamıştık." diyerek, ekonomik krize kadar da her şeyin yolunda gittiğini belirtti. Erşahin, açıklamalarına şöyle devam etti:

İpin ucu bir yerde kaçtı

"Ancak sürekli olarak dünyanın hiç olmayacak yerlerinde okullar açılması nedeniyle maalesef bir yerlerde ipin ucunu kaçırdık. 'Sibiry'a'da okul açıldı koşun çocuklar, Burkina Faso'da abiler görüldü uçun mubarekler.' derken bir noktadan sonra yapım ekibinin sırf yol harcırahları bile kanalımızın bütçesini zorlamaya başladı. Ekonomik kriz falan da işin içine girince 2 sene evvel programı yayından kaldırıp ekibin işine son vermeye karar verdik."

"Aslında, doğruyu söylemek gerekirse ekibin izini kaybedeli 4-5 sene kadar oluyor ama bize düzenli olarak kaset göndermeye devam ettikleri için çok da önemsemiyorduk nerede olduklarını. Haftada bir, bazı zaman oluyor 2 programın kaydını bize bir şekilde yolluyorlar, onu aksatmıyorlar da ne zaman nerede olduklarını kestirmemiz bugüne dek mümkün olamadı. İnanılmaz bir biçimde, tabiri caizse, gerilla habercilik yapıyorlar. Bunlara iş akitlerinin feshedildiğine dair tebliği ulaştıramadığımız için maaşlarını da tıkr tıkr yatırmak zorunda kaldık bugüne kadar ama artık gerçekten dayanacak halimiz kalmadı."

Ekip izini tamamen kaybettirdi

Ekibin gönderdiği kasetlerden yola çıkarak nerede olduklarını tahmin etme çabalarının da bugüne kadar boşa çıktığını ifade eden Erşahin "Ekip aslında 8 kişiden oluşuyor, bunlar zaman zaman ikiye veya üçe ayrılıp, birkaç ülke sonra dünyanın hiç tahmin edemeyeceğimiz bir köşesinde birleşmek gibi manevralar icat ediyorlar. Korkunç bir esneklik ve hızla hareket ediyorlar. Gönderdikleri kargolara bakıyoruz; bi tanesi Zaire'den yollanmış görünüyor, iki gün sonra bir tane yolluyorlar, atıyorum

o Güney Çin'den. Adamların yerini kargodaki damgalardan tahmin etmek dahi imkansız. Hangi ülkeden geldiğini anlayamadığımız zarflar oldu, dilbilimciler bakıyor onlara şu anda....Artık iyice kontrolden çıktılar..." sözleriyle kanalın içinde bulunduğu çaresizliği açık yüreklilikle ortaya koydu.

Umut veren gelişmeler

Erşahin, olayın duyulmasının ardından dünyanın dört bir köşesinden bir çok ihbar aldıklarını ancak bunların maalesef şu ana kadar tamamına yakınının asılsız çıktığını söylerken, "Bir kısmında da dakikalarla kaçırdık elimizden. Bir ihbarda da yanlışlıkla Coşkun Aral'ı yakalayıp ATV'ye iade ettik, onlar da çok teşekkür ettiler." sözleriyle yaşanan umut verici gelişmelere de dikkat çekti.

Açıklamalarının sonunda yaşanan tüm olumsuzluklara rağmen Ayna ekibini bulmalarının an meselesi olduğunu vurgulayan Erşahin, "Yurt dışında yer alan ve bağlantılı olduğumuz tüm cemaat.. ee, öğrenci evlerine de eşgallerini dağıttık. Bu konuda sıkı sıkı tembihlendiler. Onlar da teyakkuz halindeler. Nöbetler iki katına çıkarıldı" sözleriyle STV'nin bu davanın peşini kolay kolay bırakmayacağını sinyallerini verdi

[\(elektrodarbuka Brüksel'den bildirdi\)](#)

Source: <http://www2.zaytung.com/haberdetay.asp?newsid=30133>

APPENDIX B

SELECTED POSTS IN *EKŞİSÖZLÜK* ABOUT SAİM ORHAN AND AYNA

bu zat-ı muhterem ayna programının nijerya'daki bölümünde,yıl boyunca hiç yağmur almadığını öğrendiğimiz bir köyü ziyaretinde bitki saplarından yapılmış barakanın çatısının su geçirip geçirmediğini sormuştur...yeni bölümlerini heyecanla bekliyorum!

10.09.2006 22:32 ~ 22:34 oky the messiah

samanyolu tv de yayınlanan ayna programının çok komik sunucusu. afrika da bir ülkede birinden birşeyler alırken izlemiştim. satıcının sırtına vura vura "işte rafet de burada meyve satıyooor" deyip ülkeyi o yaratmışcasına konuşuyordu. ayrıca

kafasını sallamadan konuşamaz. kamera kadrajlarına girişleri de efsane. kesinlikle izlenmeli.

10.02.2008 20:56 ~ 01.05.2008 18:26 goreality

singapur'un ulusal meyvlerinden kötü kokulu durianı eline almış tüm ülkeyi elinde bu meyve ile gezmeye çalışan kavruk sunucu. tüm programı "evet sevgili seyirciler bakın elimdeki durian ile bu alışveriş merkezine giremiyorum", "evet sevgili seyirciler bakın elimdeki durian ile bu metroya giremiyorum", "evet sevgili seyirciler bakın elimdeki durian ile bu mabede giremiyorum" diyerek "elinde bir durian ile nerelere girilir nerelere girilmez" programına dönüştürmüştür.

08.03.2008 13:20 ~ 11.03.2008 04:05 iticiadam

gezi programlarını sunan kişilerin, program sunuculuğunu doğru dürüst beceremeyişlerinin en önemli örneğidir bu arkadaş ama haksızlık etmemek için bilerek genelliyorum, aynı durum sektörün zirvesindeki coskun aral'da da vardır(sadece trt'de yayınlanmış haberci programıyla yetinmeyin, iz tv deki türkiye notları'nı da seyredin), elbette acun ilicali'da da vardır(ondaki aşırıya kaçmış samimiyeti sevdiğimiz için göze batmadı), onun dışında tek tek isimlendiremeyeceğim; o tgrt'de ki tarihi mekan gezileri yapan amcayı da bu tespite ekleyin, bilmemkimle geziyorum diye gece yayınlanan bir program vardır onu da ekleyin, wilco van herper'in kendine özgün durumunu ve tabiki serkan ercan'ın gidiş dönüş'ünü istisna tutuyor ve bu tanımı genelliyorum, ama genelleme bi'yana saim orhan bu durumda tavan yapar her halukarda..

hayır adamda bi'kötü niyet,bi'aşağılama sezinliyemiyorum, belk o kadar yorgunluğa ek olarak garip bir samimiyet anlayışı ve belki amatörlük denemese de; profesyonel ya da sunucu olamayış söz konusudur,

mesela, denk geldiğim bir bölüm; afrika'nın en ucra köşesinde üç beş çadırılık bi'köyünde pazar geziyor; pazardaki kişiyi tasvir etmeme gerek yok("çünkü her halukarda en iyi niyetimle etmeye çalışmam bile kılığı kıyafeti ile küçümseme olarak algılanabilecek bir durum" diyeyim siz anlayın demek istediğimi), bu eleman o kişiye "işte hanfendi,beyfendi burada yetiştirdiği ürünü satıyor.." diye hitap ediyor,

şimdi buradaki gariplik şu; elbette kılığı, kıyafeti ne olursa olsun bir insana böyle hitap edebilirsin, böyle hitap edilmez demek o kişiye saygısızlık olacaktır ama seyirciyi bi'düşün, senin bu aşırı nezaketine seyirci ne tepki verecek? yani insanlara "-ulan elin köylüsüne beyfendi diyo.." dedirtmeye sebep olabilece yersiz nezakete gerek yok bence,yani hem küçümseme hem de yüceltme yersiz yere ,olduğu gibi anlamlandırmaya çalış..

ama işte baştada dediğim gibi, o kadar organizasyon yap, yol kat et, eşya taşı, sıcak deme soğuk deme, ekiple beraber gez dolaş,harbi zor iş bi'yerde, bu sektörden de bi'trt diksiyonu beklemeye gerek yok aslında.

10.03.2008 00:20 agabey

üstleri tarafından çakma acun olma emri verilmiş kişi.ayna gibi saçma bi programı bence büyük başarıyla sunuyo bundan iyisi mümkün diil.adam naapsın yahu*

bir bölümde arjantininde ülkenin en ünlü popüler çayını içerken verdiği tepki beni benden aldı.adam kedi gibi meraklı illa denicem dedi.içti yüzü buruştu acı diye ama yiğitliğe bok sürdürmemek için bidaha içti.baktı olucak gibi diil hemen bok attı bizim çayımız daha iyi diye.hey allahım sen benim aklıma mukayyet ol..

31.05.2008 23:13 maca jilet

gittiği her ülkede "hav ır yı", "evriting iz guuud" ve "sofar sogut" (so far so good) demenin dışında her hangi bir ingilizce cümlesine rastlanmamış kişilik, hatta bir keresinde kucağında bebeği olan bir babaya "onu çok seviyorsun değil mi" gibi ne anlama geldiği belirsiz bir soru bile sormuştur, o kadar gezeceğine bir ara diksiyon dersi alması ve ingilizceyi geliştirmesi önerilen ayna programı sunucusu, ama yine de sürekli izleriz ve severiz de

24.08.2009 17:10 kimiraikkonen

samanyolu tv'de yayınlanan ne idüğü belirsiz bir belgesel programı (*Ayna). programın sunucusu olan zaat sanki oturma odasından bir anda dünyanın herhangi noktasına ışınlanmış ve araştırmadan etrafında ne görüyorsa tüm sığırılığıyla gösteren bir zihniyete sahip. misal bu kardeş madagaskar'a gidiyor ve madagaskar'ın sanki en ilginç yeri pazarıymış, berberiymiş gibi buraları gezip evet sayın seyirciler madagaskar'da ense traşı 1 dolar, patatesin kilosu 50 cent ne süper dimi? şeklinde yorumlar yaparak izleyicisine eşsiz bilgiler veriyor. zannımca programın amacı insanları dünyada gezmeye, görmeye değer yerler olmadığına inandırıp, aman abi bizim memleket gibisi yok valla ne gidicem yurtdışına dedirtmek.

29.01.2007 12:24 ~ 13:50 fantomas

program yaptigi ulkeye iyi hazirlanmasi ve gittigi ulkede mutlaka cemaatten bir kac tanidigi olmasi sebebiyle aldigi lojistik destekle guzel programlar ortaya cikartan sunucu, yapimci. simdi bu abimizin bazi komik huylari vardir, bunlari her program tekrar eder. simdi bunlara kisaca goz atalim:

- programi "ayna ekibi olarak selamlarin en guzeli sizin uzerinize olsun diyoruz ve programimiza basliyoruz" diye acar.

- sehrin en manzarali yerine tirmanarak "sevgili seyirciler buradan manzara muhtesem!" der.

- trafigin en yogun aktigi bir yerde yolun ortasindan kameraya dogru yurur, sagdan soldan vizir vizir arabalar gecse de o umursamaz. bir gun ceza yazacaklar.

- tanistigi insanlara ismini sorar. kolaysa anlar, anlamazsa durumu bozuntuya vermez. ismiyle hitap etmeden programa devam eder.

- kamerayla cekim yaptigi zenciler saklaninca veya tepki gosterince, "beyaz avrupali yillarca somurmus, bizi de avrupali saniyorlar" der. kendinin de beyaz oldugunu unuttur, isine geldi mi avrupali olur, isine geldi mi mazlum babasi.

- tadina baktigi seyleri "turk damak tadina uygun" veya "degil" olarak ikiye ayirir. halbuki yaptigi sey kendi damak tadina gore degerlendirmek.

- italya muhtesem, harika diye tanitirken programin sonunda italya'ya dejenere oldu diye camur atmaktan cekinmez.

- gittigi afrika veya guney amerika ulkesini hristiyanlastiranlara misyoner deyip verip veristirirken aslinda su an cemaatin yaptigi seyin de misyonerlik oldugunu gozden kacirir.

- bir afrika ulkesindeki bir kilise ona gore misyonerlik amaciyla kurulmustur, ama kurulan camiye o insanlar icin buyuk bir nimettir .

- konustugu basit arapca kullandigi turkce kelimelerden dolayi hemen anlasilir. arapça bildiğini iddia eder ama bildikleri "nasılsın", "adın ne", "ben türküm", "türk televizyonu için program yapıyoruz"dan öteye gitmez. arapça konuşulan ülkelerde bile tanışma faslından sonra ingilizceye döner. "so far so good?", "everything is good?" kaliplarini cok kullanir, illa herkesten "cok iyiyim" cevabini almaya calisir.
- cebinde akrep vardir. satıcılarla, dilencilerle muhabbet eder, programini renklendirir ama is para vermeye gelince isi sakaya vurup gecistirmeye calisir, ancak mecbur kalirsa para oder.
- her seyin fiyatini ogrenerek hemen turk lirasi veya dolara ceviris. bu yonunu seviyorum.
- gittiği her yerde turk ve musluman etkilerini abartir. bir hristiyan sehrinde yikik dokuk bile olsa bir cami buldu mu programin cogunu ona ayirir. akp oncesi hukümetlerin ilgisizliginden yakinir. ayrıca eğer gittiği ülke afrika'da müslüman bir ülkeyse mutlaka türk ve müslüman olduğunu belirtir, özel muamele bekler.

tum bu komikliklere ragmen samanyolu'nu belgeselleri disinda sadece bu program icin izliyorum. okullari tanitana kadar olan kısmi cok basarili. basta da dedigim gibi her gittiği herde cemaatten biri olmasi sebebiyle o yerde gidilecek gorulecek yerleri onceden biliyor. ayrıca internetten de detayli arastirma yapiyor. rakipleri gulhan, cagatay gibileri sirinlik ve esprilerle durumu kurtarmaya calismalari ve gittikleri yerlerde abuk sabuk yerlerde bilgi toplamak icin zaman kaybetmelerine ragmen, o onceden bildigi icin direk bilgiyi verir, kisa zamanda cok sey anlatmis olur. ben her seye ragmen kendisini sadece samanyolu izleyicisine degil degisik kitlelere de izlettirdigi icin basarili buluyor ve takip ediyorum.

08.01.2012 19:42 ~ 12.09.2015 21:09 summer son

lisedeki, elazıglı ve güdük arkadaşına gerek görünüşü gerek ses tonuyla benzeyen sunucu.

bu gece yemen'de çekilen programını izledim.fakülte dekanı bir hanımefendi ile röportaj yapıyordu ama hanımefendinin sadece ses tonundan hanımefendi olduğunu anladınız.kocamanca bir örtünün altından ve o örtünün üstüne geçirdiği kocaman gözlüklerle üniversite, bilim vs muhabbeti yapıyorlardı.enteresan geldi; inanç bu kadar şekilci mi yaşanır bu çağda? birde bunu soraydın saim ağabey.

27.08.2012 04:06 ~ 04:08 kamera kamera bacaksız

(enver aysever-saim orhan sohbetinden)

her kesimden seyircimiz var. çok farklı kesimden insanlar bizi izliyor. programda içinde yaşadığımız dünyanın farklı yerlerini tanıtıyoruz. türkiye'nin farklı noktalarında karşımıza çıkan insanlar bize memnuniyetlerini dile getiriyorlar.

aysever: fettullah gülen'in okullarını tanıtmak gibi bir durum var mı?

başarılı bir işadamını, başarılı bir sanatçıyı nasıl programda veriyorsak başarılı okulları da veriyoruz. yabancı ülkelerde başarı kazanan türkler gurur kaynağımızdır. yabancı birçok isim türkleri bu kolejler sayesinde tanıyor. bu okullarda çok iyi eğitim veriliyor. öğrenciler çok iyi yetiştiriliyor.

aysever: türkiye'de bazı insanlar "cemaat okulları laik yapıyı temsil etmiyor. dini kendilerince yansıtıyorlar ve saim orhan tek boyutlu bakıyor; perspektifi geniş değil. durmadan okulların propagandasını yapıyor." diyorlar.

afrika'da bile bizi yanlış tanıyan ülkeler vardı. beyaz olduğumuz için avrupalı insanlar ile aynı kefeye konuluyorduk. hangi kesimden olduğumuzun aslında hiçbir önemi yok. önemli olan farklı ülkelerde de varlığımızı gösterebilmemiz. orada oldukça söz hakkınız olur ve orada oldukça türkten, türkiye'den bahsederler. bu okullar 'gelin bizim ülkemizde okul açın' şeklinde oluşturulmamış ki. mesela tanzanya'dan bir örnek vereyim 44 milyonluk bir ülke. adımızı duyan yoktu. şimdi türkiye tanınıyor, içlerinde bizim hakkımızda fikir sahibi olan kişiler yayılıyor.

aysever: niye türkiye'den gidip orada okul açıyoruz ki?

gitmezseniz sizi tanımazlar. bizi seven insanlar oluşturup, kültürümüzü, yaşayışımızı anlatabilmek için o topraklara gidiyoruz. türkiye'yi bilen ve seven insanlar görmek güzel bir şey değil mi? lobicilik faaliyeti bir anlamda bu.

aysever: bazen bilerek mi komik durumlar çekiyorsunuz? insanlar sizi izlerken gülüyor da. (mesela?) mesela oraya has bir meyveyi tadıyorsunuz ve yüzünüz ekşidiği halde kameraya dönüp "farklı, hoş bir meyve" diyorsunuz. halbuki beğenmediniz.

biz nasıl misafirimize elimizdeki en iyi yiyecekleri ikram ediyorsak onlar da bize en lezzetli buldukları yemekleri, içecekleri ikram ediyorlar. çok kötü şeyler de oluyor. kamerun'daki konuk olduğumuz evde bir et yemeği yedik. kameramanımız sabaha kadar istifra etti. ilaçlarla kendisine zor getirdik. ben allah'tan yemek faslını meyvelerle geçiştirmiştım. filipinler'den dönerken pirinç tarlalarının içinde böcekleri

toplayan adamlara rastladım ve yanlarına gidip "bunları ne yapacaksınız?" dedim. "yiyeceğiz" dediler. kovalar dolusu böcek topladılar. inanın kovalar dolusu. hava kararmak üzereydi. ateşi yaktılar, genişçe bir kazana böcekler döküldü. yağ ve tuz ilave edildi. inanır mısınız pişen böcekler 5 dakika içerisinde bitti. bana ayırdıkları tabağı "ben dışarıda çok yedim" diyerek geçiştirdim ve yemedim.

aysever: gideceğiniz yerleri nasıl seçiyorsunuz?

içinde seyircilerin dikkatini çekecek detayların olması mühim. ülkeye televizyonun 1999'da girdiği ve cep telefonu kullanmanın 2005'e kadar yasak olduğu butan'a gittik geçen. güney asya tarafında bir ülke. sınırlı sayıda turist kabul ediyor ve bana sıradan turist gelmesin diyen de bir yer. günde minimum 250 dolar harcama yapmanızı isteyen bir ülke aynı zamanda . 250 dolar kişi başı üstelik. sırt çantalı, sağa sola bakınan turisti reddediyorlar. gelmesin diyorlar. resmi izinleri 6 ay öncesinden aldık ve gittik. çok farklı bir tecrübe oldu. size enteresan bir şey anlatayım. ölmüş insanların ayak kemiklerinden yapılmış bir flüt gördüm. resmen insan kemiğinden. kemiğin enstrüman yapıp satılması orada garip karşılanmıyor.

aysever: yayın yaptığınız kanalın da şahsınızın da popülarlığı arttı. siz ana akım kanallardan teklif gelecek olsa, biz daha çok para vereceğiz bize gelin denilse gider misiniz?

ben kanalımdan çok memnunum. ayna şu an en çok izlenen ve en uzun soluklu gezi belgeseli. her kesimden izleniyor. kanalımdan memnunum. samanyolu'nda kalmayı tercih ederim. bu bir gönül bağı belki de. ayrıca işimi seviyorum.

aysever: kendinizi belgeselci olarak mı görüyorsunuz?

vallahi programı "gezi belgeseli" diye tanımlıyoruz biz hep. belgesel, içine eğlence katmadığınızda sıkıcı oluyor. kendimizi izleyici yerine koyarak kendi programı mızı izliyoruz ve nasıl daha iyi olabilir diye düşünüyoruz.

aysever: islami kesimin acun'u diyorlar sizin için. ne diyorsunuz bu durum için?
asdsghas. türk insanı artık gezmeye, başka yerler görmeye daha iştahlı. birçok yerde türk'ün olması türkiye için iyi bir şey . eskiden türkiye şimdiki kadar tanınmıyordu. birçok insan bana grönland'ı soruyor. çünkü oraya gidecek. "nasıl yapayım? ne yapayım?" diyor. herkes farklı yerler görme telaşında. bunlar güzel şeyler. dünyanın birçok yerinde olmamız hoş.

aysever: bakın sizin için twitter'da ne yazılmış? "o kadar ülke gezdi bir tane bikinili kıza denk gelmedi. helal olsun!" denilmiş.
biz dikkat etmeye çalışıyoruz. mesela rio'ya plaja gittik diyelim. plajı genel olarak, geniş açı olarak veriyoruz ama tek bir bikiniliyi zoom'layarak çekmiyoruz. bunlara özen gösteriyoruz. bugün bizi beğenen beğenmeyen her kesimden izlendiğimizi biliyoruz. bu da bizi mutlu ediyor.

19.04.2013 04:30 sesege

yolda giderken kolundan tutmuşlar da program sunmasını istemişler herhalde diye düşündüğüm kişidir.

bir insanda hiç mi belgeselcilik kabiliyeti olmaz? adam geçende kanada'ya gitmiş,
giriş cümlesi şöyle bi şeydi: "türkçe olarak okursak, can ada diyebileceğimiz
kanada'dayız."

yeteneksiz ve dünyayı dolaşıyor. insan gerçekten hayret ediyor.

13.04.2014 00:32 ~ 15.04.2014 08:57 hototogisu

15 temmuz gecesi darbe karşıtı iki tweet attıktan sonra ortalarda görünmeyen tv
programcısı.

18.12.2016 04:20 karacakurt

akıbetini merak ettiğim kişidir. her gittiği yerde mutlaka fetö okulunu ziyaret eder,
malum şahıstan fethullah hoca efendi diye bahseder, kitaplarından alıntı yapardı. ama
hala kendisiyle ilgili bir haber yok. cemaatin dışında biri olduğunu düşünmüyorum
aslında ama günah da almamak lazım.

02.01.2017 02:06 tranceaddict

twitter üzerinden "hocaefendi" ve "gülen" yazan bütün tweetlerini sildikten sonra
aniden ortadan kaybolan ikiyüzlü 'fetö'nün organizasyonlarını tanııtma' programını
sunan kişidir.

ayna programının resmi internet sitesinin en üst bölümünde, "kanada'ya göçmen
olarak nasıl gidilir?" isimli haber den anlaşılabileceği üzere şu an ya kanada'da, ya da
amerika'da dır.

29.01.2017 14:40 soylu sovalye

APPENDIX C

SELECTED CAPS AND MEMES ABOUT SAİM ORHAN AND AYNÄ









cemaat okulu ararken nereye geldik



MASALLAH ELHAMDURİLLAH