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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Using three sets of survey data, this article explores the variations and social bases of leisure and cultural consumption patterns during the last decade in Turkey. In particular, this article explores the social basis of reading habits of daily newspapers, magazines and journals, going out to movies and the theatre, as well as spending patterns on these and various other cultural activities. Questions addressed in this study are: how are culture and leisure consumptions stratified in contemporary Turkish society, and what types of changes can be detected between 1994 and 2004? In summary, the data indicate that leisure and cultural consumption tend to be stratified by educational and income level and, to some extent, white-collar occupations. Second, households with female heads tended to engage more in "highbrow" consumption, compared to households with male heads.

Keywords: newspaper and periodical reading; movie and theatre attendance habit; cultural consumption; leisure and social status in Turkey

Introduction

Leisure and cultural consumption have emerged as a new area of study in contemporary sociology. Everyday leisure and cultural consumption constitute an integral part of modern life (Giddens, 1990). Asking the question, "What do you do in your free time outside of work?" is crucial for understanding sociological characteristics of individuals and societies. Leisure and cultural consumption not only provide an opportunity for self-expression and self-improvement, but also allow the examination of how these practices and activities change socio-culturally. Leisure activities change over time, and the types of activities engaged in by individuals render knowledge about society as a whole. For instance, individual preferences that favour travel above other leisure activities may provide insight into that society's cultural characteristics. Leisure activities and daily cultural consumption vary between and within societies, continuously changing according to people's needs and expectations, and closely interacting with the social world.

Using the Household Consumption Expenditure Survey (HCES; Turkish Statistical Institute, 1994) and the Household Budget and Income Distribution Survey (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2003, 2004), I investigated variations in the social bases of leisure and cultural consumption patterns during the last decade in Turkey. Studies in cultural consumption have often been conducted in Europe and North America, and more research findings from other countries are included in this article to make more valid theoretical generalizations about the social stratification of leisure and cultural consumption.

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Questions addressed in this study are:

- How are culture and leisure consumption stratified in contemporary Turkish society?
- What types of changes can be detected between 1994 and 2004?
- Do people in various socio-economic groups enjoy leisure and cultural consumption differently?
- How are cultural consumption and leisure related to the social structure of contemporary Turkey?
- To what extent do existing theories, hypotheses and research findings hold in the Turkish context?

Before discussing relevant empirical findings, the following paragraphs review major theories and empirical findings in both the international and Turkish social science literature and draw testable hypotheses from each. I then report empirical findings on leisure activities and cultural consumption in contemporary Turkey and compare my results with other findings.

Part 1: Current research on cultural consumption and leisure

As new theories and empirical research findings have proliferated in the recent decades, the issue of whether preferences in leisure and cultural consumption are determined by class or are uncoupled from it is still debated among researchers. One side of this debate claims that class continues to be an important agent in contemporary Western societies (Blau, Blau & Golden, 1985; Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Jenkins & Leicht, 1997; Kohn, 1989; Manza & Brooks, 1999; Wright, 1985). According to these authors, lifestyle, leisure and cultural patterns are fragmented between the different social classes, and they consider socio-economic status to be the main determinant of cultural differentiation. These researchers view leisure and cultural consumption as historically rooted and stratified by unequal power relations (Rojek, 1999). Bourdieu (1979/1984) and Kohn (1980) claimed that there is a continuing influence of class categories on the shaping of values, lifestyles and leisure on the evolving of distinct cultural patterns.

For example, grappling with the qualitative change in social practices of the consumption of art, critics such as Blau et al. (1985) have suggested that the performing arts are, to a great degree, a consequence of the need for the expanding urban middle class to consume art as a socially visible strategy for consolidating their unique, affluent lifestyle. Social inequalities in access to education, and in education itself, have been demonstrated to be inversely proportional to the number of recognized artists flourishing in such social contexts. The fact that breeding art and culture within metropolises is crucially predicated on the continued existence of socio-economic disparities makes it clear that the individuals who enjoy a materially privileged existence are far more likely to exert influence on the categorization of art into groupings such as "lowbrow" and "highbrow". Through these processes, they also shape what constitutes culture in such societies (Blau et al., 1985, p. 321).

Regarding the class–culture connection in recent decades, Bourdieu (1979/1984) may be the most prominent scholar who has brought the issue between culture and social structure to the forefront of sociological analysis. For Bourdieu, there is a strong correspondence between culture and class and cultural consumption in relation to a person's social status. According to Bourdieu, "there is a strong correlation between social position and dispositions of the agents who occupy them" (p. 378) Consumptions and cultural practices are markers of social class; thus, consumption patterns, lifestyle differences and cultural practices create horizontal connections and vertical distinctions between different social classes (DiMaggio, 1994; Douglas & Isherwood, 1979). According to Bourdieu, educational attainment is more important than

income with regard to cultural consumption and taste. Further, Bourdieu distinguished between "high culture", which meant certain types of art, music and other artistic activities, and "low-culture", which for him was epitomized by television.

Other researchers argue that there is a declining significance of class in contemporary advanced societies. Scholars of mass culture theory and all forms of postmodernist theories have proposed that an individual's economic location in a cultural differentiation cannot be viewed as the sole influence on his/her leisure and cultural affiliations. What may be conveniently categorised as cultural approaches to the discussions of leisure and cultural consumption have flourished (Clark & Lipset, 1991; Erickson, 1996; Maffesoli, 1996; Pakulsky & Waters, 1996). Consequently, in comprehending the socio-cultural functioning of modern capitalist societies, economic class categories are far from being the only significant structural variables that need to be carefully considered (Davis, 1982, p. 585). Further, DiMaggio (1979) and Lamont and Lareau (1988) have concluded that, particularly within the United States, the cultural boundaries exist as flexible and "loose", which is useful in understanding the relative lack of internal aristocracy and cultural hegemony. Thus, theses that advance the class-decline approach argue that class categories are becoming increasingly homogenized among the working class and middle classes.

In terms of the relationship between social stratification and newspaper readership, musical consumption, theatre, dance and cinema attendance, Chan and Goldhorpe (2005, 2007a, 2007b) reported a strong and systematic relationship between newspaper readership and status in a Weberian sense, and concluded that status is more important in newspaper readership than class. According to Kraaykamp and Dijkstra (1999) and Katz-Gerro and Yossi (1998), reading habits and preferences are more strongly influenced by cultural capital, such as education, than by class and income.

Peterson and Simkus (1992) advance a more sophisticated version of the homology and individualization thesis. They claim that Bourdieu's (1979/1984) notion of homology where higher status people engage in high-brow or elite cultural consumption complete with "snobbish" attitudes and distaste for popular or low-brow cultural consumption has been inadequate and out-moded for decades at least outside of France. They argue that higher status groups tend to appreciate more cultural genres than the lower status groups. Peterson and Simkus' research on musical genres in the US suggests that at the top of the cultural hierarchy, there are more cultural genres appreciated by members of high-status groups in contrast to the bottom where consumption is restricted to univore patterns. Therefore, Peterson and Simkus have argued that the new emerging trend and contrast is not between "high" and popular or "low" culture but between cultural omnivores and univores. Upwards social mobility and the broader and more diverse social experience of the upper classes lead them to have broader cultural tastes (Bryson, 1996; Robinson, 1993). However, as Van Eijck (2001) points out, omnivorousness does not mean that higher status groups tend to like everything; there are still symbolic boundaries between status groups and they still reject and exclude certain parts of middle and low brow cultural genres.

Social stratification and cultural consumption in Turkey

Analyses of class and culture in Turkish social science literature differ to those cited above. Although there is wide socio-economic inequality, it is argued that social class divisions in Turkey are weakly organized, and there is no class-consciousness in Turkish society (Mardin, 1973). Historically, class formation and struggles did not play a major role in the foundation of modern Turkey. Instead, the social structure of Turkey is usually analysed through centre–periphery relations. This includes two typical classes where small groups of high-ranking civil and military state bureaucrats occupy the centre and the periphery includes the rest of the population.

Students of modern Turkey agree that this dual structure was the most important determinant of the social stratification system within the early period of the Turkish Republic, which traces its roots from the Ottoman Empire and developed in the republican period. According to sociologists, this was the heritage that modern Turkey was founded upon, where a small bureaucratic elite occupied the centre and the rest consisted of artisans, shop keepers and peasants who mostly lived in the rural countryside until the 1950s (Heper, 1980, 1985, 2000; Kucukomer, 1994; Mardin, 1973; Türköne, 2006).

Civil and military bureaucrats and members of the judiciary, together with university professors and civil servants, occupied the centre and enjoyed prestige and privilege in both an economic and cultural sense. As far as culture was concerned, there were historically developed distinct cultural patterns and lifestyle differences in the Ottoman Empire. The remnants of that structure more or less continued in the modern period, when elite and folk cultures separated in many ways, creating their own distinct cultural patterns in music, literature and art. However, this does not mean these two distinct cultures were in conflict with each other. Although tensions existed between them, they co-existed side by side through mutual respect until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Yet, the Westernization of intellectuals and bureaucrats reduced the commonalities between the two groups as early as the late nineteenth century (Mardin, 1980). However, this does not mean that Turkey is a two-class society. Even in its past form, two class concepts were used as an ideal type for analytical purposes. In modern Turkey, one can easily observe a progressive transformation within the last several decades. This is due to several factors, including democratization, urbanization and, most importantly, rapidly expanding higher educational opportunities for ordinary people, which created new opportunities for the expansion of middle classes. Beginning in the 1980s, a new middle class of Turks began emerging from rural Anatolian towns. Educated in newly built universities, and often experienced as "guest workers" in Europe, thousands of entrepreneurs sprung up and prospered in this hinterland. Turkey has experienced unprecedented economic and cultural transformation over the last three decades, and according to new estimates by the European Union, the per capita GDP reached $8500 in 2008. This makes the Turkish economy the sixth most productive in Europe and the 17th largest in the world, with nearly 80% of the population living in urban areas.

Currently, the elite are criticized by both cultural historians and ordinary people as having been incapable of forming a bourgeoisie class with a unique culture and lifestyle. This was because they replicated mentalities, lifestyles and cultural practices from a nineteenth century political positivistic ideology, which make little sense for the majority of Turks (Koker, 1995). Moreover, the authoritarian bureaucratic class adopted an official, formalist and shallow cultural code and lifestyle, and disapproved of the sub-cultures and other ways of bringing about modernization and development generated by the periphery. Eventually, they lost their privileged position as a civilizing model, which led to growing cultural disassociation and even cultural tensions. As the periphery became the driving force behind economic mobility and political liberalization and pushed to reform social institutions to join the European Union, the elite, which once identified themselves as vanguards of modernization and "high culture", started to oppose efforts to liberalize Turkey. Currently, scholars argue that there are two opposing groups, and daily political struggles are launched through the use of symbols that address differences related to lifestyle, identity, cultural consumption, dress codes and so on (Bozdogan & Kasaba, 1997; Ergil, 2000; Erman, 2001; Göle, 1997). In short, widespread changes, such as increasingly democratic political movements from the bottom, social, economic and political development, the continuing process of possibly becoming a part of the European Union, and an expanding middle class have transformed state–society relations, bringing those in the periphery of Turkish society closer than ever to the centre.

With new, globally focused neo-liberal economic policies emerging over the last three decades, there came about other changes in cultural consumption and lifestyle patterns. Highly educated professionals of the upper middle class in big cities have taken advantage of global economic policies, improved their life conditions and become a part of the global consumption class. This has resulted in a new focus in the Turkish social science literature on the study of cultural consumption with individuals being identified by what he/she consumes (Ayata & Ayata, 2000; Aydin, 2006; Bali, 2002; Kandiyoti & Saktanbar, 2002).

Except for the new upper middle class, the majority's cultural consumption and leisure activities still more or less involve both traditional and modern features, and have shown a rapid transformation from traditional to modern forms of cultural consumption and leisure activities. These are not only related to the possession of socio-economic capital, but also to free time. According to the International Labour Organization's findings, Turkey is rated third in having long work hours, after the United States and Japan (Kloby, 2004). Since the average working week is 52 hours, with relatively less monthly income compared to other advanced countries, individuals tend to spend their limited leisure time watching television at home. It may be no coincidence that Turkey has the second highest rankings after the United States in television watching.

In terms of reading books, magazines and newspapers in leisure time, Premedia Newsletter (2009) indicates that time spent reading has declined in all countries because of the increased accessibility of visual media and a shift of leisure choices to other activities. Studies conducted in Turkey also continuously report that the reading of printed material is very low, and the debate about why this occurs is a constant one in Turkish media. Some writers blame television for the low reading rates; others blame low purchasing power and oral cultural tradition. According to the United Nations Human Development Index, Turkey is ranked as 76th in book reading among 173 nations studied (Human Development Report, 2008). Similarly, the rate of newspaper reading is also low. Eighty-five per cent of newspaper readers only follow sports and magazine inserts. However, Özturk and Erolu (2006) found that, although the general rate of reading in Turkey is low, it is very high for certain groups.

Results of the limited research summarized above focus on small groups, and there is no socio-economic analysis based on nationally representative data. Hence, this article aims to fill this gap and advance the analysis of cultural consumption and leisure research in Turkey.

Part 2: Research questions and hypotheses

The research addressed a number of substantive questions: how was cultural consumption within the domain of newspaper, periodicals readings and movie-theatre attendance in Turkey and actual spending patterns on leisure, newspapers, periodicals, book, movie and concerts stratified in Turkey? What types of change can be detected between 1994 and 2004 in terms of newspapers, periodicals, movie-theatre attendance habit in Turkey? How are the results of this study similar or dissimilar to other findings? How does cultural consumption differ between male and female and urban versus rural locations?

It also set out to test the following hypotheses:

H1:   There are significant differences between rural and urban locations in the domain of newspapers, periodicals and movie-theatre attendance habits.

H2:   There are significant differences between male and female household head in terms of newspapers, periodicals and movie attendance habits. Men will engage and consume more than women in these domains.

> *H3:*   Newspaper, periodicals, movie and theatre attendance and spending on these domains is a
>   function of socio-economic status. The level of income, education and occupational status is
>   positively related to reading activity, movie-theatre and concert attendance and as well as
>   real spending patterns on these domains.

According to many studies (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Erickson, 1996), educational attainment is one of the most important factors that distinguish people's cultural consumption. According to Bourdieu (1979/1984), educational levels or cultural capital are more important than income in predicting cultural taste. Although income is a crucial variable, results of some other studies show that a greater income does not necessarily imply increased spending on books, newspapers, and visits to the cinema. Nearly all research finds that education and cultural capital are among the strongest determinants because reading, and going to the cinema and theatres, requires a certain level of educational attainment. Turkey still has significant numbers of illiteracy, especially among older generations.

Although higher educational opportunities have increased for the younger generations in Turkey, only about 10% of Turkish people have access to, and graduate from, college. This may give rise to:

> *H4:*   The harder the access to higher education, the more hierarchical the artistic classification system
>   and art consumption or vice versa.

A general hypothesis that emerges is that economic disparity and the resulting unevenness in lifestyles both enhances the market for, and limits the kinds of, cultural options available in these societies by diversifying social demands for specific kinds of cultural artefacts. Conversely, it can be argued that "societies with low educational, economic and occupational disparities would lead to the establishment of largely overlapping, sub-cultural stratification, that would, in turn, enhance authentic cultural growth, both qualitatively and quantitatively" (DiMaggio, 1987, p. 444). The greater the economic inequalities within societies, the more pronounced are the differences in cultural preferences among different social classes (p. 447). Socio-economic inequality thereby fundamentally reflects on the cultural and creative industries of these societies, both by dictating the growth of cultural artefacts, as well as influencing the kinds of cultural artefacts that can grow. Art and culture may be regarded as a crucially contested site delineating the consolidation of social stratification in a society.

Part 3: Data and analytical strategy

This analysis draws on pooled data from three nationally representative cross-sectional surveys, the Household Consumption Expenditure Survey (HCES, 1994), and the 2003 and 2004 Household Budget and Income Distribution Survey (HBS) carried out by the Turkish Statistical Institute. These surveys were conducted to determine the consumption habits, types and income levels of individuals and households with respect to socio-economic status and geographical location and as a basis for policy developments. The unit of analysis in this article is household heads. The total sample size included: 26,256 household heads from 1994 and 25,920 household heads in a replication of the survey for 2003. A smaller sample size of 8600 household heads for 2004 was also included in the analysis. The total sample size used in this study was 60,766 household heads, living in urban and rural settlements in Turkey during the years 1994, 2003 and 2004, and covering the entire country. A stratified multi-stage systematic cluster sampling method was used in three different surveys (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2003).

The Turkish Statistical Institute conducted these surveys from January 1 to December 31 of 1994, 2003 and 2004 at urban and rural settlements. The sampling frame was all households

within the border of the republic of Turkey. Settlements where the population was 20,001 and over were taken as urban and 20,000 and under were taken as rural (Devlet Istatistik Enstitusu, 1994). Collected available raw data from these three years are available for researchers in the central office of the Turkish Statistical Institute.[1]

Variables

Six different dependent variables were used to measure leisure and cultural consumption patterns. The first three from the 1994 and 2003 surveys asked household heads the following questions:

(1) Is there a habit of reading a daily newspaper in your household?
(2) Is there a habit of reading weekly and monthly magazines and journals in your household?
(3) Does anyone regularly go to the cinema and theatre in your household?

These questions use the household head as an informant for activities within the household.

The last three variables refer to financial expenditure on leisure time and cultural consumption in each of the data sets. In particular, the fourth and fifth variables are a summation of general expenditure patterns in leisure and culture. These included expenditure on such items as video cassette recorders, compact discs, televisions, antennas, computer games, computers, optical tools, musical instruments, toys, hobbies, sports, cinema, concerts and museums, zoos, vacation packages and international travel. The last variable assessed spending patterns on specific cultural items: movies, theatres, newspapers, books, journals and concerts.

In summary, the first three variables measured cultural consumption and the last three measured actual expenditures on leisure and cultural consumption. All spending was recorded in Turkish Lira.

There were some minor differences between the 1994, 2003 and 2004 data. While the 1994 survey was not suited to the analysis of specific items, it was possible to analyse expenditures related to specific items with the 2003 and 2004 surveys. Also, the first three variables were not investigated in the 2004 data. Since the first three variables were categorical, the logistic model was selected, and, for the last three continuous variables, multiple regression analysis was utilized to measure the impact of each variable.

Independent variables of this study were income, education, occupation, sector (private vs. public), gender, and rural vs. urban. The occupations used in this study were formed according to Manza and Brooks' (1999) four assumptions – differences between employers and employed; those who are educated and those who are not; manual and non-manual labourers and, lastly, those who possess organizational power (i.e., managers and administrators) and those who do not. Manza and Brooks' occupational framework allows us combine and synthesize both status attainment tradition (Blau et al., 1985) and class analysis (Wright, 1985, 1996). Finally, the self-employed category is separated from the self-employed white-collar category and put under professional occupation. Nine per cent of the sample is illiterate and the modal educational category is primary school; 20% were educated to high school level and 7% at college and above. The most prominent occupation among sampled respondents is within the self-employed category. All the other occupational categories represented in the samples constitute 5–7% of the total. Nine per cent of the household heads sampled were female. Roughly 30% of the samples are rural. There are five income categories divided by quintiles.

Part 4: Results

Logistic regression was used to predict if there are any household members who regularly read daily newspapers, journals and magazines, and attend movies and theatres. Incomes were

divided into quintiles. Junior high school education, professionalism, male household heads, those working in the public sector and urban locations were used as control variables. Negative signs in the tables correspond to probability of not having regularly engaged in those activities.

With respect to the habit of reading daily newspapers, Table 1 indicates that those with income levels below the bottom 80% (fourth quintile) read daily newspapers less often than those in the top fifth. In terms of the year, the rates of reading daily newspapers significantly dropped in 2003 compared to 1994. The odds of newspaper reading was 17% (i.e., $1 - 0.829 = 0.17$), which means respondents in 2003, compared to 1994, were 17% less likely to read daily newspapers. Education seemed to have the strongest effect on daily newspaper reading. By controlling for secondary school education (8 years of schooling), those who had over 8 years' education were significantly more likely to read newspapers, whereas those with fewer years of education were less likely to read newspapers. In short, I found that those in the top income quintile, those with over 8 years' education, college/university and graduate degree holders, clericals, technicians and associate professionals were more likely to read daily newspapers. Conversely, the probability of readership was lower for those with below 8 years of education, service

Table 1. Logistic regression result: daily newspapers (1994–2003).

Independent variables	Estimate (β)	Exp. (β)	SE
Constant	−0.480****	0.619	0.054
Income (bottom 20%)	−1.737****	0.176	0.063
Income (bottom 40%)	−1.202****	0.301	0.048
Income (bottom 60%)	−0.930****	0.395	0.041
Income (bottom 80%)	−0.534****	0.586	0.036
Year (2003)	−0.187****	0.829	0.030
Below elementary & no schooling	−1.342****	0.268	0.097
Elementary school	−0.532****	0.588	0.045
High school	0.373****	1.452	0.048
College	1.120****	3.064	0.056
Graduate	2.001****	7.399	0.184
Managers & administrators	−0.221****	0.802	0.057
Technicians, associate professionals & clericals	−0.109	0.897	0.060
Service workers	−0.135	0.874	0.078
Farmers	−0.529****	0.589	0.066
Trade and sale	−0.425****	0.654	0.059
Blue collar	−1.116****	0.328	0.107
Casual employees	−0.583****	0.558	0.061
Employers	0.354****	1.424	0.065
Self-employed	−0.240****	0.787	0.045
Private	−0.215****	0.807	0.040
Female	0.132*	1.141	0.058
Rural	−0.605	0.546	0.041
−2 log likelihood	34,762		
Chi-square	8161****		
Nagelkerke R square	0.259		
Overall percentage	86.5		
Degree of freedom	1		
Number of cases	51,950		

$^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{****}p < 0.0001$.
Probability modelled is $n = 1$.
Model = $\text{Log}P/(1-P) = \beta0 + \beta1(\text{income}) + \beta2(\text{year}) + \beta3(\text{education}) + \beta4(\text{occupation}) + \beta5(\text{sector}) + \beta6(\text{gender}) + \beta7(\text{rural vs. urban})$.
Excluded categories: Top 80% 5th quintile, year of 1994, secondary school, professionals, public sector, male household head and urban variables used as control variables.

workers, agricultural workers, trade sale, machine operators, elementary occupation holders, self-employed people, employers and those who worked in private sectors and lived in rural locations.

In Table 2, I found similar patterns in regard to periodical readership, with some notable differences. Periodical reading increased 8% from 1994 to 2003 (i.e., $1 - 0.921 = 0.8$). Income, high school, college and graduate degrees continued to have a strong positive effect on the likelihood of reading journals. Those in occupational categories such as managers or administrators, employers and self-employed people were as likely as professional groups to read journals. Female household heads continued to read more journals than male household heads; and rural inhabitants were less likely to read compared to urban dwellers in periodicals and journal reading.

Table 3 shows that movie and theatre attendance doubled between 1994 and 2003. The data indicated that the pattern of going out to movies and theatres was related to higher income, educational attainment at high school or above, managers and administrators, technicians and associate professionals, clericals, employers and self-employed people, female household heads and urban residents.

Table 2. Logistic regression results: periodicals (1994–2003).

Independent variables	Estimate (β)	Exp. (β)	SE
Constant	2.717****	0.66	0.116
Income (bottom 20%)	−1.822****	0.162	0.156
Income (bottom 40%)	−1.537****	0.215	0.124
Income (bottom 60%)	−1.063****	0.346	0.092
Income (bottom 80%)	−0.669****	0.512	0.070
Year (2003)	−0.083	0.921	0.060
Below elementary & no schooling	−1.182****	0.334	0.239
Elementary school	−0.538****	0.584	0.111
High school	0.516****	1.675	0.108
College	1.350****	3.858	0.110
Graduate	1.944****	6.983	0.198
Managers & administrators	0.093	1.097	0.091
Technicians, associate professionals & clericals	−0.066	0.936	0.114
Service workers	−0.102	0.903	0.151
Farmers	−1.149****	0.317	0.272
Trade and sale	−0.657****	0.518	0.153
Blue collar	−0.410***	0.663	0.152
Casual employees	−0.632****	0.531	0.153
Employers	0.096	1.101	0.128
Self-employed	−0.091	0.913	0.093
Private	−0.049	0.952	0.075
Female	0.729****	2.073	0.099
Rural	−0.357****	0.700	0.088
−2 log likelihood	10,885		
Chi-square	2444****		
Nagelkerke R square	0.203		
Overall percentage	97.2		
Degree of freedom	1		
Number of cases	51,950		

$^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{****}p < 0.0001$.
Probability modelled is $j = 1$.
Model $= \mathrm{Log}P/(1-P) = \beta 0 + \beta 1(\text{income}) + \beta 2(\text{year}) + \beta 3(\text{education}) + \beta 4(\text{occupation}) + \beta 5(\text{sector}) + \beta 6(\text{gender}) + \beta 7(\text{rural vs. urban})$.
Excluded categories: Top 80% 5th quintile, year of 1994, secondary school, professionals, public sector, male household head and urban variables used as control variables.

The results of the three logistic analyses reveal that greater income, those with education above junior high school level, associate professionals, clericals, employers and administrators (corresponding to white-collar occupations), and female household heads were more likely to read daily newspapers, periodicals, magazines, go to movies and attend the theatre. It seems that "highbrow" cultural activities were conditioned by higher socio-economic status. There were especially strong positive associations between educational degrees and cultural habits. In summary, the more income and education a respondent had, and whose occupation can be categorized as white-collar, the higher the probabilities of engaging in cultural and leisure activities. However, education had more impact than income and other structural variables. Therefore, education was unmediated by other social factors.

As the coefficients and log odds in the logit tables show, educational level is a better predictor than income, occupation and other socio-economic factors. For example, for the 1 year increase in educational level, the odds of habitually reading newspapers, journals and magazines, or attending movies and theatres increases by a factor of 1.45, 1.67, 1.84 for high school degree holders,

Table 3. Logistic regression results: Movies and theatre attendance (1994–2003).

Independent variables	Estimate (β)	Exp. (β)	SE
Constant	−2.923****	0.054	0.110
Income (bottom 20%)	−1.640****	0.194	0.125
Income (bottom 40%)	−1.487****	0.226	0.107
Income (bottom 60%)	−1.191****	0.304	0.086
Income (bottom 80%)	−0.715****	0.489	0.064
Year (2003)	0.689****	1.992	0.057
Below elementary & no schooling	−0.820****	0.461	0.197
Elementary school	−0.421****	0.656	0.101
High school	0.614****	1.848	0.097
College	1.379****	3.971	0.102
Graduate	2.062****	7.860	0.185
Managers & administrators	−0.102	0.903	0.089
Technicians, associate professionals & clericals	0.108	1.114	0.101
Service workers	−0.330*	0.719	0.142
Farmers	−0.325*	0.722	0.127
Trade and sale	−0.272*	0.762	0.117
Blue collar	−1.109****	0.330	0.250
Casual employees	−0.687****	0.503	0.146
Employers	0.178	1.195	0.132
Self-employed	−0.026	0.974	0.086
Private	−0.124	0.883	0.068
Female	0.953****	2.594	0.085
Rural	−1.078****	0.340	0.101
−2 log likelihood	12,651		
Chi-square	3282****		
Nagelkerke R square	0.232		
Overall percentage	96.5		
Degree of freedom	1		
Number of cases	51,950		

$^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{****}p < 0.0001$.
Probability modelled is $m = 1$.
Model = $\text{Log}P/(1-P) = \beta0 + \beta1(\text{income}) + \beta2(\text{year}) + \beta3(\text{education}) + \beta4(\text{occupation}) + \beta5(\text{sector}) + \beta6(\text{gender}) + \beta7(\text{rural vs. urban})$.
Excluded categories: Top 80% 5th quintile, year of 1994, secondary school, professionals, public sector, male household head and urban variables used as control variables.

3.06, 3.85, 3.97 for college and university degree holders, and 7.4, 6.98 and 7.9 for graduate degree holders, holding all other independent variables constant.

Spending on cultural consumption

In the second part of the analysis, three consumption categories related to real spending patterns on entertainment, "leisure and cultural activities" were analysed. Table 4 shows a comparison of expenditure within the general category of entertainment and culture which includes all such entertainment and cultural items such as spending on books, journals, newspapers, movies, theatres, museums, concerts, sports games, hobbies, toys, cameras, musical instruments, vacation packages, computers and so on. In this part, I examined how leisure, cultural and entertainment items vary across different socio-economic status in Turkey. This is accomplished by using an ordinary least square estimation (OLS).

In Table 4 income, high school, college/university and graduate degree holders, employers and those employed in private sectors spent more on entertainment, leisure and cultural products than others. There were no differences between rural and urban, and gender. In 2003, spending in this category significantly increased in comparison to the 1994 data.

Table 4. Multiple regression results of spending in leisure, entertainment and cultural products (1994–2003).

Independent variables	Coefficients (β)	SE	T
Constant	3870361**	1447532	2.674
Income (below 20%)	−9685420****	1158862	−8.358
Income (between 21% to 40%)	−9804142****	1111007	−8.825
Income (between 41% to 60%)	−9623265****	1064736	−9.038
Income (between 61% to 80%)	−8628379****	1013265	−8.515
Year (2003)	20000000****	781889	31.229
Below elementary & no schooling	1421374	16903215	0.847
Elementary school	351680.8	1164651	0.302
High school	3474673**	1338483	2.596
College	20000000****	1662639	11.192
Graduate	9.00E+07****	5221287	18.086
Managers & administrators	−3545766*	1756242	−2.019
Technicians, associate professionals & clericals	−894932	1724937	−0.519
Service workers	−1452776	2167272	−0.670
Farmers	−2331010	1530164	−1.520
Trade sale	165418.2	1348030	0.123
Blue collar	−3677863*	1831706	−2.008
Casual employees	−730782	1270847	−0.575
Employers	−1670390	1802298	−0.927
Self-employed	4771306****	1024383	4.658
Private	3785734****	957111	3.955
Female	708948	1315320	0.539
Rural	−723562	828770	−0.873
Adjusted R square	5%		
Number of cases	51,950		
F	97		

$^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{****}p < 0.0001$.

EXP $= \beta0 + \beta1(\text{income}) + \beta2(\text{year}) + \beta3(\text{education}) + \beta4(\text{occupation}) + \beta5(\text{sector}) + \beta6(\text{gender}) + \beta7(\text{rural}$ vs. urban$) +$ E.

Excluded categories: Top 80% 5th quintile, year of 1994, secondary school, professionals, public sector, male household head and urban variables used as control variables.

Table 5 presents a further comparison of the spending patterns in the general category of entertainment, leisure and cultural products between 2003 and 2004. Examining 2003 data alone and using professionals, education above junior high school, public sector employment, male household heads and urban residence as reference categories, on the basis of the monthly earning of respondents in this study, it appears that high school, college/university and graduate degree holders spent significantly more on entertainment than the rest.

Table 6 presents more specific spending patterns as related to books, journals, newspapers, movies, theatre and concerts. There was no specific item in the 1994 data, which included combinations of all spending related to entertainment, leisure and cultural consumption. However, it was possible to detect spending on single cultural items such as books in the 2003 and 2004 data through nested item numbers. The main determinant of spending patterns are income, high school education level plus and female household headship.

In summary, being in a white-collar occupation and living in urban centres increases the likelihood of reading and attendance at movie-theatres, but for actual spending on these domains they do not exert significant influence. Only education and to a lesser extent income have continued statistically significant systematic impact on cultural choice and spending on cultural consumption. These results support the thesis that educational attainment or cultural capital is more important than income in predicting cultural consumption which support Bourdieu's (1979/1984) claim. Similarly, the results can also be interpreted according to DiMaggio's (DiMaggio & Useem, 1978) thesis in that as the rate of access to higher education will become easier for the majority as the country advances in the coming decades, cultural preferences

Table 5. Multiple regression results of spending in leisure, entertainment and cultural products (2003–2004).

Independent variables	Coefficients (β)	SE	T
Constant	1779551	5352775	0.332
Income	0.017****	0.001	17.900
Year (2004)	7253577****	1989869	3.645
Below elementary & no schooling	651292	4776416	0.303
High school	6151259*	3214598	0.056
College	30000000****	4016318	8.709
Graduate	1.E+08****	9808954	12.630
Managers & administrators	2100214	5648365	0.372
Technicians, associate professionals & clericals	−964018	4866194	−0.198
Service workers	−2971875	4755097	−0.625
Farmers	−1844471	3734587	−0.494
Trade and sale	−2466426	3809716	−0.647
Blue collar	20000000	20000000	1.114
Casual employees	−1800309	3793832	−0.475
Employers	1813915	3739939	0.485
Self-employed	−3270831	2691814	−1.215
Private	−2030370	2749559	−0.738
Female	166964	3408872	0.049
Rural	2907875	2336813	−0.873
Adjusted R square	5%		
Number of cases	34,520		
F	46		

*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$, ****$p < 0.0001$.
EXP = $\beta0 + \beta1$(income) + $\beta2$(year) + $\beta3$(education) + $\beta4$(occupation) + $\beta5$(sector) + $\beta6$(gender) + $\beta7$(rural   vs. urban) + E.
Excluded categories: Top 80% 5th quintile, year of 1994, secondary school, professionals, public sector, male household head and urban variables used as control variables.

Table 6. Multiple regression results of spending patterns on movies, theatre, newspapers, books, journals and concerts between 2003 and 2004.

Independent variables	Coefficients (β)	SE	T
Constant	61837	2421709	0.026
Income	0.006****	0	14.792
Year (2004)	5179161****	1051191	4.927
Below elementary & no schooling	−1223292	2634171	−0.522
Elementary school	188135	1247215	0.151
High school	3794530***	1296014	2.928
College	10000000****	1522245	6.584
Graduate	2.E+07****	2842214	6.166
Managers & administrators	1547181	1886797	0.820
Technicians, associate professionals & clericals	1883359	1662002	1.133
Service workers	−744974	1730914	−0.430
Farmers	−1020779	1472019	−0.693
Trade and sale	−240470	1461828	−0.164
Blue collar	1000000	8112768	1.821
Casual employees	−1757389	1707618	−1.029
Employers	−844061	1395794	−0.693
Self-employed	−1440962	1168982	−1.233
Private	−3323108	1008744	−3.294
Female	5455081****	1479447	3.687
Rural	1328029	1075044	1.235
Adjusted R square	13%		
Number of cases	34,520		
F	46		

$^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{****}p < 0.0001$.
EXP = $\beta0 + \beta1$(income) $+ \beta2$(year) $+ \beta3$(education) $+ \beta4$(occupation) $+ \beta5$(sector) $+ \beta6$(gender) $+ \beta7$(rural   vs. urban) $+$ E.
Excluded categories: Top 80% 5th quintile, year of 1994, secondary school, professionals, public sector, male household head and urban variables used as control variables.

among people will become less hierarchical. The cause of limited cultural preferences and consumption for lower educational status groups is related to low levels of educational attainment.

The probability of reading newspapers, periodicals, journals and attending movie-theatres and actual consumption on these domains is higher for female than for male household heads.

In this article, for the social class variables, I combined status attainment and class analysis and came up with 10 different occupations. The results suggest that there is clear overlap between classes and declared cultural preferences but when it comes to spending on selected cultural items there were no class differences. In terms of sector variations, there were no clear distinctions among the analysed domain.

Finally, in the decade from 1994 to 2004, we found an 8% increase in the reading of magazines, periodicals and journals and an almost 100% increase in movie-theatre attendance. But newspaper readership showed 17% decrease over the decade. Since the 1990s, many television channels have opened that also provide 24 hour news, and the spread of the Internet might be the cause of the decrease in newspaper readership, but public trust in newspapers has also waned and, according to public surveys, only 20–25% of people stated that they trusted newspapers in Turkey.

As a final stage in the analysis, I examined interactions between gender (female), urban vs. rural residence, education and year.[2] Most of the statistically significant interactions reflect differences in newspaper reading. Women from rural areas are much less likely to read newspapers than their urban counterparts; women with elementary education levels are less

likely to read newspapers than those with secondary education; and women were less likely to read newspapers in 1994 compared with 2003. There are no differences across these categories in cinema attendance or journal reading, and no statistically significant differences in spending on culture and entertainment. In short, the major difference between women across years, urban/rural settings and education levels occurs in reading newspapers.

Conclusion and discussion

Results obtained from cross-sectional data gave me the opportunity to make the following generalizations.

First is the difference between habit or declared preferences and actual spending patterns on leisure and cultural domains. The net findings of logistic regression analysis on newspaper, book and magazine reading, cinema and theatre attendance indicate that education and white-collar occupations (associate professionals and technicians, clericals, managers, administrators and employers) generally gave significant positive results, in contrast to the negative statistically significant outcomes for occupations with low income, education and manual categories. There was an obvious difference between the urban and rural. However in the case of real expenditures, occupations and the rural/urban difference disappeared and only educational status and income level were found to be highly influential. When declared cultural habits were considered, the findings showed a clear socio-economic difference in cultural consumption. However, real expenditures on these areas were not affected by occupation, except for employers. Only education and income level produced a clear difference. But the magnitude of co-efficients in all six variables, as the tables display, show that education had a greater impact than income in distinguishing people on their cultural preferences and spending on them.

Second, households with female heads engaged more in "highbrow" consumption, compared to households with male heads. Females tended to participate and spent more than males in cultural areas like books, magazines, cinema and theatre. Contrary to the expectation that women would consume fewer cultural products than males in a relatively traditional society, women, in fact, are inclined to consume and participate more than men. This result is consistent with the studies of Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000), Gerro (1999), Lamont and Fournier (1992), and Lamont, Schmalzbauer, Waller, and Weber (1996). The results of this analysis also indicate that in Turkey women tend to participate in high culture more than men.

Education, and to a lesser extent income, seem to be the most important factors in cultural consumption. When "highbrow" cultural consumption is compared among different socio-economic groups in Turkey, a country where the traditional and modern lifestyles co-exist, cultural consumption can be seen to be concentrated in households above a certain educational and income level. For the rest, since their income and education level is relatively low, the only option for cultural and leisure consumption may be watching television. Evidently this could be a reason why Turkey is among those countries with the highest rates of television viewership. People with lower socio-economic status in Turkey may not consume cultural goods or activities besides television. Those who experience a life change through education begin to engage in more diversified cultural consumption. In general, the data indicate that leisure and cultural consumption tend to be stratified by educational and to a lesser extent income level and white-collar occupations.

The results of this study do not support the thesis that cultural consumption and entertainment are individualized. The findings indicate support for Bourdieu's (1979/1984) thesis that especially education, income and, to a lesser extent, occupations that correspond to upper middle class have a statistically significant influence on leisure and cultural consumption.

However, in order to learn whether this group forms a social class based on its leisure and cultural consumption, more analysis is required. The results of this article have established that upper level socio-economic groups engage significantly more on all cultural consumption items. Therefore, the next step is to determine what kind of books and periodicals they read and what kind of movies they watch, whether certain genres or types of books and periodicals are read more frequently by all groups, or if each group differs in the types of materials they read.

Acknowledgement

Notes

1. http://www.tuik.gov.tr (retrieved 12 August 2009).
2. The results are not shown, but are available from the author.

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