

Journal of Economy Culture and Society

ISSN: 2602-2656 / E-ISSN: 2645-8772

Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

Music, City and Social Change: A Study of Musical Preferences in a Former Suburb of Istanbul

Müzik, Kent ve Toplumsal Değişme: İstanbul'un Eski Çeper İlçelerinden Birinde Müzik Tercihleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma

Uğur Zeynep GÜVEN¹ , Yunus KAYA² , Andrew J. PERRIN³ 

¹Istanbul Medeniyet University, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Department of Sociology, Istanbul, Turkey

²Istanbul University, Faculty of Economics, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Istanbul, Turkey

³University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Sociology, Chapel Hill/North Carolina, U.S.A.

ORCID: U.Z.G. 0000-0002-6948-2277;
Y.K. 0000-0002-6624-2884;
A.J.P. 0000-0003-0966-0219

Corresponding author:

Uğur Zeynep GÜVEN,
Istanbul Medeniyet University, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Department of Sociology, Istanbul, Turkey
E-mail: ugurzeynepguven@yahoo.com

Submitted: 01.10.2019

Revision Requested: 03.10.2019

Last Revision Received: 09.10.2019

Accepted: 22.01.2020

Published Online: 18.02.2020

Citation: Guven, UZ., Kaya, Y., Perrin, A.J. (2020). Music, city and social change: a study of musical preferences in a former suburb of Istanbul. *Journal of Economy Culture and Society*, 61, 107-123.
<https://doi.org/10.26650/JECS2019-0075>

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this article is to analyze the link between the expansion of the city and the variety of taste in music with regards to the patterns of suburbanization, modernization and cultural plurality in Turkey. This study thus investigates the impact of social change on musical preferences within the context of Ataşehir, a rapidly growing former suburb of Istanbul. With a particular focus on musical preferences, it examines the predictors of taste including socio-economic and cultural background variables. In our models, by employing quantitative methods, we analyze the patterns of preference for twelve different musical genres grouped under popular, traditional and sophisticated styles. The results of our analyses reveal a high level of interest in both pop music and Turkish folk music among other genres. We thus suggest that global and local music genres coexist though a hybridization of taste at both the lower and upper end of social strata fuelled by factors such as rapid urbanization, migration and globalization. Regarding the multicultural dispositions of Istanbul, its former suburban regions display highly fragmented taste cultures where residents from different backgrounds allow a cultural conjunction in the suburban milieu.

Keywords: Musical preferences, social change, cultural stratification, Istanbul

ÖZ

Bu makalenin ana amacı Türkiye'deki altkentleşme, modernleşme ve kültürel çoğulluk örüntüleri bileşkesinden yola çıkarak kentsel yayılma ve müzik beğenilerinin çeşitliliğini analiz etmektir. Buradan hareketle bu çalışma İstanbul'un hızla gelişen eski çeper ilçelerinden biri olan Ataşehir çerçevesinde, Türkiye'de toplumsal değişimin müzik tercihleri üzerindeki etkisini araştırmaktadır. Araştırma, müzik tercihleri üzerine odaklanıp, beğenilerin belirleyicileri olarak sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel değişkenler arka planını incelemektedir. Niceliksel araştırma yöntemleri



kullandığımız araştırma modelimizde, popüler, geleneksel ve sofistike stiller büyük başlıkları altında gruplanmış on iki farklı müzik türüne yönelik tercih örüntüleri analiz edilmiştir. Analiz sonuçlarımıza göre, diğer tüm müzik türlerine kıyasla pop müzik ile türkü ya da Türk halk müziğinin en çok tercih edilen türler olduğu saptanmıştır. Araştırma bulgularından hareketle, hızlı kentleşme, göç hareketleri ve küreselleşmenin etkisi altında bir ilçenin toplumsal tabakalarının hem yüksek hem düşük katmanlarında, küresel ve yerel müzik türlerinin melez estetik beğeniler oluşturacak şekilde bir arada bulunduğu ortaya konulmuştur. Buna göre, İstanbul'un çokkültürlü yapısına uygun olarak eskiden çeper ilçe olup hızla gelişen bölgelerinde çok katmanlı beğeni kamuları açığa çıkmakta, bu bölgede yaşayanlar da kentin merkezinden farklı bir ortamda farklı geçmiş ve sosyal arka plan özellikleriyle bir kültürel yol ağızı oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müzik tercihleri, toplumsal değişme, kültürel tabakalaşma, İstanbul

1. Introduction

Musical preferences have long been understood as a significant indicator of taste and many theorists hold the idea that social position is related to musical consumption patterns. Yet, different cultural and spatial contexts generate different patterns of musical taste as a result of social transformations. The relationship between social position and musical taste has become more complicated with the advent of urban sprawl in many parts of the world and social change being accelerated by multilateral industrial modernization. The cultural stratification of musical taste may therefore produce different cultural hierarchies based on the social context in which it occurs. Turkey's expanding metropolises, Istanbul being the primary area of expansion, are examples of remarkable urban sprawl in recent decades. Inevitably, this phenomenon has been altering musical reception and reshaping the spatial components of different musical genres which have always been indicators of different cultural fragments in Turkey and the rest of the region. This study thus aims to analyze the impact of changing socio-economic and cultural background on musical taste within the context of a recently established but rapidly growing suburb of Istanbul, Turkey.

Focusing on a specific area within urban space may help to better understand the reciprocal relationship between spatiality and taste. This paper uses the 2013 Istanbul *Ataşehir* Social Change and Social Transformation Survey to examine the changing cultural stratification of musical preferences in suburban Istanbul. As a rapidly growing former suburb of Istanbul, *Ataşehir* sets a significant example of urban sprawl as it reflects the recent suburbanization and modernization patterns in Istanbul and Turkey. The area has now become a favored district on the Asian side of Istanbul. It is one of the most prominent districts that has experienced a significant shift from consisting of lower and lower-middle class neighborhoods to middle and upper-middle class ones during the last two decades. The rapid emergence of office buildings, art and cultural centers, the opening of fancy restaurants and pubs, and especially the increasing number of gated communities and luxury residences have attracted thousands of residents who previously lived in the city center areas. All these features of *Ataşehir* make it an excellent case for cultural analyses.

This paper highlights the sociological embedding and spatial component of cultural preferences and explores the link between the expansion of the city and variety of taste in music. The main objective of this study is to reveal the interlinked structure of taste and changing urban scape in Turkey and to analyze the impact of social factors such as income and education level on musical preferences in a highly stratified neighborhood in the cosmopolitan city of Istanbul. This paper thus traces the patterns of taste in music under the influence of constant socio-cultural change that runs parallel with the transformations in the stratified urban scape of Turkey. Therefore, historical evaluations of the music genres or emerging omnivore preferences in Turkey are outside the scope of our research model.

Considering the limited number of studies on taste in Turkey, this article aims to serve a multifaceted analysis on the trivet of musical taste, cultural stratification and urban space. This study on *Ataşehir* thus intends to put forth a distinct example of a former growing suburb in a developing country and its capacity to project the musical taste as an indicator of social change. Accordingly, preferences for popular, traditional and sophisticated music styles were analyzed in their relation to different variables such as education, income, and type of prior residential area, as well as age and gender. One of the intriguing results of this study has been the matching high-level interest in pop music and *türkü* (Turkish folk music) among many other genres, suggesting a coexistence of preferences for allegedly opposing music genres. This signalizes in the first place the coexistence of some largely accepted characteristics attributed to worldwide popular and traditi-

onal music genres, such as ‘western, global, new, modern, trendy, fun, commercial’ on one hand, and ‘eastern, local, old, authentic, non-commercial, emotional’, on the other. It further suggests, in accordance with our approach to musical preferences, how every personal music taste conveys polyvalence and unprecedented cultural position-takings in Turkey.

The first part of this article lays the theoretical framework of the study with a thorough sociological embedding of taste and musical preferences in the world and in Turkey. The second part explicates the methodology and presents the data analyzed for this article. The results in the following section exhibit the link between musical taste and the socio-economic and cultural background of the residents of *Ataşehir*. The study then further discusses the patterns of urban sprawl, modernization process and cultural sphere of Istanbul, as an indicator of changing Turkish society.

2. Theoretical Framework and Background on Turkey

Istanbul, previously the capital of three major empires, is today the largest and most cosmopolitan city of Turkey. Correspondingly, the city has been continuously expanding and creating an interweaving of cultural fragments, including musical preferences. This section explains the theories and concepts that are related to social, cultural and spatial components of taste in music. In the first place, the theoretical base builds primarily on an expanded interpretation of cultural capital mainly inspired by the works of Pierre Bourdieu. This is followed secondly by an evaluation of the modernization process in Turkish society, which leads to the analysis of the ever-changing positioning of several different music genres and the patterns of traditional or global character in them. Finally, these cultural components become more discernible with the analysis of socio-spatial background of these different music genres, and their relocation within the urban space.

2.1. Sociological Embedding of Taste in Music and an Overview at Musical Preferences in Turkey

Cultural capital, a term coined by Bourdieu (1979, 1990), is one of several forms of capital that, in combination, determine the degree of agents’ capabilities in a given field. This is a key concept to help explicate the musical preferences of a social group. This term refers to cultural possessions at an agent’s disposal, including educational qualifications and other cultural competences such as the ability to engage with prestigious cultural forms. For our uses, we build on Bourdieu to establish that musical taste is a form of cultural capital.

Taste in music is an important symbolic indicator for cultural stratification. Accordingly, divergence between fine arts and popular culture is a marker of social class and status hierarchy (see DiMaggio and Useem, 1978; Lamont and Fournier, 1992; Gans, 2008). More recent studies¹ begin to question the bifurcation between highbrow and lowbrow preferences by suggesting new forms of distinction. Given the fact that musical preferences are socially conditioned (Silbermann, 1963), it is useful to interpret the notion of cultural capital and taste as a particular pattern and a context on its own in accordance with the internal dynamics of a particular society. Moreover, particular musical communities such as subcultures (Slobin, 1993) and particular social groups regarding

¹ As a prominent example, the omnivore thesis (Peterson, 1992) indicates a shift from fewer elite musical genres to selective consumption from a wider array of genres. Similarly, studies that suggest an eclecticism concerning especially upper class musical preferences (Van Eijk, 2001; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Coulangeon, 2005; Katz-Gerro, 2002) have shaken the vision that links the upper class to a taste for highbrow culture. As stated earlier and explained in details in the “Methods and Data” section, this survey used in this research model does not seek omnivore musical preferences. Yet, we have considered its contribution to taste in our literature review.

their multifaceted cultural preferences that make up the body of taste publics (Gans, 2008) can be used to examine the musical preferences of specific geography. Additionally, starting from the culture industry thesis (with Horkheimer 1979) Adorno's (1994) theories in sociology of music which propose many key concepts such as standardization, alienation, reification, regressive listening, the fetish character of music, and pseudo-individualization help us to understand the impact of popular culture and other branches of the mass communications industry on musical preferences, especially in popular music and other mainstream styles in Turkey. Furthermore, the effect of globalization as a complex means of connection and unification (Tomlinson, 1999) together with multiculturalism or plurality and coexistence of diversified cultures proposes a new mapping of music cultures which helps us to reinterpret the link between local and global or national and transnational tendencies (Hannerz, 1987; Appadurai, 1996). Considering Featherstone's (1990, p. 3) claim that cultures are becoming the same in a world conceived as bound together, globalization constitutes almost an imposing factor on the preference for music genres that are globally available and accessible. The afore-mentioned theories helped us to designate the required features to distinguish between traditional, popular and sophisticated for our research model.

As stated earlier, in this article we focus on the socio-cultural patterns of musical taste from classical music and pop to more traditional genres in a former suburban area of Istanbul. Before delving into the empirical analysis of musical preference, there is a need for explanation of the underlying logic of musical categorization within the context of Turkey. Therefore, the following paragraphs look into the impact of the modernization process and social change in Turkey and present an overview of the main cultural characteristics as well as the current meanings and representations of genres used in this study.

The genres which were preferred in this analysis reveal the proliferation of musical tastes in Turkey which is closely linked not only to the recent past of the Republic of Turkey but also to its long and substantial history dating back to numerous Turkic states, and the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the artistic influence of various different cultures of religious and ethnic minorities was preserved and still exists throughout this geographical area today. Nonetheless, the long-term modernization processes, and the rural exodus starting from the late 1950s, led to many cultural transformations and deeply affected the musical sphere, resulting in many altered genres, fragmentations, fusions and some hybrid styles as well as changes in composition and performance techniques. The long-term influences of the multi-layered social change essentially led to a redefinition of different musical genres and 'the ways of life' accompanied by them. Taking into account this particularly Turkish conceptualization of different music genres and styles, the distinction between serious and popular music spheres (Adorno, 1994) and the widely accepted distinction between art, folk and popular music spheres (Tagg 1982, p. 41) in terms of the composition, distribution and reception of music are also used in this paper to classify musical genres in Turkey.

The current complex situation of the music spheres has been subject to several discussions on the multifaceted dynamics of social change in Turkey. The traces of this evaluation formally go back to discourse on the development of the symbolic sphere of art. For instance Gokalp, one of the founders of Turkish sociology and a member of the early republican intelligentsia, indicated that the impact of the modernization process would reshape the perception of modern music: 'Our national music... is to be born from a synthesis of our folk music and Western music' (Gokalp cited in Woodord 2007, p. 553). The emergence of the new elite (Lewis 1968, p. 461) then played an important role in implementing these new cultural policies. Although the modernization process in Turkey dates back to the late eighteenth century and especially to the *Tanzimat* (regulation)

period of the late Ottoman Empire starting from 1839, the attempts of modernization and appropriation of western artistic styles was one of many cultural developments during the founding decade (1923-1933) of the new republic. Later, the 1950s saw another milestone for the acceleration of this process, this time with different motivations, initially marked by a shift to a multi-party system and followed by political and economic reforms which gave rise to the emergence of new, fragmented and occasional hybrid cultural forms.

Among those forms, *arabesk* is a highly hybrid genre under the influence of Middle-Eastern musical motifs but mainly Arabic in style (as its name suggests). *Arabesk* has long been used as a metaphor for the disintegration of state and person, abandonment to fate and a form of social and individual decay. Among many studies on diverse aspects of this genre (Ozbek, 1991; Stokes, 1992; Markoff, 1994), one of its most prominent features has been considered to be its ethos of alienation and disenchantment with society. Even within more recent studies, scholars still seek the underpinnings of how this complex genre evolved in time. Yazar (2008, p. 37), for instance, draws attention to two different angles on the modernization process, defended by prominent Turkish sociologists. These are based on the fact that the new Turkish state was built on two structural residues inherited from the Ottoman past. These are the patrimonial state tradition based on the center-periphery opposition, on one hand, but on the other, a radical rupture from feudal to capitalist systems, which gave shape to the new social formation. Scholars have also agreed on certain causes behind the emergence of this genre: mechanization in agriculture and programs of rural regeneration in the 1950s gave rise to a rural labor surplus which, in turn, led to a massive rural exodus from the impoverished southeast regions of Turkey. Alienation in the squatter towns (*geceköndü*) of the big city eventually engendered the discovery of musical talent, which meant finding a new language for expressing this lack of belonging. *Arabesk* thus turned out to be a genuine subcultural music genre, which in subsequent decades integrated within the popular music sphere in Turkey. The genre's newfound popularity has resulted from demographic and political changes, especially the integration of rural migrants into urban society (Özgür, 2006). It should be noted that the *arabesk* phenomenon has been enormously proliferated and became a multifaceted music genre that leads today even to more diverse cultural and political debates. Especially during the past decade, on account of its intertwining with rap, rock and pop, it has slowly become a multi-stylistic fusion genre. We can even argue that the *Arabesk* of the previous decades exists neither with its structural characteristics nor with its social meanings.

Another genre, *türkü*, sung in Turkish, refers to a vast genre comprising *authentic* Turkish folk music, inheriting the *aşık* poetic forms and narrating traditions where the song is usually rendered anonymous and thus appears as a cultural representation of indigenous folklore in Turkey (Bates, 2011). These folk songs generally narrate different kinds of everyday emotions of rural Turkey. In a comparative point of view, Stokes (1989, p. 29) indicates that *arabesk* stands in opposition to *türkü* (Turkish folk music) which is direct, unchanging, and sung in pure Turkish, because it is contrived in highly Arabicized Turkish and only ambiguously related to the *maqams* of Ottoman art music. The increasing number of *türkü* bars since the late 1990s indicates a significant liminal public space between the urban and the rural, where the majority of the audience are immigrants from various different rural part of eastern and south eastern Anatolia, reminiscing about their hometowns amidst a collective musical activity.

On the other hand, religious music in Turkey may refer to several different styles. These include the *Mevlevi Sufi order*, whirling *dervishes* and the *sama* ceremony as well as the musical instrument *ney* which introduced the Sufi influence, and Turkish religious music in general, to the

global cultural domain. Therefore, *Sufi* music has sometimes been classified within fusion music or world music around the world for the past few decades². More importantly, in Turkey, *Sufi* music is not considered part of the ‘world music’ genre for Turkish listeners. World music, as the study of non-Western musics and musics of ethnic minorities (Feld 2000, p. 146), has been a continuously evolving term, referring to a wide range of musical attributes such as ethnic, fusion, tribal, new age, world beat, hybrid music and so forth. That is why world music is closely associated with globalization where it becomes traditional music repackaged and marketed as popular music (Bohlman, 2002).

‘Classical’ music also has many different connotations in Turkey. Signell (1980, p. 164) draws attention to its nine different characteristics, including ‘enduring, balanced, notated, theorized about, serious professional, passively received, non-folk, elite’. In this sense Turkish art music (*Türk Sanat Musikisi*) refers to a wide range of slightly different art music styles and is still used to describe the Ottoman court music. In a related context, classical Turkish music (*Klasik Türk Müziği*) refers to the artistic pieces performed for a wider heterogeneous audience especially after the foundation of the republic. In this article, classical Turkish music is clustered under the traditional music grouping on the basis of its long and strong historical presence within Turkish society (See Table 1). The meaning and the content of classical music was also expanded as part of the cultural reforms of the early republican period, when the western-inspired symphonic Turkish music started to be composed by numerous musicians such as Ahmet Adnan Saygun, Cemal Reşit Rey, the other members of the ‘Turkish Five’, and several other talented musicians of the time. From the beginning of the 1930s, the state implemented a number of coordinated cultural policies in music, including the foundation of conservatories in formal education in Western polyphonic music, sending gifted students abroad for training, free symphony concerts around the country, courses in both polyphonic music and standardized monophonic folk tunes offered free of charge in the People’s Houses (*halkevleri*), organization of music and dance nights and the like (Tekelioglu, 2001).

Today, the long modernization process with a large number of adherents and a good number of critics remains controversial in Turkey. Both on academic and non-academic levels, some admire these different musical styles and see them as an enriching effect, while others oppose them on the grounds of the loss of the tradition and authenticity. What is significantly relevant to today’s musical taste is the adoption of ambiguous but quite conspicuous multifaceted attitudes.

2.2. The Patterns of Urban Sprawl in Istanbul as a Background for Cultural Preferences

As elsewhere in the world, many music cultures in Turkey appear related to particular spatial backgrounds. Moreover, different musical genres reflect a threshold between urban and rural spaces in terms of their structure and the level of preference by different social groups. Therefore, the analysis of urban sprawl in Istanbul with a particular focus on one of its former suburbs can be closely related to the analysis of changing taste in music in Turkey. In this sense, although urbanization process is not the focus of this article, it is useful to have an overview of the changing pivot of urban sprawl in Turkey. Istanbul has been experiencing urbanization at an unprecedented rate over the last few decades. *Ataşehir*, which was a suburban area at the beginning of the 1990s, is a remarkable example of this gradual, deliberate and quite successful phenomenon in Istanbul. *Ataşehir*, which started as a small neighborhood on the Asian side of Istanbul, has become a

2 For instance, a well-known musician in Turkey, Mercan Dede’s use of Sufi music might be an example for this classification; his album entitled ‘800’ was dedicated to Mevlana Jelaleddin Rumi’s 800th birthday, and his other works constitute an example of fusion of Sufi music and electronica.

municipality in its own right during the past few years, following the increasing number of finance and business centers. Industrialization and the rise of the service sector appear to have affected this growth of the urban core of Istanbul. *Ataşehir* gained the status of township in 2008. It is located at the eastern end of *Kadıköy*, a district known as the music and cultural center of the Asian side of Istanbul. It is bordered by the historical district of *Üsküdar* in the northwest and *Sancaktepe*, another expanding bedroom community, in the northeast. *Ataşehir* covers a surface of more than 25 km² with a current estimated total population of more than 422,000³. Istanbul has now become a multicentered metropolitan area. Thus, far from being isolated from the city center, *Ataşehir* has become an area in transition. Expansion and physical growth have followed a process similar to that outlined by Burgess in his study of Chicago (Burgess, 2008). This includes sub-business centers growing in outlying zones and satellite loops that represent a telescoping of several local communities into a larger economic unity (Burgess 2008). This model also applies to many other expanding peripheral zones in Istanbul. Tekeli (2014, p. 9-12), for instance, points out that collective housing and large blocks as a new housing model, decentralization of central business district, together with construction of high quality highways, and the rise of land prices in the city center, pushed the urban growth to the periphery in the metropolitan areas in Turkey.

In terms of physical and cultural stratification, suburbanization in Istanbul is different in some ways from its equivalents in the West. Rather than a significant deterioration of the inner city including environmental pollution, increasing crime rates or traffic, etc., there has been an expansion of the city center towards the periphery. This expansion was especially the result of the boom of the squatter town since the late 1950s and early 1960s, especially due to the rural exodus. This remodeling of the city affected the positioning of different music cultures in Istanbul. The newcomers did not only create their own living spaces within big cities but also soon created their own cultural milieu. The detachment from the city center was later followed by the movement of the middle class to suburbs in search of relatively calmer, safer, cleaner areas compared to constantly growing downtown Istanbul. This was quickly underpinned by co-operative projects offering suburban apartment blocks furnished with new and technological appliances as well as with recreational areas. These have become a part of the urban scape in contrast to their side-by-side counterparts on the crowded streets of Istanbul.

The suburbanization process has accelerated from the mid-1990s, giving rise to upper-class suburbanization. This time it has particularly been families in search of neighborhood homogeneity who have set their mark on it at least in terms of economic, if not cultural, capital. This has resulted in a segmented and a seemingly sterile environment. These new axes of social differentiation can be seen through the penetration of capitalism into rural areas, rural to urban migration, shifts in state policies from the single-party regime of 1923-50, multi-party democracy after 1950s and politics of economic liberalization and privatization since the 1980s and their impacts on elite formation and social stratification (Kandiyoti and Saktanber, 2002). Keleş (2018, p. 230), who considers underdevelopment and overall economic problems as the main causes of the bottleneck of the urbanization process in Turkey, states that growth poles in the periphery are engendered by the industrialization of the region. Uluşan and Dülgeroğlu-Yüksel (2011, p. 7) add that mass housing units and gated communities were presented as the solution to irregular urbanization in Istanbul that is prominently marked mainly by squatter towns of the urban poor. In this

3 <http://www.atasehir.bel.tr/tarihce>

sense, the relocated groups moving outside the city consist of several former suburbs including *Ataşehir*, *Beylikdüzü*, *Başakşehir*, *Çekmeköy* and the like.

Thus it can be said that the metropolis of Istanbul is one of the most significant representations of symbolic struggles in Turkey, sometimes occurring through dichotomies like traditional vs. modern. Yet, the cosmopolitan structure of the city simultaneously leaves almost every dilemma in flux by fostering transitory, in-between or liminal stages. Since the center-periphery or urban-suburban difference matters in terms of musical practices and preferences, changing urban districts in Istanbul run parallel with changing cultural preferences. That is why *Ataşehir*, a developing, formerly suburban area in Istanbul, seems once more an adequate place to analyze musical preferences as an outcome of social change and the changing taste in music.

3. Data and Methods

This paper uses data from the *Ataşehir* Social Change and Social Development Project 2013 to explore predictors of taste in music and concentrates on the responses to musical preferences. The survey was conducted between May and July 2013 and comprised of questions on several topics including respondents' education, job, income, migration status and information about the household, as well as their cultural activities and preferences. In this survey, respondents were asked a variety of questions, such as their frequency of concert attendance, the level of interest in arts and their favorite musical genre. The analysis of the socio-cultural components of musical preferences is mainly based on the answers of 963 informants who were asked to choose and report a favorite music genre among twelve different genres, including (1) Pop, (2) Rock, (3) Hip-hop, (4) Metal, (5) Ethnic music/world music, (6) Jazz, (7) Latin, (8) Western art music/Classical symphonic music, (9) *Türkü*, (10) Turkish art music/Classical Turkish music, (11) Religious music, and (12) *Arabesk*. Participants were not allowed to report preference for more than one genre, which somewhat limits our analyses, but also allows us to analyze the most favored genres among the participants.

Participants were recruited from different districts in *Ataşehir* where the number of professionals, blue-collar workers, students, service sector workers, self-employed and unemployed immigrant habitants vary from one another. On the one hand, the number of professionals and college students living in *Ataşehir* skyrocketed compared to the previous decades because of the increasing number of university campuses within this municipality. On the other hand, due to the increasing number of middle-range residences and new apartment blocks with many facilities, lower and lower-middle class families moved to better houses compared to the old and relatively uncared-for but affordable ones in the city center.

Following the discussion in the previous section of this article, we grouped the musical genres in the survey into three major categories. We also took into consideration the aesthetic and marketing similarities among the genres. The first category, 'traditional music' consists of Turkish art music/Classical Turkish music, religious music, *türkü* (Turkish folk music) and *arabesk*. The second category, 'popular music' comprises pop, rock, hip-hop and metal. The last category 'sophisticated music' includes Western art music/classical symphonic music, jazz, Latin and ethnic/world music.

Among the three groupings of genres used in this article, pop, rock, hip-hop and metal are brought together under the title popular music, as these genres can be considered as part of the worldwide music industry and music sphere (Adorno, 2002) and are capable of capturing a wide audience. Unlike art music or 'authentic' traditional musical styles, as Tagg (1982) points out,

popular music is conceived for mass distribution to large and often socio-culturally heterogeneous groups of listeners, stored and distributed in non-written form and only possible in an industrial monetary economy where it becomes a commodity.

Musical preferences within these categories of genres were considered as dependent variables. Participants who reported preference for musical genres under these categories were coded as 1, while the rest were coded as 0. Independent variables include education, income, and type of prior residential area, as well as age and gender.

We analyzed the determinants of the preference for three major groupings of musical genres using logistic regression. The logarithmic models allow researchers to deal with binomial and categorical distributions as linear (Agresti, 2002). Logistic regression models constitute the best statistical model when the dependent variable is binomial. In addition, we provided the frequencies of preference for each of the twelve specific musical genres. The data analysis was conducted using SPSS 23 for Windows.

Several studies have shown that musical preferences provide a means of distinguishing between social groups and that musical preferences correspond to changing cultural choices. Musical preferences have been used as a valid indicator of cultural taste in accordance with different variables such as age, gender, education level, occupation etc.

Our primary hypothesis is that the preference of sophisticated musical genres will be associated with higher levels of education and income. We also hypothesize that since *Ataşehir* constitutes a cosmopolitan municipality, the type of residential areas (town or city) from which current residents moved to *Ataşehir* will affect their taste in music; people from cities will be more likely to be interested in sophisticated music styles. Likewise, students are considered to be the more open-minded fraction of the respondents and to follow popular trends. Therefore, we hypothesize that younger people will report liking popular music genres. The following section presents the results of our analyses.

4. Results

Figure 1 shows the gender distribution of musical preferences, which reveals, first of all, that pop music and *türkü* (Turkish folk music) are the two most preferred musical genres among both men and women. Table 1 indicates that 35 per cent of *Ataşehir* residents prefer *türkü*. This may suggest on the one hand that many residents are still rooted in the traditional culture and they care about their historical and geographical past and, in a way, wish to remain affiliated with the old rural way of life. If this is the case, the high level of interest in a traditional folkloric genre seems like a noteworthy indicator of the level of adaption to city life as well as (the lack of) the adaptive function of the city itself, if not the influence of the everyday life dynamics of the recently developed urbanized areas. On the other hand, we need to keep in mind that many traditional musical styles in Turkey constitute a preferred genre for the long-established urban classes as well. The high interest in *türkü* is followed by pop music, with a percentage of 26 per cent. This indicates that the omnipresence of pop and other light music genres are successfully marketed here, as elsewhere in the world. Listening to pop music, as an end product genre of the huge expansion in market-oriented music industry is also still one of the most accessible leisure activities. Furthermore, most pop music industries are based on ‘western’ and ‘developed’ countries’ policies. Since ‘the popular’ is somewhat tied to the altering but still ongoing modernization process of Turkey, it is understandable, and to a certain extent, reasonable for pop music to attain success in a developing and modernizing district.

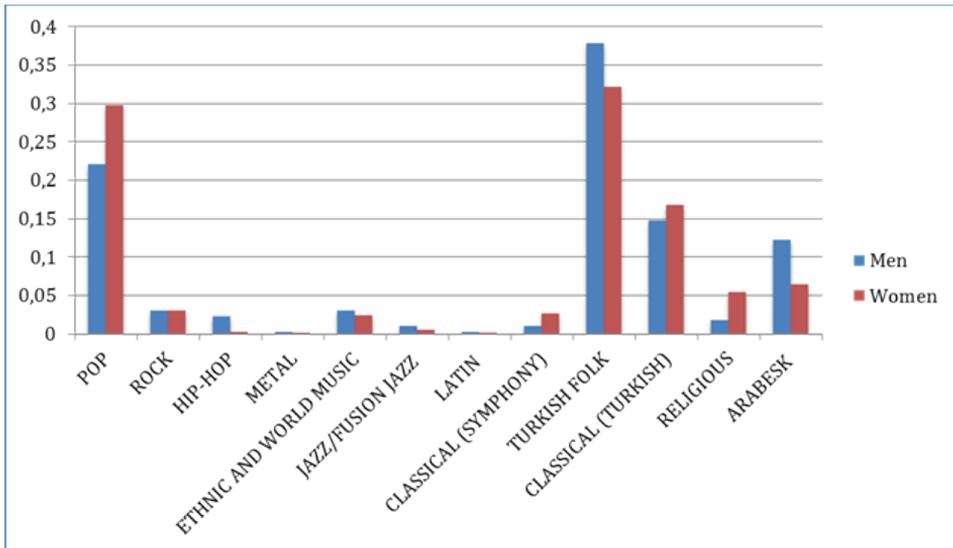


Figure 1: Musical Preferences among Men and Women
n=963 (men: 385, women: 578)

Classical Turkish music remains a complicated music genre which requires a certain level of knowledge about techniques of Turkish art music, which in turn requires access to musical education as part of one's cultural capital. 16 per cent of the residents prefer this type of music. Apart from its musical complexity, its representation and significance as closely related to the past might render it as a preferred genre in this area. These top three genres are followed by *arabesk* with a percentage of 9.3 per cent. As explained previously, *arabesk* has long been considered as the musical expression of rural exodus and the experience of the newcomers to big cities, especially to Istanbul in Turkey, particularly before its latest incorporation with other popular genres.

Table 1: Music preferences among men and women (%)

Genre	Entire sample	Men	Women
Pop	26.7	22.1	29.8
Rock	3.1	3.1	3.1
Hip-Hop	1.1	2.3	0.3
Metal	0.2	0.3	0.2
Ethnic and World Music	2.7	3.1	2.4
Jazz/Fusion Music	0.7	1.0	0.5
Latin	0.2	0.3	0.2
Classical (Symphony)	2.0	1.0	2.6
Turkish Folk (Türkü)	34.5	37.9	32.2
Classical Turkish	16.0	14.8	16.8
Religious	4.0	1.8	5.5
Arabesk	8.7	12.2	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

n: 963 (men: 385, women: 578)

As the overall highest percentages belong to pop and *türkü*, the results in Figure 1 and Table 1 propose that women (30 per cent) prefer pop music more than men do (22 per cent). This suggests that women in general are more likely to detach from their roots and previous traditions and are more prone to standardization offered by the massified pop music industry.

Table 2 presents logistic regression models of having a preference for different musical categories and displays odds ratios. Age, level of income, gender, being a student, education level and the origin (town or city) of habitants were considered as independent variables in the models. There is a very significant positive correlation between being young and listening to popular music styles, as we hypothesized. But being a student is not a significant predictor of preferring popular music styles over others. Moreover, those who were born, raised and lived in cities are clearly more likely to listen to popular music. Education level is not related to the preference for mainstream music. As Gans (2008) points out, just like high culture, popular culture reflects the aesthetics and expressive needs of its listeners, who usually lack the economic and educational level of the highbrows. Economic capital seems insignificant for predicting popular music preference among the residents of *Ataşehir*. Even though there is a veritable rock music scene that is very similar to those around the world (including many local sub-styles such as *Anatolian rock*) and despite the emerging genuine hip-hop scene in Istanbul as well as the increasing number of recording companies and clubs, the weak interest in these relatively less mainstream and more ‘underground’ or ‘rebel’ global genres like rock (about three per cent), metal (less than one per cent) and hip-hop (less than two per cent) in Table 1 seems to strengthen the strong presence and influence of a predetermined and standardized popular music industry package.

Table 2: Logistic regression models of musical preferences

	Popular music	Sophisticated music	Traditional music
Age	0.912***	1.003	1.084***
Income	1.063	1.311	0.868
Male	0.999	1.082	0.889
Student	0.651	1.541	1.042
Education	1.138	1.615*	0.769**
Town	1.800	52636590.89	0.419
City	3.610*	46547720.09	0.234**
Constant	2.841	0.000	0.932

Note: Each cell contains odds ratios; n=963; ***p<0.001 **p<0.01 *p<0.05 (two-tailed tests)

Preference for genres from the category of sophisticated music might differ from one society to another. As music sociologist Supičić (1987, p. 145) points out; “for the aristocracy, as formerly for the class of feudal lords, music was part of the décor and the lifestyle. Music was a mark of social distinction and it was progressively taken up by the middle class”. Because classical Western art music or symphonic music is thought to be not indigenous to Turkey (although there are original pieces that were composed starting from the last few centuries of the Ottoman Empire) it is oftentimes considered as a marker of being modern, cultivated and westernized. But, with less than three per cent, the residents do not seem to be primarily concerned with the sophistication label of western classical music.

However, as hypothesized, those with higher education do express greater preference for classical and other sophisticated music styles. This underlines the way cultural capital is also argued

to be a key to educational success (Bourdieu, 1979; DiMaggio and Useem, 1978). However, the impact of other variables like age, gender, and having been raised in a city or a small town are insignificant. On the other hand, jazz has increasingly become a sophisticated genre, with the arrival of a few fancy jazz bars in Istanbul. However, the interest (about one per cent) in jazz in *Ataşehir* seems to be very limited.

Finally, the music genres regrouped as traditional music including *türkü*, Classical Turkish music, religious music and *arabesk*, are more likely to reflect the folk culture heritage. In this case, age is a very significant factor in preferring traditional music. Especially in terms of classical Turkish music, which evolved mainly from classical Ottoman court music, older people are more likely to choose this genre because of years of experience, affinity and partial familiarity. On the other hand, education level here is quite an important predictor of taste in traditional music. The results show that people with lower educational levels are more likely to choose traditional or local styles. This is related to the cultural capital model predictions, which imply that when there is a lack of cultural capital to appreciate more sophisticated musical genres that require a certain level of knowledge, people tend to preserve what they inherited and what is available almost everywhere all around one's society.

Even though *türkü* and classical Turkish music each represent original rural and urban music styles both historically and technically, it is almost impossible to select a single 'indigenous' form for the multicultural nature of Turkish society. Yet, 'authenticity' is a common feature in stating the artistic criteria of these two genres. However, even though clustered within the same category based on the common geographical and national origins, the soundscape of these two genres cannot be limited to the prominence of traditionalism. They are different from one another, and from *arabesk* in many ways, including their musical complexity as well as their representation and in turn their reception by the audience. Furthermore, it is not a coincidence that age is significant in preferring religious music because as people get older they tend to gravitate towards religion. Since religion is directly affiliated with traditions, customs and rituals, it is not surprising that older people show greater interest in traditional music styles.

5. Discussion

Our analysis shows how musical preferences and related social distinctions are shaped by urbanization, socio-cultural determinants and cultural trends. Among these factors, urbanization patterns create a space on which any given music culture can exist. The urban sprawl and relatively new developing neighborhoods thus set an example of the form and content of social change in that society. In addition, the long process of modernization in Turkey together with rural exodus and the recent impact of globalization, are shown to be the major components of the changing music sphere in Istanbul and tactfully transform the nature of musical tastes.

5.1. *Fragmented Taste Publics under the Long-Term Influence of the Modernization Process*

Starting from the late-Ottoman and early-Republican period, we have emphasized the importance of the modernization process that has been a fluctuating but ongoing process in Turkey, which contributed to the reconstruction and distinction of different cultural strata. The low level of interest in Western classical music seems to confirm the existing center-periphery modernization model that was mentioned earlier, since *Ataşehir*, despite its recent development, still constitutes both geographically and temporally a periphery compared to the walled city center or other

smaller downtown areas in Istanbul. On the other hand, the increasing number of universities in this district implies a rise in the number of academics, scholars and graduate students who choose to live nearer to their campuses. This rise in the education level may bring a rise in the level of interest in sophisticated music genres such as symphonic music or jazz. Education level is significant for preferring sophisticated music, but Table 1 still points out a very low level of interest at baseline (less than two per cent). Since being a classical music listener has been considered as a higher social status marker, this disinterest could be the result of lack of popularity in general (in other words, there are still few classical music adherents living in *Ataşehir*), or by the validity of omnivore thesis, where the educated people like scholars living in the area prefer several genres but do not generally consider classical music their favorite.

Any consideration of modernization should not be considered without taking into account the huge impact of globalization as a concept of standardization further accompanied by hybrid forms where the huge impact of the popular culture imposing its own model becomes a central question. Istanbul has become a world city acting in a place of complex international intersections where several different localities meet and mix up popularity and marginality. These factors together with the globalization of the music industry and imposition of omnipresent mainstream pop music may have created a new, globalized version of modernity in Istanbul. Thus, for the social strata with higher education, the sign of being western or modern may have changed under the huge impact of globalization and therefore directed many listeners to pop music.

This seems partly to verify the main idea of the mass culture theory adapted to the conditions of a developing metropolis, and runs parallel with the extension of mass culture theory to taste publics whose acts and tastes may vary contextually. Indeed, the concept of taste publics matches better to smaller and fragmented communities in *Ataşehir* in terms of cultural stratification. The concepts that refer to the relationship between a specific social stratum and a music genre (e.g. subculture) sometimes limitedly explain the characteristics of a given place and position it in the larger society. Moreover, the concept of genre is not sufficient in itself to understand the social and cultural experience of an individual or a community. In this sense, the musical preferences in *Ataşehir* can be considered as examples of emergent fragmented taste publics in a changing city.

5.2. Effect of Uprootedness in Musical Preferences

Rural exodus together with urban sprawl has deeply influenced the socio-cultural texture of Istanbul for almost the past half century. *Ataşehir* continues to host newcomers to Istanbul. So, the motivations of newcomers to listen to traditional music might derive from the tangled, tiring, continuously changing rhythm of the metropolis of Istanbul. This may further lead to adaptation problems and therefore may drive the newly arrived residents to hold onto traditional music genres that they know amidst a new order that they are unfamiliar with. Table 2 shows that in addition to age and decreasing education level as significant predictors for the interest in traditional music, those who moved from cities to *Ataşehir* are less likely to prefer traditional music. This verifies the assertion that sophisticated genres like classical music or jazz are still more likely to be reserved for urban residents.

Of course, in order to keep these discussions far from speculative argumentations, it would be adequate to remark once again that every individual's unique preference, freedom of choice and changing taste matrix matter. Yet, the quantitative research model offers us, in a particular context, diverse interpretations. Accordingly, within traditional music, the interest in *türkü* (with 35 per cent, see Table 1) may have a twofold meaning. On the one hand, uprootedness and deterritoriali-

zation within urban spaces cause identity-related cultural issues resulting from the lack of belonging to a particular territory. In addition, the inability to identify oneself as rooted in that given space strengthens the search of cultural - both material and non-material- items, including music.

On the other hand, Turkish folk music was part of the reconstruction of artistic ideals within the formation of national identity during the founding years of the Republic, and thus does not contradict with the modernization process. Depending on an oral tradition, it represents an abstract creation of a collective conscience of a given territory.

However, it is useful to keep in mind certain nuances. Unlike Turkish folk music, certain genres are more likely to reveal their urban or rural background in terms of the complexity of their composition techniques as well as their performance types, while some of them, such as *arabesk*, display an in-between character. In addition to its socio-musical background explained earlier, even today its arabicized, hybrid, imprecise, vague and obscure structure along with the gloomy lyrics are considered to be of use for the newcomers to find or build a new identity and therefore this genre is not considered completely as an authentic, local, genuine genre nor as an artistic genre. But, according to the data (9.3 per cent, see Table 1), the relatively low level of interest in *arabesk* music suggests that the newcomers to this developed suburban area are experiencing less crisis compared to the internal migrants of the previous decades in other parts of Istanbul. Another reason might be the decreasing influence of this genre as a system of meaning and a means of symbolic communication in today's Istanbul and Turkey.

6. Conclusion

Musical taste within recently developed suburban areas of a metropolis provides a unique view of the fragmented cultural preferences and social strata in a society. According to the results of our analyses, the music genres, pop and *türkü* (Turkish folk music) come to the forefront among many other popular, sophisticated or traditional genres. On one hand, pop seems to signify both explicitly and implicitly certain characteristics and concepts such as 'Western, global, new, modern, trendy, fun, commercial, glamorous, ephemeral' and the like. On the other hand, *türkü* represents quite opposite particularities such as 'Anatolian, Eastern, local, old, authentic, non-commercial, emotional, inter-generational' and so on. This suggests about Istanbul, more precisely in our case about one of its recently developing districts, a striking, almost loud and clear coexistence of contrasts.

This might be a precursor of Turkish folk music and could be considered as a new discourse of authenticity and as a resisting trend in the face of the global popular music industry. Apart from the residents who used to live in the rural areas before moving to *Ataşehir*, professionals, college students and people from higher social strata might have also deemed it a new 'alternative'; less commercial, more pure, genuine or authentic when compared to, for instance, some examples of world music that have a similar musical structure. In addition, it does not contradict with the narratives of the modernization process of Turkey. On the contrary, it may bring about a new dimension of interculturality to the survival of tradition on an urban space.

Since historically, class differences or class struggle did not play a major role in the dynamics of social change in Turkey, and it was instead the long-history of the modernization process as explained earlier, another comment might be that an artistic musical atmosphere accepted by a broad segment of the population could not be developed throughout decades in time. As a result, classical Turkish music, including certain artistic sub-genres of religious music might have out-distanced classical Western (symphonic) music.

Additionally, the low interest in popular but less mainstream or even underground/off-the-beaten-path, rebel genres like rock, metal or hip-hop suggests a lack of counter-cultural attitude. Likewise, a relative decrease in the interest in *arabesk* music compared to the previous decades foreshadows the weakening of a local subculture fuelled by rural exodus.

The influence of globalization and mass culture competing and contradicting with conservative attitudes places an emphasis on the ever-changing civic texture of newly developed suburban areas in Istanbul. Finally, urban sprawl running parallel with the shifting identities and changing cultural taste in Istanbul seems to still reproduce, to a certain extent, the ongoing discourse of the delicate balance between East and West, modern and traditional, and old and new in Turkey.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

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

Grant Support: The authors declared that this study has received no financial support.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış bağımsız.

Çıkar Çatışması: Yazarlar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Finansal Destek: Yazarlar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

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