

The Working Class Culture in Bursa

Kemal TEMEL¹ , Şenol BAŞTÜRK² 

¹Dr., Bursa Uludag University, Vocational School of Social Sciences, Bursa, Türkiye

²Assoc. Prof. Dr., Bursa Uludag University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Bursa, Türkiye

Corresponding author : Kemal TEMEL

E-mail : kemaltemel@uludag.edu.tr

ABSTRACT

The steady increase in the number of wage earners in Turkey during the last 20 years has brought social expansion of middle-class and working-class groups to the agenda. In the relevant period, forms of labor market stratification became more visible. Widespread flexibility practices, such as subcontracting, have diminished secure employment. The emergence of new types of employment, especially the expansion of employment in the service sector, has also significantly affected social structure transformations. Studies that addressed developments in social transformation from class-cultural perspective have focused more on middle-class groups. This study examines Turkish working-class culture from a class-cultural perspective. Adopting a neo-Bourdieuian class approach, this study analyses the transformations in lifestyles, tastes and voting behaviors of the working class in three different regions of Bursa. The study claims that different social and material conditions of existence spatially differentiate working-class culture. The results of the survey research conducted in Bursa in 2022 were analyzed by multiple correspondence (MCA) analysis. The results of this research show that independent variables such as workers' social background, education level, material earnings and differences in property relations construct spatial and cultural differentiation.

Keywords: Working Class Culture, Cultural Class Analysis, Tastes, Lifestyle, Bursa

Submitted : 01.05.2024

Revision Requested : 09.06.2024

Last Revision Received : 11.06.2024

Accepted : 13.06.2024

Published Online : 07.10.2024



This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0)

1. Introduction

Studies of the first generation, which integrated the concept of culture into the exploration of class relationships, predominantly concentrated on the perpetuation of social inequalities and practices of resistance (Williams, 1960; Dunk, 1991; Foley, 2007; Willis, 2016; Hoggart, 2021). These studies, which were rooted in the framework of cultural Marxism, focused exclusively on the conflict dynamics within working-class culture. The study of working-class culture placed significant emphasis on class practices, which formed the basis for many intellectual myths, such as pure class consciousness, solidaristic values, and collective struggle. Nevertheless, the global shift in labor-capital dynamics hindered the collectivist inclinations observed in subsequent studies from the late 1970s onwards. The diverse consequences of flexible organizational structures in labor markets have had a transformative impact on the material and social circumstances of the working class. Subsequently, the appearance of novel precarious positions in labor markets has resulted in heterogeneous social roles within the working class (Entin, 2021). The employment prospects for workers in blue-collar occupations have experienced a decline; there has been a noticeable divergence in the experiences of low, middle, and high categories within the service sector; and the emergence of new forms of precarious employment has led to a transformation in class relations. The concept of culture in working-class studies has experienced a retreat due to this profound transformation.

Nonetheless, research conducted within specific regions over the past few decades (Devine, 1992; Skeggs, 1997; Savage et. al., 2005; Vester, 2005) has revealed that the working-class culture has not vanished entirely but has rather experienced some form of transformation (Flemmen et.al., 2017; Streib, 2021). A group of researchers known as new-generation class theorists (Botero, 2004) have admitted a transformation in the collective relations within the social conditions of workers. Additionally, they maintained the viewpoint that the unique social presence of class cultures has not disappeared (Savage, 2016). Researchers who adhere to culturalist approaches in class studies, heavily influenced by the ideas of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, tend to focus their analysis of class culture on the concepts of lifestyle and tastes.

Likewise, there has been a surge in the number of studies dedicated to the culturalist approach in class studies conducted within the context of Turkey (Üstüner & Hold, 2010; Rankin et.al., 2014; Karademir Hazır, 2014a; 2016). However, the primary focus of these studies was on the middle class and its practices of distinction¹. Limited studies have been conducted on class-cultural distinctions among workers and how spatial differences are manifested (Alemdaroğlu, 2017). Studies have infrequently recognized spatial disparities among workers and the social mechanisms that shape them (Temel, 2023). However, an examination of the socio-spatial variances in working-class culture could offer insights into the emergence of developments within each class culture characterized by distinct spatial attributes. For example, stating that responses to a succession of questions such as "how can local socio-spatial conditions affect class cultures?", "why is a working-class culture in a specific locality different from other working-class cultures in different localities in the same city?" "which social conditions are creating convergences and divergences between spatial?" are established upon the analysis of specific components of class culture. The objective of this study is to explore these types of questions and contribute to the examination of working-class lifestyles and socio-spatial distribution in Turkey by employing the Bursa case as a lens.

As the emblematic city of industrialization in Turkey, Bursa² is our focal point for examining working-class culture from a neo-Bourdiesian perspective³. The primary focus of this study is to explore the connection between neo-Bourdiesian theory and socio-spatial differences. In addition, in this study, two main hypotheses have been identified. According to the first hypothesis, the working-class culture is not a homogeneous construct and displays heterogeneous attributes. Second, variations within class do not generate cultural disintegration among the working class (Beck, 2019; Giddens, 2019). It is still possible to discern unique cultural characteristics specific to the working class that are distinct from those of other social classes. The primary objective of this study is to examine the socio-spatial distribution of the working-class lifestyle in the three central districts of Bursa (Yıldırım, Osmangazi

¹ Skeggs (1992, p.66) asserted that research on working-class culture has utilized the working class as a frame of reference to expose discriminatory practices prevalent in the middle class.

² There are two crucial factors that play a role in choosing to study Bursa as a research field. A notable feature that sets Bursa apart from other Turkish cities is its historical connection to industrialization and proletarianization. Bursa witnessed significant advancement in the initial stages of the Turkish union movement. For instance, the first legal strike occurred in Bursa in 1963. Additionally, Bursa labor markets exhibit distinct features, such as relatively high union membership rates and the prevalence of secure industrial jobs, distinguishing them from other regions in Turkey. According to official statistics, the total number of union members in Bursa was nearly 120,000 in 2019. This figure corresponds to an almost 17% rate, which is noticeably higher than those of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir.

³ The study of the working class in Turkey has been heavily influenced by the Marxist tradition. The primary focus of this approach lies in class consciousness and solidarity-oriented organizational practices among working-class communities. This research paradigm consists of two strands. The first set of studies focuses primarily on the erosion of culture within the working class, indicating the rise of an ethnicity-driven cultural environment as opposed to one based on social class. The other arm challenges the thesis that cultural dissolution occurs (Arslan, 2017; Öztürk, 2018). The worker class is interpreted from a substantialist perspective with a belief in the homogenous nature of the working class. For them, it is possible to determine whether the working class has maintained its collectivist inclinations and solidaristic in-group connections (Coşkun, 2013; Gündoğdu, 2023).

and Nilüfer). The first part of this research focuses on the discussions regarding the interdependence of working-class culture, socio-spatial variances, and tastes. The latter section emphasized the emergence of the working class in Bursa and explored the mechanisms through which socio-spatial discrepancies contribute to variations within the working class. Next, the study will outline the hypothesis and provide details pertaining to the research inquiries and survey methodology adopted, which encompassed a total of 15 distinct neighborhoods situated within Bursa during the year 2022. The data obtained from the survey will be analyzed using the methods of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) in the final section. In conclusion, this study highlights the unique cultural composition of representatives of the Turkish working-class in Bursa.

2. The Working Class and Their Culture

What is the class culture? Is there a culture unique to a particular social class? How can culture change across classes? How can we theorize the relationship between culture and class? These topics have recently been prominent in discussions within social class debates and culture studies recently (Paterson & Kern, 1996; Savage, et al., 2005; Flemmen et al., 2017, Hoggart, 2021; Streib, 2021; Metzgar, 2021; Jensen, 2021; Attfield, 2021; Entin, 2021). The notion of culture pertains to the ideas that individuals conduct in their social existence (Streib, 2021). The inquiry into the nature of social classes reveals that culture is a fundamental factor in distinguishing them. Analyzing class culture involves making sociology to understand the material possessions and daily practices of individuals (Bourdieu, 2019, p.197).

Since its beginnings, sociology has emphasized the study of working-class culture (Strangleman, 2021, p.227). Early research on working-class culture primarily focused on income inequality and nonmaterial disadvantages. In the subsequent phase, researchers aimed to elucidate aspects of working-class culture. During this phase, historians, rather than sociologists, demonstrated academic interest in the culture of the working class. The cultural history studies of Thompson, a notable figure among English Marxist historians, have been increasingly recognized. The work of Thompson, specifically titled *The Making of the English Working Class*, has had a significant impact on social scientists as it effectively illustrates the vibrant and dynamic lives of the working class. The contributions of English Marxist historians have played a significant role in expanding our understanding of culture. Concurrently, they have paved the way for defining social classes by integrating cultural elements and practices. Specifically, Thompson defended his work by approaching the notion of class through the inclusivity of culture and prioritizing life experiences in a comprehensive manner (Erbaş, 2017, p.16; Wright, 2017c, p.352), and he attempted to integrate an ontological concept of culture into class theory (Foley, 2007, p.265). In essence, the importance of culture lies in its ability to cultivate common interests among workers or sharpen class consciousness. As an illustration, Williams (1960, p.44) posited in his work "*Culture and Society*" that the culture of the working class should be regarded as an act of resistance against dominant norms.

Cultural analysis was a focal point in class research conducted from 1940 to 1970 (Williams, 1990; Thompson, 2010; Willis, 2016; Hoggart, 2021). However, the increasing attention given to cultural studies was limited to ongoing debates on subjectivity and consciousness, as well as the solidarity types associated with organizing political action aimed at challenging the adverse conditions imposed by capitalist structures (Savage et al., 2005, p.97). There is no doubt that the works of Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams were the main focus of attention. The Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, which was initially established by Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall, quickly gained recognition and became a significant reference point for studies on class and culture (Webster, 2004; Turner, 2016).

The school has firmly rejected the idea of disconnecting culture from material life and strongly advocated for establishing a connection between society and the economy. Scholars from the Birmingham school integrated Marxist analysis into cultural studies (Kellner, 2016, p.141), asserting that examining class culture would yield insights into the cultural reproduction and cultural resist of economic classes (Foley, 2007, p.272). This comprehension defines class culture on the margins of resistance, specifically targeting the political and economic structures responsible for social inequalities. According to this analysis, the working class exhibits a collective cultural response to the conditions imposed by capitalist social norms (Bennet, 2018, p.54). If working-class culture can generate counter-cultural practices, encompassing food-eating preferences to the development of alternative language as a means to challenge hegemonic cultural practices, it should be acknowledged as a distinct class culture (Coşkun, 2017, p.47). In essence, the importance of culture lies in its ability to cultivate common interests among workers or sharpen class consciousness. As an illustration, Williams (1960, p.44) posited in his work "*Culture and Society*" that the culture of the working class should be regarded as an act of resistance against dominant norms. He maintained the perspective that the cultural practices of the working class were significantly distinct from the individualistic tendencies of bourgeois culture,

resulting in the formation of solidaristic social ties (Williams, 1960, p.344). The same arguments were espoused in Hoggart's book, *The uses of literacy: Aspects of working-class life* (2021, p.56) maintained that the existence of a unique culture and the tastes of workers represented a clear dissent toward the cultural milieu of the bourgeoisie.

The cultural studies conducted by the Birmingham School did not aim to assess the lifestyles of different social classes and positions. While followers of Hoggart inherited their understanding of cultural projects, their attention soon turned to the influence of popular culture and mass media on the working class and society at large. Nevertheless, Willis's publication, *Learning to Labor: How Working-Class Kids Get Working-Class Jobs*, continued to investigate solidaristic practices within the working class. His main emphasis was on labor markets and the institutional power of the school, with a comprehensive analysis of the role of culture in the reproduction of inequalities. Furthermore, he concluded that ultimately, an optimistic outlook was provided regarding the radical political response within the working-class culture (Skeggs, 1992, p.187). In sum, Marxist theoreticians who made room for culture in class theory defined culture as daily life practices used to resist natural positions within the capitalist social hierarchy.⁴

The working-class culture in literature has received less attention since the Birmingham School. However, the portrayal of working-class culture in literature is often seen as a complex structure. The retreat of working-class culture studies can be attributed to a decrease in the tendency among social actors to define social positions solely based on class. Additionally, there has been an increase in social attitudes that reflect contradictory class locations. The debate surrounding claims of class dissolution has specifically raised uncertainties regarding class as a distinct social entity. This assertion was founded on the rising middle class theory, which posited that the rise in workers' living standards brought about by unionization and a society characterized by "full employment," was observed. In particular, the research conducted by Goldthorpe on the relationship between class culture and the voting preferences of workers in Luton has triggered discussions on the concept of "affluent workers," highlighting the noticeable similarities between workers' lifestyles and bourgeois culture.

Furthermore, these prominent arguments underscored the detrimental consequences of the neoliberal era, encompassing the diminishing presence of manual workers in employment, the decline in real wages, and the deterioration of working conditions. These conditions extended the conceptual uncertainties surrounding the social significance of the working class; beyond these debates, it prompted the questioning of all underlying assumptions related to the concept of class. The decline in industrial employment patterns and the simultaneous improvement in standards of living and education among the salariat in Western capitalism have resulted in a prioritization of research on the "middle classes" (Goldthorpe et al., 1979; Wright, 2016; 2017). The most prominent outcome of the "class crisis" in the social sciences is the evident decline in research on "working-class culture." Postmodern theorists and critics have argued that the concept of class can be undermined by the presence of "cultural" elements. Furthermore, their belief was that societal differentiation was intricately linked to the formation of personal identity (Bauman, 2000; Bell, 2013; Beck, 2019; Giddens, 2019). Certain phenomena, such as the growth of cultural forms in identities or the establishment of lifestyles through cultural objects and symbols from the cultural industry, have contributed to the shift toward the examination of "culture" instead of "class" in sociological analysis of late modernity. Concurrently, the Birmingham school's attention shifted away from the "cultural analysis of class" (Hall, 2017). During this period, the school's studies focused more on gender, race, ethnicity, sex, and national identity than on class (Kellner, 2016; Webster, 2004).

However, starting in the 1990s, particularly in the United Kingdom, there was a resurgence of research on class culture (Wynne, 1990; Skeggs, 1997; Reay, 1998). It should be acknowledged that only a minor portion of these (Devine, 1992; Skeggs, 1997) endeavors redirected their attention toward the working-class culture. The primary concept shared among these works is the refusal to accept the argument regarding the dissolution of the working class. Furthermore, they persisted in their belief in the functional aptitude of the class concept to measure social differentiation. In addition, they adopted theoretical positions that challenged the conventional interpretation of class analysis. Conventional analysis relies on sets of structure-consciousness-action and the concept of culture viewed as a "dependent variable," as well as the economy seen as an "independent variable." In contrast, new-generation class theorists perceived the "culture" as essential elements in their analysis (Hazır, 2014, p.234). Furthermore, new-generation class theorists have taken into consideration not only economic resources. Their suggestion is to incorporate material conditions of existence into the analysis, considering social resources such as education and cultural consumption. They found the works of Pierre Bourdieu, particularly *Distinction* (2017), highly influential. They believed that Bourdieu's argument played a

⁴ This particular disposition is observable in other neo-Marxist perspectives beyond the Birmingham school (Dunk, 1991). The notion of culture, as examined in these studies, has been characterized as a function that undertakes both a consciousness of social class and the practices of organized collective action. Despite Dunk's (1991, p.22) avoidance of romanticizing the working class, the depiction of the working class in his works assumes a dissident persona, serving as a form of resistance against the dominant culture.

significant role in broadening the understanding of social class. They adhered to the "Distinction" framework in order to formulate a novel class analysis that encompasses the "culture of class," considering tastes, lifestyles, and social spheres. In addition, their arguments extensively drew upon the core concepts of Bourdieu's sociological work, which encompassed habitus and forms of capital.

Following the 2000s, there has been a notable rise in the number of studies examining class culture, specifically with a focus on working-class culture (Devine & Savage, 2000; Devine & Savage, 2005; Savage et al., 2005; Vester, 2005; Skeggs, 2005; Charlesworth, 2007; Meier, 2022). The credit for the burgeoning academic interest in this area goes to Bourdieu's groundbreaking studies on the cultural aspects of social class (Savage, 2016, p.58). Despite this, Bourdieu's analysis only minimally focused on subclasses, specifically the working class (Swartz, 2015, p.120). In *Distinction*, Bourdieu offers a limited argument about the working class. His assertion was limited to the existence of two distinct working classes that became fragmented due to early urbanization, proletarianization, political orientations, lifestyles, and religious practices. According to Bourdieu's perspective, the working-class culture was devoid of intricacy and instead exhibited a uniform class culture influenced by the taste for basic necessities (Bourdieu, 2017, p.179). In addition, working-class culture merely served as a derogatory reference for comparison with the tastes of the upper and middle classes (Bourdieu, 2017, p.93). Despite this, advocates of the culturalist approach have once again incorporated the working class into their social analysis. The culturalist approach has yielded substantial evidence that supports the existence of working-class culture, as exemplified by the influence of class on culture and lifestyle, even in non-class-for-self situations (Flemmen et al., 2017, p.4). For this purpose, the connections between cognitive implements and objective circumstances, specifically the embodiment of habitus as both physical and cognitive expressions of class culture, have been demonstrated (Charlesworth, 2007).

Typically, distinctions based on class culture are revealed through an examination of workers' lifestyles and practices of cultural consumption using qualitative research designs. The choices, including voting preferences, daily practices, and tastes, have been analyzed to understand the existence of class culture (Devine, 1992). In spite of this, the approach has cultivated its analytical vision by giving less priority to institutional and collective factors and instead employing microperspectives (Scott, 2002, p.32). According to their perspective, class relations were believed to occur on an individual level. Furthermore, they hypothesized that stylized, symbolic conflict forms have been the center of class relations (Reay, 2011, p.2). These explanations are characterized by stylized class-based sentiments and experiences, leading to the emergence of antinomy. For example, a sense of inferiority and superiority (Meier, 2021); the discourses that generate contradictory pronoun pairs, wherein notions of "us" or "them" (Skeggs, 1997) are implicitly understood as statements regarding class culture (Bottero, 2004)⁵.

The studies conducted by cultural Marxists did not include an examination of workers' tastes and how they were categorized within their lifestyles. Neither Hoggart's (2021) nor Willis's (2016) works focused on the classificatory nature of workers' music preferences, food habits, or cultural consumption practices. In contrast, the culturalist approach views cultural manifestations of taste as powerful indicators of the independent existence of the working-class. Patterns that occur around the lifestyles of workers are the practices of producing and proclaiming their social positions (Wynne, 1990, p.34). The embodiments of tastes enable the generation of cultural practices oriented toward the middle class within the framework of changing practices. Consequently, lifestyle convergence and divergence are made possible (Wacquant, 2017, p.16). Within this context, culture is treated as a social practice embedded in interconnected social spaces and positions.

On the other hand, according to the cultural Marxist perspective, working-class culture is a socially homogeneous entity. Working-class culture is whether it exists or not. Furthermore, new-generation class theorists have rejected the inclination toward substantialism seen in traditional class frameworks, which define cultural practices as solely derived from material circumstances. Instead, they held the belief that class positions correspond to the mutual relationship between the structure of social and lifestyle spaces (Flemmen et al., 2017, p.7). Although working-class culture is distinct from other social classes, its cultural characteristics are not homogenous (Savage et al., 2005; Vester, 2005; Meier, 2021). Moreover, workers' material culture and consumption patterns are also subject to change. Especially, the comprehensive analysis conducted by Savage on the regional working-class culture in Manchester stylized the diversification within the class. Certain working-class households in the suburban area of Cheadle labeled their neighbors' tastes as lowbrow. Flemmen et al.'s (2017, p.15) research, which focused on the analysis of class-cultural differentiation in contemporary Norwegian society, presented similar findings. The working-class culture not only distinguishes itself from the upper and middle classes, but it also exhibits internal variations. The findings of Pereira's

⁵ It should be noted, however, that cultural Marxist research (Willis, 2016; Hoggart, 2021) did not specifically investigate the psycho-social origins of class consciousness; there were some hints of implicit class discourses and an awareness of social class.

(2016) research, which evaluated class cultures based on regional factors, demonstrated the correspondence between class-cultural variations and spatial variations in Porto. Therefore, Temel's (2023) research revealed that the social mechanisms influencing local working-class culture in Bursa were consistent with spatial disparities. Differentiation among workers is based on spatial and cultural strategies, where social-spatial practices are viewed as the hegemonic mechanisms that generate a social hierarchy (Temel, 2023, p.208).

In sum, the new generation of class theorists generally overlooked the social dynamics that lead to fragmentation within a class culture. Culture and differentiation have become their primary focus, while the reasons for structured inequality patterns have been relegated to a secondary role (Crompton & Scott, 2005, p.191). The general tendency to rely on qualitative research design may have resulted in a lack of awareness regarding emerging mechanisms of inequality. In addition, the nature of the classified practices and the extra focus on the existence of class culture may be other reasons⁶. In this case, it might be advantageous to prioritize the quantitative design used in studies that explore class culture from a working-class perspective. Moreover, it could prove practical to discern key categories around which workers are united. Besides, it might offer possibilities for comprehending spatial differentiation and discerning the factors influencing it among the working class. Certainly, this diversity may be linked to the notion of social class through a comparison with spatial differentiation (Erbaş, 2017).

3. Working-class in Bursa and Spatial Differentiation

The historical roots of the working class in Bursa extend beyond the chronology of Turkey's industrialization. In the 1870s, nearly 60 textile plants were established in the city, marking the early efforts toward industrialization in Turkey (Erder, 1975) and the rise of wage labor (Erengözgin, 2007, p.89). The earliest occurrences of proletarianization could be found in the residential areas that were established as worker neighborhoods within the plant zone at Gökdere or *Cilimboz Stream*. As an illustration, the majority of workers residing and working around of Gökdere were predominantly Armenian descent. Greek-descent workers were prevalent among the inhabitants surrounding the *Cilimboz Stream* (Kaygalak, 2008). Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that the early stage of capitalist production did not lead to the dissolution of crafts in Bursa.

The second quarter of the 20th century marked a crucial period of textile production-based industrialization and proletarianization in Bursa. According to the industrial census conducted in 1927, the city had a total of 3209 established workplaces with a workforce of 9886 employees. In addition, 29% of them were employed in the weaving industry. A total of 116 firms received benefits from the implementation of *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu* (The Industrial Investment Incentive Law) in 1932 in the City (Ciğerci Ulukan, 2008, p.92). The majority, around 90%, were employed as workers in the weaving industry. The opening of the Merinos Plant was a critical milestone in the proletarianization and industrialization process in Bursa during the late 1930s. The establishment of the Merinos Plant had a significant impact on the potential for improving textile production and expanding the product range. It served as the gateway to a new phase in textile production. During that same time period, a new factory called *Rayon* was established in the neighboring countryside of *Gemlik*. This development expanded Bursa textile production capabilities, ranging from yarn to ready-to-wear garments. The establishment of these new factories had a significant impact on expanding job opportunities in local labor markets and the emergence of a group of entrepreneurs (Pınarcıoğlu, 1998, p.184). Public factories, in particular, provided valuable skill development opportunities for workers who would later be employed in private textile factories. Furthermore, public factories generate network externalities by disseminating new productive techniques that private entrepreneurs imitate⁷.

To provide an example, a Dietrich weaving machine, which The Merinos plant decided to dispose of, was acquired by small weaving entrepreneurs. Subsequently, it was replicated at the Bursa Industry Bazaar, resulting in a surge in entrepreneurs and local employment opportunities within the weaving sector. The number of weaving plants in Bursa saw a significant increase from 429 in the early 1950s to 1060 in the early 1960s (İyiboğurt, 2016, p.89). Production of flannel and silk fabric in Turkey during 1959 was predominantly concentrated in Bursa, with 70% of workplaces in this industry. During this specific period, the industrial sectors had a distribution of regional total production as follows: weaving accounted for 37.89%, shoe and ready-wear accounted for 16.9%, and metal accounted for 9.57%. During the early 1970s, the emerging automotive industry relied on these small factories, which employed labor-intensive production methods, as essential infrastructure (Ciğerci Ulukan, 2008, p.97).

⁶ Flemmen et al.'s (2017) study on the constitutive categories of class culture in contemporary Norwegian society, while relying on quantitative data, perceives working class culture as a form of differentiation from other groups and is condemned for its taste of necessities.

⁷ In 1943, a total of 2200 workers, consisting of 1200 men and 1000 women, were employed solely at the Merinos Plant.

The industrial structure in Bursa experienced a series of new developments that led to changes in the working-class structure since the third quarter of the twentieth century⁸. The emergence of segmentation in local labor markets was triggered by various developments, including changes in value structures, differentiation of wage levels based on sector distribution diversity and growth of stratification within the textile production hierarchy. Additionally, the working class has undergone material and existential changes due to the growing demographic diversity resulting from migration from the Balkans and internal migration⁹. Migrants from the Balkan Turks with prior urban living experience and industrial work possessed preferable skills, making them "palatable" workers in the eyes of their employers. These workers concentrated in secure jobs in the primary sector. Conversely, internal migrant groups without prior industrial worker experience predominantly occupied less-skilled positions in the secondary sector, specifically in the textile and service sectors. The low-wage textile industry experienced a significant rise in job segmentation, particularly when compared with the relatively uniform wage differentiation in the automotive sector. These developments in proletarianization experiences resulted in differentiation across different aspects, including residential choices and social practices within the working class.

Governments decided to designate Bursa as a pilot region for industrial development in the late 1960s. The establishment of the Bursa Organized Industrial Zone in Turkey has resulted in a distinct spatial division between large- and small-scale industries (Aktar, 1996, p.141). Subsequently, despite the relocation of certain small industry firms from northern Osmangazi to organized industrial zones, textile weaving workshops, which were primarily concentrated in the lower segment of textile production, expanded across the Yıldırım and Osmangazi districts. The industrial structure of Bursa can be regarded as a successful illustration of the import substitution logic during this period. Owing to the escalating demand for synthetic yarns in the domestic market, new facilities were established within the Merinos plant. Then, three additional plants were established, each dedicated to the production of polyester and nylon thread. More importantly, new multinational corporations began production operations in the metal and machine industry. Furthermore, there was a significant development as several new multinational corporations began production operations, specifically in the metal and machine industry (Çiğerci Ulukan, 2008, p.98). As an illustration, the automotive sub-industry had a mere 9 plants in 1973; It peaked at 27 in 1979. Again, the total amount of weaving manufacturers in 1960 exceeded one thousand; this number peaked at almost one thousand and five hundred. In 1982, the amount of weaving factories in Bursa reached up to 1800 (Aktar, 1989, p.236).

The demarcation between large and small firms became noticeable during the mid-1970s. In 1975, Bursa established approximately 600 large-scale firms, resulting in the employment of nearly 30,000 workers. However, textiles remained the most significant sector in terms of job creation. The year 1976 saw almost 700 textile plants in Bursa (İyibozkurt, 2016, p.147), which led to a significant rise in the employment rate by nearly 14%, resulting in the creation of almost 35,000 jobs. During the 1970s, the city accommodated more than one thousand firms, employing nearly 50,000 workers. During the 1970s, approximately 30% of the population was employed as workers. The percentage exceeded almost 40% in 1980 and reached 50% in 1990. At the start of the 2000s, the city's workforce accounted for 70% of its population (Temel, 2023, p.108).

A divergence in production focal points occurred in the late 1970s, driven by variations in labor processes and production methods (Erenzençin, 2007, p.87). On the one hand, a growing number of large-scale factories depend on mass production. Conversely, there was a steady increase in the number of small-scale enterprises. The edged pyramidal internal hierarchy of textile production (Pınarcıoğlu, 1998) has given spatial differentiation within the urban area. Large-scale yarn factories have occupied the highest tier of the pyramid. In addition, merchants who established domestic and international trade networks and arranged subcontract relations also occupied intermediate positions. Weaving shops on a smaller scale occupied the lower tier of this intricate production hierarchy. Variations in organizational structures and wage disparities among employed individuals have influenced residential areas' characteristics. Hierarchical and functional differentiations have arisen from the construction of polarizations based on the spatial distribution of production. These polarization zones include small weaving shops in Yıldırım and Osmangazi, as well as large-scale plants in Nilüfer.

⁸ The evolution of industrial production brought about social change. For example, female labor force participation in the textile industry elicited strong responses from both Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the public (Kaygalak, 2008). Nonetheless, in the latter part of the 20th century, female employees accounted for 40% of the local workforce (Pınarcıoğlu, 1998). This may be perceived as a significant sign of proletarianization and social change.

⁹ In 1945, a significant proportion (approximately 45%) of Bursa's population consisted of individuals born outside the country. The impact of migration on the local population from 1960 to 1965 was 79%. Additionally, the percentage stands at 71% for the period of 1965-70 (Aktar, 1989, p.252). 25.7 % of workers who migrated during the period of 1960-65 were employed in the manufacturing sector. In Dülgeroğlu et al.'s study (1993) on the manufacturing industry in Bursa, Dülgerolu et al. determined that 73.4% of workers employed in this sector during the 1990s hailed from locations outside Bursa. After 1986, 25.8% of workers in the manufacturing industry originated in regions outside Bursa, whereas 39.3% came from abroad, particularly the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

As an illustration, the operation of looms that produce excessive noise and the requirement for spacious areas for installation have compelled employers to seek inexpensive land in the outskirts of the Yıldırım district for their location decisions. In light of its status as the most polluting step in textile production, the paint manufacturing sector has compelled paint producer companies to identify alternative factory sites outside the adjacent areas of municipalities. Entrepreneurs from these low-tier production areas often acquired new land that they could obtain permission from village mukhtars (Aktar, 1989). As a result of these patterns, a notable concentration of workers were employed in secondary sector jobs within the Yıldırım district, particularly in the field of textile production. Accordingly, Yıldırım has emerged as a desired destination for internal migrants. The migrant workers with lower skill levels who were employed on small-scale shop floors had a motivation to reside in houses situated near their workplaces. Insufficient transportation provisions for company employees have led to the prevalence of slum-style dwellings in Yıldırım (Fidan, 1999), which is attributable to inadequate urban transportation infrastructure.

The spatial distribution of workers was also influenced by the differentiation patterns of large-scale industrial firms. To put it another way, the boundaries of spatial hierarchies are determined by the differentiation of organizational structure and wage levels. Sectoral disparities contribute to variations in wage levels among full-time workers in large-scale factories. On the other hand, observable disparities in wage rates are apparent within the textile industry, particularly among public firms, private firms, and small-scale weaving shop floors. The differential in wage levels among textile and automotive industries is particularly evident. For instance, the average wage of a worker at a private textile firm was found to be fifty percent lower than that of a worker at a private automotive firm. Within the textile production industry, wage levels are indicative of the internal production hierarchy. In the Bursa textile industry in 1993, the real wages of employees in public firms exceeded those of employees in private firms by 59%. Despite a 1.5-fold increase in the average wage levels of Merinos plant workers between 1987 and 1991, these levels remained considerably lower than those in the automotive and metal industry in Bursa (Pınarcıoğlu, 1998, p.238). Additionally, the piece rate system determined the wage levels of unregistered workers on weaving shop floors.

Another contributing factor to the spatial distribution of the working class in Bursa is the residential choices made by insecure workers in weaving shops and other lower-segmented jobs in the textile sector. The overlap between labor and housing markets has played a crucial role in shaping the social topography of urban areas. Affordable land areas in the Northern part of Yıldırım offer convenient slum construction options, thus providing opportunities for workers engaged in precarious and low-paying employment (Kaplıanoğlu, 2015, p.84). Furthermore, the role of being a slum owner has been functional in elevating the property status of disadvantaged migrant workers in this locality. By operating in this manner, the system effectively established a means of redistributing income to lower socioeconomic groups in Bursa (Taşan-Kok, 2016, p.238). The weaving shop floors, which have produced irregular employment concentrated in this district and the neighboring areas, have been regarded as the first stop for migrants arriving in Bursa. Additionally, skilled workers¹⁰ who belong to the native population or those who have migrated from the Balkans and have successfully integrated into urban settings, bringing with them industrial job experiences, demonstrate congruence with the formal expectations of housing markets owing to their considerable social capital stocks. The founding of housing cooperatives, primarily by Merinos workers, on limited urban lands in the Osmangazi and Nilüfer districts has resulted in the establishment of worker-class suburbs. According to the findings of Erez's (2020) study, worker cooperatives formed by organized and regular-income workers in the Ataevler neighborhood of Nilüfer constructed nearly one thousand residences. In addition, Erenzenin's (2007) research, which primarily examined workers in the Bursa Organized Industrial Zone, revealed that workers tend to reside in houses built by worker cooperatives in the Akpınar neighborhood in Northern Osmangazi. Since the latter half of the 2010s, workers who were excluded from urban regeneration opportunities have lived in inexpensive residences situated in different areas of the Nilüfer and Osmangazi districts. These residences were constructed by TOKI. Conversely, the eastern part of Yıldırım has become a compulsory destination for low-income workers who construct homes on affordable plots of land (Temel, 2023, p.165). The disparity in housing access has intensified the stark contrast between the three districts in the city, particularly due to the absence of a social housing model that promotes equal opportunities.

Spatial differentiation patterns among Bursa workers have become more difficult since the late 2000s as a result of developments in organizing production structures and transforming the volume of capital and products. The transformation of material and social existence conditions among native and late internal migrant workers should also be considered. To summarize, there are currently two separate factions within the working class in Bursa that can be distinguished by their spatial and social characteristics. On the one hand, Osmangazi and Nilüfer have workers who

¹⁰ According to the research conducted by Ulukan Cigerci (2008), who examined the influence of social capital on employment relations among Balkan migrants in Bursa, a majority of migrant workers (51.6%) found their first jobs with the help of relatives.

belong to the second or third generation and have greater access to urban opportunities. On the opposite end (Yıldırım), there exist migrant workers who have recently arrived and belong to the first generation, consequently experiencing distinct disadvantages in urban social settlements.

4. Data and Analytical Strategy

In our study on the working-class culture in Bursa, we adopted the modeling class social space approach, drawing from studies such as Bennett et al. (2009), Flemmen et al. (2017) and Hjellbrekke and Jarness (2022). At the core of this approach is the heavy influence of Bourdieusian class analysis, which seeks to reveal variations in social preferences among different classes. Typically, this means employing MCA analysis to simulate the hierarchical and relational distribution of preferences among social classes in a social sphere that Bourdieu asserted accurately corresponds to the reality of the social world. MCA can potentially establish analytical constructs that redefine logical connections between individual attributes, preferences, and structured social fields. The generation of a simulated social space requires the utilization of position-taking data derived from individual preferences and taste-based rankings. We have adjusted our methodology to meet the analytical requirements. The methodology involved adopting the Bourdieusian class approach and developing a survey to assess individual preferences and tastes in Bursa's class culture.

We conducted a survey consisting of four different types of questions to assess class-related cultural dynamics in Bursa. The first of these can be referred to as economic capital. The assessment of individual economic capital in the survey is based on three variables. The variables comprise the individual's monthly income, the car's value (if any), and the house's value (if any). Using these three individual-level financial situations, economic capital variables are computed. Within the acceptable range, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient ($\alpha = 0.765$) was identified as a reliable indicator of the internal consistency of this computed variable. Another type of question pertains to cultural capital. In order to measure cultural capital, I used two factors from the "family cultural capital scale" that was developed by Chiu et al. (2015). The first factor of scale, consisting of four items, focuses on cultural activities within family relationships on a daily basis. These items include the number of books in the household and the frequency of family visits to museums. The second factor of the scale was associated with family ownership of high-brow cultural commodities, such as musical instruments and art objects. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient suggests that this variable ($\alpha = 0.817$) demonstrates strong internal consistency. The financial and cultural capital variables were used to determine the axes of the multiple-correspondence analysis. In addition, there were two other types of variables included in the survey, namely, the datasets needed to construct categories in MCA. The initial dataset incorporated several structural variables that were also crucial for classical-class analysis, primarily pertaining to social positions within production relations, including occupation, educational attainment, workplace size, industry sectors, and voting preferences. Lastly, we constructed variables that focused on lifestyles, aesthetic preferences, and consumption habits, which were utilized as part of the investigation to analyze interconnectedness in social spaces via MCA. The variables included in the study encompassed eating tastes and habits, musical preferences, physical activity habits, book preferences, newspaper topics, holiday habits, and home appliance consumption. We made an effort to reflect the cultural practices of Turkish urban daily life, considering both highbrow and lowbrow elements, to select variables relevant to this data. In addition, we tried to create distinct categories for high-status and ordinary preference rankings based on research on taste and consumption patterns in urban Turkish life during the 21st century, which, as some other studies (Bali, 2002; Karademir-Hazır, 2014; 2017; Rankin & Ergin, 2017) emphasize. All variables in this category were constructed to have traits that adjust with the typical characteristics of nominal categorical data.

To explore class culture through lifestyles, aesthetic preferences, and consumption habits, it is necessary to obtain extensive data that includes various indicators of different forms of capital. In order to meet this requirement, some studies in the literature (Flemmen et al., 2018) have utilized wide-scope secondary data sources. However, the scope of class culture of the Bursa too local for the collection of this type of wide-range data in secondary data sources in Turkey. Considering the restrictions associated with secondary data sources, we needed to employ primary data collected through a specifically devised survey. Our survey was carried out using a representative sample that was generated through quota sampling and had a cross-sectional design. The quotas in the sample were designed to synchronize with the employment status of the Bursa sample space, which is derived from local employment records. In addition, the quotas were designed to ensure an equitable distribution of Bursa residents, taking into consideration the educational achievements specific to each neighborhood and giving particular importance to cultural capital. When assessing quotas based on economic capital levels across neighborhoods, we factor in seasonally adjusted monthly electric consumption and social assistance payment distribution within each neighborhood. Based on these quotas, we decided to sample five neighborhoods that exhibit a hierarchical distribution of high-middle and low-accumulated financial and cultural

capital in each central district in Bursa, and our sample size of 788 was deemed acceptable at the 95% confidence level. The table.1 represents the demographic distribution and characteristics of the sample¹¹.

Table 1. Demographic distribution of the sample

Variables	general	Working class	variables	general	Working class
(18-24 ages)	(%) 3,0	(%) 4,9	Father (elementary-school)	(%) 27,9	(%) 43,8
(25-34 ages)	(%)14,7	(%) 21,9	Father (middle-school)	(%) 29,6	(%) 38,1
(35-44 ages)	(%) 31,7	(%) 36,9	Father (high-school)	(%) 22,1	(%) 15,2
(45-54 ages)	(%) 31,5	(%) 29,1	Father (graduate)	(%) 18,9	(%) 1,5
(55-64 ages)	(%) 16,1	(%) 7,2	cultural capital	(%) 1,47	(%) 1,18
(65 + age)	(%) 2,9	-	Wage (0 - 5k ₺)	(%) 4,3	(%) 8,2
men	(%) 63,3	(%) 54,6	Wage (5k₺ - 10k ₺)	(%) 60,2	(%) 83,8
women	(%) 36,7	(%) 45,4	Wage (10k₺ - 15k ₺)	(%) 27,9	(%) 7,0
employer	(%) 6,5	-	Value of the car (no car)	(%) 37,2	(%) 69,3
self-employment	(%) 12,2	-	Value of the car (under 150k ₺)	(%) 11,7	(%) 12,6
white-collars	(%) 32,1	-	Value of car (150k - 349k)	(%) 37,7	(%) 16,8
workers	(%) 49,2	(%) 100	Value of car (350k - 549k)	(%) 13,6	(%) 1,3
Sector (manufacturing)	(%) 50,0	(%) 80,7	Value of car (550k - 749k)	(%) 0,4	-
Sector(service)	(%) 46,3	(%) 12,3	Value of the car (750k +)	(%) 0,1	-
Sector (construction)	(%) 3,7	(%) 7,0	value of the home (500k₺ - 999k₺)	(%) 23,9	(%) 14,7
District (Osmangazi)	(%) 27,5	(%) 36,1	value of the home (1000k₺ - 1499k₺)	(%) 15,4	(%) 3,6
District (Yıldırım)	(%) 35,9	(%) 50,5	value of the home (1500k₺ - 1999k₺)	(%) 1,9	-
District (Nilüfer)	(%) 36,5	(%) 13,4	value of the home (2000k ₺ +)	(%) 1,1	-
Workplace (micro)	(%) 17,1	(%) 14,7	Voting (AKParti)	(%) 35,2	(%) 50,2
Workplace (small)	(%) 25,4	(%) 21,6	Voting (CHP)	(%) 45,7	(%) 23,5
Workplace (middle)	(%) 36,0	(%) 22,4	Voting (MHP)	(%) 9,4	(%) 16,5
Workplace (big)	(%) 21,4	(%) 41,2	Voting (İYİParti)	(%) 7,7	(%) 7,2
el ementary- school	(%) 4,8	(%) 6,4	Voting (HDP)	(%) 0,3	(%) 0,3
middle-school	(%) 12,7	(%) 20,1	Voting (no vote)	(%) 1,8	(%) 2,1
high-school	(%) 45,4	(%) 65,2	N	788	388
graduate	(%) 37,1	(%) 8,2			
Couple (no couple)	(%) 6,7	(%) 7,5			
Couple (literate)	(%) 0,6	(%) 1,0			
Couple (elementary-school)	(%) 7,9	(%) 10,1			
Couple (middle-school)	(%) 13,1	(%) 16,2			
Couple (high-school)	(%) 37,8	(%) 56,7			
Couple (graduate)	(%) 33,9	(%) 8,5			
Father (illiterate)	(%) 0,1	-			
Father (literate)	(%) 1,4	(%) 1,3			

5. Is There a Unique Working-Class Culture in Bursa?

The initial focus of our analytical methodology will be on evaluating our primary research question, which seeks to ascertain the existence of a working-class culture in Bursa. This was achieved through an analysis of their lifestyles,

¹¹ The survey took place during the summer of 2022, and it reflected real income, car values, and home prices during that period.

aesthetic preferences, and consumption patterns using the data gathered from our survey. In fact, by examining table.1, it is possible to obtain a preliminary understanding of the variations in working-class culture in Bursa. According to the data presented in Table 1, the educational attainment of the working class in Bursa is notably lower than that of the general population, as well as their partners' and fathers' educational levels. Similarly, when measured to other segments of the sample, it is evident that their cultural capital levels are considerably lower. The survey items on financial sources further underscore the significantly disadvantaged position of the working class in Bursa compared to the overall population.

The working class in Bursa also exhibits discernible positional distinctions due to structural variables. First, the items displayed in Table 1 demonstrate significant variations in the employment conditions of the working-class in Bursa when compared to both the general population in the sample and the overall working-class in Turkey. Manufacturing jobs do not hold the highest position in Turkey's sectoral distribution of employment, with service jobs taking precedence over both the working class and other waged jobs (TUIK, 2024). In Bursa, the majority of working-class jobs are in the manufacturing sector. Moreover, when comparing the scale of working-class jobs in Bursa to that of manufacturing firms in Turkey, there is another notable difference. Regarding the workplace scale in Turkey, including the manufacturing sector, it is largely characterized by small or medium-sized enterprises. Nonetheless, as previously stated, the manufacturing sector in Bursa is distinguished by a large-scale organizational framework, particularly within multinational corporations. As a result of this production structure, there is a notable concentration of working-class jobs in large-scale firms. Their concentration was primarily on Yıldırım and Osmangazi as indicated Table.1, with only a small fraction of workers engaged in high-added manufacturing, specifically automotive production. Workers of these plants' propensity for settlement was particularly pronounced in neighborhoods in Nilüfer.

The voting preferences of the working class in Bursa also displayed disparities in structural positions relative to other social classes. The political right tendencies of the working class in Turkey are a lively topic in literature and public discussions (Yıldırım, 2010; Ganioglu, 2013; Ocaklı, 2015). While the majority in our sample voted for the CHP, the working class represented a massive proportion of the sample's voting preferences for right-wing parties, especially the AK Party, as in other industrial districts where the working class is concentrated in Turkey, such as Gebze.

Our efforts were focused on establishing analytic connections between these structural differences observed within the working class in Bursa and the dimensions of lifestyle preferences, encompassing esthetics, consumer habits, and tastes. By engaging in this process, we separate ourselves from the two different but prevailing assumptions often found in recent studies on working-class culture. One involves comprehending working-class culture as a counter-culture to mass culture in capitalist society, drawing upon neo-Marxist traditions. Based on their perspective, it is plausible to identify a unique working-class culture within the framework of a capitalist society. This particular culture can be characterized by distinct sets of values that facilitate the emergence of alternative forms of solidarity and may be regarded as having significant potential for social transformation. Their understanding of culture is independent of daily life practices and aesthetic. In their imagination, means of culture involve pursuing solidarity patterns and counter-movements within capitalist mass culture, which are not directly linked to habits or aesthetic dimensions. Although we may not fully agree on these presumptions of Neo-Marxist tradition, our opinions overlap in certain areas. Our analysis shares similarities with the neo-Marxist tradition because we acknowledge the potential to identify a unique working-class culture within a capitalist society. Nevertheless, our analytical perspectives diverge from those of neo-Marxist class analyses, and we interpret the concept of culture through a fully Bourdieusian perspective, emphasizing the significance of habits, preferences, and aesthetic within a specific social field characterized by relational terms.

Second, a number of studies inspired by Bourdieu have devoted their analysis to examining the working class perspective in his works, including *Reflexive Anthropology* (co-authored with Wacquant) and *The Weight of the World*. Within these works, Bourdieu characterized the culture of the working class as passive and constrained to follower strategies derived from dominant cultures in the field. Nevertheless, we hold a different perspective from the prevailing presumption in the new class analysis strand rooted in Bourdieu, which characterizes working-class culture as a state of deprivation. Instead, we argue that working-class culture is not solely determined by necessities. The distribution of variables in Table 1 implies a state of deprivation among the working class, particularly regarding financial situations and cultural capital levels. Nonetheless, our understanding is that the culture of the working class includes specific aesthetic elements, and it is possible to recognize specific tastes within the working class that transcend necessities. Furthermore, the comprehension of the working class as a subject is made possible by this presumption.

In an effort to examine our nuanced arguments pertaining to the unique culture of the working class, we employed the MCA. Our hypothesis suggests that the working class in Bursa possesses a unique cultural realm that differs from other classes. This distinction is characterized by distinct tastes and aesthetic dimensions.

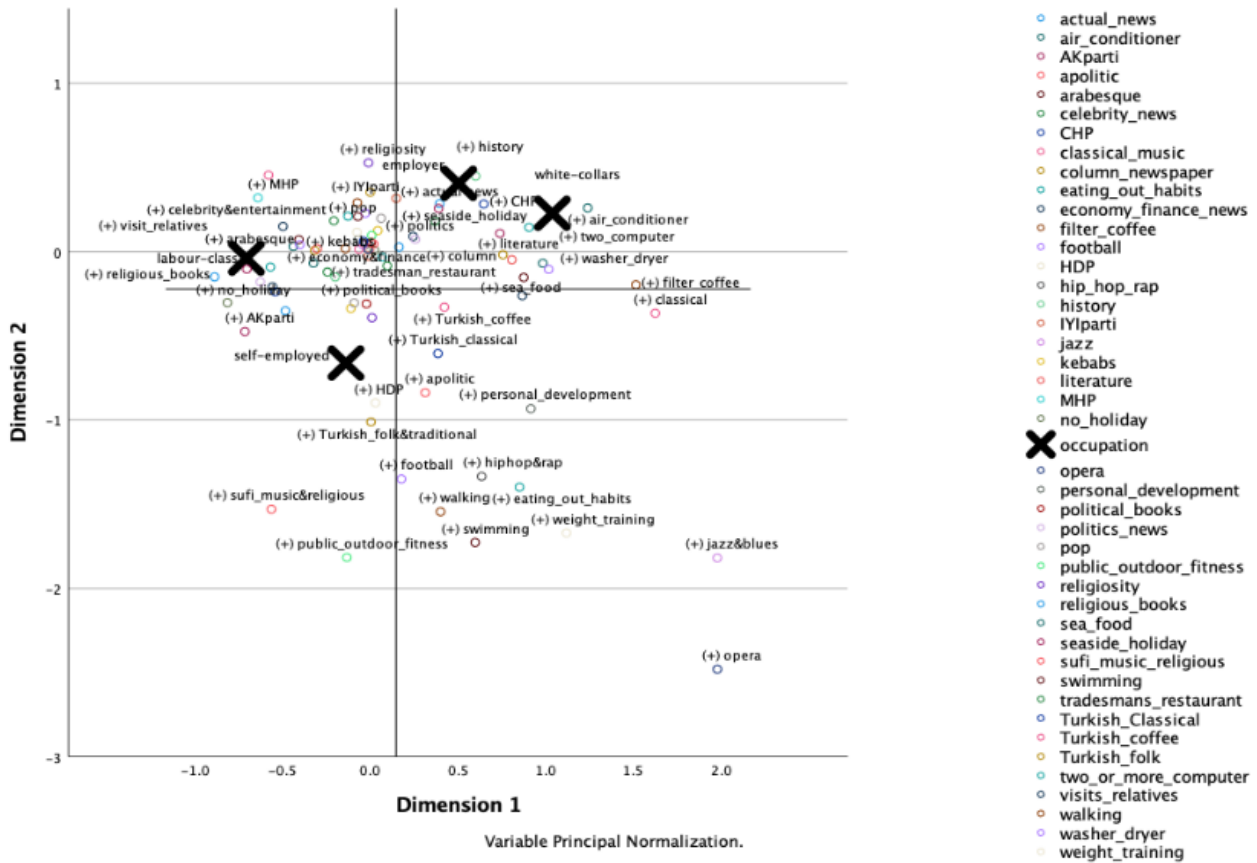


Figure 1. Cultural world of the working class in Bursa

The horizontal axis (accounts for 23,8 per cent $\alpha = ,874$) in the figure.1 illustrates changes in cultural capital volume, quantified using the cultural capital scale utilized in the survey. Wherewithal, the vertical axis (accounts for 11,9 per cent $\alpha = ,741$ and the dimension 1 and the dimension 2 express 35,7 per cent of total variance) represents fluctuations in economic capital volume, determined by the computed economic capital variable. Our analysis incorporated structural variables, as outlined in Table 1, along with variables that captured aesthetic elements, tastes, consumer habits, and lifestyle preferences, as detailed in the right panel of Figure 1. The portrait depicted in Figure 1 can be interpreted as evidence of a separate cultural world that exists solely within the working-class community in Bursa, setting it apart from the cultural experiences of other social classes. As observed in the top-left section of the graph, individuals from the working class possess less economic and cultural capital than employers and white-collar workers. Furthermore, there is a certain degree of proximity to self-employment in cultural capital, coupled with a slightly higher level of economic capital in comparison to the other areas.

A distinctive aspect of Bursa working-class culture is the appreciation for arabesque music, the reading of religious books, and the tendency not to be able to go on holidays. Similar to Hoggart’s (2021) observation of English workers in the 1950s, Bursa workers tend to prioritize visiting relatives when they have the opportunity to take a vacation. This can be attributed to their internal migration background, strong desire for close family ties, and preference for cost-effective choices. Additionally, religion has emerged as a significant social factor within working-class culture, particularly amongst internal migrant backgrounds. Several studies (White, 2002; Tuğal, 2009;) have specifically highlighted the impact of religion-based solidarity networks on the adaptation of rural migrants to urban culture in worker-concentrated neighborhoods. Hence, it is unsurprising that religion holds great importance in the daily cultural practices of the working class. The reading preferences of the working class in Bursa seem to be influenced by their priority in religious daily practices, as depicted in Figure 1.

There has been substantial scholarly interest in exploring the social construction of arabesque music in literature. This genre was recognized in the early 1970s as a cultural manifestation of the increasing trend of rural-to-urban migration. In the beginning, elements of the embedded musical culture were viewed as undergoing the deterioration of aesthetic aspects of Turkish culture. Subsequently, some studies have acknowledged the alternative aesthetic aspects of the arabesque, which are regarded as a significant element of lowbrow culture that has been socially constructed in the context of Turkish urbanization (Işık & Erol, 2002; Özbek, 2006; Özgür, 2006). In recent times, there has been a growing

understanding that certain debates surrounding the social construction of arabesque music in everyday life can be seen in a manner akin to the cultural omnivorousness theory (Karademir-Hazır & Warde, 2015; Rankin & Ergin, 2017). Numerous renowned music icons have performed renditions of cult Arabesque songs, and these gentrified versions have gained popularity among the general public, including middle and upper socioeconomic backgrounds. Moreover, the listening trends observed in Spotify indicate that arabesque music is acquiring popularity among the younger generations across all social classes (Gazete oksijen, 2022; Işık, 2018). Notwithstanding, our findings demonstrate that listening to arabesque music continues to be strongly influenced by social class, serving as a definitive cultural tradition primarily embraced by the working class, which sharply contrasts with the preferences of Bursa's middle and upper classes. The scatter plot in Figure.1 reveals that listening to classical music is associated with the white collar and the cultural milieu of employers, while it is almost asymmetrical to the arabesque music in the working-class culture of Bursa.

It can be detected that the eating preferences of the classes in Bursa exhibit a similar pattern. The consideration of eating preferences as a differentiating element in Bourdieusian class perspectives has been present since the "Distinction". When viewed from a cultural perspective, the assignment of certain eating practices as indicative of highbrow is intertwined with their degree of arbitrariness. When eating taste closely aligns with the pure means of necessity, it is commonly regarded as a preference among those with less refined, lowbrow tastes. Due to its high-calorie content, red meat consumption is commonly regarded as indicative of a lower cultural status. Nevertheless, intricate, uncommon, and challenging culinary delights, such as seafood, are regarded as hallmarks of refined, high-brow cuisine. Undoubtedly, recognizing local mores is essential in analyzing how cultural hierarchies of gastronomic preferences are constructed. In this regard, the presence of a cosmopolitan palate is considered a defining characteristic of sophisticated culture, as opposed to taste preferences rooted in local mores. Kebabs hold significant significance in Turkish cuisine because they predominantly symbolize the local culture. Despite the presence of authentic regional kebabs throughout Anatolia, the proliferation of kebab cuisine is primarily influenced by the rural-urban migration phenomenon that emerged in the 1960s and is generally associated with lowbrow cultural practices. Additionally, the popularity of "*esnaf-lokantası*" is closely associated with the rural-urban migration background of Turkish cities (Samancı, 2020).

Nevertheless, particularly since the late 1990s, the consumption of kebabs and dining at old "*esnaf lokantası*" establishments has become a gentrified cultural phenomenon among the middle and upper classes in Turkey (Karaosmanoğlu, 2009). Our findings indicate that the eating preferences regarding kebabs or "*esnaf lokantası*" in Bursa are still strongly linked to cultural practices that are dependent on social class, similar to the listening habits of arabesque music. In other words, consuming kebabs or having a preference for the traditional "*esnaf lokantası*" dishes continues to represent the working-class culture, even though they have acquired more gentrified connotations. In contrast, it appears that the highbrow culture in Bursa has a particular preference for seafood, and this distinctive characteristic could be seen as one of the most class-specific and distinguishing cultural practices in the city.

Figure 1 provides insights into the political culture prevalent among workers in Bursa. The scatter plots in Figure 1 validate the fundamental frequency distribution outlined in Table 1, indicating a significant preference among workers in Bursa for right-wing political parties. It is observed that workers exhibit a higher inclination toward voting for the AK Party or the MHP, with a slightly lower tendency toward the İYİ Party. Furthermore, it reveals a significant disparity of nearly 180 degrees between white-collar workers' and employers' inclinations in relation to their proximity to the CHP. The conclusions drawn from the scatter graphs are consistent with other research on the voting behavior of the working-class (Yıldırım, 2010; Ganioglu, 2013). The political attitudes of the working class in Bursa are not shown to diverge from those observed in other industrial districts of Turkey. The daily political habits of the working class exhibit contrasting tones with those of other classes, particularly employers and white collars. Despite the working-class culture not exhibiting political apathy, certain habits indicative of political awareness, such as staying updated with political news through media sources or engaging with political books, appear to be more closely associated with the white-collar or employer cultural sphere. Instead of political awareness in daily life practices, the working-class culture in Bursa followed celebrity and entertainment news and, less likely, economic and financial news from media sources.

The consumption preferences of the working class in Bursa, as shown in Figure 1, appear to closely align with perspectives of deprivation. The ownership of home appliances is primarily associated with white collars and employers. The possession of a filter coffee machine, washer dryer, air conditioner, and two or more computers is deemed indicative of belonging to the middle-upper class in our sample. Owning these household appliances represents an extension of the current consumption patterns of the middle class. For example, the possession of a filter coffee machine is inherently linked to the adoption of "third wave"- "artisanal" coffee consumption practices, a prevalent trend among the middle classes. Despite this, it appears that there is no definitive link between working-class status in Bursa and the ownership of home appliances. Although culturally, it is not possible to evaluate the working class culture as a deprivation; in terms

of materiality, there may be notable dynamics of scarcity in working class daily practices regarding the consumption of household appliances.

In summary, the first stage of our analysis, as illustrated in Figure 1, presents some evidence supporting our hypothesis regarding the working-class system in Bursa. Initially, it is evident that a unique working-class culture exists, exhibiting its own unique dynamics. These dynamics indicate that an inadequate understanding of working-class culture arises when it is viewed solely through the lens of deprivation. Moreover, it encompasses more than just counter-cultural practices, incorporating aesthetic and tastes that have deviated from those of other social classes. The cultural trends identified among the working class in Bursa through our analysis provide a completely different perspective than the argument labeling working class culture as absent and undesirable.

6. Fragmentation of the Working-Class Culture in Bursa

Once we presented evidence indicating the existence of a unique working-class culture that differed from practices observed in other social classes in Bursa, our subsequent endeavor involved testing our hypothesis concerning heterogeneity. Our claim is that while it is conceivable to discern a unique working class culture in opposition to the practices of other classes, the working class culture itself is characterized by hierarchical sub-divisions that are organized according to the same principles that differentiate classes. It is our belief that the fragmentation within the working-class culture is a direct result of the socio-spatial relations that drive and structure it. The urban social environment encompasses power dynamics that cut across social classes. The spatial differentiation of class structures typically reflects these power relations. This means that the fragmentation logic behind the working-class culture is influenced by socio-spatial power dynamics, thereby giving rise to this cleavage.

Our assertion is that the validation of the comparable logic can be valid for Bursa, as the impact of neighborhood-based indicators as a socio-spatial factor has concomitantly shaped class culture alongside variables related to the division of labor in production. Practically, according to our hypothesis, the three separate center districts of the Bursa each manifest distinct cultural practices observed among the working class. We anticipate the prevalence of lowbrow cultural and economic capital in neighborhoods of Yıldırım (the eastern part of the center district of Bursa). The embodiment of class character can be influenced by various relational factors, including the predominance of Yıldırım resident workers in low-added-value manufacturing firms and a significant proportion of them having social backgrounds related to internal migration, according to our foreseen. The prevailing class culture among workers residing in the neighborhoods of Nilüfer (the western part of the center district of Bursa) can be defined by their proximity to the high-brow cultural practices in Bursa, as predicted. We expect that certain structural elements, such as employment in well-structured sectors driven by foreign investment and high-added value (for example automotive), could impact similarities observed in the cultural climate of the middle class. Moreover, there is a significantly higher ratio of non-migrant workers (born in Bursa) within the resident worker population of Nilüfer. This implied a more seamless assimilation into the cultural landscape that diverged from the emphasis on basic material and social necessities in urban interactions. Given the prevailing cultural readiness patterns among workers in Nilüfer, we anticipate finding an evident prevalence of more adaptive working-class cultural practices in relation to the hegemonic upper and middle class lifestyles. In summary, we anticipate certain outcomes regarding the fragmented nature of working-class culture, which is characterized by its proximity to lowbrow elements in Yıldırım and its proximity to highbrow elements in Nilüfer. Our hypothesis suggests that the neighborhoods of the Osmangazi district, like their geographic location, occupy a central position along the 180-degree line between the pole of Yıldırım and the other pole of Nilüfer.

In order to test our hypothesis, we employed data on structural variables, preferences, and tastes among individuals belonging to the working class. The aim of this project is to create lifestyle maps to establish distinctions among workers based on district. The identification of highbrow and lowbrow cultural elements among workers in the sample was based on the use of specific tastes and practices. Similar to the concept of class differentiation demonstrated in Figure 1, the vertical axis represents cultural capital, while the horizontal axis represents economic capital. Figure 2 shows the distinction among workers based on certain structural variables. The scatter plot depicted in Figure 2 (dimension 1 accounts for 28,9 per cent $\alpha = ,825$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 16,0 per cent $\alpha = ,624$ express 44,9 per cent of total variance) provides some evidence that supports our hypothesis on the socio-spatial differentiation among worker classes. The resident workers of Yıldırım neighborhoods demonstrate limited cultural and economic resources. Furthermore, the educational attainment levels of both individuals and their partners and fathers is comparatively lower in comparison to workers in other districts. Furthermore, they exhibit closeness with the voting preferences of the AK party and are more inclined to be employed in the manufacturing industry. The level of religiosity exhibited by workers in this district is stronger than that of workers in other districts.

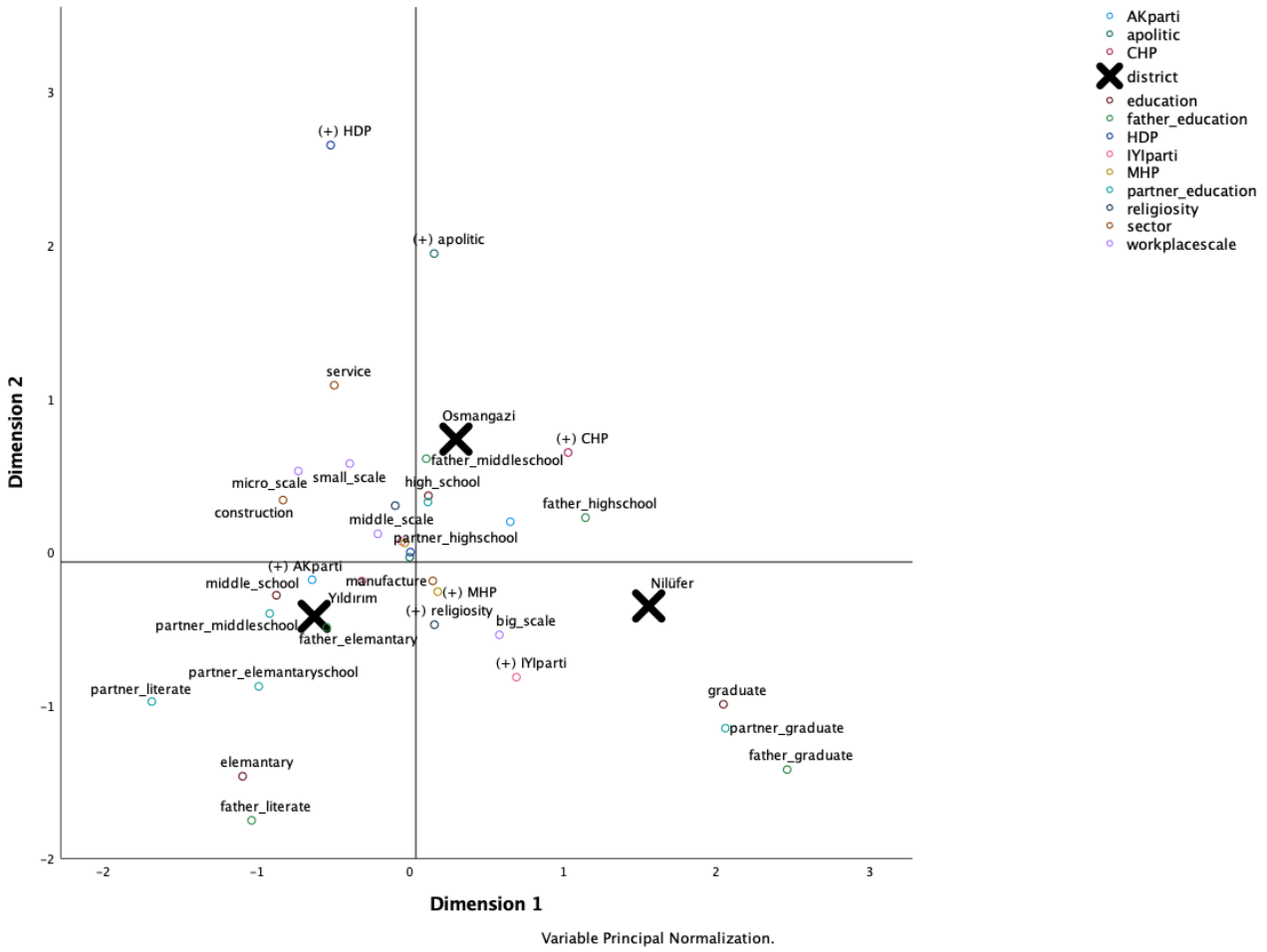


Figure 2. General characteristics of the working class spatial differentiation in Bursa

The scatter plot depicting the structural variables of workers residing in Nilüfer exhibits a complete reverse in comparison to Yıldırım, thus confirming our hypothesis. Workers in the Nilüfer district can be distinguished by their significant levels of cultural and economic capital, distinguishing them from workers in other districts. Their proximity to attaining high educational attainment is noteworthy, and it is interesting to observe that their partners and fathers possess comparable qualities. They have a higher likelihood of being employed in large-scale workplaces. Their voting preferences deviate considerably from those of the AK party, indicating a greater inclination toward the MHP or İYİ party and a lesser inclination toward the CHP. As we expected, the workers of Osmangazi have mild character compared to the other two districts’ workers by cultural and economic capital level. Both parents and their partners and fathers have educational attainment levels that are close to high school. In general, Osmangazi workers tend to be employed in middle-scale jobs more often. Furthermore, their voting preferences demonstrate a noteworthy inclination toward the CHP, distinguishing them from other political parties¹².

¹² The survey was conducted in 2022, during which the AK party maintained its lead in the Osmangazi local elections. Following the implementation of the survey, the CHP made significant progress toward the AK party and emerged victorious in subsequent 2024 local elections. The strong Osmangazi workers’ tendency to vote for the CHP may have played a significant role in this political shift. Hence, this analysis outcome can be considered a prominent signal.

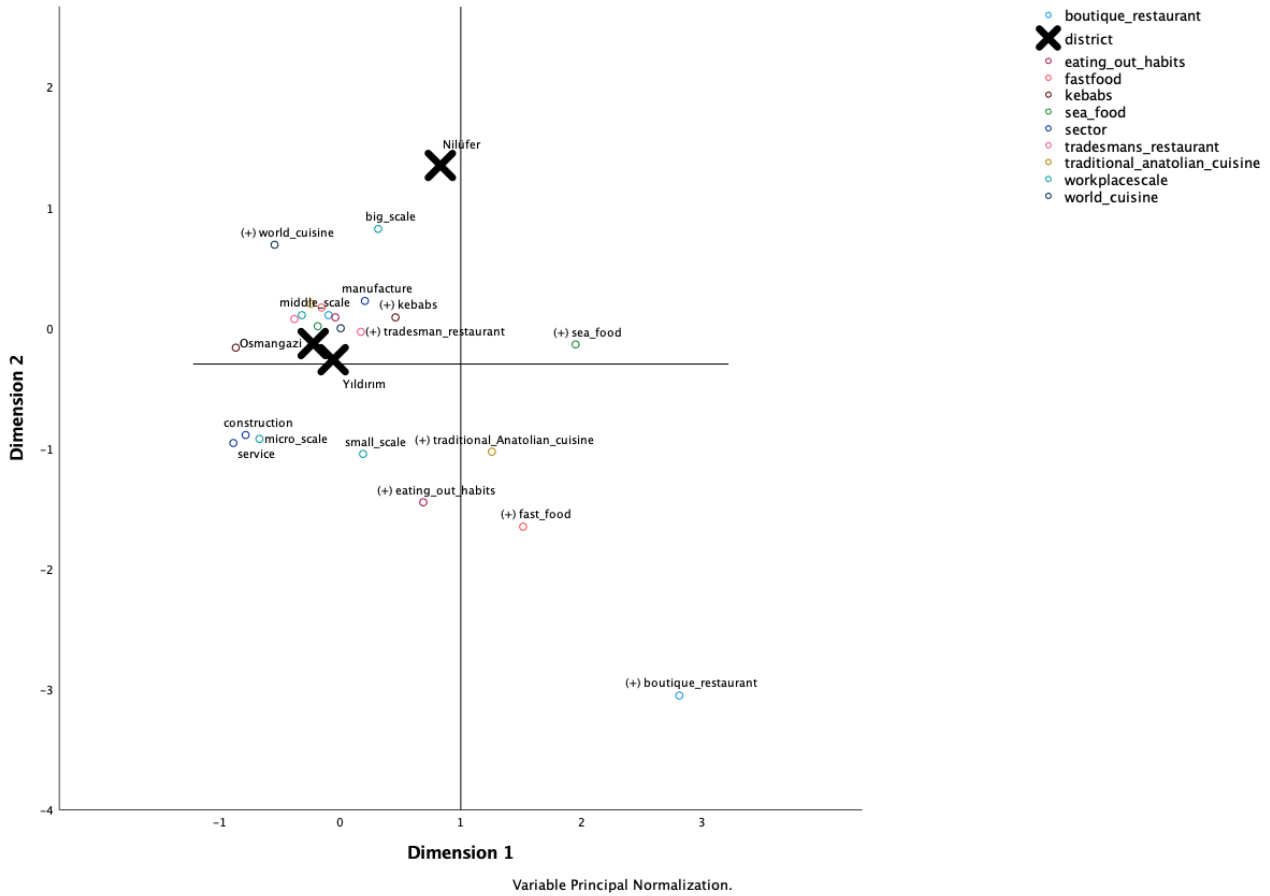


Figure 3. Spatial differentiation on food culture among the working class in Bursa

To begin with, our study involves the evaluation of food preferences and habits within the working-class in Bursa, with spatial differentiations in Figure 3 (dimension 1 accounts for 23,2 per cent $\alpha = ,669$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 21,2 per cent $\alpha = ,662$ express 44,4 per cent of total variance). As noted above, the study of working-class food habits typically employs the basic necessities criteria of class culture research. It was previously observed (as depicted in Figure 1) that the preference for kebabs and tradesmen restaurant cuisine is a distinctive cultural phenomenon among the working class in Bursa. In the analysis of spatial disparities within the working class in Bursa, it has been observed that these particular food preferences are predominant among workers in Yildirim and Osmangazi. The implementation of this pattern is often seen in manufacturing jobs within middle-sized or small-scale workplaces. Likewise, as depicted in Figure 1 for interclass scatter plots, the inclination toward seafood is completely in contrast to individuals residing in Yildirim or Osmangazi. Nevertheless, the preferences of Nilüfer’s workers reside at an almost equal distance from both typical working-class preferences and highbrow preferences.

Although the proximity is not high, it is worth noting the potential significance of world cuisine, particularly for individuals working in large-scale enterprises. These findings provide evidence that spatial characteristics affect class-specific cultural practices, as we had assumed. Furthermore, it is apparent that the esthetic choices of working-class residents in Nilüfer mirror the prevailing high-brow cultural differentiation in this locality. The tastes of the workers in Nilüfer gradually distance themselves from the idiosyncratic, necessity-driven habits of the working class and move closer to the distinctive preferences associated with the refined palate of the highbrow.

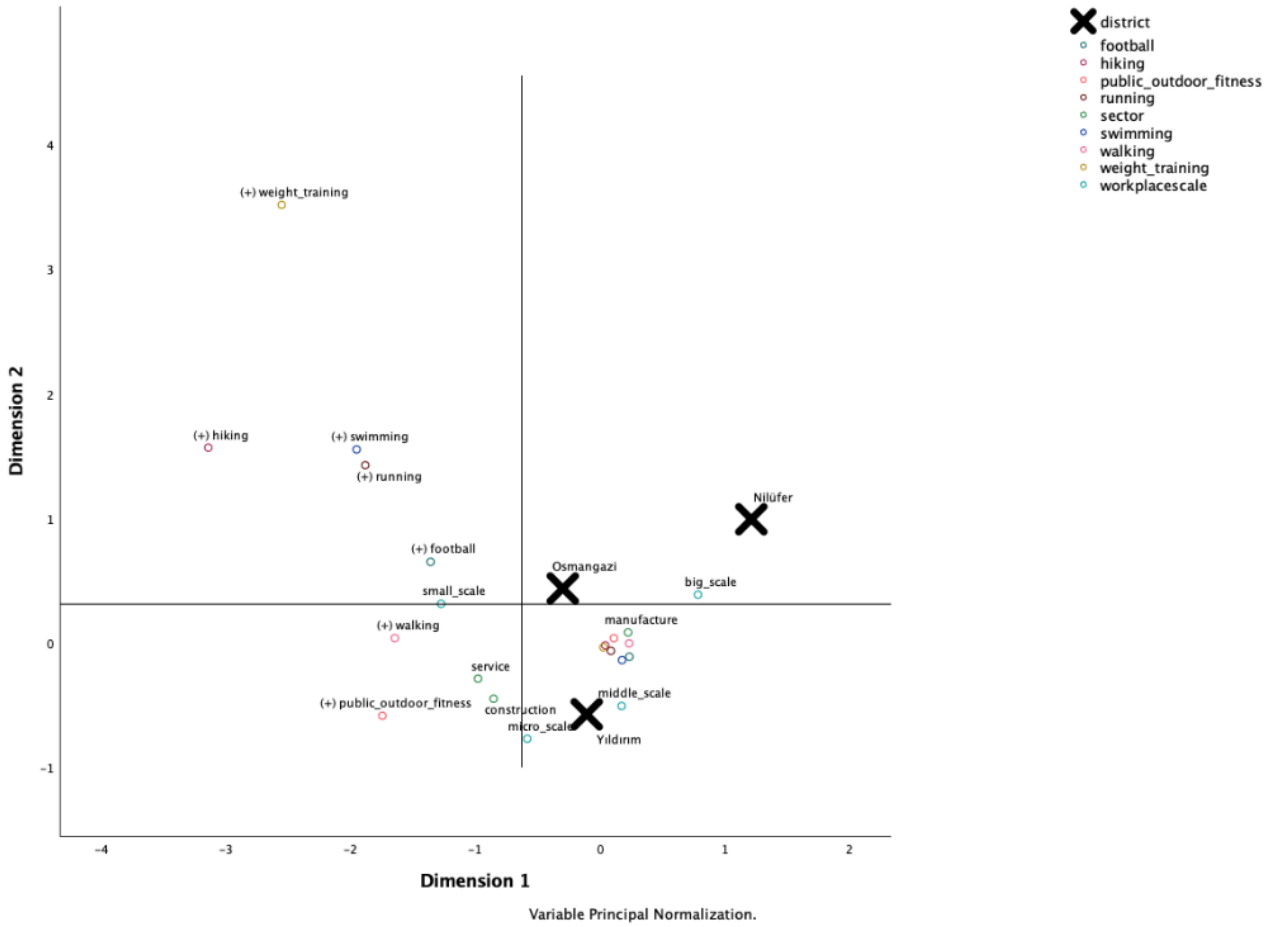


Figure 4. Spatial differentiation in sports/exercise culture among the working class in Bursa

Sports and exercise practices among the working class in different districts are visually represented in Figure 4 (dimension 1 accounts for 32,7 per cent $\alpha = ,706$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 21,2 per cent $\alpha = ,469$ express 53,9 per cent of total variance). To begin with, it should be noted that the “exercise culture” (Warde, 2006) in Bursa is not widespread, and every class is equal in distance to any exercise. Engaging in routine exercises, such as attending a fitness center, is perceived as being of low significance across all classes. Furthermore, the results indicated that certain sports activities assumed to be exclusive to certain social classes (Gemar, 2020; Uz, 2017) were not distinctive among the social classes in Bursa. In this context, the sports culture in Bursa can be observed as a category of absence. However, the scatter plots in Figure 4 may establish tenuous links between Osmangazi workers engaging in football and Yıldırım workers participating in outdoor fitness exercises among Yıldırım workers, particularly those employed in the construction sector.

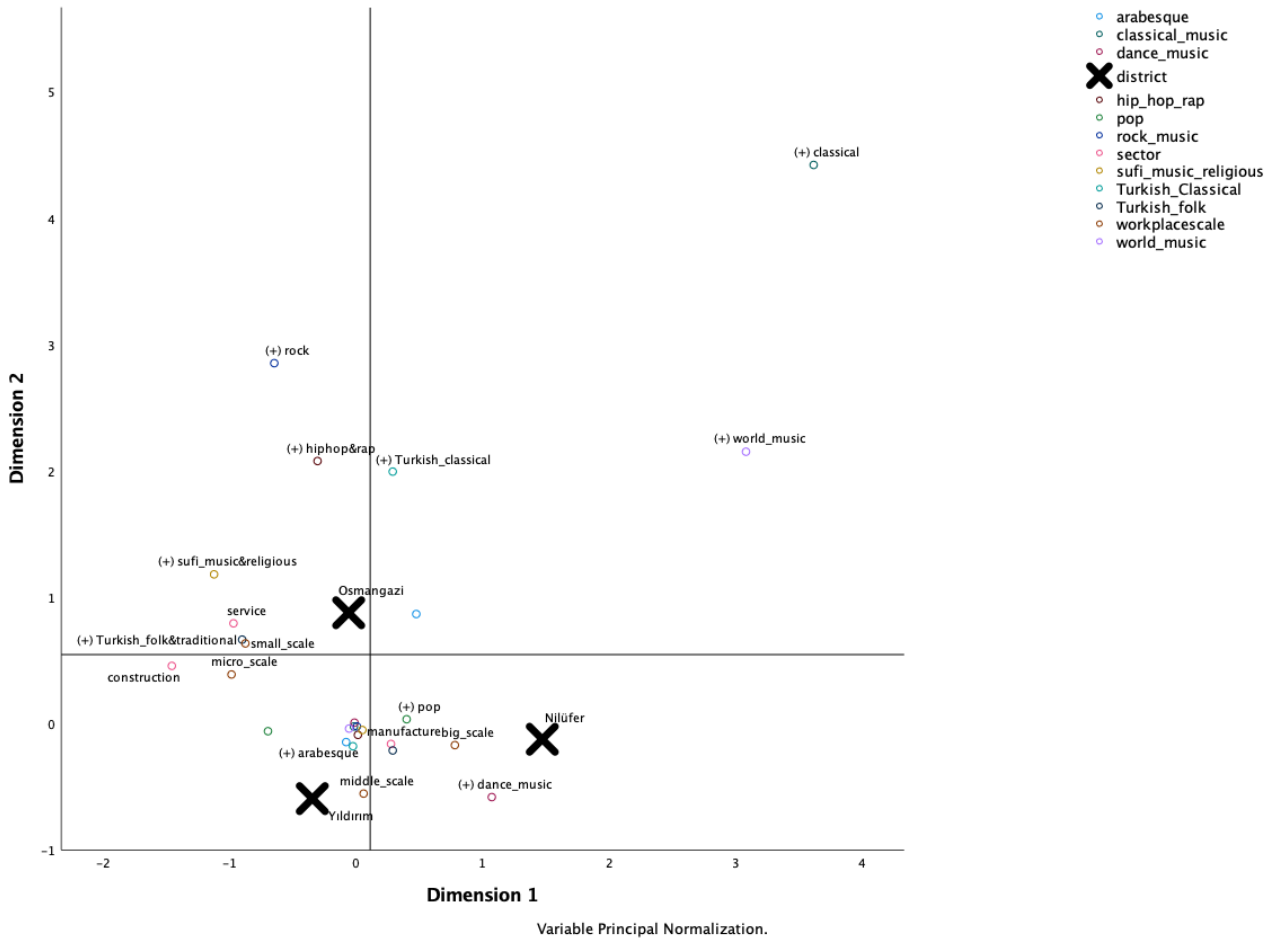


Figure 5. Spatial differentiation in music taste/genre among the working class in Bursa

Figure 5 (dimension 1 accounts for 23,2 per cent $\alpha = ,669$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 16,0 per cent $\alpha = ,523$ express 39,2 per cent of total variance) illustrates the prevalent music genres among the working class in Bursa based on place of residence. As previously stated, listening to Bursa’s classical music is a distinctive working-class practice. It was our anticipation that the distinctive features of arabesque music would continue to create spatial differentiation among the working class. We expect that the emphasis on the inclination of Yldrm’s music should be further emphasized in workers from Yıldırım. Nonetheless, based on our prediction, workers in Nilüfer are expected to exhibit greater affinity toward cosmopolitan listening practices similar to their food preferences. The scatter plots depicted in Figure 5 confirm our expectations regarding music genre differentiation among the working-class population in Bursa. Based on the scatter plots, it can be observed that workers from Yıldırım and employees in middle-scale firms are more inclined to listening to arabesque music. In addition, Osmangazi workers may align themselves closely with arabesque music; but, they are more accurately defined by neighboring genres, such as Turkish folk and traditional music. As predicted, individuals employed in Nilüfer and those working in large-scale firms tend to gravitate toward cosmopolitan music genres like dance or pop.

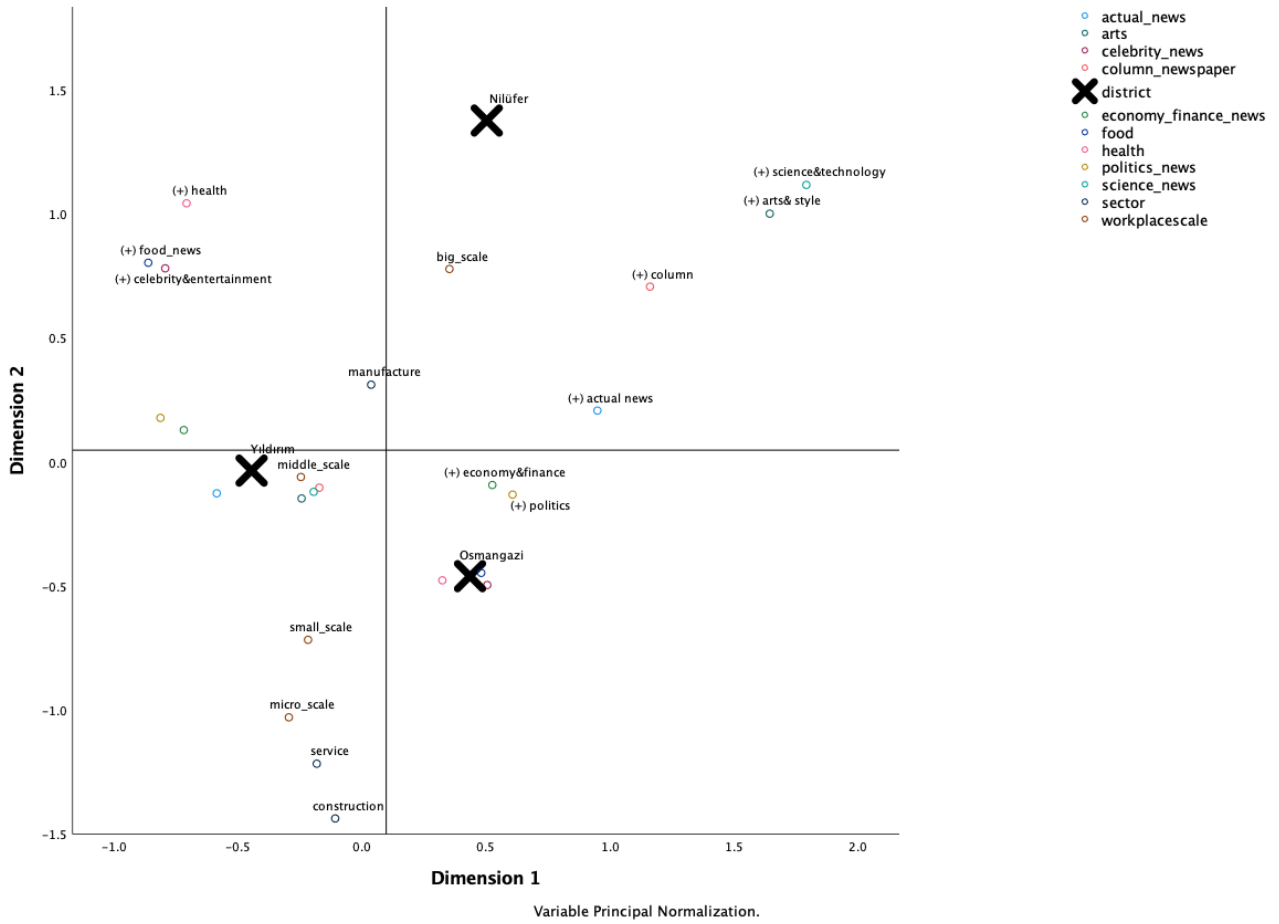


Figure 6. Spatial differentiation in news reading habits among working-class individuals in Bursa

The structures of news consumption patterns among workers in Bursa display remarkable dissimilarities when compared with other working-class habits, as illustrated in Figure 6 (dimension 1 accounts for 31,0 per cent $\alpha = ,829$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 24,0 per cent $\alpha = ,756$ express 55,0 per cent of total variance). We asserted a complete dichotomy in cultural practices between the workers of Yıldırım and Nilüfer, with the workers of Osmangazi expected to occupy an intermediate position. However, regarding news consumption habits, a pole distinction has emerged between Yıldırım and Osmangazi. The distribution of workers in Yıldırım is not easily associated with any specific reading habits. In spite of this, workers from Osmangazi exhibit a closer affinity toward reading news pertaining to the economy, finance, or politics. Furthermore, the workers from Nilüfer display strikingly dissimilar habits when compared with those from the other two districts. They have a tendency to engage with news articles focused on science, technology, arts, and style, which are often associated with the habits of the middle-upper class. This evidence supports our hypothesis, which suggests that the cultural maps of Nilüfer’s workers tend to resemble high-brow practices.

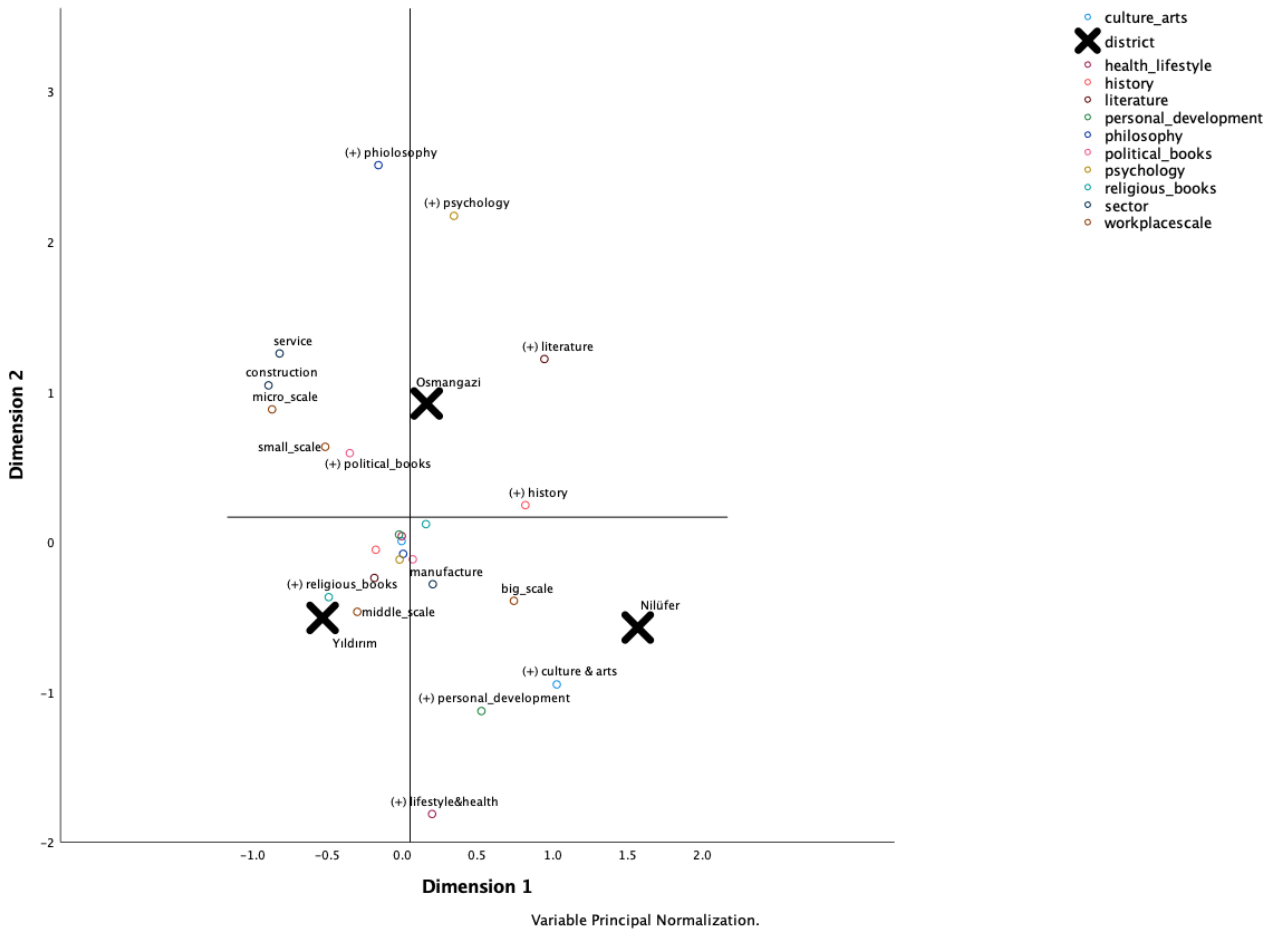


Figure 7. Spatial differentiation in book reading among working class in Bursa

When analyzing book reading preferences among working class in Bursa, a striking trend is observed, specifically among workers from Yildirim and those employed in middle-scale workplaces or in manufacturing, who demonstrate a significant preference for regularly reading religious books. As stated above, there is a distinct adherence to religious practices among the working class in Bursa, which is particularly reflected in the reading preferences of workers from Yildirim, as shown in Figure 7 (dimension 1 accounts for 19,1 per cent $\alpha = ,674$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 15,9 per cent $\alpha = ,593$ express 35,0 per cent of total variance). Conversely, the practices of workers from Nilüfer demonstrate a markedly divergent viewpoint. Resembling their associations with the upper- and middle-class cultural milieu, workers of Nilüfer exhibit a preference for books encompassing culture, the arts, personal development, and even history. In addition, Osmangazi workers display an affinity for reading political books.

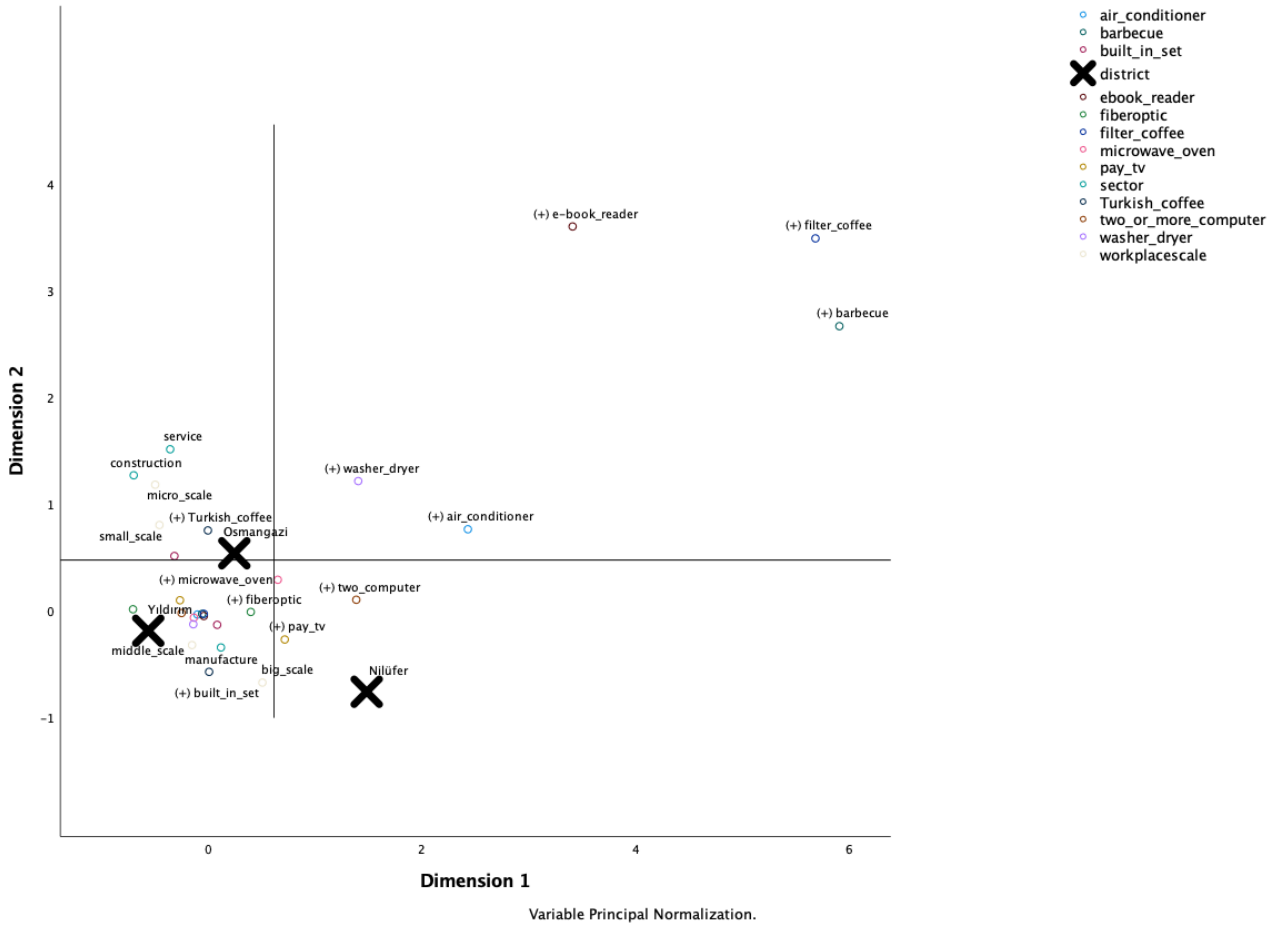


Figure 8. Spatial differentiation in home appliances among the working class in Bursa

As previously indicated, although there is indeed a clear correlation between the utilization of household appliances and economic capital, class-based practices (such as coffee habits) also significantly influence the demand for such products. It is probable that necessity-driven demands for home appliances have arisen among the workers of Yıldırım as seen in Figure 8 (dimension 1 accounts for 22,7 per cent $\alpha = ,773$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 16,2 per cent $\alpha = ,654$ express 38,9 per cent of total variance). Among them, there is a higher prevalence of basic kitchen equipment designed for quick meal preparation, such as built-in sets or microwave ovens. Conversely, the utilization of household appliances among Nilüfer workers demonstrated a greater inclination toward ICT technologies, resembling that of the upper and middle classes, and a stronger preference for domestic comfort rather than mere necessities. The apparent affiliations to own two or more computers and pay TV subscriptions reflect this situation. Despite the similarities among Nilüfer workers, consumption practices such as e-book readers and filter coffee machines, which are typically associated with the upper and middle class, are noticeably absent in working-class communities across all districts. However, it is quite interesting to observe a greater degree of closeness between being a Osmaniye worker and owning a Turkish coffee machine. This suggests that Osmaniye workers tend to have working-class habits, which include a preference for the traditional taste of Turkish coffee, as opposed to the middle-class habits of consuming Western-style coffee.

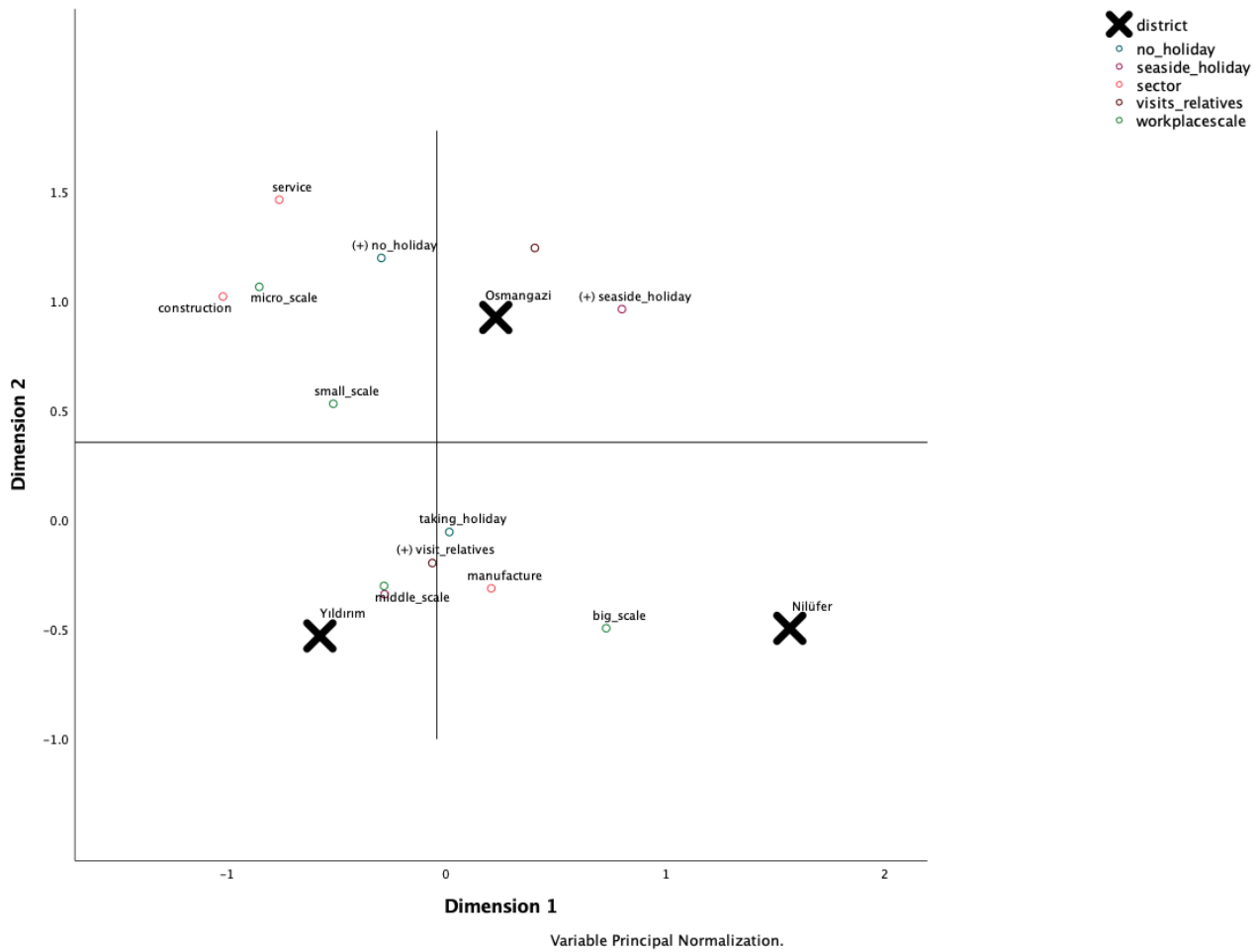


Figure 9. Spatial differentiation in holiday preferences among working-class individuals in Bursa

Lastly, we have conducted an analysis of the holiday preferences of workers in Bursa, which is presented in Figure 9 (dimension 1 accounts for 31,8 per cent $\alpha = ,694$ and the dimension 2 accounts for 26,1 per cent $\alpha = ,595$ express 57,9 per cent of total variance). The inclination of Yıldırım workers to mirror the overall working-class characteristics in Bursa also extends to their holiday preferences. As previously noted, our earlier indication supports Hoggart's (2021) findings, which reveal the pervasive inclination among the working class to prioritize visiting relatives when presented with the opportunity to go on vacation. The workers from Yıldırım serve as typical exemplars of this phenomenon. The workers from Yıldırım and workers who are employed in middle-scale workplaces serve as typical examples of this phenomenon. However, the practices of Nilüfer workers clearly diverge from these tendencies. It is interesting to observe that workers in Osmangazi have distinct holiday preferences when compared to others. Their preferences seem to be inclined toward spending their vacations at the sea. However, the sea-side vacation preferences of workers in Osmangazi may differ from those of upper-middle-class workers who opt for luxury hotels or villas in the highly sought-after south Turkey Riviera for their vacations. Just like the sequences in the story of the popular movie "Bursa Bülbülü", which chronicles the recent history of Bursa (Albayrak, 2023), it could be said that "the continued tradition of workers from non-migrant backgrounds spending their summer holidays in nearby coastal towns has been a prevailing trend since the late 1970s.

To summarize, our claim is that the working-class culture in Bursa is not uniform and that the division of class culture is directly influenced by socio-spatial relations. According to our understanding, the working-class culture establishes sub-divisions in a way that mirrors the principles used to differentiate between classes. We conducted a test and compared the MCA outcomes shown in from figure-3 to the figure-9. We predicted that general tendencies related to tastes and aesthetic preferences would conform to the same fundamental principles. It can be presumed that workers from Yıldırım would have a preference for cultural practices. However, Nilüfer workers would be driven to move in opposite directions and exhibit more similarities to a high-brow cultural milieu. As per our expectation, Osmangazi workers are likely to exhibit a milder character. The findings of the analysis greatly support our hypothesis. Evidence

was presented indicating that the cultural practices of Yıldırım workers, encompassing aspects such as food habits, music listening practices, book reading habits, ownership of home appliances, and holiday preferences, tended to reflect the overall characteristics of the working-class culture in Bursa. Additionally, we came across evident indications of a prevalence that resembled the highbrow cultural practices among the workers of Nilüfer, just as we had expected. The analysis provided evidence of mild cultural predispositions among the workers of Osmangazi. Nonetheless, a slight departure was noted in the reading patterns and holiday preferences among workers from Osmangazi, despite their mild positions.

7. Conclusion

One of the primary challenges in class studies is to articulate the complex correlation between class and culture (Devine & Savage, 2000). According to Williams (1960, p.344), in *Culture and Society*, the identification of the differentiating factors between two concepts should involve an examination of lifestyles, although it should not be restricted solely to that aspect. According to this perspective, it was believed that the distinction between workers and other social classes should be identified in the alternative ideas and practices that are naturally present in ordinary social relationships. The key to accomplishing this lies in directing attention toward distinctive social practices among the working class, thereby separating them from other classes. Spatial practices can be used as a convenient element to illustrate and formulate distinctions.

In Bourdieu's monumental work *Distinction*, which includes class theory, the cultural practices of the working class are given a very limited place. The cultural tendencies of workers are subject to compulsory choices made by material social conditions. In *Distinction*, it is pointed out that the working-class habitus will only transform depending on the urban experience (Bourdieu, 2017, p.179). However, the limited amount of research that extends Bourdieu's theoretical boundaries to working-class culture suggests that workers' class culture is not subject to the taste for necessity (Flemmen et al., 2017). As a matter of fact, the results of this study show that the class culture of workers in the space of consumer preferences (including place) is not singular but rather fragmented. However, this does not mean that workers do not have specific lifestyle patterns.

The working class is divided into factions with distinct predispositions and cultural consumption practices because of their exposure to diverse experiential social filters in Bursa. The representation of the working class has not been actualized, as demonstrated through the mechanical categorizations of proletariat and lumpen-proletariat, or class-itself and class-for-self. Unlike, the multidimensional effects of the transformations in social and material conditions lead to their segregation into separate fragments. These outcomes suggest that despite together work experiences within a factory as a "total institution," there are clear indications of separate social and cultural spheres associated with two distinct social groups, with less penetration between them. The utilization of spatial differentiation to classify class culture has enabled the attainment of a nuanced social structure. Consequently, the alteration of the working-class habitus is intertwined with cultural boundaries and circumstances of social existence, encompassing spatial aspects.

Ethics Committee Approval: The obtained the necessary official permissions from Bursa Uludağ University's Ethics Committee (25.02.2022-9).

Informed Consent: Consent was obtained from the participants.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Author Contributions: Conception/Design of Study- Ş.B., K.T.; Data Acquisition- K.T., Ş.B.; Data Analysis/Interpretation- Ş.B., K.T.; Drafting Manuscript- Ş.B., K.T.; Critical Revision of Manuscript- K.T., Ş.B.; Final Approval and Accountability- K.T., Ş.B.

Conflict of Interest: The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: This research was financed by Bursa Uludağ University BAP unit in 2022 under the project name SDK-2022-915.

ORCID :

Kemal TEMEL 0000-0001-6604-205X
Şenol BAŞTÜRK 0000-0001-8623-709X

REFERENCES

- Aktar, A. (1989). *Toplumsal değişme sürecinde küçük imalat sanayii: Bursa doküma sanayiinde insan ilişkileri* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). İstanbul Üniversitesi, İstanbul.
- Aktar, A. (1996). Bursa'da devlet ve ekonomi. E. Yenal (Haz.), *Bir masaldı Bursa* in (pp. 119–145). İstanbul: Yapı Kredi yayınları.
- Albayrak, H. A. (2023). Kanarya şakımalı, pelikan sevdalı bir “Bursa Bülbülü”. *Gazete Duvar*, <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/kanarya-sakimali-pelikan-sevdali-bir-bursa-bulbulu-haber-1598497>.
- Alemdaroğlu, A. (2017). Spatial segregation and class subjectivity in Turkey. *Social & Cultural geography*, 18(5), 603–622. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1206961>
- Attfield, S. (2021). The Australian working class in popular culture. M. Fazio, C. Launius, and T. Strangleman (Eds.). *International handbook of working-class studies* (pp. 274–284). London: Routledge.
- Bali, R. (2002). *Tarz-ı hayattan life style'a: Yeni seçkinler, yeni mekânlar, yeni yaşamlar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Beck, U. (2019). *Risk toplumu: Başka bir modernliğe doğru*. İstanbul: İthaki yayınları.
- Bourdieu, P. (2015). *Dünyanın sefaleti*, çev. L. Ünsaldı, A. Sümer, H.E. Mecioğlu, Ö. İlyas, L. Tutalar, B. Öztürk, Z. Baykal, Ö. Akkaya. Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Bourdieu, P. (2017). *Ayırım: Beğeni yargısının toplumsal eleştirisi*. Ankara: Heretik yayınları.
- Bourdieu, P. (2019). *Sosyoloji meseleleri*. Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Bottero, W. (2004). Class identities and the identity of class, *Sociology*, 5(38), 985–1003. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038504047182>
- Charlesworth, S. (2001). Bourdieu, social suffering and working-class life. *The sociological review*, 49(1), 49–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2001.tb03532.x>
- Chiu, S.I., Hong, Y.F. and Hu, H.Y. (2015). The effects of family cultural capital and reading motivation and reading behavior in elementary school students. *School psychology international*, 36(1), 3–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0143034314528488>
- Coşkun, M. K. (2017). *Sınıf kültür ve bilinç Türkiye'de işçi sınıfı kültürü, Sınıf bilinci ve gündelik Hayat*. Ankara: Dipnot yayınları.
- Coşkun, M. K. (2013). İşçi sınıfı kültürü, deneyim ve gündelik hayat. *Emek araştırma Dergisi*, 11 (8), 41–54.
- Crompton, R., & J. Scott (2005). Class analysis: Beyond the cultural turn. S. R. Crompton & F. Devine & M. Savage and J. Scott (Eds.), *Rethinking class: Culture, identities and lifestyles* in (pp. 186–202). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Devine, F. (1992). Social identities, class identity and political perspectives. *The sociological review*, 40(2), 229–252. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1992.tb00888.x>
- Devine, F. and Savage, M. (2005). The cultural turn, sociology, and class analysis. F. Devine, M. Savage, J. Scott, R. Crompton (Eds.), *Rethinking class: Culture, identities, and lifestyles* in (pp. 1-22). London: Palgrave Macmillan Press.
- Devine, F., and M. Savage (2000). Conclusion: Renewing class analysis. S. R. Crompton and F. Devine & M. Savage and J. Scott (Eds.), In: *Renewing class analysis* in (pp. 184–199). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dunk, T. W. (1991). *It's a working-man's town male working-class culture in Northwestern Ontario*. London: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Dülgeroğlu, E., Aytaç, M. and Baştaymaz, T. (1993). *Kentlerde yaşayan ücretli kesimin telâfi edici ve tamamlayıcı kaynakları: Bursa örneği*. İstanbul: Friedrich Ebert Vakfı.
- Eraydın, A. (1995). Local development under the pressures of restructuring: The case of Bursa, Turkey. B. Van der Kanapp & R. Le Heron (Ed). *Human resources and industrial space: A perspective on globalization and localization* in (pp.161–176). John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Erder, L. (1975). Factory districts in Bursa during the 1860s. *Journal of the faculty of architecture*, 1(1), 85–99.
- Erengöz, Ç. (2007). *A socio-spatial approach to the question of class and consciousness formation in a local setting: The case of Bursa industrial workers*. (Unpublished master's thesis). METU, Ankara.
- Entin, J. (2021). Reconceiving class in contemporary working-class studies. M. Fazio, C. Launius, and T. Strangleman (Eds.) *International handbook of working-class studies* in (pp. 32–45). London: Routledge.
- Erbaş, H. (2017). Sınıf çalışmalarında kültür ve gündelik hayatın yükselişi: Tarihsel bir izlek ve gelecek umudu. *Emek araştırma dergisi*, 11(7), 9–30.
- Fidan, N. L. (1999). *Bursa'da kentleşme sürecinde kaçak yapı olgusu ve gelişimi*. (Unpublished Master's thesis). Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa
- Flemmen, M., Jarness, V., & Rosenlund, R. (2017). Social space and cultural class divisions: The forms of capital and contemporary lifestyle differentiation. *The British journal of sociology*, 69(1), 124–153. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12295>
- Foley, D. E. (2007). İşçi sınıfı antropolojik anlamda bir kültüre sahip midir? H. Erbaş & M. K. Coşkun (Der.), *Fark/kimlik sınıf* in (pp. 261–301). Ankara: EOS Yayınevi.
- Ganioğlu, Z. (2013). *Working class and voting behavior in Turkey: Blue-collar workers*, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). METU, Ankara.
- Gazete oksijen (2022). Spotify verileri: Türkiye'de arabesk dinlemeleri son 3 yılda 4'e katlandı. *Oksijen*, <https://gazeteoksijen.com/muzik/spotify-verileri-turkiyede-arabesk-dinlenmeleri-son-3-yilda-4e-katlandi-162068>.
- Gemar, A. (2020). Sport as culture: Social class, styles of cultural consumption and sports participation in Canada. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 55(2), 186–208. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690218793855>
- Giddens, A. (2019). *Modernite ve bireysel-kimlik geç modern çağda benlik ve toplum*. İstanbul: Say yayınları.
- Goldthorpe, J. H., Lockwood, D., Bechhofer, F. & Platt, J. (1967). The affluent worker and the thesis of embourgeoisement: Some preliminary research findings. *Sociology*, 1(1), 11–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003803856700100102>
- Goldthorpe J., & Marshall, G. (1992). The promising future of class analysis: A response to recent critiques. *Sociology*, 3(26), 381–400.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038592026003002>

- Gündoğdu, İ. (2023). Yeni sanayi coğrafyalarına sınıf ilişkileri perspektifinden bakmak: Kayseri’de işçi sınıfının oluşumu. A. Bakioğlu & R. İnal (Eds.), *Türkiye’de sınıf çalışmaları* in (pp. 25–47). İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları.
- Hoggart, R. (2021). *Okuryazarlığın kullanımı işçi sınıfı yaşamının veçheleri*. Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Hall, S. (2017). *Selected political writings the great moving right show and other essays* S. Davison, & D. Featherstone & M. Rustin and B. Schwarz. (Ed) in (pp. 28–47). Durham: Duke University press.
- Hjellbrekke, J., & Jarness, V. (2022). Cultural divisions and time: Mapping diachronic homologies using class-specific MCA (CSA), *Bulletin de methodologie sociologique*, 155, 136–158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07591063221102259>
- Işık, C., & Erol, N. (2002). *Arabeskin anlam dünyası Müslüm Gürses örneği*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık
- Işık, N.E. (2018). Müziğin sosyolojisi açısından arabesk müziğin dönüşümü, *Sosyoloji dergisi*, 38(1), 89–106.
- Jensen, B. (2021). Post-traumatic lives: Precarious employment and invisible injury. *International handbook of working-class studies*. 252–262. London: Routledge.
- İyibozkurt, E. (2016). Tarım kenti Bursa’nın sanayi kentine dönüşüm süreci. E. Kağıtçıbaşı & E. Yaşar (Eds.), *Bursa’nın ekonomi tarihi* in (pp. 80–207). Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Kaplanoğlu, R. (2015). *Osmanlı’dan bugüne Bursa’da emek ve işçi hareketleri*. İstanbul:Avrasya Etnografi Vakfı yayınları.
- Karademir Hazır, I. (2014b). Bourdieu sonrası yeni eşitsizlik gündemleri: Kültürel sınıf analizi, beğeni ve kimlik. *Cogito*, 76(1), 230–265.
- Karademir Hazır, I. (2014a). Boundaries of middle-class identities in Turkey. *The sociological review*, 62, 675–697.
- Karademir Hazır, I. (2016). Wearing class: A study of clothes, bodies, and emotions in Turkey. *Journal of consumer culture*, 17(2), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540516631152>
- Karademir Hazır, I., & Warde, A. (2015). The cultural omnivore thesis: methodological aspects the debate. *Routledge international handbook of the sociology of art and culture*, pp. 77–89. London: Routledge.
- Karaosmanoğlu, D. (2009). Eating past: multiple spaces, multiple times: performing “Ottomanness” in İstanbul. *International journal of cultural studies*, 12(4), 339–358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877909104242>
- Kaygalak, S. (2008). *Kapitalizmin taşrası 16. yüzyıldan 19. yüzyıla Bursa’da toplumsal süreçler ve mekânsal değişim*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Kellner, D. (2016). Kültürel marksizm ve kültürel çalışmalar. *Ethos: Dialogues in Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 9(2), 132–151.
- Meier, L. (2021). *Cities and society: Working class of social inequalities in (post) industrial landscapes, feelings of class*. London: Routledge.
- Metzgar, J. (2021). There is a genuine working- class culture. M. Fazio, C. Launius, and T. Strangleman (Eds.). *International handbook of working-class studies* in (pp. 231–242). London: Routledge.
- Ocaklı, F. (2015). Notable networks: Elite recruitment, organizational cohesiveness, and Islamist electoral success in Turkey, *Politics & society*, 43(3), 385–413. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329215584790>
- Özbek, M. (2006). *Popüler kültür ve Orhan Gencebay arabeski*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Özgür, İ. (2006). Arabesk music in Turkey in the 1990s and changes in national demography, politics, and identity, *Turkish studies*, 8(2): 175–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840600714616>
- Pınarcıoğlu, M. (1998). *Industrial development and local change: the rise of Turkish textiles and clothing since 1980, and transformation in the local economies of Bursa and Denizli*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University College of London, London.
- Rankin, B., Ergin, M. and Gökşen, F. (2014). A cultural map of Turkey. *Cultural sociology*, 8(2), 159–179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975513494878>
- Rankin, B., & Ergin, M. (2017). Cultural omnivorousness in Turkey. *Current sociology*, 65(7), 1070–1092. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392116634817>
- Samancı, Ö. (2020). History of eating and drinking in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. Mieselman, H. L. (Ed), *Handbook of eating and drinking: Interdisciplinary perspectives* in (pp. 55-76), Cham: Springer.
- Savage, M., Bagnall, G., & Longhurst, B. (2005). Local habitus and working class culture. F. Devine & M. Savage & J. Scott & R. Crompton (Eds.), *Rethinking class: cultures, identities and lifestyles* in (pp. 95–123). London: Palgrave Macmillan Press.
- Savage, M. (2016). The fall and the rise class analysis in British Sociology. *Tempo social*, 2 (28), 57–72. 10.11606/0103-2070.ts.2016.110570
- Skeggs, B. (1992). Paul Willis, learning to labor. A. Beezer and M. Barker (Ed) *Reading Into Cultural Studies* in (pp.181–196). London: Routledge.
- Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class & gender*. London: Sage Publications.
- Streib, J. (2021). Class, culture, and inequality. M. Fazio, C. Launius, and T. Strangleman (Eds.) *International handbook of working-class studies* in (pp. 242–252). London: Routledge.
- Strengleman, T. (2021). Work and community introduction: Work and community. M. Fazio, C. Launius, and T. Strangleman (Eds.) *Routledge international handbook of working-class studies* in (pp. 163–169). London: Routledge.
- Swartz, D. (2015). *Kültür ve iktidar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Taşan- Kok, T. (2016). Changing dynamics of residential segregation in İstanbul. T. Maloutas & K. Fujita (Eds.) *Residential segregation in comparative perspective making sense of contextual diversity* in (pp. 237–257). London: Routledge.
- Tatlıcan, Ü., & Çeğin, G. (2014). Bourdieu & Giddens: Habitus veya yapının ikiliği. G. Çeğin & E. Göker & A. Arlı & Ü. Tatlıcan (Der.), *Ocak ve zanaat Pierre Bourdieu derlemesi*, in (pp. 303–367). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Temel, K. (2023). *Gecekondu site rezidans Bursa’da sınıf ve mekân*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

- Thompson, E.P. (2010). *Avam ve görenek: İngiltere’de geleneksel popüler kültür üzerine arařtırmalar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Thornton, S. (2003). *Club cultures music, media and subcultural capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Tuğal, C. (2009). *Passive revolution: Absorbing the Islamic challenge to capitalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Turner, G. (2016). *İngiliz kültürel çalışmaları*. Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- TUIK(2024).Employment by sector in Türkiye. <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Kategori/GetKategori?p=Istihdam,-Issizlik-ve-Ucret-108>.
- Ulukan Çiğerci, N. (2008). *Göçmenler ve işgücü piyasası: Bursa’da Bulgaristan göçmenleri örneği*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul.
- Uz, H. (2017). *Distinction among middle classes: A qualitative study on the members of two tennis clubs in İzmir, Turkey* (unpublished master’s thesis). METU, Ankara.
- Üstüner, T., and Holt, D. B. (2010). Toward a theory of status consumption less industrialized countries. *Journal of consumer research*, 37(1), 37–56. <https://doi.org/10.1086/649759>
- Vester, M. (2005). Class and culture in Germany. F. Devine & M. Savage and J. Scott and R. Crompton (Eds.), *Rethinking class: Cultures, identities and lifestyles* (pp. 69–95). London: Palgrave Macmillan Press.
- Wacquant, L. (2019). Kentsel marjinalite ve devletin sağ eli. *İdealkent Dergisi*, 11–19. <https://doi.org/10.31198/idealkent.562671>
- Warde, A. (2006). Cultural capital and the place of sport. *Cultural trends*, 15 (2/3), 107–122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960600712827>
- Webster, F. (2004). Cultural studies and sociology at and after, the closure of the Birmingham School. *Cultural studies*, 18(6), 847–862. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0950238042000306891>
- Williams, R. (1960). *Culture & society 1780-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Willis, P. (2016). *İşçiliği öğrenmek: sınıf, işçilik ve eğitim- işçi çocukları nasıl işçi oluyor*. Ankara: Heretik Yayınları.
- Wood, E. M. (2011). *Snuftan kaçış yeni “hakiki” sosyalizm*. İstanbul: Yordam kitap.
- Wright, E.O. (2016). *Sınıflar*. İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları.
- Wright, E.O. (2017). Sınıf yapısı kavramını bir kez daha ‘yeniden’ düşünmek, E. O. Wright (Eds.) *Sınıflar üzerine tartışmalar* in (pp. 325–418). İstanbul: NotaBene Yayınları.
- Wynne, D. (1990). Leisure, lifestyle and the construction of social position. *Leisure studies*, 9 (1), ss. 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02614369000390031>
- White, J. (2002). *Islamist mobilization in Turkey: A study in vernacular politics*. Seattle: University of Washington press.
- Yıldırım, E. (2010). Emek karşısında AKP. Yavuz, H.K. (Ed), *AKP toplumsal değişimin yeni aktörleri*, in (pp. 287–305). İstanbul: Kitap yayınevi.

How cite this article

Temel, K., & Baştürk, Ş. (2024). The working class culture in Bursa. *Journal of Economy Culture and Society*, 70, 39-64. [10.26650/JECS2024-1476732](https://doi.org/10.26650/JECS2024-1476732)