

**T.C.
SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE:
REPRODUCTION OF GENDER INEQUALITY IN TURKISH
MEDIA: CASE OF “NEW BRIDE” TELEVISION SERIAL**

MASTER’S THESIS

Mehmet ÖZER

**Department of Institute: Communication Design and Media
Subfield of Institute : Media and Communication Studies**

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ahmet ESKİCUMALI

MARCH– 2020

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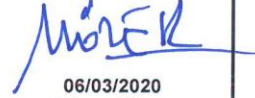
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ABBREVIATIONS

EU	: European Union
İTU	: İstanbul Technical University
ITV	: Independent Television
MIPCOM	: Internation Market Of Communication Programmes
OECD	: Organisation For Economic Co-Operation And Development
Ofcom	: The Office Of Communication
RTSC	: Radio And Television Supreme Council
TRT	: Turkish Radio And Television Corporation
TRTMB	: Turkish Radio And Television Museum Of Broadcasting
TV	: Television
US	: United States

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<p>Violence in symbolic form is more consequential in reproduction and perpetuation of social inequalities and hierarchies than physical one. Of the mass media, especially television, with the capacity to access to almost every household and produce a great amount and variety of cultural commodities, has great power to construct social order, thus functions as an agent of socialisation. Despite the fact that internet technology is highly developed and penetrated into our lives, television is still one of the major free time activities in Turkish society. Television serials cover a substantial amount of prime time hours and become an important daily ritual for many audiences.</p> <p>The plight of gender inequality to this day remains grim reality in Turkish society and televisions, as one of the primary agents of socialisation, matters a lot in this regard. Bourdieu as a sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher, strived for getting a deep insight into how social order and structure is constructed and reproduced with a reflexive sociological view in modern capitalist societies. He established the theories of symbolic violence, capital, habitus, which are interrelated and embraced together. The research analyses how “New Bride” television serial reproduces gender inequality by wielding symbolic violence.</p> <p>The research adopts qualitative content analysis technique, which is commonly and frequently used in media studies. The research analyses the latent content of the serial for the nature of Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic violence. “New Bride” television serial is the unit of the content analysis. “Symbolic violence” is the main category and “sexual division of labour and space, exclusion from public space, androcentric vision, bodily emotions, symbolic dependence, love of dominant, ancien regime” are the subcategories in the coding frame. The research reveals that “New Bride” television serial involves in large part symbolic violence and thus contributes to reproduction of gender inequality.</p>			
Keywords: Symbolic violence, media, television, gender			

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Tezin Başlığı: Simgesel Şiddet: Türk Medyasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliğinin Yeniden Üretimi: “Yeni Gelin” Televizyon Dizisi Örneği			
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<p>Şiddet simgesel şekliyle toplumsal eşitsizlik ve hiyerarşilerin yeniden üretilmesi ve devam ettirilmesinde fiziksel olandan daha etkilidir. Kitle iletişim araçları, özellikle televizyon hemen hemen her haneye girebilme ve çok büyük miktarda ve çeşitlilikle kültür ürünü üretme kapasite ile toplumsal düzeni inşa etme gücüne sahiptir ve böylelikle etkili bir toplumsallaşma aracı olarak işlev görmektedir. Televizyon izleme, internet teknolojisinin hızlı gelişimine rağmen halen Türk toplumunda önde gelen boş zaman etkinlikleri içerisinde yer almaktadır. Televizyonun en çok izlendiği saatlerin büyük bir kısmında diziler yer almaktadır ve bir çok izleyici için günün önemli bir ritüeli haline gelmektedir.</p> <p>Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği günümüzde Türk toplumunda, özellikle etkili toplumsallaşma araçlarından olan televizyonda önemli bir sorun olarak yer almaktadır. Yirminci yüzyılın en sofistike ve üretken bilim insanlarından biri olan Pierre Bourdieu alan, habitus, sermaye, simgesel şiddet kavramlarını geliştirerek düşünümsel bir sosyolojik bakış açısı ile toplumsal düzen ve yapının nasıl inşa edildiği ve yeniden üretildiğini derinlemesine anlamak için çaba göstermiştir. Bu araştırma, “Yeni Gelin” televizyon dizisini toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin yeniden üretilmesi ve “simgesel şiddet” bağlamında ele almaktadır.</p> <p>Bu çalışmada medya çalışmalarında yaygın olan ve sıklıkla kullanılan nitel içerik analizi yöntemi uygulanmıştır. Bourdieu’nun simgesel şiddet teorisinin doğası gereği örtülü içeriği çözümlemektedir. “Yeni Gelin” dizisi içerik analizinin birimini oluşturmaktadır. Kodlama çerçevesinde “simgesel şiddet” içerik analizinin ana kategorisini, “toplumsal alan ve işgücünün cinsiyetçi bölünümü”, “kamusal alanın dışında yer alma”, “tahakküm edene ve kaderine duyulan sevgi”, “bedensel duygular”, “simgesel bağlılık”, “eski rejim” ve “eril bakış açısı” içerik analizinin alt kategorilerini oluşturmaktadır. Araştırma “Yeni Gelin” televizyon dizisinin geniş ölçüde ve yoğun bir şekilde simgesel şiddet yoluyla toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini yeniden ürettiğini ortaya koymaktadır.</p>			
Anahtar Kelimeler: Simgesel şiddet, medya, televizyon, toplumsal cinsiyet			

INTRODUCTION

Symbolic violence reproduces and perpetuates class hierarchies and suffering in modern societies, results of which are not symbolic, but so much more real than the physical one (Schubert, 2008). Reproduction on television has at all times been one of much discussed problem both in media studies and other social sciences (Köse, 2004). “The cycle of life is one of social reproduction in the continuous medium term” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 15). Bourdieu mainly focused how culture takes role in social reproduction in many aspects (Swartz, 1997). Many scholars frequently applied the theory of symbolic violence in media analysis across the world (Köse, 2004).

Concepts of symbolic capital and violence were developed from the empirical studies on Kabyle peasant society in Algeria at the beginning of his carrier. Bourdieu determined to get a deep insight into how social structure is constructed with inequalities and stratifications and developed the theory of symbolic violence which legitimates and perpetuates domination and subordination (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) The theory was systematically founded in his work “*Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*”, initially published in his native language French in 1970. Bourdieu and Passeron strived for designating theoretically how social order and restraint are reproduced through cultural mechanisms rather than direct, coercive mechanisms in modern capitalist societies taking the French society as an example for their work (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). He strived for explaining the role of culture and education in the reproduction of inequalities and stratifications and stressed on the cultural capital and symbolic violence.

Almost in every society, individuals make use of different kinds of media such as television, newspaper, internet, etc. in their daily lives (Anderson & Witham, 2009). Television has a sweeping power and potential to get through to countless individuals in modern societies and to influence them in different ways (Bourdieu, 2010b). Television has become an essential and indispensable tool for every household and deeply influenced the social structure in Turkish society (Serim, 2006). Individuals in modern societies generally spend a considerable amount of time watching television (Gauntlett, 2008). Turkish Statistical Institute’s ([TSI], 2015) “time use research” reveals that watching television takes the first place in free time activities in Turkish society.

Influence of television on audiences within any culture as in Turkish society is indisputable and undeniable (Serim, 2006; Anderson & Witham, 2009). The mass media, particularly television, has an immense and sweeping power and influence with its capacity to access to massive audiences (Fairclough, 1995). Television as a medium since the very beginning for the most part has become a mechanism which both legitimises and profits those who control it and also it civilises and entertains its audiences (Fiske, 1987, p. 18). Ideas and images presented in mass media have a strong influence on society and perspectives of individuals on gender (Anderson & Witham, 2009). Representations in a culture have many different depictions of gender (King, 2006). Popular culture audiences face certain roles of men and women and their identity of sex and gender which communicates in mass media (Anderson & Witham, 2009). Images of women in mass media generally produce stereotypes, thus serve to legitimise the status quo by representing fallaciously the existent experience of women in modern societies (Serim, 2006).

Media has at all times been an important issue for feminist critiques (Van Zoonen, 1994). Gender representations in media and communication are absolutely crucial because gender continues to underline perspective of individuals on their identities. Affluent images of different sexes and ideas created by many different media forms and contents influence individuals' sense of identity (Gauntlett, 2008). Mass media and popular culture contribute to social construction of gender through many different forms, genres, programmes and content (Andersen & Witham, 2009).

The term of gender is used by social scientists to make reference specifically to the cultural and social patterns which are relevant to both sexes, women and men, on the other hand, sex makes reference to the biological patterns as male or female (Andersen & Witham, 2009). Social and symbolic implications on biological sex construct gender in modern societies. These implications diffuse in society through structures and practices that penetrate into our daily existence, thereby adopting the natural, conventional ways for women and men to be (Wood, 2010). Gender is not only attributes have do to with individuals, instead, gender has to do with systematic social structures and social institutions. Individuals through the social construction of gender

establish their selves, social life and life chances. Concept of gender brings attention to the social and cultural dimension of society (Andersen & Witham, 2009).

Gender differences can be assessed in two different perspectives in terms of communication. According to essentialist perspective; women and men are fundamentally dissimilar, which is the root of the different patterns of both sexes. On the contrary, the social constructional theory argues that gender is constructed by social institutions through interaction (Andersen & Witham, 2009).

Gender equality is not only of great importance in the context of human rights, but also of sustainability of development, freedom and safety of human and is supported mainly by the United Nations. It is a factor in human progress in a considerable extent (United National Development Programme [UNDP], 2019, para.1). In this sense, Turkey ratified the “Convention on the Eliminations of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)” on 20th September of 1985 (United Nations Turkey [UNT], 2009).

Topic

The research focuses on the reproduction of gender inequality in Turkish media by means of symbolic violence and its interrelated concepts of habitus, field and capital and analyses the “New Bride” television serial aired during the prime time hours every weekend on SHOW TV which is one of Turkish mainstream television. To this end, the first chapter of the research addresses the media, media studies, television which is the most used medium, serials, which take important proportion of prime time on television, general information about serials in Turkey and “New Bride” television serial aired on SHOW TV as the unit of analysis in the research. Second chapter of the research addresses the biography and academical history of Pierre Bourdieu and his key sociological terms such as *field*, *habitus*, *cultural capital*, *social capital*, *symbolic power*, *symbolic domination* to get a deeper insight into the theory of symbolic violence, and discusses symbolic violence and masculine domination within the context of gender inequality. The third chapter of the research basically addresses the gender, gender socialisation, agents of socialisation, gender and feminism, psychological and sociological perspectives on gender and gender representation in media and specifically on television. The fourth chapter addresses the prior studies and research on the issue of gender and symbolic violence converges with the fields of media. The last chapter

analyses the “New Bride” television serial as the unit of content analysis to explore and interpret main category (symbolic violence) and subcategories (symbolic dependence, amor fati, love of the dominant, sexual division of labour and sexual division of space, exclusion from social space, ancien regime, bodily emotions, androcentric vision) of the analysis through which unequal gender relations are reproduced.

Importance Of The Research

In spite of attempts to eliminate gender inequality, in other words, to achieve gender equality in Turkey, especially since the beginning of twenty-first century, the numbers reveal the harsh reality. World Economic Forum’s Gender Gap Index indicates that Turkey ranks 130th among 144 countries. Gender equality as in other aspects of life, persists also in labour market (UNFPA, 2019, para. 2). Rate of women in labour force participation is 30%. The unemployment rate for women is 13 % and 9,7 % for men (Turkish Statistical Institute, [TSI] 2015).

Turkey has taken considerable steps in gender policy in recent years and made national legislations especially to approximate to the EU acquis. Turkey initiated the measures within the context of gender issue during 1990s so as to align with CEDAW and EU legislation, which expedited the transformation. In this sense, several amendments to the Turkish constitution, civil code and penal code were major steps to eliminate gender inequality in Turkish society. However, its implementation is restricted because of the common practices and norms which are prevalent in Turkish society. In this regard, access to employment and domestic violence is the most important issue. Oftentimes, the social structure of Turkey does not allow women to exercise their rights which are enshrined in constitution, laws, decrees and any formal regulations. For this reason, a social transformation rather than structural is needed to eliminate gender inequality in Turkish society (Müftüler & Baç, 2012, p. 14).

According to Wood (2010), grasping gender relationship, culture and communication is worthwhile and practical in three ways. First, it enhances how individuals appreciate the complexity of practices and cultural values which shape people’s perspective of gender (femininity/masculinity) and sex (women/men). Second, it enhances awareness on our own gender, thereby contributes to promotion of awareness by disseminating cultural expectations of gender in daily life. Successively, in so doing, individuals think more

critically on cultural expectations which are needed to be remediated. Third, it makes individuals more effective in terms of communicative skills in the society by grasping the differences in terms of gender. Individuals, almost in any situation whether individual or social, take gender into consideration.

Issues on gender, gender equality and societal inequality of gender have been severely argued and studied by social scientists in recent years (Magnuson & Marecek, 2012). As a consequence, new fields of research and new perspectives have emerged. In different fields, many scholars including sociology, psychology, communication, history, philosophy, psychology, anthropology and sociology worked on gender issue (Wood, 2011). Yet, a paucity of literature on symbolic violence and gender may also provide important opportunities for researchers for further research on mass media and symbolic violence. The research contributes to illustrations of data or definition of categories and subcategories to be used in quantitative or mixed future research on theory of symbolic violence and other interrelated concepts within the context of gender and media studies.

The research provides to get a deeper insight into how gender inequality is reproduced, perpetuated and legitimised in Turkish media from the theoretical perspective of Bourdieusian theory of symbolic violence. Analysing gender inequality from this perspective gives a substantial academical contribution to the literature on gender studies because of the paucity of academic study converges gender and media with the theory of symbolic violence, which is substantially useful and functional in this regard. Moreover, it is highly important to understand how gender inequalities are reproduced and perpetuated in Turkish media by cultural commodities such as television serials to raise awareness to break the cycle of reproduction which is exercised through symbolic violence.

The research has substantial importance to promote gender equality by exploring, understanding and denouncing how inequalities, especially gender inequality, in societies are reproduced, internalised, perpetuated and legitimised by wielding symbolic violence on “New Bride” television serial. The research contributes to creation of awareness raising, data collection, and capacity development to promote gender equality. As Bourdieu (2001) recurrently emphasised, it is crucial to be conscious of symbolic violence and how it works to resist and overcome it.

Aim

The research aims to understand, explore and denounce how gender inequalities are reproduced on “New Bride” television serial by wielding symbolic violence. To this respect, the research initially gets in depth and detailed explanation on the Bourdieu’s sociological concepts including symbolic violence, habitus, field, capital and its forms, masculine domination, gender, psychological and sociological perspectives on gender, media, television and television serials. The research addresses symbolic violence within the context of reproduction of gender inequality in “New Bride” television serial in Turkish media. The research aims to provide insight for further research on how gender inequality is reproduced in media by means of symbolic violence.

Mass media pervades our lives more than we assume, thus influences daily activities of individuals who cannot disregard or relinquish its usage (Fang, 1997). Becoming aware of implicit and explicit messages have to do with gender make individuals more powerful and critical consumers. Responsibility of criticising media representations of women and men which contributes to understanding behaviour that damages individuals and social relationships should be shared by every individual and citizen in any society (Wood, 2011).

Method

The research adopts qualitative content analysis. According to Giles (2003), main interest of qualitative research is to give insight into human conduct but not to attempt to restrain and presume, thus varies with quantitative research and particularly useful and applicable in media psychology for those who are interested in the meaning of the messages which media conveys for both individuals and society. Wood (2011) states that qualitative research, is also referred as interpretive methods, determines to discover the nature of human behaviour and aims to understand the nature or essence of experiences which are unlikely to be quantifiable.

The intellectual origin of the content analysis may link to human history when symbols especially writing used consciously for the first time. Empirical investigations on the meaning of texts date back to late sixteenth century. Nonreligious written texts were considered as a threat by the church to its authority. Such investigations grew rapidly in

different areas and become constitutive of research in media and communication studies (Krippendorf, 2004)

“Content analysis is a research technique for the *‘objective, systematic, and quantitative* of the *manifest* content of the communication.” (as cited in Sparks, 2014, p. 26) But, it formally and systematically analyses qualitative data or open end questions (Horn, (2012, p. 150). It is method to find out the availability of certain concepts or words. It counts and analyses the existence, meaning and their relations with certain words and concepts, by doing so, the technique makes inferences within the content which is analysed. Content analysis is a multifaceted technique and can be used in many situations, texts or words require analysis therein. The technique allows making iterable and well-grounded inferences from media texts and their context (Krippendorf, 2004). “Content analysis method is useful to answer the open-end questions to extend the systematic analysis.” (Horn, 2012, p. 152) The method is suitable for mass media since it allows to describe the enormous amount of messages. Before investigating the effects of media, availability of certain contents call forths certain effects should be discovered. On the other hand, it is crucial to realise that the results of the method do not provide information to make deductions about the effects of media content, texts and messages (Spark, 2014).

In recent years, symbols and messages in the mass media become progressively popular for media researcher in both academic and private spheres (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Content analysis is a traditional method for analysing the meaning of mass communication texts and messages (Woollacott, 1994). Social scientists most often use content analysis to assess what is depicted on the media (Anderson & Witham, 2009). Multi-dimensional effects of television as a cultural institution can be studied only by knowing the content in a systematic and wholistic way (Batmaz & Aksoy, 1995).

As a method, content analysis has become popular and gained importance in communication studies after 1960s. In Turkey, first studies with the content analysis conducted by Nermin Abadan and Serif Mardin. Abadan analysed the content of newspapers of Ulus and Cumhuriyet in a comparative way and Sherif counted the frequency of the words in the magazine of *Ülkü*. Atabek (2007) notes that after 1981,

content analysis method became prevalent and used frequently to understand and analyse many different media contents or texts in Turkey (as cited in Atabek, 2007).

“Meaning is not a given, but we construct meaning.” It is often necessary to take the context into consideration to be able to identify latent meaning. Analysing the content qualitatively is practical when text or content’s meaning is less obvious, when interpretation is needed. Latent content generally involves in “the sense of indirect and non-standardised meaning” and therefore perfectly suitable and accessible to qualitative content analysis. It is acknowledged that different interpretations of same material are possibly be valid on account of interpretative, commentary characteristics of the method Schreier (2012, p. 2). The research analyses the latent content in “New Bride” television serial. But the subcategories in the coding frame are by and large manifest content which is related to main category.

Spark (2014) mentioned three imbalances of content analysis. First, content analysis is generally more time-consuming and tedious and also a number of obstacles inevitably appear when people are the units of analysis in research. Second, it is obligatory to record the existence or non-existence of certain content in order that media impact can be studied. Third, recording the effects of imminent media content significantly more strenuous than existence or non-existence of media content. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2007), content analysis is by itself does not constitute a foundation on the effects of content on audience. More additional research is necessary to make explanations on the effects of content. Content analysis does not form basis on its own. Findings in a given analysis is bounded up with categories and descriptions of a given content.

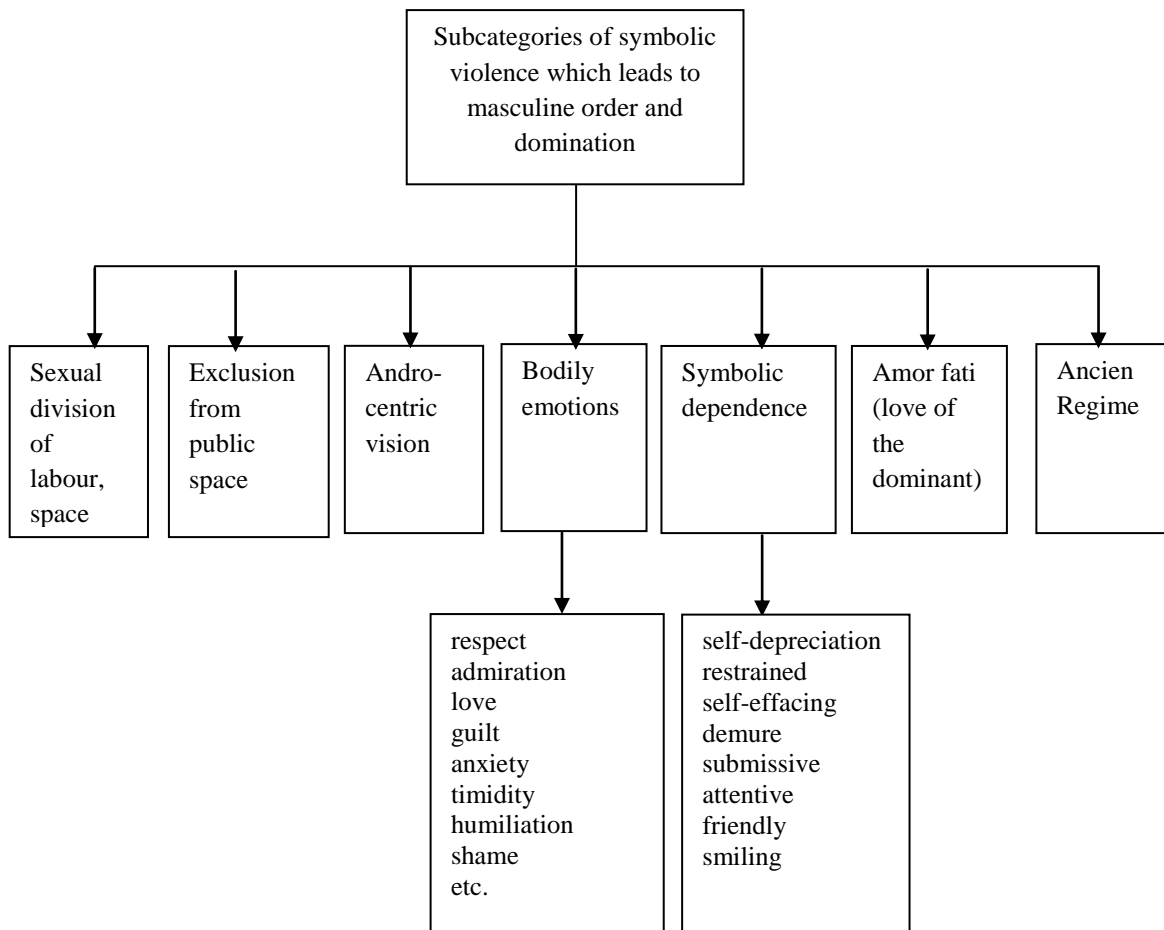
As qualitative/interpretive content analysis, the research applies non-probability sampling. “New Bride” television is the sample of population as a convenience sampling since its convenience to explore and uncover the every kind of subcategories of symbolic violence which research aims to explore.

The first step in content analysis is to select the ‘units’ to be analysed since that researcher can analyse different units to reply to open questions and find out different characteristics which are subject to the selected unit for analysis (Horn, 2012, p. 150). “New Bride” television serial has taken as the unit of analysis.

Qualitative content analysis -also referred as non-frequency analysis- purposes to delineate the meaning of visual or verbal qualitative material through coding frame which classifies the material into categories and subcategories (Schreier, 2012; George, 2009) Coding frame is the most important part of the method. Coding is not only descriptive but also is a way to relate the analysed material to concepts. The method is especially functional for the materials which need some level of interpretation (Schreier (2012). To enhance the extent of the validity of coding frame categories and subcategories of the analysis explained at length to be represented adequately and adapted to material which is analysed.

Coding frame is composed based on and according to main and subcategories of symbolic violence which is the main category of content analysis as;

Table 1: Coding frame



Source: (Bourdieu, 2001)

The research designed as a qualitative content analysis to address the following research questions:

1-Does “New Bride” TV serial involve symbolic violence to reproduce gender inequality?

2-What are the subcategories of symbolic violence which reproduces gender inequality in “New Bride” television serial?

Data were collected by watching the television serial “New Bride” on the webpage of Show TV. The research analysed the fifteen episodes of first season of the serial. Coding frame is prepared and utilised according to the conceptual framework labelled in terms of theory of symbolic violence. Categories and subcategories in the coding frame has been explored and analysed. Availability of episodes of serials on the webpage of Showtv made it easier to analyse the serial with the feature of stop/start and move backward/forward.

There are three major limitations in the research. First, the methodology of research is highly time-consuming. New Bride television serial consists of more than sixty episodes in three seasons. Each episode lasts about two hours without commercials. To overcome this limitation, the unit of the qualitative content analysis is narrowed down to fifteen episodes which constitute the first season of New Bride television serial (Güler, 2017).

Second, paucity of the prior research on specific media content and symbolic violence is another limitation. Hardly any research is available converging symbolic violence, media and gender, which limits the theoretical foundation for the research questions. To overcome this limitation, research and studies available on online repositories were reviewed. The paucity of literature on the research question also provides important opportunities for researchers for further research in order to contribute to the literature.

Another limitation is the fact that the analysing the content in latent level concerns the secondary level or interpretive analysis of the media material. To overcome this limitation, the research uses conceptual coding frame to relate the research questions to the theory of symbolic violence. As Schreier (2012) noted, it is admitted that different interpretations of the same material is possibly and intrinsically be valid because of the interpretative feature of qualitative content analysis.

CHAPTER 1: MEDIA

Almost all of the communities on earth make use any kind of mass media tool such as television, radio, internet technology, etc. (Giles, 2003). “Currently, Turkish media has a dynamic and vibrant climate with nearly 6800 newspapers and magazines, and totally 263 television outlets and 1058 radio stations” (Directorate General of Press and Information [DGPI], 2013, p. 6).

Sociologists of mass communication make reference to five specific needs which are mainly stemmed from the psychology of individuals. Individuals use mass media to fulfill cognitive, affective, personal integrative, social integrative and tension release needs (Fiske, 1987, p. 53).

Uses and gratification theorists suggest that people draw upon media texts for many different purposes and regard them as functional for themselves. The main implication of the theory is that audiences are not passive but active and selective as well to choose certain media texts or genres, which provides audiences with a variety of gratifications. Notwithstanding that media research has been generally empirical and bear on the effects of media, there has been a great number of interest in how people use media and how media gratifies people (Berger, 1991).

Mass media has been possible effects of social change (Giles, 2003). Individuals inevitably experience media whose cultural dimension is very important in the social order and social change in modern social life. Changes in society and culture become apparent in their uncertain, incomplete and contradictory nature in the diverse and changing discursive content of the media (Fairclough, 1995). Mass media, is a common knowledge that, has important role to get information happening around us, in so doing to impose a viewpoint in the socialisation process of individuals in any society (Işık et al., 2009).

The mass communication industries produce certain artefacts. On one hand, they are goods and services like fruit, automobile, food, etc., on the other hand, they have important role to shape social consciousness and relationships (Murdock, 1994). The Marxist cultural analysis mainly argues that ruling class controls the society through manipulation and exploitation. Media has such an immense and profound influence on

people that unwittingly dominate masses in a hegemonic way by shaping their conception of the world (Berger, 1991). It becomes more of an issue to insight into dominaton and power relations in respect of politics, economy and culture which are mediated by media (Fairclough, 1995).

Cultivation theory and research have become one of the most important domain on the effects of television debates. The theory claims that audiences spend more time before the screen of television perceive real world as the messages of television programmes, compared to audiences spend less time before the screen. Theory of cultivation simply hypothesises that spending more time by watching television leads the audiences to have a tendency to grasp a certain and different conception of reality, which are compatible with the images and values of messages of the television they are exposed. The focus of analysis in cultivation theory is generally on the correlation and consequences of heavy exposure to television in the long term (as cited in Shanahan & Morgan, 2004).

The method of cultivation was grounded in a strategy for evaluating the contribution of messages on television to the conceptions have to do with social power in the 1970s. The main and most important function of television in terms of social structure is to repeat, legitimise, perpetuate and maintain the traditional power structures and authority. Television is of one most effective medium to reiterate and perpetuate power relations in an offensive way while entertaining (Shanahan & Morgan 2004). Gerbner (as cited in Shanahan & Morgan, 2004) argued that fiction and drama function to make visible and clear the real world which is often invisible, unclear or vague. According to Fiske (1987), discourses in media function to make sense of social practices and experiences. Fairclough (1995) claims that construction of social relations to a certain extent become naturalised through similar mundane genres and formats like news, magazine programmes, soap operas, reality show. Namely, a variety of forms television programmes naturalise the social relations and personal identities to a certain extent.

All of us hold personel values, beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions that influence our perception of the world around us (Doyle & Paludi, 1998). Content and representational texts in media undeniably operate ideologically to dominate the society and reproduce social structure. Representational texts are generally presented in an implicit manner in mass media (Fairclough, 1995).

At the same time, language, which means any media text, invariably constitutes social identities, social relations, conception of the world and belief system. Texts have their own small contribution to construction of social and cultural aspects. Contents manufactured in media are symbolic and cultural commodities and produced in the culture industry. These commodities within the industrial market vulnerable to the impacts of profit-oriented pressures (Fairclough, 1995). Baudrillard (1998) argued that mass media depoliticised the masses by creating an absence of purposefulness to make people gratified with making no effort and taking pleasure in the euphoria of mass communication tools. According to him, two opposing claims are possibly sustained about mass media. One one hand, it is the power strategy which functions as a means to mystify the masses and impose the truth of those who own power. On the other hand, masses deny the truth or reality which is presented by media.

1.1. Media Studies

The history of the media studies as old as the history of the watching television. Television studies developed out of social sciences, cultural studies and other academic fields (Fiske and Hartley, 2003). Today, studies on television include text and content analysis, political economy, theory of rhetoric but also research and studies of audiences of television from 1940 to 1960 (Lewis, 2010). Former mass media studies, especially on television, radio and film have been worked on function and effect (Silverstone, 1981). Many of early media researchers generally agreed on the view that influence of mass media on audiences is powerful and straightforward. Between 1940s and 1960s, studies on media impact espoused the view that influence of media is very limited on audiences. Empirical studies showed that people manipulated media, not the media manipulated media. Several uses and gratification studies propounded that audiences are not passive but active. People uses media to fulfill a variety of needs and gratification which influence their reaction to media. This approach of limited effect model was attacked by Marxist and neo-Marxist critical tradition, which has great effect on mass communication during 1970s. They argued that mass media has reinforced the dominant social order and values, thereby legitimised the social order in modern capitalist societies (Curran, Gurevitch, Woollacott, 1994).

Four major events contributed to the development of research in the field of mass media. The first event contributed to development of mass media research is the World War I, which motivated to understand the nature of propoganda. Researchers strived for revealing the effects of media on audiences. It is acknowledged that media has direct and instant effects on people. Hypodermic needle model of communication claimed that media messages have direct, universal effect on people who are passive against those messages which they are exposed. The second event contributed to the development of mass media research is that advertisers in 1950 and 1960s realised that advertisements have potential to convince purchaser to choose or prefer certain services, commodities, trade marks, and products, which encouraged the studies of effectiveness of mass media messages on customers. The third event contributed to the development of mass media research was the increasing interest in the effect of sexual and violent content presented in mass media on people and especially on children. Researchers strived for explaining the positive and negative effects of certain content in mass media, predominantly negative effects of sexuality and violence. Last event contributed to development of mass media research was the commercials which led to the growth of a new sector, which today is a competition market in the media sector. Mass media research currently focuses on psychological and sociological investigations of many different television programmes, genres and commercials (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011).

Media is a domain which is complex and beyond the understanding of ordinary, unlettered people in a society (Bourdieu, 1998). Ideas about media effects are usually assumptions about the presence or absence of certain kinds of media content. The tradition of “media effects” possibly influenced almost all media researchers in the recent past. The concern of time just as the influence of advertising and propoganda on the radio were first studies of media psychology, but in the 1960s and 1970s, a great many media effects studies were conducted in laboratories to measure the short term responses to media as an stimuli. In 1960s, nearly all of the experiments on media were on the negative effects. Experiments in laboratories usually were carried out on undergraduate students who were exposed to a particular kind and quantity of content including sex and violence. Interest on the negative effects of mass media was so widespread that almost nobody questioned those effects (Giles, 2003). Causal relationship between media and violence is by far the most frequently articulated

supposition that there are several random events of violence put the blame on the media products (Spark, 2014). In the early period, most of academic literature about radio and television had an exceedingly negative impression (Giles, 2003).

Frankfurt School, which is also known as critical theory, and North American Sociology are two mainstream movements have effect on media theories. A group of social scientists founded the Frankfurt School in Germany and immigrated to USA due to Nazi oppression in the 1930s (Giles, 2003). Critical theorists and members of Frankfurt School, asserted that mass media has a tremendous and very destructive influence on the mass population. "... films and radio no longer need to present themselves as an art. The truth that they are nothing but business is used as an ideology to legitimise the trash intentionally produce." Culture industry is restrained to produce content in massive amount and standard way and relinquish the authenticity of work relevant to society. These negative effects do not result only from the inner technological features but also from its function in terms of economic structure (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 95). On the other hand, liberal approaches which study the effect of media on culture claim that culture rather influences media and reflects on the productions of media. Until the development of liberal approach, the passivity of audiences are generally presupposed by media theorists (Unur, 2015).

Dissidence on effects research is certainly not new. In the early 1960s, Klapper (as cited in Giles, 2003) supported approach change from effects on behaviour into a more contextual approach. His interest leads to a more worldwide approach of media effects, which assumes media's importance in socialisation process in terms of culture as a whole, investigating how individuals are affected by media in society to shape their worldview. Fiske (1987) also argued that audiences have more power than the media has on them.

Craig (as cited in Giles, 2003) claims that dependency of the mass of people on media is not because of representations which reflect reality, but of those constitute reality. Bourdieu (2010b) enunciates that "ultimately television, which claims to record reality, creates it instead." Heavy media consumption leads audiences to have viewpoint, vision, perspective in accordance with content they are exposed. Howkin and Pingree (as cited in Shanahan & Morgan, 2004) conducted a survey, including about 1300

adolescents in Australia, concluded that audiences heavily exposed to television possibly have inclination to develop a vision of world or worldview consistent with messages of television.

The main focus of the content analysis technique is the messages in mass communication research (Sparks, 2014). Content analysis is one of the most common and frequently used technique in media studies (Atabek & Atabek, 2007; Davis & Mosdell, 2006). The method is highly popular among researchers in the field of media due to its effectiveness to work on content such as number and types of ads on printed press and broadcasting (Wimmer & Dominick, 2007). Any study on television initially should be on the content, which is the main concern of content analysis (Fiske & Hartley, 2003). Researchers mostly interested in racial and sexual stereotypes to analyse the content. The technique is much more widespread despite the fact that some researchers have studied effects of stereotypes (Sparks, 2014).

Interest on television studies increased substantially and more researchers focused on the structural and semiotical methods instead of traditional media effects tradition. Products of television were considered as text and analysed in this context. Understanding television product is not possible only from a theoretical perspective, instead, a wholistic approach should be applied by researchers (Kaplan, 1993). In a symposium carried out at Newcastle University Research Center in Films and Digital Media to the end of twentieth century, different researchers from different disciplines and different parts of world as United Kingdom, United States and Europe were all assured that work of Bourdieu is precious and useful for research in film and media, as this research aims to show (as cited in Austin, 2016)

1.2. Television

Television was a groundbreaking invention in twentieth century, which is beyond doubt. Word of TELE VISION used in the June, 1907 first time in history on “Scientific America” journal (Serim, 2006). The invention of television came up with a different and complex developments and inventions in different fields such as photography, motion pictures, and radio respectively (Williams, 1990; British Broadcasting Company, [BBC], 2019). The development of different inventions led to television can be summarised respectively as; Nipkow Disc by Paul Nipkow in 1884, telephone by

Graham Bell, phonograph in 1878, kinoscope in 1894, cinematograph in 1895, and then radio by Guglielmo Marconi, 1896, iconoscope by Vladimir Kosma Zworykin in 1923, and finally television in 1925 by John L. Baird. First television broadcasting came into view in 1936 in London with the support of British Broadcasting Company (Serim, 2006). Television broadcasting started in Germany and France in 1938 and in 1939 in USA and Russia. First colour television broadcasting came into view in 1951 (Erim, 2016). With the breaking out of Second World War, research and studies on the field of television interrupted (Erim, 2006; Williams, 1990).

Throughout history, institution of television has followed two different structural models. In most part of Europe, television broadcasting appeared as a state organisation and enacted as a public service, independent of political authority. In France, communist countries and some other European states, broadcasting acted as a government institute. Conversely, in the United States television and also radio has at all times been organised as a commercial profit-making institution. Only role of the government was to grant the licences of broadcasting (Myyton, Diem & Dam, 2016).

Television, as a mass medium, is one of the 20th century phenomena. Television became prevalent whereas cinema was falling from grace (Williams, 1990). Television has grown so fast especially after the 70s that it reached a great many people even in the poorest part of the world. In 2015, the world's population was approximated to be more than seven billion, it is, therefore, difficult to make well-grounded calculation on the number of homes with television (Myyton et al., 2016). According to International Communications Union (ICU, 2019), in global scale, 79 percent of households owned television, which add up to 1.4 billion. In sum, as Bourdieu (2010b, p. 59; 1998, p. 65) states that television has capacity to communicate to a vast number of individuals in modern societies.

Television is the primary informant for the majority of population in societies about the world outside. Because we live in a socially segregated world, television as a medium is usually the only source of information about social conflicts and abnormalities (Masterman, 1991). Moreover, it obvious that television is the most important bearer of culture and has an effect both on culture and society (Batmaz & Aksoy, 1995). Television technology is the complicated combination of different cultural and social

activities as literature, newspaper, radio, photography, the theatre, the cinema, sports, events, etc. (Williams, 1990).

Fiske states (1987, p. 1) that “television is a bearer/provoker of meanings and pleasures, and of culture as the generation and circulation within society.” He claims that television has a great importance of the social dynamics. It unremittingly produces and reproduces meanings, popular pleasures. According to Ilgaz and Büyükbaba (2004), television is one of the effective and widespread mass media which produces culture in this day and age. Television basically functions as informing, educating and entertaining tool and transmits messages through the various kinds of programmes. Bourdieu (1998) emphasizes that “at present, television moves in on every area of cultural production.” Television, especially due to its cheapness and accessibility to almost every household across the world, covers the considerable portion of the cultural consumption of people in the lower socioeconomic class (Garnham, 1983). In 1960 with the emergence of television in the cultural domain as a new phenomenon, certain sociologists proclaimed that television would massify everything and become a leveler and transform all the audiences into one mass which is not undifferentiated. But, in reality, they underestimated the capacity of audiences to resist and producers and journalists to compete. The most difficult and important feature of television they could not foresee is its outstanding expansion of power over almost all of the cultural production which also includes scientific and artistic production (Bourdieu, 2010b).

It has been frequently said that television changes the world (Williams, 2003). Television is not a projection of life and has effects to change society. It changes our lives more than people attribute importance in society (Batmaz & Aksoy, 2015). Mass media, it is the most powerful, in the meantime, its penetration is extremely high (Lindsey, 2011). Television as a mass medium is the biggest opium of today’s world. Domination of television enables to set agenda, to convince the mass to believe certain mindscapes and mobilise them according to this mindscapes and to the structure, thus perpetuates and legitimises certain social order. Shortly, of the mass media, especially television acts as a structural engineer by framing the messages produced for communities according to the meaning which is intended to be conveyed. Television acts as an structural engineering for the interest of dominant power and tries to create masses which are consent to them and legitimise their values (Unur, 2015).

The strongest characteristics of television is its capacity to communicate easily to a vast number of individuals, which makes it more sweeping and powerful in comparison with any other technology (Williams, 1990). Another strength of the television with its special place among mass media is that it can present both audio and visual messages at the same time and appeal to both eye and ear (Işık, Erdem, Güllüoğlu & Akbaba, 2009). Television replaces many areas on a daily basis in terms of entertainment. People choose to watch television instead of being idle or any other area of entertainment. Individuals are not only exposed to manipulation of commercials, but also they are engrossed in television and cannot help viewing it (Giles, 2003).

Ordinary people are not able to insight to how world is shown by television due to its complicated structure and characteristics (Bourdieu (2010a). Reality is encoded previously and individuals can only grasp and make sense of it by our cultural codes. It can be objective and experienced by our senses, but not universal. Individuals cannot perceive and interpret it objectively. Reality is anyhow produced through cultural codes. Concisely, reality is always processed, encoded beforehand and not raw (Fiske, 1987).

Television presents a serious threat for every kind of cultural production such as law, philosophy, literature, science art. At stake, both global and local struggles in the political sphere have capacity to impose a worldview, to force people to see a particular world which is divided up like male and female, friend or enemy, etc. (Bourdieu, (2010b) “Eyeglasses” is the metaphor commonly used to explain to categorise the inconspicuous structures which set how individuals perceive and designate what to see and not to see (Bourdieu, 1998). Reality socially constructed by television has capacity to mobilise or demobilise people both on individual basis or as group (Bourdieu, 2010b). Many sociologists of media propose that television disguises and misconstrue the reality (Silverstone, 1981).

Role of television in distracting people from the realities of life, which is also considered as symbolic violence due to its contribution to the mask the realities of life. Television is exceptionally a remarkable and uncommon commodity because when you spent invaluable time to watch television which generally covers up unimportant, banal and worthless content. Most of the population does not read a newspaper and thus television becomes their only source of news and information outside them. This feature

gives the television monopoly to inculcate anything they want and shape viewpoint, the worldview of that population get news and information outside them only through television (Bourdieu, 2010b).

Television portrays the world in a politicized way and in a context that is constructed by political power (Fiske, 1987). Its never-ending power to be visible to the public, to be broad circulation and to disseminate to masses, is definitely important for cultural producers. Journalists with this handy medium can impose their worldview, their conception of the world and their perspective of problems on society (Bourdieu, 1998a).

Television with its narrative power helps to depoliticize the events by creating a political vacuum with the human interest stories. Television with its narrative power can depoliticise and reduce events happening in the world and transform into a story or malicious rumour. Especially, television both in national and international level can fix and keep attention of people on royal families and its members and events which do not have any political consequences. It can dramatise and transform these events which do not have any political consequences into a social problem or issue. Concisely, narrative power of television give meaning to meaningless and meaningless to meaning, thereby distorts, disguises or masks the certain events which have political and social consequences or the other way around (Bourdieu, 1998).

1.2.1. Television In Turkey

Television broadcasting attempts date back to 1950s in Turkey (Ilgaz & Büyükbakkal, 2004). İstanbul Technical University (İTU) put the first television broadcasting- which was a closed-circuit television broadcasting- into practice for educational purposes in 9th of July, 1952 under the leadership of Professor Mustafa Santur (Serim, 2006; Ilgaz & Büyükbakkal, 2004).

İTU television broadcast carried out inside the university and only once a week. At that time, only fifteen to twenty receivers available in Istanbul. After military coup d'etat in 1960, the constitutional amendment prohibited private broadcasting and authorized the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation [TRT] for both television and radio in Turkey in 1963 and İTU television therefore was formally transferred to TRT. Istanbul Technical University television broadcast from 1952 to 1970, which has a significant

and momentous place in Turkish media history. Development of television in Turkey set back because of economical problems in the country until the early 1970s (Serim, 2006).

At the beginning of television broadcasting, people gathered in front of the windows of the television and receiver stores in the evenings on certain days of the weeks to experience to watch it because of the scarcity of television receivers (Serim, 2007). People visited their neighbours on the broadcasting days to be able to watch television. These visits were referred to “telesafir” in Turkish society during those days, which is one example of how television influenced social life in Turkey (Kıvanç, 2002). TRT was the only window opening to the world outside in Turkish society until the emergence of private media producers in 1990s (TRTMB, 2019).

In the course TRT had the monopoly of broadcasting, institution generally aimed to inform people. After private broadcasting emerged with legislative regulation of private broadcasting, entertaining and also narcotizing contents have become widespread on the screens of television in Turkey (Unur, 2015).

The research carried out by (Radio and Television Supreme Council [RTSC], 2018) between the dates 28th of February and 30th of March, 2018 reveals that duration of television watching a day is around 3 hours and 34 minutes in Turkish society. The statistics of the research carried out in 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2018 reveals that average television watching duration decreased as 5 hours 8 min in 2006, 4 hours 23 minute in 2009, 3 hours 54 minutes in 2012 and 3 hours 34 minutes in 2018. Duration of watching television at the weekends is higher than the weekdays, which implies that watching television is one of the major free time activities for individuals. According to findings of research by Ofcom (as cited in RTSC, 2018), leading countries in television watching are the USA, Brazil and, Japan; countries watch less television are Sweden and China. In spite of the decline of daily television viewing, the rank of Turkey is above OECD average. Television has irreplaceable importance in the daily life of Turkish society, especially for families. Advancement and penetration of internet and new electronic device technology also provides an opportunity for audiences to view TV series, and other programmes via these new technologies such as computers, mobile phones, etc. (Deloitte, 2014).

1.3. Serials

Hardly any forms have the possible importance as much as serials on television (Williams, 1990). Dramas on television cover sizeable proportion and serials sizeable proportion of those dramas. Dramas can be seen in any part of the day on television especially in the afternoon. (Silverstone, 1981). Soaps becomes so important daily ritual that individuals wait to view excitedly in some countries. Moreover, soaps precipitate social change. Dramas in the form of serials also have been drawn upon as a mechanism for spreading educational material including issues on health, environment, and equality in society, which is referred as *entertainment education and prosocial soap opera* (Giles, 2003, p. 248).

It can be said that all types of serials are grounded in the tragedy of Aristotes. In tragedy, as in television serials, events develop with of cause and effect relation in a persuasive manner and aim to astonish the audiences (Unur, 2015). The most typical soap opera started as the form of drama in the United States on the radio in the 1930s. A number of series were seen on screens during that time, generally based on the environment of a single main character. The characters of these serials intended to be from ordinary people and listeners were generally housewives, which is distinctive feature of those serials. Soap operas aired during the daytime because of their popularity among housewives (Giles, 2003, p. 249).

After the appearance in 1930s on radio, plenty of the serials released as soap opera. Continuance and popularity of soap operas were so significant during that time that there has been prevalent disengagement from common social life. The serial as a new form is prestigious due to dramatisation of familiar and popular works. Britain's serials remarkably presented as classic serials whose broadcast was repeated in the United States. Soap operas on radio lost their popularity in the 1960s. The last four examples of radio series ended within the same day, and also several television soap operas could not succeed to survive to the following decade. At the same time, soap operas began to emerge in another part of the world, especially in the United Kingdom. BBC radio aired *The Archers* and *Coronation Street* and both of which remain extremely popular today. Later on, ITV aired *Crossroads* in the USA (Fiske, 1987).

Television soaps did not come of age until 1970s, when *Dallas* got great popularity among audiences and expanded the appeal of soap to younger audiences. It was exported to many countries and gained immense worldwide popularity. The long running serials, which are both dramatic and fictional, have been apparent in almost all media cultures from novel to television. Advantages of serials for program planners are obvious that the element of continuity and succesiveness persuade people to follow a given station or channel in a given time. Many dramatists write episodes more than single play for television. They are forced to establish a certain writing formation of situation and main characters as a collective but commonly as dramatic enterprise of a corporate (Williams, 1990).

Numerous forms of soap operas made it very difficult to identify its fundamental features. Even so, a number of common soap features have been identified by many media scholars to explain their popularity (Giles, 2003). According to Fiske (1987), series can be characterised with those episodes have different plotlines which conclude and only lead characters can be seen in each episode. However, serials generally have the same characters with uninterrupted several plotlines. Due to its continuity, characters in a serial changes- they grow, marries, die, etc. as in the real life and their memories are active on previous events.

Television needs programmes or genres repeated regularly to set up a routine so that advertisement would be aired for interest of media institutions. For this reason, producers need to convince audiences to watch certain programmes at certain times on a daily or weekly basis. Regularity and predictability of audiences beforehand is highly important for both producers and advertisers. For this reason, serial is significantly efficacious for producers (Fiske, 1987). Television in a general rule and especially television drama specifically maintains two dimensions; firstly, there is an area which is interested in proving that television maintains formally and functionally traditional social structures, and secondly, it can be established through its characteristics of continuity (Silverstone, 1981).

The characters encountered on television screen do not only represent particular individuals, they also encodes and embodies certain ideologies and values (Fiske, 1987). Today, certain media formats and genres such as soaps, news, magazines, etc.

inculcate and naturalise tacitly ideological messages by constructing constantly personal and social identities and relations (Fairclough, 1995). Incessant reiteration of any character provides audiences feel that they live in the same scale of time. Characters surpass their existence as media text by having a future, present and past, thus audiences identify and familiarise themselves with the characters which they encountered on screen, which also makes the fiction indistinct from fact (Fiske, 1987). The popularity of soap operas generally results from their absurdity through misrepresentation of the reality (Lindsey, 2011).

1.3.1. Serials In Turkish Televisions

Television is the main indoor entertainment in Turkish family life (Batmaz & Aksoy, 1995). Television generally covers popular programmes such as serials and news which attract most audience during the prime time hours (Kaplan, 1993). Research on “tendencies of watching television” reveals that national serials take the second place after news programmes, which reveals the importance of the entertaining function of television. People tired of working hours and routine of daily life prefers to spend time and relax by watching entertaining media form and contents. At this point, media is the most widespread entertaining activity. Serials are the second most preferred programmes during the prime-time hours in Turkey. The research also reveals that news programmes and serials are watched by women more than men. National serials are watched by the audience between the age 24-40 and well-educated people watch serials less than undereducated people. According to research, the first reason to watch television is to follow the programmes they watch routinely and serials take the first place among the programmes to be followed routinely (RTSC, 2018). The study carried out by Aydoğan (2004) reveals that many people set their schedules according to serials, they even find the meaning of life on serials. Report by Deloitte (2014) reveals that genre of television series covers a noteworthy part of prime time hours. A series takes roughly between two and three hours in average when commercials and recaps included. Attracting viewers become a fierce competition for broadcasters. Therefore, they prefer leading production companies, famous actresses and actors, script writers etc., in order that TV series and serials could cost and gain more. Turkish audiences prefer television series with romantic elements more, it is because female viewers are

the main target of broadcasters and producers. Therefore, romance is an important component to excite the interest of female audiences especially in television series.

Table 2: Rate of television programmes according to research on tendencies of watching television

Programmes	%
News	24,2
Native serials	15,6
Sports programmes	13,5
Feature Programmes	12,8
Open forum/Political programmes	10,6
Cultural programmes	9,9
Quiz shows	9,6
Music, entertainments, video clips	9,6
Religious programmes	9,5
Foreign serials	8,9
Turkish movies	8,9
Foreign movies	6,3
Talk show	7,7
Tabloid programmes	7,2

Source: (RTSC, p. 53)

First serials experienced by Turkish people were American serials, which conducted to certain changes in life practices in Turkish society such as culture, fashion and consumption culture (Aydoğan, 2004). First television serial aired on TRT screen was the Free World Travels, which is French made, in 1972. Between the years of 1971-1973 with the general directorship of Musa Öğün in Turkish Radio and Television, World of Shirley, Duty Impossible, Star Track, Fugitive and World of Circus were the foreign television serials aired on television (Unur, 2015). Even first Turkish serials on the screen of television was the imitation of the American serials and could not get away from being cultural constraint and impositions (Geçer, 2015). Not only foreign serials were shown on the screen of TRT, but also native movies in the form of serials; Karaoğlan, Tarkan, Kara Murat, Küçük Hanımefendi, Kezban, Ayşecik and Tourist Ömer were also influential to initiate the culture of serials on the screens. Turkish

audiences experienced the first native serials in 1974. During that time “Forbidden Love” and “Five Stories” were seen on the screen of TRT. Since 1985, Brazilian soap operas started to appear on the screen (as cited in Unur, 2015). First national series of TRT were generally the adaptation of Turkish classical literary works (Serim, 2007). Emergence and proliferation of private channels put an end to the monopoly of TRT and native and foreign serials also emanated from the monopoly of TRT and became widely acclaimed and popular after the 1990s. Consequently, the number of the serials on screens upsurged (Unur, 2015).

The table summarizes the serials with certain characteristics of serials aired on Turkish televisions.

Table 3: “The First” and “The Most” of the Native Serials in Turkish Media

Serials Original title	Broadcasting Period	Features
Bedava Dünya Gezisi Free World Travels	1972	First foreign serial in Turkey
Aşk-ı Memnu Forbidden Love	1975	First native serial
Kaynanalar Mothers-in-love	1974-2004	First and the longest running sitcom serial, (950 episode)
Küçük Ağa Young Landowner	1983	First period and war serial
Perihan Abla Sister Perihan	1986-1988	First neighborhood serial
Kavanozdaki Adam Man in Jar	1987	First science-fiction serial
Uzaylı Zekiye Alien Zekiye	1987	First fantastic serial
Bizimkiler Ours	1989-2002	The longest running family serial
İz Peşinde In The Pursuit of Trace	1989	First detective serial
Mahallenin Muhtarları Representatives of Neighborhood	1992-2002	The longest running family neighbourhood serial
Hastane Hospital	1993-1997	The long running medical drama (137 episode)
Çatısız Kadınlar Women Without Roof	1999	First serial about violence against women
Evdeki Yabancı Foreigner at Home	2000-2001	First romantic-comedy serial
Avrupa Yakası European Side	2004-2009	The longest running comedy serial (190 episode)
Arka Sokaklar Back Streets	2006-still broadcasting	The longest running detective serial

Source: (Unur, 2015, p. 114).

At the beginning of 2000, the sector of serials has grown so rapidly that crossed the borders of the country and become a product of exportation. The serials “Silver” and “Under the Linden Tree” were the first serials which were exported to Dubai. Since 2005, 116 serials aired in 76 different countries and broke the record of exportation with the 65-70 million dollars income. These serials have had an important role to attract the tourists from Middle Eastern Countries to Turkey (Özdemir, 2016).

Audiences demand for the Turkish serials increased not only in the country and but also beyond the border. In 2014, Turkey took the second place in production of drama across the world with the exportation amount of 200 million dollars, following the United States (as cited in Alankuş & Yanardağoğlu, 2016). In October, 2015, Turkey was the “guest of honour” in MIPCOM (International Market of Communication Programmes) which is the largest worldwide television content marketing fair. It is announced by the head of İstanbul Chamber of Commerce of MIPCOM that Turkey’s global exportation of television serials was expected to get income with the amount of 350 million US dollar (Özdemir, 2016, p. 35). Turkish television series reached more than 400 million audiences in 75 states in many different part of the world. In addition to export income, Turkish serials have also contributed to touristic and cultural representation and become important for Turkey both in cultural and economical terms (Deloitte, 2014, p. 35). Popularity of the serial of “Magnificent Century” in Middle Eastern countries attracted such a great number of Arab tourists to İstanbul that ministry of culture renounced to get broadcasting fees from Arab countries (Bhutto, 2019).

Some examples of serials exported to Europe, Middle East, North Africa and Balkans as; “Pre-eternity (Ezel), Valley of Wolves (Kurtlar Vadisi), Mansion with Grapewine (Asmalı Konak), Foreign Bride (Yabancı Damat), An İstanbul Tale (Bir İstanbul Masalı), Silver (Gümüş), One Thousand and One Nights (Binbir Gece), Unforgettable (Unutulmaz), Leaf Cast (Yaprak Dökümü), From Lip to Heart (Dudaktan Kalbe), Young Women (Küçük Kadınlar), Rebel (Asi), Rose Embroidery in My Kerchief (Çemberimde Gül Oya), While Saying Good-bye (Elveda Derken), Broken Wings (Kırık Kanatlar), Vagrant (Yersiz Yurtsuz), Two Families (İki Aile), Sıla, My Mother (Annem), Back Streets (Arka Sokaklar), Berivan, Knife Edge (Bıçak Sırtı), Genco, Salad Days (Kavak Yelleri), Snow with Henna (Kınalı Kar), Lost Years (Kaybolan

Yıllar), Bitter Life (Acı Hayat), Crazy Heart (Deli Yürek), Zerda, Aliye, Don't Let The Kids Hear (Çocuklar Duymasın), World of Secrets (Sırlar Dünyası), Ottoman Once A Time (Bir Zamanlar Osmanlı). Some of the serials were exported even before they aired (as cited in Unur, 2015, p. 117). Success of Turkish serials were substantial not only in country but also beyond the border in miscellaneous aspects such as economy, history, tourism, culture, etc.

Following table indicates the information on “New Bride” Television serial.

1.3.2. “New Bride” Television Serial

“New Bride” television serial starring Jessica May and Tolga Mendi, scripted by Ersoy Güler, directed by Ersoy Türker and Tülay Kocatürk and produced by Ali Gündoğdu and Süreç Film company started being aired on 11 March of 2017 on the mainstream television channel SHOW TV. Jessica May is the co-star with Tolga Mendi in the serial. The serial in the form of romantic comedy revolves around in southern part of Turkey. The story goes around in the mansion of Bozok Tribe and narrates the story of the new bride (Bella) of a Turkish tribal family (Bozok tribe) and her struggle with those (mothers-in-law, mother, sisters-in-law and old fiancée of Hazar) who are determined to fall them apart. Bella (acted out by Jessica May), who is a highbrow woman, grew up in different European countries and daughter of Spanish mother and Turkish father, falls in love and marries into Hazar (acted out by Tolga Mendi) who is the son of a prominent Türkmen tribe and grew up in the traditional family of hot Çukurova region (Showtv, 2017). The first season of “New Bride” has been one of the number one serials in the prime time hours of Saturday evenings on Turkish television in the course of 2017 and thus, Show TV renewed the serial for the second season (Ecchorights, 2019).

Table 4:Info on New Bride Serial

Original title	Yeni Gelin
Genre	Comedy, Drama, Romance, Family
Time Slot	Prime time
Broadcaster	Show TV
Company	Süreç Film
Producer	Ali Gündoğdu

Director	Ersoy Türker, Tülay Kocatürk
Script	Ersoy Güler
Release date	11 March 2017

Source: (Showtv, 2017)

The cast of the serial is listed below to identify the relations between characters in the story to be able to see the gender relations.

Table 5: Cast of “New Bride” Serial

Cast	Starring	Relation of characters in the story
Bella	Jessica May	Hazar’s wife, daughter of Kamil and Kamilla
Hazar	Tolga Mendi	Bella’s husband, son of Kalender Aga, who is the master of Bozok tribe, and Asiye
Kalender	Mustafa Avkıran	Master of Bozok tribe with three wives through religious and unregistered marriage, (Möhteber, Ayşe and Asiye), three sons and a daughter
Kağan	Dağhan Külegeç	Son of Kalender Aga and Möhteber, half brother of Hazar, Şirin and Mustafa.
Möhteber	Sema Keçik	First wife of Kalender Aga, mother of Kağan, Uncle of Baran
Kamilla	Lale Başar	Mother of Bella, mother-in-law of Hazar, wife of Kamil
Kamil	Renan Bilek	Father of Bella, father-in-law of Hazar, husband of Kamilla
Asiye	Yonca Şahinbaş	Youngest wife of Kalender Aga, Mother of Hazar and Şirin
Müsellim	Burçin Bildik	Brother of Kalender Aga
Ayşe	Zeynep Kankonde	Second and middle wife of Kalender Aga
Türkmen	Esin Gündoğdu	Sister of Kalender Aga
Nazgül	Bahar Süer	Wife of Kağan, daughter in law of Kalender Aga and Möhteber
Şirin	Feride H. Akın	Daughter of Kalender Aga and Asiye
Afet	Ece İrtem	Wife of Gökhan, daughter in law of Kalender Aga

and Ayşe		
Gökhan	Mustafa Çavuş	Son of Kalender Aga and Ayşe, husband of Afet
Baran	Halil İbrahim Kurum	Brother of Möhteber, Master of Duran Tribe
Dilan	Şilan Makal	Sister of Möhteber and Baran
Elmas	İpek Bağrıaçık	Mistress of Kağan
Korkut grandfather	Ümit Yesin	Father of Kalender Aga
Ferhat	Onur Baytan	Shepherd of Bozok tribe

Source: (Güler, 2017).

The main characters of the story of the “New Bride” television serial are Bella and Hazar. Bella is the daughter of Kamil, who is a retired Ambassador and Kamilla, who is a Spanish archeologist. Bella and Hazar meet while studying at university and fall in love with each other. Hazar proposes Bella and she accepts and they decide to marry. Bella and Hazar are the people of different cultures and have different backgrounds. Bella’s mother does not confirm this marriage but Bella challenges her mother and marries to Hazar and he is already betrothed to Dilan who is the sister of Möhteber who is the first wife of Kalender Aga and step-mother of Hazar. As implied in the serial, Hazar and Dilan’s expected marriage is arranged and planned without the consent of Hazar in order to end the enmity between Bozok and Duran Tribes. Hazar gets married to Bella without informing his family due to the fact that he foresees his family does not confirm the marriage. Kalender Aga had to consent to the marriage of his son and holds a fairy tale wedding ceremony in the Bozok Mansion. Möhteber does not consent to the marriage of Bella and Hazar because she wants her sister to marry to Hazar and angry at the situation because they did not keep their promise and broke off the engagement of Dilan and Hazar with the marriage of Bella and Hazar. Asiye also does not consent this marriage and they vow to end this marriage and get rid of Bella and not allow him to stay in the mansion of Bozok Tribe (Güler, 2017a).

Duran Tribe also opposes this marriage. Dilan and Hazar beforehand engaged and this engagement occurs with the consent of the Tribes to end the enmity between Bozok and Duran Tribes. Breaking off the engagement of Hazar and Dilan, who is the sister of

Möhteber and daughter of Duran Tribe, exacerbates the enmity between the tribes. Kalender and Baran Aga negotiate for the marriage of Şirin and Baran who is the master (Aga) of the Duran Tribe. This negotiation makes Şirin unhappy because Şirin is in love with Ferhat who is the servant and shepherd of Bozok tribe (Güler, 2017a-p).

Negotiating on the marriage of Şirin and Baran failed because Bella and Hazar support Şirin not to marry to Baran. The second time, Hazar brings about the exacerbation of enmity between Bozok and Duran Tribe. All of the wives and daughters-in-love of Kalender Aga come together to end the marriage of Bella and Hazar and get rid of Bella. Kamilla, Bella's mother, also does not confirm this marriage because she thinks the Bozok family and its patriarchal structure is not suitable for his daughter, grew up in a different culture in European countries. She decides to move to Adana to support her daughter. Kalender Aga persuades Kamil and Kamillia to stay in the mansion by allocating them a room therein (Güler, 2017c).

Dilan also determined to be wife of Hazar and co-operates with the wives of Kalender Aga and his daughters-in-love to fall apart Bella and Hazar. Kamillia does not confirm this marriage and also try her best to fall apart Bella and Hazar (Güler, 2017d). Even they sometimes are at hand to fall them apart, they cannot achieve. On the other hand, Kalender Aga is married to three wives at the same time. Wives of Kalender Aga force him to marry one of them officially because he can marry to only one formally according to Civil Code. Cowives struggle to be registered wife of Kalender Aga (Güler, 2017e, Güler 2017f). Story of the serial based on the struggles of Bella for her love in the Bozok mansion. Due to patriarchal structure of Bozok Tribe, women of the tribes challenge to set Bella apart from Hazar and get rid of her down to the ground.

With its rich characters and romantic, comic stories, *New Bride* television serial draws many audiences on the screens and episodes of especially the second season take several times the first place on ratings of prime time hours of Turkish television on broadcasting days (Showtv, 2019).

CHAPTER 2: SOCIOLOGY OF BOURDIEU AND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE

2.1. Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu was born in a lower-middle-class family in 1930 and spent his childhood in a rural village of Bearn in Southwestern France (Danahay, 2009; Swartz, 2007). He was such a particularly skilled and diligent student that achieved entrance to the reputable and academically upper class Ecole Normale Superieure (Swartz, 2007). Bourdieu studied philosophy at the university and after leaving university and teaching philosophy in a lycee, he was summoned into the army for national service in Algeria in 1955. After his military service, he taught at the university and conducted his ethnographic work on Kabyle peasant communities in Algeria (Buraway & Holdt, 2012; Swartz, 2007). Leaving Algeria, he joined to the academy and took up positions in leading and prestigious research centres of France (Burawoy & Holdt, 2012).

Bourdieu is regarded as presumably the most eminent and controversial sociologists of modern times not only in a national level but also globally. He has a very important place within sociological circles both in worldwide and national level. In France had he become increasingly famous during the 1960 and hold his distinguished position in the sociological field. College de France elected him as the most prestigious of professorships in the field of sociology in 1981 (Silva, Elizabeth, Warde & Alan, 2010). Bourdieu is one of the iconoclastic theoretician of the modern Western philosophy because he has questioned radically and often convincingly how reality is constructed and perceived in modern societies. Bourdieu is the most influential intellectual after 1950s, Sartre was before then (Rey, 2007). Bourdieu had an influence on much work in social sciences as antropology, culture, media, education, stratification, but he did not take enough notice in sociology of politics, did barely and practically in political science (Swartz, 2010). Bourdieu (as cited in Rey, 2007) aimed to transform the radical doubtful spirit of Western philosophy into scientific sociology to unravel the patterns of symbolic violence which reproduces domination in modern societies.

As a creative and prolific thinker and social scientist, Bourdieu wrote books more than thirty-five and articles more than four hundred in many different journals and also

managed a journal. He originated several theoretical concepts e.g. “symbolic violence”, “field”, and “cultural capital”, “habitus” which are today frequently referenced in the fields such as sociology, media and anthropology. He carried out many empirical studies on ethnography of peasants in Algeria, educational system in France, poverty and misery, artists and writers, cultural tastes, consumer tastes, misery, politics, language, modern universities, language (Swartz, 2007).

Bourdieu did not have much international impact until the end of the century, later he became acknowledged and widely acclaimed as one of the world’s most outstanding theorist of sociology. More latterly, Bourdieu’s works have prevalently applied in different social sciences and humanities such as cultural studies, sociology, feminist studies, anthropology, media, etc. (Silva et al., 2010). International Sociological Association ranked his most famous work “*Distinction*” as the sixth important work in social sciences according to a survey in 1997 (Swartz, 2007). Bourdieu (2017) argues in this book that cultural domains are as critical as economy in class struggle, in which actors and social groups reproduce strategies intentionally or unintentionally to perpetuate or enhance their interest of position in social order. The survey ranked his work “*The Logic of Practice*” as fortieth and “*Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*” as forty-eight. Emile Durkheim and Michel Foucault were the only other French scientists ranked in the first fifty positions. By the year of 1994, almost all of the leading works of Bourdieu were translated into English.

Although Bourdieu and Passeron published *The Inheritors* in 1964, it was highly influential in creating a critical consciousness in the event of student revolt the May 1968, the book was translated much later into English and did not draw enough attention. In 1970, they again published best known and distinctive work “*Reproduction: In Education, Society and Culture*”, which regarded as modern classics in the field of sociology of education. He climaxed with his work “*Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*,” surveyed consumer habits, cultural tastes and lifestyles in French society in large scale and provided Bourdieu to get chair of sociology in 1981, which Mauss and Aron held before at the College de France which is the climax of intellectual society in France. “*Homo Academicus*” and “*The State Nobility*” were another leading works which collect critical and empiricial studies on French academic system and life, and also were the last and matured examples of

Bourdieu. Studies of artistic fields which rise historically in France gave rise to *The Rules of Art*. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) published “*An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*”, which is widely read and expresses reflexive and critical practices in the field of sociology. *The Weight of the World* is a study interview collaboratively and massively individuals in lower-middle-class about social exclusion and suffering. In 1993, he was awarded by the prestigious French Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (French National Scientific Research) Centre Gold Metal for formidable contributions to scientific research. Thereafter, he released salient works including; *Firing Back, Acts of Resistance, Masculine Domination, Pascalian Meditations, On Television*. Bourdieu’s influence surpassed community of social sciences. He passed away in 2002 (Swartz, 2007).

Bourdieu conducted empirical work in Algeria and proposed a relational perspective of the social world and put it in application in a variety of issues which include the transformation of society from traditional to capitalism; the propensities to social reproduction have to do with inequalities of cultural capital; the origins and functions of social devotion to symbolic goals particularly in the field of literature and philosophy; taste and class, social politics, economy, knowledge of sociology, the social problems related to states, etc. (Lebaron, 2010).

Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz 1997), enthusiastically strived for creating a discipline which is appropriate for any types of societies to explore how power relations amongst both groups and individuals are reproduced socially and culturally. Bourdieusian sociology is theorised to uncover the how structures are reproduced. In his cultural approach, Bourdieu established a discipline which looks into how practices in terms of economy politics are organised through symbolic power, capital and violence. He analysed the social relations both in symbolic and non-symbolic aspects by broadening economic interest to the culture. Power necessitates legitimation to be exercised, therefore, he stressed on the role of the symbolic forms of power structures. According to Bourdieu and Wocquant (1992), task of sociology is to reveal the inconspicuous, lasting and durable structures of social world and its mechanisms of reproduction and transformation.

For Bourdieu, the political elements of society arise from any collectivity, seeing that all instituted groups are come into view through a symbolic struggle to obtrude certain delineations upon groups and individuals to legitimise social identity. Allocation of characteristics in the way of wealth, education, gender or age constitutes the foundations of divisions between groups and in doing so, becomes the basis of political struggle (as cited in Swartz, 2010). Bourdieu (as cited in Burawoy & Holdt, 2012) created and conceptualised new perspectives in terms of sociological categories to look into the domination, social order and social reproduction. To this end, Bourdieu focuses on the mechanisms of order and the concepts of “symbolic violence”, “cultural capital”, “habitus”, “classification” to explore social structure and inequalities in Kabyle society in Algeria. Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz, 1997) came up with a discipline of symbolic power and concentrated on the critical issues relevant to practice, social structure, and culture. Symbolic systems have effects on social life. Symbolic systems play a role in constructing and shaping social life. According to Jenkins (2002), symbolic systems function as an instrument to wield symbolic violence calls forth symbolic domination. For Bourdieu (2001), symbols in any form is operative to create distinctions among social groups. Therefore, differentiation processes in/of a society is not ruled out from social sciences and practice thereof.

Bourdieuian sociology merges constructionist and structuralist viewpoints to propose a concept of symbolic power which integrates different dimensions of symbolic systems. Theory of symbolic power arises from the interest in the problem of how social structures and symbolic representations relate to each other (Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu (1990, p. 123) characterises his work as “structuralist constructivism” or “constructivist structuralism”. By structuralism, he views that agents’ desires, myth, language, symbolic systems themselves do not constitute the social world and have capacity to guide and constraint the practices of social agents and representations thereof. By constructivism, he views that a social order formed through actions, thought and perceptual patterns which constitute habitus and again social structures which include social classes, certain fields and groups. Bourdieu makes the most of different approaches and perspectives rather than excluding those from his sociology. He developed and extended the difficult theories to form his own as Durkheim’s view of social consciousness, profane and sacred dichotomy, Mark’s capital, false

consciousness, class conflict, reproduction of labour, etc. Especially, with the concept of habitus, Bourdieu transcended the dichotomy of structure and agent, object and subject, theory and practice. His sociological perspective is convincingly proved by empirical works on several different aspects of society.

Bourdieu was inspired by Durkheim, Marx Weber, Norbert Elias and Marcel Mauss and also draws upon the many social scientists from many different fields of social sciences and humanities. It is commonly accepted that Pascal, Wittgenstein and Marx have influence on Bourdieusian social theory (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2008).

2.2. Key Concepts In Bourdieu's Sociology

Webb et al. (2008) stress the significance and contribution of Bourdieu's cultural theory which converges with several disciplines such as media studies, gender studies, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, cultural studies, etc. His concepts of capital, habitus, field, symbolic capital, power, violence, and others by all means important and thriving endeavour to understand the relationships and objective structures which include institutions, agents' practices on a daily basis and reasons thereof, ideologies, fields, etc.

Sociology of Bourdieu puts different concepts and theories together instead of creating or excluding dichotomies between certain concepts and theories. He asserts that explanatoriness of any concept and theory is contingent and dependent on the phenomena and cases (Görgün Baran, 2017). Theory and historical backgrounds do not by itself enough to explain the modern societies. Therefore, theories should put into practice, it should be proved through empirical work on the fields. He emphasises that theories without practice cannot be justified (as cited in Görgün Baran, 2017). The reflexive process between theory and practice represents the reflexivity in Bourdieusian sociology (Görgün Baran, 2017). Concepts of Bourdieusian reflexive sociology cannot be taken into consideration independently. It therefore generally defines the concepts such as field, habitus, capital by embracing together and striving for eschewing from dichotomy of subjectivism and objectivism, structure and agent, theory and practice and proposed the theories of practice and practical knowledge which are built-in a broader theory (Cicourel, 1993).

2.2.1. Capital And Its Forms

Both domination and its reproduction occur by means of capital in any society (Rey, 2007). Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz, p. 74) mostly enunciates four types of capitals: economic (property and money), cultural (networks including educational credentials and cultural goods), social (networks and acquaintances), and symbolic (legitimation). He determined capitals in four different forms (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) and their interrelationship to explain how inequalities produced and reproduced within the relationship of social order in modern societies.

“Different forms of capital are under certain conditions interchangeable, they are not reducible to one to the other” (Swartz, 1997, p. 127). Any form of capital is the accumulation of labour and potentially produces and reproduces itself, thereby leading to inequality among people and groups in any society (Bourdieu, 1986). Agents occupy positions in social space where different forms of capital are distributed, by which represents, maintains and transforms this space by taking certain positions. Capitals become weapons in struggle to structure the social space. According to Webb et al. (2008), the amount of power that agents own in any field is associated with agent’s position therein and with the amount of differentials of capital they appropriated (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 12).

Bourdieu’s substantial achievement in his work related to cultural capital are differentiated from Marxian perspective through important original insights that capitals in immaterial form including social, symbolic and cultural ones and that capacity of capitals to transform, convert or transubstantiate into another form to certain extent (Calhoun, 1993). Bourdieu mainly focused on the power and domination, however, the concept of capital is not congruous with the Marxian theory of exploitation. Bourdieu broadens the forms of labour (social, symbolic, cultural, religious, etc.) and constitutes resources of power which are possibly transformed or transubstantiated into one another at particular rates and under particular situations. Bourdieu developed a reflexive sociology to go beyond the Marxian perspective to get insight into the inequalities in modern societies with the concepts of capital in different forms (symbolic, cultural, social and economic). The most important contribution of Bourdieu to sociology is the interchangeability of capitals into one another (Swartz, 1997).

Economic capital is the money and properties which an agent possesses in any field (Swartz, 1997). Economic capital is the most pre-eminent and substantial power, and preponderant to other forms of capitals and can be transformed into other capitals easily. Symbolic, cultural and social capitals grow out of economic capital. Symbolic, cultural and social capitals can be converted from economic capital in a disguised way. In fact, immaterial forms of capitals are surreptitious transformation of economic capital. It can be managed rationally, conserved, transmitted and calculated easily (Bourdieu, 1980). Economic capital directly and immediately can be transformed or transubstantiated into any kind of capital such as cultural, social or symbolic one (Calhoun, 1993). It is more difficult to transform cultural, social and symbolic capital into economic capital (Swartz, 1997).

The central thesis of social capital can be summed up concisely as; “relationships matter” (Field, 2008, p. 1). Social capital is highly important in people’s life in a positive or negative way. More people you know, more social capital you have. Amount and feature of your social capital matter in social structure respectively. Bourdieu (as cited in Field, 2008) claims that agents hold different positions in social field according to the relative amount and weight of capitals they own. Combining different kinds of capitals to understand the roles of capitals is important in creating and reproducing inequalities in societies. Essentially, social capital contributes to reproduction of inequality but is partly and inseparably autonomous from cultural and economic capital. Social capital enhances the elite to exclude others and to fortify relatively their position in the field. “Social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119) The dominant groups or agents keep their positions by converting their social or/and cultural capital into symbolic one in the field (as cited in Swartz, 1997).

Theory of social capital aims to disclose how social advantage is founded and perpetuated through history in terms of human relationships. In the near future, feminism scholars worked with the social theory of Bourdieu for the development of a key concept of social capital which is central both in national and international policy and programmes. The importance of social capital is confirmed by the World Bank by

having a social theory capital at a general level, the usefulness of feminist appropriateness of Bourdieusian account for social capital (Hughes and Blaxter, 2007). Concept of social capital is based on which networks agents member of and what sets of values they share (Field, 2008, p. 3).

Culture is not only a domain in which people communicate and interact; but also it functions as a means of domination (Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) initially founded the theory of cultural capital during the research so as to spell out inequalities among students' achievement and relationship with inequalities with their families with different educational and but similar social backgrounds. According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital accumulated and embodied in the early years of children through family members especially parents and other professionals they interacted.

Culture has repercussions on social life. It classifies people and thus contributes to stratification of society. Culture as a capital is also a power to discriminate and exclude certain groups and agents in the field and support a stratified social structure. Cultural tastes and discriminations are not inherent abilities of agents, converseley they are produced by educational system and a specific class. Culture and knowledge which are indispensable constituent thereof supersede economics and function to differentiate classes. In modern capitalist era, money cannot disguise the stratifications in society because subordinate classes are composed of a vast number of members, therefore culture takes over the role and fill the gap (Bourdieu, 1980).

Bourdieu (1986) conceptualised the cultural power by broadening the economical analysis into services and products which are not economic in stratified modern societies. Different resources as educational certificates, communicative talents, recognising the educational system, familiarity with culture in general, aesthetic concerns and choices and inclinations fall into the category of cultural capital. To understand the inequalities in today's societies, Bourdieu addresses the cultural capital which is owned by social classes and distributed unequally in an institutionalised and objectified way. According to Li Puma (1993), Bourdieusian sociology employs the arbitrariness of symbols to develop the theory of cultural capital and to analyse its functions in social structures and social systems.

Bourdieu at first originated the concept of symbolic capital in his work on peasant society of Kabyle in the beginning of his career. It becomes a mode of power which agents do not perceive it as such and it needs to be legitimated through obedience, esteem, deference, recognition (as cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 90). According to Bourdieu (1998b), capital in any form (social, cultural, economic, physical, etc.) functions as symbolic capital when agents in any society approve uses it as a perceptual category, by which lead agents to recognise it, know it or evaluate it. Symbolic capital functions as a perceptual category to produce and embody oppositions, divisions, classifications and thus supports unequal structure in social order.

Social classification as in ancient societies generally works on the basis of dualist operations such as masculine/feminine, etc., therefore organises how agents perceive the social world and, in particular circumstances, can itself actually organise the world (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 137). What Bourdieu (2001) emphasises mostly and frequently is that symbolic systems do not merely function cognitively. Moreover, they do as means of domination. Bourdieu (1984) claims strongly that practices and symbols in cultural domain such as language, philosophy, science, religion, fashion, art, music, eating habits, etc. become the embodiments of interest, by which becomes a means to promote and support social distinctions. Struggle whether symbolic or not is the primary dimension of all social life.

Bourdieu (2000) explains symbolic capital as; capitals in any kind and to different extent have tendency to function in the form of symbolic capital. Every capital has symbolic effects when it is obtained an explicitly and recognised practically. Structure of any field is congruous with the symbolic effects of habitus. It creates and reproduces the structure of any field. Having said that symbolic capital itself does not exist a certain capital, it becomes symbolic when any other forms of capitals misrecognised as capacity, force or power to exploit, consequently recognised as legitimate. Succinctly, any form of capital exists and performs as symbolic one when the relationship of habitus produces dispositions to perceive it as a sign of power and importance. Power relations produce symbolic capital which sets individuals free from insignificance, lack of importance and meaning. According to Swartz (1997), Bourdieusian sociology differs from Marxian theory of capital in terms of its extension to immaterial forms.

Individuals and social groups benefit and use capital in different forms such as cultural, social, economic, symbolic, etc. to reinforce and develop their position in social order.

2.2.2. Habitus

Concept of habitus is hard to be understood. Habitus is idiosyncratic to Bourdieusian approach in sociology and central to his theory of “practice” and “field” and makes his approach original. It is a substantial contribution to science of sociology and other related social sciences. It is one of the central concepts in Bourdieu’s sociological work (Maton, 2008, p. 49). Habitus of peasants who suffering from social and economic changes not capable of adapting to them was the central focus of Bourdieu’s early studies on Kabyle society (Danahay, 2009). With the concept of habitus, Bourdieu strived for establishing and explicating practices in connection with sociocultural contexts both in specific and general (Webb et al, 2008). One key idea to grasp the relationship between agents and structures in social order based on the view that objective structures lead to subjective consequences, which is not well suited with the view that social world constructed individually by agents (Swartz, 1997, p.102).

Habitus lexically means “a person’s general constitution, especially physical build” (Oxford Dictionary Online, 2020). Habitus is productive/reproductive and unifying mechanism that converts temperamental and relational properties of position into a lifestyle which is unitary (Bourdieu, 1998b). Habitus is the dispositions, values, rules, norms which are acquired unconsciously. To put it a different way, habitus is the values and dispositions which are acquired from cultural history and commonly exists across durable and transposable contexts (Webb et al., 2008). It is a dynamic productive/reproductive principle, not the static and limited rules or prescriptions. It is a principle which is generative, not fixed and finite (Krais, 1993). Habitus is dispositions which are durable and is possibly but not easily can be changed. Whenever it functions as a matrix, it structures how social agents perceive, appreciate and act, by doing so, it helps to achieve boundless tasks by means of transferring schematic analogies. It therefore permits social agents solve the problems which is similarly shaped (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu explicates (2011, p.86) the habitus as; “a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action

common to all members of the same group or class and constituting the precondition for all objectification and apperception.”

Habitus functions as a bridge between subjective agency and objective position” (Field, 2008). Habitus is not a mechanism which structurally determines the practices of agents, instead it has a mediating function between structures and practices (Swartz, 1997). Habitus is acquired by agents during socialisation process and constructs their practices and selves as social subjects. It is not learned consciously or imposed ideologically, but practices of agents construct it.” (as cited in Hughes & Blaxter, 2007) Habitus is generally and unconsciously originated especially at early ages. Social agents are exposed to objective practical opportunities which are distinctive and prevalent to a certain status, group or social class which they are member of. Habitus causes common members of the same class dominated by the earliest experiences by constituting a unique integration, statistically. Individuals have life chances, opportunities in common take part in the same habitus in accordance with its collective basis (Bourdieu, 2011). “Experiences will conform habitus, because most people are statistically bound to encounter circumstances that tend to agree with those that originally fashioned their habitus” (Bourdieu & Wocquant, 1992, p. 133).

In each society, distinctions such as manners, practices and goods function in connection with different positions and form symbolic systems which characterise language, thereby form a “mythical system.” Social agents apply symbolic systems as a sign of distinction and thus generate a principle of vision and division which is produced with structural incorporation of objective differences. These symbolic systems exist almost in every aspect of social life amongst all the agents (Bourdieu, 1998b, p.8-9). How social agents are represented varies in accordance with their position and interest in the field, depending on habitus which is “as a system of models of perception and appreciation, as cognitive and evaluative structure.” Social agents permanently experience opportunities and practices subject to their social position and thereby attain their habitus and thus perceive and appreciate their practices according to their habitus (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 9). The habitus manufactures representations and practices through which social agents objectively differentiate; on the other hand, they are required by agents to make sense of their selves. As a consequence, the habitus unwittingly and

insidiously construct not only sense of social agents but also sense of others (Bourdieu, 1990a). Social structure is internalised by agents through habitus which produces classificatory schema or cognitive structures that work in a way that it is transformed into unconscious and illocutionary act (Garnham, 1983).

“Habitus is not innate capacity but a “structured structure “ which drives from the class-specific experiences of socialisation in social settings and environment such as peer groups, family, educational institutions. It is not developed by the internalisation of experiences in early socialisation process outside structures, but it is acquired through socialisation by internalising boundaries and parameters of dispositions on what is likely or unlikely for a particular group in any social group or status. As a result, in one sense, habitus establishes a structural border for what and how social agents act. In another sense, it produces practices, aspirations, perceptions, dispositions, etc. which are compatible with the structuring properties of earlier socialisation. The expression of “structured structures” reproduces the aforementioned two central characteristics of habitus. Key idea to understand habitus is that “objective structures have subjective consequences is not compatible with the view that the social world is constructed by individual actors” (Swartz, 1997, p. 92, 102)

Collective basis of habitus, that is to say, individuals with similar internalised life opportunities or chances take part in the same habitus. In the social world, social agents’ judgements on what is reasonable or not derived from their habitus. It is inclined to reproduce those practices, behaviour, perceptions and practices which are congruent with objectives structures in which it was manufactured (Bourdieu, 2011). Habitus and its strategies substantially function to set up and perpetuate lasting relations of domination in any social structure (Bourdieu, 1998b). The theory assumes a close congruity between culture, social structures and practices (LiPuma, 1993). Habitus is internalisation and incorporation of culture (Cicourel, 1993). Three points Bourdieu (as cited in Webb et al., 2008, p. 38) associates with habitus is; first of all, habitus incessantly constructs the knowledge of social agents, secondly, social agents have certain dispositions, ways of behaving and values which are effected by their cultural orientation and background, and thirdly, whenever social agents practice, they constitute their habitus whose constitution is a dynamic and ceaseless process.

According to Bourdieu (2001), gender eventuates only relationally and is produced through discriminative construction. Not only practical but also conceptual construction necessarily produces gender which is socially differentiated from the vision and practices of the opposite gender. Thus, female habitus and therefore male habitus or non female habitus is constructed. Social order is constituted by divisions. Laconically, in terms of gender, relations of domination occur between women and men eventuate two different classes and habitus, male or non-female habitus and female or non-male habitus. Habitus is formed through inimical and complementary bodily emotions, symbolic dependence through principles of (di)vision.

Any division in any society constructs a social hierarchy and leads to relation of domination. Symbolic violence eventuates by means of habitus which sets up, reproduces and perpetuates symbolic dimension of relation of domination by stabilising and normalising social hierarchies. Masculine domination or hierarchies between female and male habitus is constructed by means symbolic violence and takes the form of the “social body”, thereby fits individual perfectly into the social structure, thus social reality generally manifests itself as ordered and reasonable and ensures domination natural, taken for granted and invisible (Bourdieu, 2001). Habitus is not impossible to change. It is produced and reproduced historically and an “*open system of dispositions*” which is persistently dependent on the practices. For this reason, practices or experiences of social agents persistently effect habitus by either reinforcing or modifying it. Eventually, habitus is not eternal but lasting and strong to be changed (Bourdieu & Wocquant, 1992, p. 133).

2.2.3. Field

Bourdieu’s social theory is referred as “field theory” (Maton, 2008). Bourdieu’s another concept for the analysis of social structures including media is the field (Köse, 2004). *Fields* are the arenas which are structured and practices of social agents take place therein. Concept of “field” is central to Bourdieusian theory. It relates habitus to power relations in today’s society which is stratified (Swartz, 1997, p. 10). Field is a very important metaphor related to social space in the sociology of Bourdieu. Field is designated as a structured social setting where habitus functions (Swartz, 1997). Field is; “a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field.” Field are occupied by

those who dominate and those who are dominated. Durable, constant, continuous relationships of inequality and stratification take place inside the field, where, at the same time, various agents or actors compete to transform and preserve. All of the individuals who occupy the field take place in the competition to attain relative power for their own interest (Bourdieu, 2010b, 2018, pp. 40-41). Bourdieu and Wocquant, (1992, p.97) defines the concept of the field as;

a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).

Field is a ground which is social and in which activities and struggles occur amongst agents to access to certain interests or resources (Jenkins, 2000, p. 85). Field forms a link between cultural practices and social structures (Swartz, 1997). “The history of a particular cultural field rests on the mission of habitus, or organising principles of the field from the past to the future.” To put it another way, a particular social field is legitimised with continuity by secularizing its principles and practices. Individuals expect, foresee and comprehend this world through principles and thus confirm its social and political reproduction (Quéma, 2015, p. 56).

Fields have four structural properties and characteristics. First, they are the domains in which social agents struggle to control the resources that are valued and worthwhile. In any field, struggles take place in certain modes of capital. Structured spaces called fields in which position of dominant and subordinate are characterised according to form and amounts of capitals social agents possess. Agents struggle not only for material resources but also symbolic ones (Swart 1997).

Second, unequal distribution of capitals is the main determinant of positions in a field rather than personal characteristics of those are agents or occupants of field. Structure of the fields is based on how much and what forms of capital social agents possess therein. Form and amount of the capital is valued in terms of characteristics of field. For

example, cultural capital is valued in intellectual field. Some agents struggle to access to more capital whereas some to conserve they have already owned (Swartz, 1997).

Third, agents in a field are imposed certain forms of struggle. Initially, any group in the field, subordinate or the dominant accept tacitly that struggle in the field is worthy of attend. Deep structure of fields is referred by Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz, 1997) as doxa which is an implicit, basic concensus on the fact that struggle for the interest is worthwhile. Bourdieu identifies three strategies of fields; “conservation, succession, subversion”. The dominate struggle for conserving their capitals, those who want to enter to field struggle for gaining more capitals and subordinate struggle for gaining more capitals to be able to be in higher positions. Social agents in certain field struggle for gaining certain capitals which worth struggle, which is referred as *illusio* by Bourdieu. Proper habitus is necessitated by social agents in order that they are able and eager to provide capital for certain fields. Accepting the doxa, those who want to enter the field contribute to misrecognition of power relations and perpetuation of order.

Fourth, the internal mechanism of development structures the field to a significant extent and it is autonomous to some degree from the external environment. Fields are the arenas in which goods, services, knowledge, competitive position and status are produced, circulated and appropriated by agents who occupy it and they compete for accumulating and monopolising different forms of capitals; economic, social, cultural or symbolic. Having said that forms of capital have capacity to convert or transubstantiate to any other, it is not possible to reduce one to another (Swartz, 1997).

2.2.4. Symbolic Power

In sociological term, power amounts to the potential and capacity to influence individuals and groups. It has several forms. Power can work out on groups or individuals and in informal or formal social structures. Power originates from coercion, political activism, law, charisma, persuasion, etc. (Anderson & Witham, 2009). Thompson (1998) classifies the power into four forms in an analytical way as economic, political, coercive and symbolic. Bourdieu (2013) theorised the concepts of “*symbolic capital, violence and power*” to insight into how this form of power contributes to legitimation of social order which is unequal and stratified. Theorisation of symbolic dimension of power is substantial in terms of domination and power in modern social

sciences. In all social life, power has a governing dimension, even it is invisible, inconspicuous and concealed (Swartz, 1997). Symbolic power necessitates recognition, in other saying, misrecognition of the violence which is wielded only when the victims accomplice to it and take for granted (Bourdieu, 2003).

“Symbolic power is a power of creating things with words. It is only true, that is, adequate to things, that a description can create things. In this sense, symbolic power is a power of consecration or revelation, a power to conceal or reveal things which are already there” (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 138) Symbolic systems are “structuring structures” through which social agents understand and construct social world. In this regard, knowledge in different modes such as culture, religion, science, art, language, etc. provide a vast number of representations to apprehend social space, thus functions cognitively (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 199). Symbolic power exemplarily generates groups based on two conditions. Firstly, symbolic power is based upon functions in a form of “performative discourse” and ownership and control of symbolic capital. Power which social authorities had beforehand determines the extent of its effect on minds of other individuals and groups to impose social vision and divisions. This form of power is a “credit” which is conceded to those who acquire adequate “recognition” as to be in a position to or impose “recognition.” Secondly, effect of symbolic power is contingent on the level or degree which imposition of recognition is subject to reality (Bourdieu (1990a, pp. 137-138). “Power is not in words or symbols per se but as to Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 88) in the “belief in the legitimacy of the words and of him who utters them.”

Social conditions and cultural context of language in the process of production and reception cannot be isolated in language analysis (Bourdieu, 2003). Language is a means which exists in the practices of mediation and communication which are generally placed and studied in many different contexts such history, politics, sociology and economy (Quéma, 2015). In the social structure, language is an inseparable component when social agents compete and struggle in terms of how they benefit from culture and of the cultural reproduction process, which substantially supports and reproduces the established social order (Bourdieu, 2003). Language with the process of naming and categorisation is crucial in terms of the social construction of reality (Jenkins, 2002). Language structures how social agents perceive the social world,

therefore has substantial and crucial function to establish and construct social world and more significantly to make it recognised, that is to say, authorised (Bourdieu, 2003). Classification of symbolic representation leads to a political effect through which social structures are identified as to differentiation in a hierarchical way and thus legitimises the binary distinctions which are related to social distinctions by transforming into symbolic classification or categorisation. Mental structures which are acquired through the binary logic impress and impact our communicative and cognitive capabilities, thus produce a kind of map of social distinctions which establish social groups as to the space, ingroups and outgroups. In addition, social distinctions are internalised and structured by “the polarity logic of cognitive processes.” Symbolic systems can be considered as a form of “vertical classification” which connects and establishes the “cognitive logic of polarity and social inclusion and exclusion” (as cited Swartz, 1997, p. 87).

Bourdieu (1984, p. 5-6) explains how we classify, prefer things and practices based on our classification leads to our own classification as following;

Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed.

According to Bourdieu, symbolic power functions to legitimise political and economic power but are not degraded to them. This perspective is the main difference between Bourdieusian and orthodox Marxist view in terms of capital (as cited in Swartz, 1997). Symbolic power is related to all symbolic systems which may be in any field such as an language, art, science, or religion itself. Symbolic systems concurrently have three functions: “cognition, communication and social differentiation.”, which are interrelated but distinct (Swartz, 1997, p. 82).

Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz 2010, p. 46) analyses power correspondingly but distinctly in three ways: (1) power in valued resources (various types of social, cultural and economic capital); (2) power in specific spheres of struggle (fields), and (3) power in legitimation (symbolic power, violence and capital). Words or symbols are not power on their own but they become capable of power whatsoever, whenever, whoever use

them for legitimacy; for Bourdieu (2001), force of ideas itself does not eventuate symbolic power but in association with social structure. Relationship between the dominant and the dominated defines and determines symbolic power. Structure of fields which produces and reproduces belief defines the symbolic power.

Societies have conflicts result from the divisions which construct groups. In this regard, symbolic power makes the social world (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 137). Symbolic power operates amongst individuals, social groups and institutions. As a matter of fact, power is not an autonomous domain for Bourdieu, but it covers all aspects of social life and centrally located therein. In Bourdieusian perspective, structure of social space is established by power relations which have tendency to be reproduced and reinforced by symbolic power relations (Swartz, 1997).

Social order is not legitimatised by a deliberate propanganda and symbolic imposition but it occurs when objective structures apply perception and appreciation principles which emerges therein. For this reason, objective structures is considered as self-evident and does not need to be justified and legitimised. Social structure legitimises the power relations and social structure which are constructed with unequal distribution of capitals (cultural, social and economic capital), and also reproduces, perpetuates itself by transforming these capitals into symbolic one. Inequalities and stratifications in modern societies in every field are reproduced, perpetuated and legitimised by symbolic power rather than physical power (Bourdieu, 1990).

2.2.5. Symbolic Violence

The concept of symbolic violence proposes that social hegemony always occurs with symbolic activities which constitute, organise, and legitimise the social world. The question of symbolic violence has its existence from Western philosophy, outweigh in *Republic* of Plato. There, he establishes a description of a society grounded in fundamental propositions originated from a metaphysical system which implies political views for society and the organisation of civic life. Plato discloses the powerful role of art including symbolic systems of moral, political, or philosophical values. In Bourdieusian perspective, suffering between the constitution of the social structure and symbolic power is at the center of the contemporary polis (Quéma, 2015).

Theory of symbolic violence, which was originated during the empirical research on Kabyle society in Algeria, was developed empirical research on educational system of France and was applied to any formation in any social structure or system in terms of relations of power amongst classes and groups. The theory is at the center of Bourdieusian social theory and whole work of Bourdieu is possibly construed as a materialist anthropology of symbolic violence. The theory specifically contributes a symbolic perspective to social sciences that structure of domination is reproduced and transformed by symbolic violence by a variety of its forms (Jenkins, 2002). Symbolic violence, which is wielded against the lower classes and groups, constitutes the central focus of the analysis of any society (Yair, 2009).

Symbolic violence is possibly misunderstood and underrated compared to physical violence because of the word of “symbolic” in the concept. People possibly think that it is “spiritual” and does not have real consequences and effects in fact or in reality. In the context of symbolic violence and masculine domination, another misunderstanding of the concept is the fact that “eternal feminine (masculine) which is possibly understood that structure of masculine domination is ahistorical, eternal, invariable and stable. Yet, the term eternal feminine refers to the objective and subjective structures through which domination is produced incessantly and historically. It is not ahistorical, unchangeable and fixed historically. The structures of domination is reproduced by both agents and institutions such as family, religion, educational system, state, etc. Habitus in which symbolic violence works and through which reproduces and perpetuates the gender relations in societies with the complicity of those who undergo it because they do not aware of it and thus, it does not need to be justified and legitimised (Bourdieu, 2001).

“Symbolic violence ... of the power to impose (or even to inculcate) the arbitrary instruments of knowledge and expressions (taxonomies) of social reality- but instruments whose arbitrary nature is not realized as such” (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 168). “Symbolic violence is gentle, invisible trust, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, debts, piety, in a word, of all the virtues honoured by the ethic of honour, presents itself as the most economical mode of domination because it best corresponds to the economy of the system” (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 127). Symbolic representations produce the social world not only as visionary assumption but also an object of tenacious and continuous demonstration (Quema, 2015).

Symbolic violence as the potential or ability to obtrude certain means, cognitive structure, dispositions which represent political and economic power in invisible, concealed, naturalised and unquestioned forms upon social agents to comprehend and adapt to the social world (Bourdieu, 1990c). Through symbolic violence, the dominant impose arbitrary forms and system of meanings of the social order on the dominated who misrecognise this violence and perceive it in some way natural. This form of violence can be wielded with the complicity of the dominated who undertake it (Bourdieu & Wocquant, 1992). Social agents who are dominated legitimise their own relation of domination through symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001) Symbolic violence is possible to be exerted just in case victims collaborate because it is constructed by themselves because they misrecognise it (Bourdieu, 2001; Bourdieu, 1990c).

Dispositions and structures are not separable from each other. Disposition and structure have a two way relationship. They organise and produce each other. Symbolic violence is not based on confused consciousness. It can be only enlightened through dispositions in accordance with the structure of domination. Dispositions are produced in structures in which certain groups and agents dominate one another. Symbolic violence is wielded only through practical recognition and act of knowledge which materialise “below the level of consciousness and will” and thus leads the order to hypnotic power. Yet, the relation of domination operates only through the collaboration of the agent’s dispositions which depend deeply on the maintenance or transformation of the structure. Dispositions are the products of habitus as a subjective structure. Masculine domination can be overcome only through a revolutionary transformation in the social structure while producing the dispositions lead the agents who are dominated to take androcentric vision, the perspective of the dominant both on the dominated and the dominant (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 41).

One-way power works through misrecognition of implicit meanings by the agents in their performances, practices, and rituals (Topper, 2001). Naturalisation and misrecognition are the key properties of symbolic power which does not propose consent rather practical adaptation to hierarchies which have already been constructed. It occurs through responding naturally to existing circumstances. Symbolic power is misrecognised by the dominated when and because they adopt the view of those who dominate in terms of gender relations (Bourdieu, (2003). Misrecognition is an act of

forgetting that individuals are involved in the production and reproduction act. Gender domination occurs because of misrecognition of symbolic violence or dominance by both women and men (Webb et al., 2008).

Misrecognition is key concept similar to the concept of “false consciousness” in the Marxian tradition. It amounts to “denial” of political and economic stake existing in a set of practices.” “All actions of agents in social structure are interested. The logic of self-interest is the fundamental of all practices and especially occurs in the cultural sphere is misrecognised as the logic of “disinterest”. Symbolic practices turn aside the interested character of practices and thus play a part in their performance and appear as disinterested activities. Misrecognition legitimises these practices and thus reproduces social order, in which misrecognised activities are embedded (Swartz, 1997). Misrecognition causes the dominated, on whom symbolic violence is exercised, to disaffirm it. Symbolic violence occurs at the level of practical knowledge- in other words, at the level where the agents occupy and act in a social field by implementing the beliefs and structuring principles of that field and by endorsing the rules and structures is to be socially rewarded and legitimised (Quema, 2015).

Symbolic violence eventuates on the condition that social agents, groups and classes are imposed by meanings and symbolic systems in such a manner that social classes or groups experience them as naturalised, taken for granted. Therefore, they themselves legitimise and conceal relations of power which enable symbolic violence work out or succeed. Bourdieu notes that by the virtue of accepting that imposition as legitimate, symbolic violence reproduces systematically power relations which are arbitrarily unequal. Its process works out when power relations misrecognised objectively and social agents render it legitimate (Bourdieu, 1990c). Symbolic violence eventuates merely whenever social agents who undergo it absolutely agree with the dominator, accordingly to the domination as they understand the situation and relation through the instrument of knowledge which is agreed with those who dominated. So to speak, they incorporate structure in which power relations are naturalised with their own contribution. To put it another way, they produce socially their being and naturalise taken for granted classification through schemes they are imposed to perceive and evaluate (Bourdieu, 2000).

Symbolic violence in terms of the structural standpoint is concealed through legitimacy and constitutes sociological knowledge and knowledge of society (Cicourel, 1993). The strength of symbolic violence derives from its obscurity. Symbolic violence functions when habitus as a subjective structure and objective structures are fit to each other. Power of symbolic violence originates from the accordance between subjective structures and objective structures construct the social agents' habitus in any field they struggle (Krais, 1993). Symbolic violence eventuates on the conditions that mental structures and objective structures unconsciously conforms to each other (Bourdieu, (2014a).

Symbolic violence is gentle and hidden. It functions when overt violence is not possible. Masculine domination, which leads to inequality of gender in societies, paradigmatically results from the symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Wocquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2001). It is pervasive, obscured, gentle and wielded by means of mechanisms such as sentiment, knowledge and misrecognising generally with an unintentional and unconscious collaboration of those who undergo it. To understand the symbolic violence, agents need to be conscious of objective structures such as school, family, state, religion which eternalise masculine domination which is socially and arbitrarily constructed, in other words, social agents need to be aware of subjective structures to be able to transform habitus as a subjective structure to overcome the reproduction of gender inequality in modern societies. The dominated cannot be aware or conscious of the paradigmatic effect of symbolic violence due to the fact that they fail to be aware of the durable effects of masculine order because it is intrinsically invisible, inconspicuous, obscured and concealed in symbolic dominance. Inequalities and stratification in a society is constructed historically and arbitrarily through symbolic violence which is exerted with unwitting collaboration of its victims (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu (2014b) corrected Max Weber's view that State owns the monopoly of legitimate physical violence by saying that it owns monopoly of both legitimate physical and symbolic violence.

2.2.6. Symbolic Domination

Main focus of the Bourdieusian sociology is how any symbolic forms become an instrument or mechanism of domination in social structures (Buraway, 2012).

Domination appears in several forms such as: structural violence, coercion, physical violence, violence which is performed in several forms and structures as power social institutions and economic forces, threatening, intimidation and symbolic violence (Swartz, 1997). People should be careful of identifying symbolic violence takes place in the field, because symbolic violence is of the prime important source of distinctions between individuals and social groups. “Only where there is distinction can there be domination” (Rey, 2007, p. 56). Any kind of domination always have a symbolic dimension. Cognitive structures (acts of recognition, knowledge, obedience and submission) have the capacity to be applied to any being and thing and especially to social structures in the world (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 172).

Social agents do not recognise the domination due to the fact that it is naturalised or taken for granted. Therefore, they do not recognise it as domination (Buraway, 2012, p. 14). Manufacturers of culture own symbolic power to convince social agents believe what they show is real and also they have power to reveal or hide the practices of the natural and the social world, consequently to bring things into fact. This power may be wielded for the interest of the dominant and also in contrast to the interest of the dominated (Bourdieu, 1990b). Dominant classes obscure their domination behind the distinction in the cultural sphere (Bourdieu, 1984). Production of cultural commodities also has ideological functions by the reproducing and perpetuating domination and power which are obscured in social order thanks to the symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998b).

“Symbolic violence is the gentle, disguised form of violence” which eventuates when it is not possible to exercise overt, physical violence. Symbolic violence transfigures the relations of submission and domination into relations which affect both objective and subjective structures reciprocally. Power transforms into charm or charisma accordingly and conjures up affective enchantment and thus those who dominate does not need to use another forms of violence (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 133). Symbolic domination functions when habitus obscures it through dispositions rather than practical level of consciousness or knowledge. Habitus embeds strategies for agents how they perceive and appreciate. Habitus generates practice for social agents who do not decide consciously and with their own will, which lay the foundation of recognition and practical knowledge. By doing so, recognition and practical knowledge immensely

conceals itself. Irrational principle of male domination epitomises symbolic domination and female submissiveness. Consistently, it both eventuates spontaneously and distortedly and also understandable on the condition that its lasting and strong effects exerted on women by social order is paid attention. So to speak, female agents spontaneously conform to social order that is imposed on them (Bourdieu, 2000).

2.2.7. Masculine Domination

How masculine domination constructed and lead to conflicts is the main example of paradigmatic effect of symbolic violence which cannot perceived because it is slight, soft and inconspicuous even to those who are exposed. It constructs the masculine domination which is exerted generally and solely by means of “symbolic channels of communications” and “misrecognition, recognition, or even feeling.” Symbolic principles, which are known and recognised both by those who dominate and those who are dominated, bring social relations to bear. Masculine order, which is an historically constructed and arbitrary structure, is unconsciously embodied in schematic forms to be perceived and appreciated (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 2). “Male order is so deeply grounded as to need no justification: it imposes itself as self-evident, universal. It tends to be taken for granted by both social institutions and cognitive structures inscribed in bodies and minds” (Bourdieu and Wocquant, 1992, p. 170)

Today, any reference related to the nature of the woman is tremendously arbitrary (Mill, 2016). Domination is created through meanings and significations. “Language gains the power to create ‘the socially real’ through the locutionary act of speaking subjects.” Succinctly, social reality is created through the symbolic performances of the agents. Representation functions operationally within a political process and as the normative function of a language either to expose or to distort the reality about the women category (Butler, 2007, p. 156). Gender relations are historically constructed, arbitrary, reproduced and perpetuated through symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001).

Individuals or people as any type of group, class or nation are considered as class and they are being identified or recognized as a member of any group or social being in fact, thus “a realist construction of the world can invent and impose.” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 139). Sociology embraces the concept of class and gender as disparate, primary

dimensions of social differentiation that causes domination. Gender disparity lasts as a form of domination in contemporary social life (Krais, 1993). Separation of the humans into groups establishes subjective and objective orders which are not straightforwardly criticised and altered because separation is so immensely ingrained in cognitive schemes that originates a hierarchical, inequitable order which is regarded as natural, unproblematic (Yair, 2009) Male domination eventuates problems sociologically because it is surmised as a natural order, which leads to the emergence of gender problem as being parallel to the emergence of a class problem (Krais, 1993).

In feminists perspective, patriarchy is a system or structure which is organised socially. In this system or structure women hold less power in individual or/and institutional base than men in many aspects. The structure of patriarchal power has different characteristics in societies. Institutional structure of patriarchy historically organises social institutions which bring men into more powerful and advantageous position in comparison to women. Power of men is structurally supported, by doing so, patriarchal system is founded structurally and institutionally. According to radical feminists, as a system of power, patriarchy is sexually constructed and gives men more power to hold certain things and economic advantage (Anderson & Witham, 2009). Relationship of domination is not visible in the domestic sphere as feminists concentrated on, on the contrary, principles of relationships of dominance is exerted and perpetuated in agents such as school or the states. Social structures e.g. religion, school, state, religion are important since they reproduce and perpetuate the masculine domination as the paradigmatic effect of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001).

Bourdieu (2001) strived for analysing differences which are socially and historically constructed and eternally arbitrary between male and female and thereby caused inequality which always works to the advantage of men. In his work of *Masculine Domination*, he attempted to unravel and elicit symbolic dimension of gender relations which perpetuate and legitimise the unjust masculine domination which is eternalised. The mechanisms which disguise and obscure unequal gender relations are constructed arbitrarily and historically contingent. He opposed the essentialist perspective justifying the universal stratification between the sexes.

Gender and its effects, in reality, have been produced physically and mentally through “socialisation of the biological and biologicization of the social combine to reverse the relationship between causes and effects and to make a naturalized social construction.” Succinctly, gender is a sexually characterised habitus and is formed by the nature of the arbitrary division. The division between the sexes is generally referred as normal, natural, and inevitable both in the objectified form i.e. the house whose every part is formed sexually and embodies habitus which functions as systems of perceptual schema, thought and practice (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 3).

The masculine order does not need to be justified since it is durable and strong. Social agents cannot be aware of it because they take androcentric perspective and perceive it natural and neutral, thus masculine order does not require to be explained to be legitimised. Extensive symbolic mechanism of social order establishes and confirms the masculine domination. Activities sexually distributed and assigned precisely, which leads to sexual division of labour. Also, place, time and instruments are divided sexually. Economic field is assigned to men whereas house and certain places are assigned to women. Moreover, house as a field is divided on the basis of gender. For example, hearth is assigned to men whereas places such as kitchen, vegetable store and stable are assigned to women (Bourdieu, 2001).

Social world, which defines reality and its principles in terms of gender, construct the body. How agents perceive and embodies things is firstly implemented for all the things in the social world and body as well. Social perception constructs divisions between the biological sexes in accordance with agents’ worldview which is based on arbitrary gender relations through which men dominates women. Social order in fact inscribes and assigns certain labours subject to socially constructed gender roles. As a consequence, the biological, particularly anatomical difference becomes the natural justifier of gender division which is in fact arbitrarily and historically constructed by social order. Socially and historically constructed and arbitrary divisions constitute and naturally justify the social vision of agents. Viewpoint and perceptual schemas are organised in accordance with structures in which relation of domination occurs, which are concealed therein, therefore practices of agents become “*cognition*” and ineluctably “*recognition*” (Bourdieu .2001, p. 13).

Masculine domination is created and recreated historically and continuously by objective and subjective structures. To put it another way, the position of women historically emerges to a large degree with “constancy, permanence” becomes a consistent and central place to the “*history of the agents and institutions which permanently contribute to the maintenance of these permanences.*” Institutions such as states, education, religion, etc. function to contribute to domination at different times and in their relative weights. These structures also gain importance and explain the reproduction of occupational and disciplinary hierarchies and hierarchical dispositions which approve and cause women by themselves to contribute to the exclusion from certain spaces (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 83).

Agents can understand and beware of symbolic domination by transcending the dictated choice between “constraint (by forces) and consent (to reasons), between mechanical coercion and voluntary, free, deliberate, even calculated submission.” Symbolic domination in any terms such as linguistic, cultural, gender, ethnic etc. exerts itself cognitively but through schema of perception and appreciation, dispositions which constitute habitus in which will is controlled and a cognitive relationship is established. By doing so, symbolic domination immensely conceals itself. Consequently, social agents cannot beware of it unless paying regard to *durable effects* which is exerted by social order (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 37-38).

Revelation of domination in a scientific analysis has social effects which may have two different and opposing results. It may cause the domination to be forced symbolically if the findings ratify or intersect with the discourse of the dominant. Or it may cause to neutralise the domination by revealing the secrets of domination and mobilising the agents who are the victims of masculine domination as the effect of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001).

In the societies which are the least differentiated, masculine order treats women as a means of exchange which contributes to gain symbolic capital in a form of investment to create prestigious and extensive alliances, through which contributes to the reproduction of the symbolic capital in the familial term. Objectification of women is explained by Bourdieu (2001, p. 43) as;

...the fundamental dissymmetry that of *subject and object* and *agent and instrument*, which is set up between men and women in the domain of symbolic exchanges, the relations of production and reproduction of symbolic capital, the central device of which is the matrimonial market, and which are the foundation of the whole social order—women can appear there as objects, or, more precisely, as symbols whose meaning is constituted outside of them and whose function is to contribute to perpetuation and expansion of the symbolic capital held by men.

Masculine domination constitutes women as objects symbolically and keep them continuously in a state of insecurity embedded in their bodies, in other words, in state of symbolic dependence as the effect of symbolic violence. Their being is come to view for the gaze of others, meaning that being attractive, charming, welcoming objects for those who dominate in the form of symbolic dependence. Superiority granted to masculine order is explained in cultural classifications based on “the logic of economy of symbolic exchanges”, so to speak, socially constructed marriage alliance and relation of kinship, social status of women is assigned as an object of exchange which is congruous with the interest of men. In the social world, androcentric vision dominates the symbolic goods. Social agents perceive the women from male perspective, worldview by informed by masculine categories. Objectification of women contributes to the reproduction of symbolic and social capital for men, thereby wields symbolic violence on women and leads to masculine domination (Bourdieu, 2001).

To understand the inferiority of women in social position, asymmetry between male and female status is required to be taken “the economics of symbolic exchanges” into account. As “*subjects* of matrimonial strategies” men preserve or gain more symbolic capital. Conversely, “*objects*” of these exchanges are symbolically women. Women are invested in through their symbolic function, thus unceasingly compelled to maintain their symbolic value. To this end, they adhere to how men idealise femininity and its characteristics e.g. candor and chastity. Women strives to increase value “in the economy of symbolic exchanges” by increasing their attractiveness with cosmetic and bodily attributes (Bourdieu & Wocquant, 1992, p. 173). Symbolic value of women is based on androcentric vision, which renders them symbolically dependent on men, which render women symbolically dependent on men. Women becomes the object of gender relations and reproduces the gender inequality.

2.2.7.1. Bodily Emotions

Body of social agents is constructed by social world in terms of reality which is sexually defined, which secures principles of vision and division which are sexually defined. Biological, particularly anatomical differences becomes the foundation of inequality between genders, that is to say, these differences naturalise and justify differences which are arbitrary since they are constructed historically and socially. According to Bourdieu, habitus of different gender is sexually constructed both in minds and bodies of social agents by incessant, lasting, long term labour by both objective and subjective structures, thus naturalises arbitrary social construction of gender. “The social principle of vision constructs the anatomical difference and because this socially constructed difference becomes the basis and apparently natural justification of the social vision...” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 11).

Symbolic power functions to originate perceptual schema and principles of recognition uncanny boundary between the dominant and the dominated. Social agents contribute by themselves to their domination generally reluctantly and unconsciously by accepting implicit boundaries. Symbolic domination often appears in the form of bodily emotions such as “guilt, anxiety, timidity, humiliation, shame” or “*passions* and *sentiments*” such as “respect, admiration, love” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 38).

Masculine domination, constructed as the paradigmatic effect of symbolic violence, “constitutes women as symbolic objects whose being (*esse*) is a being-perceived (*percipi*), has the effect of keeping them in a permanent state of bodily insecurity, or more precisely of symbolic dependence.” Women come into being as “welcoming, attractive and available *objects*.” People expect women to be “feminine”, to put it another way, “self-effacing, passive, temperate, restrained, well-behaved, demure, submissive, attentive, friendly, smiling”, etc. Femininity is frequently considered as a derogatory and insulting trait by men in this socially constructed and arbitrary order. As a result, being of women is dependent on symbolic order which is arbitrary and socially and historically constructed. This symbolic order is perpetuated and reproduced by both male and female agents through symbolic violence, especially with the complicity of women to their disadvantage (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 66).

Power or force in symbolic form is exercised on bodies of social agents straightforwardly without applying any physical coercion, restriction and force. It produces and reproduces dispositions which are deeply embedded in the bodies of agents. “Dominant principle of vision is not a simple mental representation, a fantasy (‘ideas in peoples heads’), an ideology, but a system of structures durably embedded in things and in bodies.” Symbolic violence constructs female habitus which characterises not only physical differences but also emotions and bodily emotions (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 41).

2.2.7.2. Ancien Regime

In his work of *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu (2001) aimed to unravel how arbitrary gender relations are eternalised by both objective and subjective structures by means of symbolic violence, how arbitrary, socially and historically constructed division of labour between genders are concealed. He used the major assumption of *ancien regime* in observing and evaluating masculine domination. It is certain that the *ancien regime* was the main metaphor of the gendered division of labor in modern societies in Bourdieu’s analysis (Yair, 2009, p. 94). Ideals of egalitarianism and universalism by revealing that the “current social order is actually the *ancient regime* reincarnated in a new guise; that it is still arbitrary and unjust, exploitative and dominating” (Yair, 2009, p. 155). All cultural systems are basically and historically constructed by human beings and interests and practices of certain groups and legitimate unequal power relations amongst groups who originate it (Bourdieu, 2011). Masculine order more precisely masculine domination is produced for ages in a continuous way both in terms of agents and structures. History of both objective and subjective structures invariably contributes to the perpetuation of masculine order” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 83).

Relation between the sexes has changed superficially not enough extent to the knowledge of objective structures and cognitive structures of especially societies with strong, durable, lasting androcentric order. Bourdieu strived for understanding gender relations and its concealed structure. He argues that even in modern societies, structures of gender relations to the interest of men as masculine order resulted from historical mechanisms to dehistoricise and eternalise the structure of sexual division and principles correspond to this division. Interconnected objective structures e.g. family,

educational system, religion, state, sports, journalism, etc. produce and reproduce the eternality of division between sexes (Bourdieu, 2001). Concisely, unequal gender relations are historically constructed and arbitrary and feminine habitus is unwittingly reproduced and eternalised through symbolic violence both the agents and victims.

2.2.7.3. Sexual Division Of Labour

Masculine domination epitomises symbolic domination and social agents by and large do not perceive it as such because it is so deeply rooted in the habitus of women and men. In modern societies, women and men generally consent to their positions and to arbitrarily imposed differences. They unconsciously surmise that men and women are acknowledged to fulfill particular tasks and each of sex is in a natural way preordained or predetermined to fulfill tasks which are surmised as theirs. Both women and men subconsciously convinced that men have active and aggressive tendencies, whereas women are inherently have to be homely and soft-hearted, motherly. Bourdieu (2001, p. 23) states that "...arbitrary construction of the male and female body, of its uses and functions, especially in biological reproduction, which gives an apparently natural foundation to the androcentric view of the division of the sexual labour and sexual division of labour..."

Gender characteristics are "inseparable" from class and define it as "essential respect" (Swartz, 1997, p. 155). To elucidate this, Bourdieu (2001) points out that particular professions like medical and social services are extremely feminised and males, even though people from the same social class, are more possibly to study science and females more possibly to study disciplines or fields feminised such as medicine, literature and so on. Bourdieu emphasises that representation of women is today stronger in the intellectual professions such as administration and the various forms of symbolic services such as "decoration, design, advertising, public relations, radio, cinema, journalism". Women have strengthened their existence in the traditional female activities such as "paramedical activities, social works and teaching." To this day, women still remain practically excluded from positions of responsibility and authority, especially in politics, finance and industry (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 90). Any forms of domination necessitate a structural order which is agreed on both by dominant and the dominated. Sexual division of labour is the case in terms of gender domination (Krais,

1993). “Social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it is founded: it is the sexual division of labour, a very strict distribution of the activities assigned to each sex, of their place, time and instruments. Training of the body imposes the most important dispositions, therefore, drives and forces social agents to be “*inclined and able*” to gain access into certain fields in social space (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 57).

“The regularities of the physical order and the social order impose and inculcate dispositions by excluding women from the noblest tasks ... by designating inferior places for them ..., by teaching them how to hold their bodies, ... by assigning them menial and drudging tasks...” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 24). Biological differences of bodies become the objective foundation in terms of sexes, thus construct two different genders in social essence which has a hierarchy. Even it is unrelated to the biological reproduction, this hierarchised social order determines and organises not only the sexual division of labour but also entire social order. In fact, bodies, its uses and functions are constructed socially and arbitrarily according to the biological reproduction of female agents, thus ratify the androcentric vision in the sexual division of labour of the whole universe. Power of social order of masculine domination originates from two operations. “*It legitimates a relationship of domination by embedding it in a biological nature that is itself a naturalized social construction.*”

Social agents on a daily basis and any part of social space encounter the symbolic effects which assign certain practices to certain gender. These assigned division of labour on the basis of sex performed overtly and as a whole by social agents and by doing so, they combine symbolically with the social order which is established compatibly with primary masculine principles. Classification of practices, which is possible to be changed and generally misrecognised form of social order, plays a part in reproduction process of this misrecognised and insidious social order. Consequentially, agents produce practices which are organised objectively and congruous with arbitrary divisions between each gender (Bourdieu, 2001).

That social order and physical order both objectively and subjectively force and instill women certain dispositions persistently and through which excludes women from the

certain profession and jobs which are honourable and worthy by appointing them lower status (Bourdieu, 2001).

Division between women and men is the ever-present and intense when social agents practice in any type of social order even most complex ones. Female and male classification, in other words, gender classification leads social agents assess, perceive, define and structure the sexual division of labour into assertion, perception, definition and structuring (Krais, 1993). In early socialisation process, relationships of agents with their father and mother is so deep that different practices of parents contribute to integration and internalisation of sexual division of labour by social agents. Early socialisation process in family is substantially important to acquire a gendered habitus by means of symbolic violence. Family is the first field social agents are exposed to symbolic violence which reproduces unequal gender relations, i.e. masculine domination (Bourdieu, 2011).

2.2.7.4. Sexual Division Of Space

Masculine order imposes certain behaviour into women such as avoiding from male spaces. Exclusion of women from public places leads women to separate spaces and constitutes a male space. “Through the *socially imposed agoraphobia* which may persist long after the abolition of the most visible taboos and which leads women to exclude themselves from the *agora*” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 39). “The condition of women always obey the logic of the traditional model of the division between male and female.” Public space and the field of power especially economic power “(site of production)” are continuously dominated by men, on the contrary, women remain overwhelmingly assigned to the private space” (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 93-94).

Social spaces are inscribed in the features of the environment in the form of the disparity between the public as the masculine universe and the private as a social place assigned to women. The house is associated with women in advertisements and cartoons and in contrast, men many times are shown in the places such as bars and clubs which are primarily assigned to men. Men spaces generally depicted “with their leather upholstery and heavy, dark, angular furniture present an image of hardness and manly toughness,” while female spaces with “pastel shades, knick-knacks, lace or ribbons suggest fragility and frivolity” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 57).

Virtual denial of women existence often based on a form of recognition of domination reinforces the established relation of symbolic domination. Symbolic violence performs as discriminatory act through which excludes women, “without even thinking about it” from positions related to authority, “reducing their demands to whims that can be answered with a mollifying word or a tap on the cheek, or, with an apparently opposite intention, reminding them of and in a sense reducing them to their femininity” (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 59-60). Exclusion of women from public and economic affairs leads to confinement of women to the domestic space and activities associated with the reproduction of lineage in the biological and sociological term. The house universally defined as female space according to androcentric vision, male perspective. On the other hand, public space or nondomestic space is universally defined as male space. Practices and discourses are also divided in accordance with this order (Bourdieu, 2001).

To Bourdieu (2001), social order inscribes the masculine order so deeply on the bodies of social agents that division of labour is considered as an authoritative and moral order. This order generally impose women to be avoid of entering to spaces which is attributed to men and so to speak, excludes women from certain spaces which are attributed to men.

2.2.7.5. Androcentric Vision

“The visible differences between the male and female sex organs are social constructions which can be traced back to the principles of division of androcentric reason, itself grounded in the division of the social statuses assigned to men and women.” Noticeable differences of male and female body perceived and constructed in accordance with the practical schemes of androcentric viewpoint, thus perfectly and indisputably guarantee meanings and values which are congruous with the principles of worldview. Bourdieu asserts that; in contemporary societies, women and men generally consent to their positions and to arbitrarily imposed differences. They unconsciously surmise that men and women are acknowledged to fulfill certain tasks and that women are naturally destined to fulfill tasks which are accepted as theirs. Symbolic violence occurs with the tendency of the dominated to adopt the dominant perspective or dominant point of view even when the dominated struggle against it (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 15). Will and consciousness are weapons to overcome this invisible, insidious,

historically constructed and arbitrary relationship of domination as the effect of symbolic violence is quite illusory (Bourdieu, 2000b).

Relation of domination seems to the dominated as natural due to the fact that they apply androcentric categories which are established from the dominants' worldview, which leads to a sort of self denigration, systematic self-depreciation. Particularly and generally women as the dominated appear to stick to their degrading image. According to surveys, in French society, women express that they hope for husband who is taller and older than themselves. Even, two-thirds of women dissent from the opinion of husband who is not taller than themselves in plain terms. They feel diminished with the husband who is younger and shorter than themselves. Thus, women contribute to their own domination and masculine domination and order by constructing and reproducing their own categories of subordination. People most probably resort to principles of masculine order when they want to understand the domination (Bourdieu, 2001). Masculine domination as paradigmatic effect of symbolic violence leads the dominated to love their subordination, denigration because they take androcentric vision. Androcentric view is constantly legitimised by the very practices through which it is constructed and reproduced unwittingly with the complicity of the dominated, which eventuates as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 32).

Androcentric representations are produced and reproduced biologically and socially. These presentations are imbued with the objectivity of a practical common sense and consensus on rules of order of the structure. Women grasp all reality, and certainly the power relations in accordance with schemes of thought which are the product of embodiment of power relations and they are expressed in oppositions which found symbolic order. "...their acts of cognition are acts of practical recognition, doxic acceptance, a belief that does not need to be thought and affirmed as such, and which in a sense 'makes' the symbolic violence which it undergoes" (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 33-34). Relations of gender are constructed with androcentric viewpoint and even feminine actors in society use these worldview in their actions, which becomes symbolic violence to conceal the masculine domination with the complicity of feminine actors in society, which renders it to be invisible and perpetuated by its victims.

...is instituted through the adherence that the dominated cannot fail to grant to the dominant (and therefore to the domination) when, to shape her thought of him, and herself, or, rather, her thought of her relation with him, she has only cognitive instruments that she shares with him and which, being no more than the embodied form of the relation of domination, cause that relation to appear as natural; or, in other words, when the schemes she applies in order to perceive and appreciate herself, or to perceive and appreciate the dominant (high/low, male/female, white/black, etc.), are the product of the embodiment of the - thereby naturalized classifications of which her social being is the product. (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 35)

2.2.7.6. Love Of The Dominant And Amor Fati (Love Of Destiny)

Masculine domination is strongly supported through the misrecognition resulted from the dominated apply the dominant categories which are engendered in their relationship of domination, which leads to love of dominant (*amor fati*) and love of their own domination. Bourdieu uses the terms *libido dominantis* referred for desire for the dominant and *libido dominandi* which refers the renunciation of their right or desire to dominate. Bourdieu claims that women sometimes select to adopt submissive practices, thereby becomes the worst enemies of themselves, they even love the domination of their own, enjoy the treatments by the dominated imposed on them. More precisely, masculine domination leads to sort of masochism for women's nature. Complicity of the dominated is necessary for exertion of symbolic power. This kind of effect of symbolic power continuously embedded in the bodies "in the form of schemes of perception and dispositions such as love, respect, admire, etc. (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 40). "...to the contrary to the romantic representation of love, choice of partner is not exempt from a form of rationality that owes nothing to rational calculation, or, to put it another way, that love is often partly *amor fati*, love of one's social destiny." Symbolic violence is grounded in all relationships of that model. Social agents express and experience strong and long lasting tendencies, dispositions of their body in accordance with the logic of feeling or duty such as fraternal, filial admiration, love, etc. These feelings are merged in the experience of devotion and respect and continue to exist even after these social conditions of production disappear (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 37)

Bourdieuian sociological theory of field, habitus, capital and symbolic violence, strived for understanding and revealing the stratification and inequalities in modern societies

without reducing the class conflict to the social relations of reproduction (Swartz, 1997). Any division and classification in a society constitute the social groups such as education, age, race, gender, religion, social statuses, poverty is subject to class conflict and contribute the reproduction of stratification and inequalities in society. Gender is a form of symbolic capital which constitutes power relations in social order in many fields, especially in domestic field. Gender is also an important class conflict in modern societies as in the ancient societies. Gendered social order functions as a means of stratification between male and female relations.

Gender is socially and historically constructed and arbitrary. Inequality of gender relations as masculine domination is eternalised and reproduced by means of symbolic violence which is invisible, insidious and disguised and exerted generally with unwitting complicity of those who are exposed to it (Bourdieu, 2001). Gender is paradigmatically eventuates as a result of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1984). Women are able to achieve to liberate from masculine domination by acting collectively and struggling symbolically, thus they can challenge the symbolic violence which makes them support their own agreement to gender relations which are embodied by both objective and subjective structures. They need to question how symbolic capital to the interest of men is produced and reproduced especially by consuming cultural products (Bourdieu & Wocquant, 1992, p. 174)

CHAPTER 3: GENDER

The most comprehensive studies on gender were carried out by psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Robert Stoller in America and he is the one who uses the concept of gender first time in his work “Sex and Gender” for different attributes and characteristics of femininity and masculinity (Ecevit, 2011). Psychologist Rhoda Unger (as cited in Doyle & Paludi, 1998) entreated insistently social scientists put to use the word *sex* solely to refer to particularly biological concepts such as sex chromosomes and to use the term *gender* solely to discuss social, cultural and psychological aspects which have to do with attributes, basis, norms, conventional images, stereotypes and the roles of women and men. On this account, Unger (as cited in Doyle & Paludi, 1998) regards that sex is a term which is constructed biologically while she defines the concept of gender in connection with social, cultural, and psychological constituents. Individuals mostly specify biological sex categories of people (i.e., male or female) only in regard to visible (and highly variable) secondary sex characteristics (Doyle & Paludi, 1998). “Sex is an ascribed status because a person is born with it, but gender is an achieved status because it must be learned.” Gender is constituted psychologically, culturally and socially. In other words, sex classifies us as female or male whereas gender as feminine or masculine (Lindsey, 2011, p. 4). World Health Organisation [WHO, 2019] defines “gender” as following;

Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed. While most people are born either male or female, they are taught appropriate norms and behaviours – including how they should interact with others of the same or opposite sex within households, communities and work places. (WHO, 2019, para.1)

Societies impose normative particular manners, viewpoints, beliefs, behaviour and attitudes for men, boys, women and men, which establishes *gender norms* (Doyle & Plaundi, 1998). Women and men are expected to adopt certain behaviour and attitudes which are culturally defined as proper for male and female individuals (Andersen & Witham, 2009). “Gender is established socially and every gender is compatible with social order (Eckert & Ginet, 2003). Beliefs and worldview of individuals are grounded

in their status in societies. The gender classification and the social categories as male and female exist as a consequence of the social practice. The gendered disparity is present everywhere and penetrates into our practice and experience by arising out of all kinds of sites and forms. Gender is so profound and rooted in daily social practice, in our perception of ourselves and others that we almost invariably take gender into consideration in our every activities. Gender is embedded so strongly and immensely in institutions, actions, practices, experiences, beliefs, and feelings that it seems to be entirely commonplace and natural. The world is abundant with ideas have to do with gender, which are so mundane that individuals take these ideas as natural and accept as a scientific truth (Eckert & Ginet, 2003; Lorber, 2012a).

Patriarchial systems perpetuate sexism. Social structures which dominate and oppress women. Patriarchy adopts androcentric norms which are supported, maintained and standardized by all social institutions. All individuals in society adopt these norms. Androcentrism and patriarchy strengthen and maintain sexist idea. Biological determination of sex assigns gender roles and therefore are not able to be changed (Lindsey, 2011). Radical feminist perspective extends the aspect of patriarchy and claims that social institutions such as law, science, religion, medicine, education, etc. legitimate the global order which subordinates women (Lorber, 2012c). On the contrary, the slogan of radical feminists is in general “Women are not just as good as men, they are *better*” (Hawthorne, 2010, p. 141).

Social subjects have a historical background which is in a certain extent formed socially as religion, age, gender, class, etc. which are constructed both socially and textually by the complexity of cultural history. Individuals make sense of social life within a social context. Individuals locate their position according to texts under certain conjunctures which are constructed socially (Fiske, 1987, p. 81). Simone de Beauvoir (2010, p. 330) aphorises; “Women are not born, they are made.” Men are not born, they are made as well. Gender acquisition process in an unending process which starts even before the birth. Some people even wonder sex of their kid before the delivery. If gender originated from sex by nature, parents can be expected to do nothing and only wait let their babies grow to be female or male. But, in reality, individuals adopt and differentiate their sex through the incessant lifelong course of gendering (Eckert &

Ginet, 2003, p. 15). Gender is a strongly ingrained, formed relevant to body and constructs habitus of an agent (Krais, 1993).

The traditional gender disparity is strongly attached to the division of labour and maintains society at all possible level. The division into the social domain as public and private, labours such as clothing, feeding, cleaning, washing, raising children are generally assigned to women on a daily basis. Women are generally restricted to private space in charge of domestic roles and men generally dominates the public space (Eckert & Ginet, 2003).

Gender identity does not exist naturally because it is always put in practice both before and after naturalised or normalised. Gender identities are arbitrary, not natural or stable, on the contrary, they become meaningful through practices or performances (Butler, (2007). Gender-related performances constitute the meaning of gender within any culture or society in a certain point in the past. To set an example, most societies customarily appreciate masculinity more than femininity, nevertheless in some societies like Mosuo community, which is matriarchal and located to the south of China, the woman as a general rule is the head of the family (Laughey, 2007). Gender, which is grounded in biological sex, exaggerates biological difference and takes on the difference into areas where it is thoroughly unrelated (Eckert & Ginet, 2003).

3.1. Feminism And Gender Equality

Feminism is a social movement and basically aims to equalise women and men in every sphere of social life. Modern feminism emerged across America, Europe and Japan as a reaction to the legal inequalities between women and men. Feminist movements struggle to equalise both sexes legally, socially and culturally. Gender inequality is encountered in several different ways such as economic, social and cultural. Gender inequality also possibly disadvantage for men. Men are predominantly served in armies compared to women in many countries. Gender inequality is generally supported by major social and cultural organisations and institutions such as religion, family, states, and media. Recent feminist perspectives mainly stress that gender inequality is deeply ingrained in social structures rather than individual matter. Social solutions are necessary rather than individual to achieve gender equality (Lorber, 2012a).

The first wave of feminism emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries struggled for getting the rights women has already obtained currently in most developed societies across the world. These rights first wave feminist struggled can be listed as: “owning capital and properties, argueing cases in courts, suffrage, inherit, attending college, working in certain labour markets, etc.” Concisely, they fought for making women and men equal under the law (Lorber, 2012a, p. 1).

Second wave feminism came in existence along with Simone de Beauvoir’s published work *Second Sex* in 1949. Beauvoir (2010) states in his revolutionary work on gender that “One is not born, rather becomes of women ...” Second wave feminism failed to become an organised political movement until the 1960s. It mainly focused on the standards and values cause women to have subordinate status in social life. In the 1970s and 1980s feminist strived for accesing to male dominated occupations, enhancing representation in politics, amending certain law for women’s interest. Some feminists focused on issues such as prostitution, sexual harasment and violence and pornography, etc. Second wave feminism succeded in revealing the gendered social structures, order and practices lead to inequities (Lorber, 2012a). Bourdieu’s perspective on gender shed light on the relations of domination which causes gender inequality. Symbolic violence exercised by symbolic power are crucial to understand gender inequality in any society (Bourdieu, 2001).

Advancement of internet technology and intrusion of social media to our lives paved the way to draw upon this platfrom especially in social movements such as feminism, which is today referred as the fourth way feminism (Haughton, 2019). Third wave feminism, which emerged at the last decade of the twentieth century, is the movement of young feminist generation grew up with feminist perspectives. Third wave feminists did not adopt the oppression of women by men. They also incorporated men into feminist activities. They rejected the norms on gender equality and sexuality of women as the power in form. They inclined to act their movements by using new media rather than traditional mainstream media. They made demonstrations and dissent in terms of gender issue on e-magazines via internet. Especially, development of internet and computer technology enabled them to communicate easily and act together especially thanks to the social platforms through e-magazines and street protests, and to connect with each other through social media rather than in formal organisations”

(Lorber2012a). Advancement in technologies especially in communication leads to changes almost in every sphere of life. Feminism is also an phenomenon cannot escape from the influence of internet technology (Haughton, 2019).

3.2. Gender Socialisation

The categorisation of human has particular consequences that are distinct from objects' because of the interactivity of human categories. Humans are mindful about their classification, therefore inevitably influenced by the meanings of their category in their social group. Meanings of categories are one of the main tasks of socialisation, regardless of age. Through socialisation and by observing reactions of others, individuals integrate meanings of categories into their practices and experiences in their life. Being involved in a new categorisation leads to develop new attitudes, behaviour, feelings, and new viewpoints about themselves. This new viewpoint may, in turn, reinforce and ratify the categorisation (Magnuson & Marecek, 2012).

Socialisation is the process through which individuals become social subjects in many different ways. Even in functionalist media theories socialisation usually involves both cognitive and behavioural processes (Van Zoonen, 1994). Socialisation is an incessant lifetime course by which individuals develop their personality, acquire a knowledge of culture and come to be functioning members in the society (Lindsey, 2011). Individuals acquire knowledge of gender roles in every level of the socialisation process. Gender socialisation encourages both men and women to exhibit certain behaviour and attitudes (Andersen & Witham, 2009). In the socialisation process in terms of gender, individuals learn culturally feminine and masculine behaviour that is relevant to the biological sex meaning that is being female or male. Gender socialisation in modern societies can be understood by observing all forms of cultural diversity (Lindsey, 2011).

Socialisation process does not occur independent from events and their effects outside, yet provides human beings adapt to their social environment which is unequally structured with regard to gender inequality. Socialisation by itself does not explicate the basis of inequality, but it is very effective to figure out where and how inequality is reproduced (Andersen & Witham, 2009). Stereotyped depiction of the gender is encouraged and perpetuated by socialisation process, therefore social control is substantially effective (Lindsey, 2011) Agents unavoidably obtain gendered habitus

which incorporates the existing division of labour which is congruous with gender (Krais, 1993, p. 170). In the course of socialisation, dispositions make the female or non female habitus by means of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001).

How gender-appropriate behaviour clearly proves that socialisation process control individuals in a number of ways;

- (1) individuals define their selves;
- (2) individuals define the outer world and position themselves therein;
- (3) individuals define others and their relationships with them;
- (4) individuals are motivated or demotivated to acquire particular skills with regard to gender during the socialisation process (Anderson & Witham, 2009).

3.3. Agents Of Socialisation

The socialisation process takes place on many different spheres of activities. Individuals socialise by many different agents such as parents, brothers, and sisters, peers, teachers, school, media and other social institutions. Socialisation agents are social institutions, groups, people which equips the interpretive, explicative information which individuals require to be a functioning members in the society in all its aspects (Linsey, 2011). Social scientists and social psychologists are particularly concerned with how individuals learn the norms that constitute their numerous roles. The general belief is that roles and behaviour are acquired from the environment, the people around us such as our parents, peers, teachers, and other influential people in our lives, as well as from miscellaneous media tools such as television, movies, books, magazines, etc. (Doyle & Plaundi, 1998). Masculine domination is permanently created through which agents and institutions historically such as religion, the state and the educational system which are considered as agents of socialisation in a relative weight (Bourdieu, 2001). Primary socialisation agents are shaped by the concept of habitus which has also to do with social, economic and cultural capital (Güven, 2011). The theory of symbolic capital and socialisation experiences in connection with habitus through which symbolic capital imposes categories of perception such a way that observation and recognition of symbolic capital are converted into cultural or economic capital. “Symbolic power is

brought into existence and perpetuated by primary and secondary agents of socialisation such as familial and educational systems.” Symbolic power originates in the requisite period of socialisation or continuation and training of habitus in Bourdieu’s sociology which inculcates or internalises the basic principles of culturally arbitrary system of beliefs, values, norms, and practices in order to perpetuate or reproduce the dominance, which is essentially arbitrary (Cicourel, 1993, p. 98)

3.3.1. Family

Diversifications in the structure of family by social change and other institutions provide more opportunities for children to be influenced, the family still has primarily pivotal role in socialisation process. Children begin to internalise behaviour, manners and values within the institution of family. Formidable practices and communication related to gender take place in family (Lindsey, 2011). Family is the fundamental unit for people in acculturation and socialisation process. (Batmaz & Aksoy, 1995). Family as an institution is primarily responsible for the socialisation of children (Lindsey, 2011). Family is one of the most important and significant agents shape the cultural consciousness of society, especially on gender, therein numerous practices reinforce views of gender. Particularly, parents and stepparents’ influence is absolutely crucial on gender identity (Wood, 2011). Socialisation process in respect of gender starts in the family even before the birth of the individuals. Families create a difference by giving the boys more value than girls at the beginning (Batmaz & Aksoy, 1995).

Family is the most important and primary agent of socialisation process. Masculine domination is constructed in family and gendered habitus reproduced by wielding symbolic violence. Individuals initially undertake symbolic violence in their families and form a gendered habitus. Until recently, reproduction was performed by three main agents; family, educational system and religious institutions. Family is undoubtedly the most powerful and influential structure which reproduces masculine domination and vision and individuals are exposed to symbolic violence in terms of gender within the family (Bourdieu, 2001). Symbolic violence which takes place in many different social fields outside family, also most likely in family life, influences women to establish, reproduce and perpetuate a relation of domination (Krais, 1993). Importance of family as an objective structure socially and historically constructs the female or non-female

habitus which causes the reproduction and legitimation of masculine domination as the effect of symbolic violence. Habitus is constructed at early ages within family as agent of socialisation (Bourdieu, 2001). In a word, family is the first field social agents are exposed to symbolic violence in terms of gender relations.

3.3.2. Peers And Preferences

At first, role patterns related to gender set up in the family. Thereafter, children communicate and interact with their peers. Influence of peers on gender socialisation is more powerful even than family to some extent respectively. Plays, games and activities strengthen the roles relevant to gender. These practices are of great importance in socialisation process. Peer cultures of males and females differentiate and both sexes tend to relate masculinity or femininity based on different preferences. Male generally links masculinity with drinking, aggression, and sexual activity, including nonconsensual sex while female links with different activities and experiences. Peer culture at schools encourages students of both sexes to conform to certain gender ideals which may have harmful consequences (Wood, 2011).

3.3.3. School

Starting in the family, socialisation process continues with educational institutions (Lindsey, 2011). As one of the most important agents of socialisation, schools are crucial institutions for gender construction (Eckert & Ginet, 2003). Family lead up to education which is a continuous and major socialisation agent. It plays a fundamental role following years after family for both students and parents and is not exempted from stereotypical gender roles stereotyping, which generally function to reinforce gender roles. Schools do not only generate experiences which equip competency in technique, but also teach norms and values which are congruous with culture (Lindsey, 2011).

In schools, where children sit is separated based on gender. Activity and play groups or categories are formed in regard of gender, which reinforces differences of gender and render it more noteworthy when children interact. Male students are at the center of attention and tend to even for disruptive behaviour; but, female students are not generally as visible as male ones and acquiescent and agreeable behaviour is considered

as praiseworthy for girls (Anderson & Witham, 2009). In every level of schools, both males and females face gendered expectations and pressures. Despite the fact that the curriculum is less discriminatory than in the past, gender stereotypes still exist (Wood, 2011). Educational practices necessitate the exclusion of ideas as implausible, as well as their positive indoctrination (Jenkins, 2002).

Bourdieu (1998a) call attention to how educational system and institutions as an agent of socialisation construct the habitus of agents. Educational system at all times imposes what individuals determine as problems in society. Education is the main concern and takes the central place in sociology of Bourdieu to uncover inequalities in contemporary societies. The function of the school is to inculcate the systems of classifications in accordance with the order of the dominant by exercising symbolic power and violence.

3.3.4. Television

Families and schools are not the only agents in gender socialisation (Anderson & Witham, 2009). Television inarguably plays a critical position in socialisation process (Doyle & Plaundi, 1998). Children are exposed to television at early ages and thus it becomes a powerful socialisation agent (Lindsey, 2011). Television today became a universal socialisation agent which transcends certain social groups after a certain period for individuals (Işık et al., 2009).

Content of television which is produced for young children is one of the main sources of gender socialisation. Adults and especially children spent a considerable amount of time watching television. Watching too much television has powerful effects to establish traditional and stereotyped gender perspectives. Children are especially easily affected by television images and think that those messages reflect truth and reality. Television constructs social life and our knowledge of external world by presenting role models, behavioural standarts, and communicates desire suppositions about social world. Far too numerous messages on television help children to learn about gender, gender identity and roles (Lindsey, 2011). One of the sources which produces a considerable amount of stereotypes is television. These stereotypical messages and images are powerful during the process of gender socialisation (Anderson & Witham, 2009).

Communications in different forms of media such as television, films, and DVDs and furthermore communications of parents, teachers, siblings, and others are imitated and taken as a model by children (Wood, 2011). Social learning theory proposes that television is a very important medium to observe, reinforce and imitate certain gender roles and identities (Turgut, 2009). In this sense, the content children encountered especially at early ages becomes highly important in every aspect, including gender as well. Power of television as a socialisation agent is undoubtedly crucial.

3.4. Theories On Gender

A variety of theories have aimed to explain the acquisition of gender role and identity of children. Different theoretical viewpoints are based on human behavior. Two main hypotheses on gender acquisition: *nature and nurture*. *Nature* is based on elements which are inherited, biological, genetic, on the other hand, *nurture* is based on the elements which are environmental, experiential and learned. And also *activity/passivity* designates the way in which people act in their own development of gender (Doyle & Palundi, 1998). In general, perspectives on gender categorised into two main groups as perspective of nature, which is also referred as essentialist perspective claims that social imbalances between women and men are the reverberations of their biological difference and are inevitable. On the other hand, perspective of nurture, which also referred as constructionist perspective which claims that gender roles are culturally determined and socially constructed (Ecevit, 2011).

The proliferation of studies on issues of sex and gender provides worldwide evidence disproving essentialist claims. These studies do not disregard biological characteristics in gender development, however, they constitute evidence that cultural values and practices are more substantial impediment to equality between genders rather than biological characteristics (Lindsey, 2011). Masculine domination as an order of gender is the effect of symbolic violence exercised through dispositions construct the female or non female habitus which is socially and historically constructed and eternally arbitrary. Especially the term of misrecognition occurs through the symbolic violence which reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises gender inequality in modern societies (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu's perspective on gender congruous with social constructionism but inimical to essentialism.

3.4.1. Psychological Perspectives On Gender

In Bourdieu's sociology, both objective and subjective structures are key to understand the inequalities including gender in modern societies (Bourdieu, 2001). In this perspective, psychological theories on gender call attention to how communication matters on gender is functional to understand gender issues in modern societies. It is highly functional to get insight into widely known psychological theories on gender. To this end, this section makes a general review of the most common and major psychological perspectives in brief (Wood, 2011).

3.4.1.1. Psychoanalytic Theory (Sigmund Freud: "Anatomy Is Destiny")

The first and the leading theory on gender, gender inequality and development of heterosexuality is psychoanalytic theory which Freud mainly focused on gender and sexuality (Chodorow, 2010). Sigmund Freud theorised that biology is the main determinant of basic gender difference and this viewpoint leads up to his famous motto that "anatomy is destiny." He theorised that each individual during infancy experiences psychosexual stages which follow never-changing sequence and are inextricably congruent with physical growth. These psychosexual stages are associated with the cognitive level and social development of children and with their feelings about their father and mother (as cited in Doyle & Palundi, 1998). Concept of "identification" is central in Freud's theory. By identification, children acquire the personal traits, attitudes, behaviour and roles which are associated with the same sex parent and identify the similarities they have in common (Doyle & Palundi, 1998).

The psychoanalytic theory explains gender development based on the positions women and men they take part separately as a result of the biological differences. The major difference between the sexes is that men have a penis and women have the capability to be fertile (Doyle & Plaundi, 1998). Psychoanalytic theory is supported through genetic and biological justifications and confirmed essentialist perspective in many ways. Psychoanalytic theory proposes that biological features of human being are the main determinants of both gendered order and gender inequality (Yair, 2009).

According to the theory, identification of girls with the same sex parent is only established through competition with opposite sex parent. Girls compete with mothers

for father and have also a fear of losing their mothers' love as well. According to psychoanalytic theory, women are less traditional than men and have a lesser sense of morality, that women are more influenced by emotions than by logical reasoning. Never is the identification process of girls as strong as that of boys, thus, they have less well-developed consciences. As a consequence, women are passive, quiescent, sentimental, submissive, and compete with the same sex to attract the attention of men (as cited in Doyle & Plaundi, 1998).

Psychoanalysis manifests that the reproduction of male dominance leads to social division of labor in each generation. Psychoanalytic feminism constructed on the Freudian theoretical perspective of gender and sexuality inherently associates the oppressive of women with subordinate family roles (Chodorow, 2010).

3.4.1.2. Psychodynamic Theory

The premise of psychodynamic perspective is that gender identity develops as a consequence of relationship, togetherness between children and mothers (Wood, 2011). Psychodynamic theory claims that the relationship between children and mother, primarily at early ages, is central to human development. The relationship for individuals with their mother has great significance and value as the first and primary person who takes care of their children. According to psychodynamic theory, initial and early relationship between individuals and crucially mother influences on constructing identity, also particularly gender identity. Psychodynamic theorists consider that infants create their gender identity and sense of self by internalising view-point of individuals which surround them in the first years of their life. The theory stresses the importance of relationships especially with mother in cultivating identity and roles of gender (Wood, 2011).

3.4.1.3. Social Learning Theory

Social learning theorists claim that rewards are the fundamental of the socialisation process. Rewarding functions to reinforce appropriate behaviour and to punish inappropriate behaviour to eliminate (Lindsey, 2011). The theory stresses the importance of environment to explain gender socialisation and has a behaviorist orientation, thus views to explain social behaviour in regards to human experiences and the environment

(Andersen & Witham, 2009). The theory claims that individuals learn gender identities, meaning that femininity and masculinity, principally by imitating people in their environment and by getting responses of others to their behaviour (Woods, 2011).

Social learning theory grounds gender acquisition in nurture. The central construction of the gender in social-learning theory are “*reinforcement, imitation and modeling*” (Palundi, 1998, p. 56). Moreover, social learning theory claims that learning by observation and imitation is critical in acquisition of gender identity (Doyle and Palundi, 1998). Behaviour including gender roles are acquired straightforwardly through reward and reprimand, and obliquely, by means of observing and imitating. During socialisation, teachers, peers and parents reinforce different expectations for the practices subject to order of gender (Lindsey, 2011). Much research finds out that gender stereotyping is learned pervasively through play in early childhood. Playing practices, and toys which parents select are critical in gender socialisation of children (as cited in Anderson & Witham, 2009).

3.4.1.4. Social Constructing Theory

“Feminists espouses the social constructivist perspective which corroborates that “gender is a constant part of who and what we are, how others treat us, and our general standing in society.” Gender principally organises an order, by doing so, divides and categorises people as men and woman. They become different through different expectations and treatments. “Without these socially produced differences, the whole gender order would collapse” (Lorber, 2012b, p. 208)

Differences between behaviour and characteristics of both sexes are produced by social construction of gender, which leads to gender inequality as well. Where men are oppressive-dominant, the divide between women and men is strictly enforced” (Lorber, 2012b, p. 245). Social construction theory coincides with the Bourdieu’s sociology. Symbolic violence leads to masculine domination through habitus which produces and reproduces dispositions Masculine order is socially and historically constructed and eternally arbitrary and reproduced and perpetuated reciprocally by both objective and subjective structures (Bourdieu, 2001).

Feminist social construction theorists claim that the “ideal types” of bodies are produced based on gender ideology, practices, and stratification systems of society (Lorber, 2012b, p. 247). Division of certain responsibilities and tasks at home is the most familiar and commonplace example of gendered social practice, which allocates certain tasks such as childcare and housework to women (Lorber, 2012b, p. 247).

3.4.1.5. Cognitive Development Theory

The cognitive developmental theory is grounded a large extent in the work of Jean Piaget, who is a Swiss psychologist and lately in work of Lawrence Kohlberg, who is a psychologist (Anderson & Witham, 2009). The theory basically explains the establishment of identity including gender identity through interactions with environment and differs from social learning theory with the view that children actively develop their gender. The cognitive-developmental theory conjoins biological and environmental perspectives on gender role acquisition. This theory focuses on the importance of the environment of children by attaching importance to models in society as well as parents (Doyle & Palundi, 1998). Jean Piaget’s (as cited in Lindsey, 2011) view on gender socialisation is sharply opposite from social learning theory on the basis of activity of children in their development with characteristics of individuals capacity to be intelligence, think, be reasonable. His perspective is congruous with symbolic interactionists’ premise that individuals develop cognitive skills gradually in an incessant social interaction.

Kohlberg (as cited in Lindsey, 2011, p. 61) claims that fundamentally children acquire gender roles based on how they comprehend the external world and how they developed their cognitive level. According to Eckert and Ginet (2003), children are very active in their own development and establishment of their senses. Since the time they are aware of themselves as social beings, they pay attention to the environment during their socialisation.

Kohlberg stresses (as cited in Doyle & Palundi, 1998, p. 57) that “children are biologically prepared to organise their world”. Children go through three stages to learn “appropriate gender-related behaviours” that establish gender role identity. The first stage, begins around at the age of two, children become aware of the existence of two sexes and comes to realize how to put the labels into practices as girl and boy. During

preschool years, children learn to attach the appropriate sex labels to themselves as boy or girl. Concisely, during the first stage, children become aware of their sex as male or female and also learn to associate particular features, such as physical ones, with each sex. The rigidity of the first period is called concrete operational period meaning that children themselves do not take exceptions into consideration about the things that they see around. Second stage, roughly from five years to six or seven year, children begin to develop a system of value relevant to their sex. Children learn to value and find more desirable and appropriate behaviour relevant to their own sex, thereby start to imitate persons from same-sex more than persons from other-sex. The reason why boys at this stage do not play with dolls is because of feeling that dolls is a toy to play for girls and behaviour girls do valued inappropriate for boys and the other way around. During the final stage, children establish an emotional dependence to the same-sex parent, thus reinforces the complex set of behaviour which is relevant to their sex.

Playing habits and manners of infants of both sexes are similar until the age of two, thereafter their play habit and manners differ and they begin to be selective with toys and playing activities. They begin to observe play of opposite sex and restrict on gender-incongruous play. The cognitive development theory emphasises that individuals are active rather than passive in the process of gender identity acquisition when interacting with the environment (Eckert & Ginet, 2003).

3.4.1.6. Gender Schema Theory

Gender schema theory is a significant subset of the theory of cognitive development which reduces it to schemas. Individuals understand the world through schemas, cognitive structures which have important function to make sense of how individuals process and perceive fresh and unused information (Lindsey, 2011). The theory encircles the characteristics of both social learning theory and of cognitive-developmental theory on the basis of how individuals acquire gender roles. Furthermore, the theory claims that schematic processing in terms of gender is originated in practice of the social community differentiated according to sexes. Consequently, children acquire the certain gender related behaviour based on sex by observing the differences between women and men within their cultural environment (Doyle & Plaundi, 1998).

3.4.1.7. Erik Erikson's "Eight Stages of Man"

Erikson (as cited in Doyle & Palundi, 1998) puts forward a model of development which was grounded in concept of the "eight stages of man". According to this model, development take stages throughout our life. Polarities within these stages affect the construction of personality. Development of individuals makes progress from certain conflicts. Stages of development are formed in terms of distinctive crisis. Erikson claims that polarities which take place in each stage important to human behaviour and their social identity.

This theory suggests that identity of women in terms of gender is not established relevant to "career commitment" as in men's, but instead by their "commitment to the roles of wife and mother and their relationship to a man who will give them direction." Theory hence proposes very important "prescriptive guidelines or mandates for women: to be a wife and, especially, a mother." Last mentioned is labelled as "*motherhood mandate*" by Nancy Felipe Russo (as cited in Doyle & Palundi, 1998, p. 61).

3.4.2. Sociological Perspectives On Gender

Gender relations are structured in social institutions in a systematic way. Gender relations mould the experiences of all the people in a society. According to sociologists, gender is not simply a psychological attribute, although it has social effects on dimension of gender relations. Gender relations are patterned institutionally in societies. It is important to understand gender for studying social institutions or social situations. Grasping gender as to social structure points that social change is not only an individual issue, namely, changing our mind do not make gender disappear. Change both in consciousness and in social institutions is necessary to transform gender inequality in social institutions and order (Anderson & Witham, 2009).

Sociologists draw upon a variety of theoretical perspectives to explain gender roles and general ways to get insight into social reality which guides their research and supply a mechanism to interpret data. Sociological perspectives in terms of gender also differentiate based on the level of analysis of society. Perspectives in macrosociological level to a large extent focus on data collected related to social phenomena such as labour force, education, and politics in terms of gender roles. On the other hand,

microsociological perspectives focus on data related to small groups and the details in terms of gender such as interactions take place between spouses in families and between peers at school or other environments, etc. Perspectives in microsociological level coincide greatly with the discipline of social psychology (Lindsey, 2011).

First sociological perspectives were evolved from works on family in the field of sociology. Main focus of the first perspectives on the fact that how women and men adopt different roles both within and outside the family. Early research and studies in the matter of family laid the foundation of today's theories on gender in sociological context. (Lindsey, 2011). Concisely, gender studies on family on why and how different sexes hold different roles or practices were first critical work on the issue of gender in sociological term. First gender studies are related to family. Bourdieu (2001) emphasises strongly that family as an objective structure primarily wields symbolic violence in reproduction of gender relations, which is substantial in this sense.

3.4.2.1. Functionalism

Functionalism is a perspective in a macrosociological level, basically presupposes that society is the sum of the interdependent parts. Each part of society makes the society function as a whole. Functionalism strives for understanding the main factors of each part in a society to determine and predict how they function to meet basic social needs. Functionalists interrogate how certain elements of a social structure conduce to social order (Lindsey, 2011).

According to functionalists, designating certain tasks based on the sex maintains social order in societies before preindustrial era. Designating of roles such based on gender in this era was regarded as functionally necessary. Roles designated to men were being generally outside the home for extended period of time and providing food for the family. Particular domestic roles regarded as functional for women such as giving birth, taking care of children, gathering food near home. Roles of children commonly were to be of service to help domestic and agricultural activities. Boys abandoned these activities when they are mature enough to hunt, whereas girls continued. After establishing this functional division of labour, societies reproduce gendered division of labour throughout the globe. Women might have been engaged in gathering food and agricultural activities independently but they might have been dependent on men for

security and food. Thus, the dependency of women on men created an order in that roles and activities designated to men became appreciated more than those designated to women. Principles which are applied in families in preindustrial societies still even exist in modern societies, thus contribute to functioning of the family to maintain and perpetuate the social order by minimising disruption, maximising harmony (Lindsey, 2011).

Functionalism proposes a reasonable and sturdy explanation in terms of roles based on gender, which describes the functionality of designating particular tasks for the survival of economies, especially in locations where large families are functional and child labour is necessary for agricultural activities. Modern functionalists also admit that conflicts emerge if divisions are too sharp between the private and public space such as family and work, especially for women. They become aware that these divisions are arbitrary and does not function when families have to confront and deal with extending interdependence which is necessary in the worldwide market (Lindsey, 2011).

3.4.2.2. Conflict Theory

Conflict theory has in many ways common with functionalist perspective on social order and change. Theory differentiates from functionalism on the basis that consensus and agreement maintain and perpetuate social order on certain values, where conflict theory instead proposes that exercising power involuntarily, thus certain classes control others, which causes conflict as the main factor in social order (Lindsey, 2011).

Arising from the writings of Karl Marx (as cited in Lindsey, 2011), conflict theory proposes that society is a place where struggles take place for dominance and power. Social classes struggle generally for limited resources especially for fair and equitable distribution of resources and means of production. Capitalism develops well in terms of class based system in which a certain ruling class called the bourgeoisie possess means of production such as factories, farms that the proleteriats work therein and are subject to them. The interest of bourgeoisie is to maintain their power over those who are dominated and to subordinate by maximizing their profit as much as possible from work of the proleteriats. Workers are able to challenge the unjust, inequitable system only through when they unite and possess necessary resources only after recognising their oppression and forming a class consciousness (Lindsey, 2011, p. 7).

Concisely, conflict theory applies its macrosociological perspective to the household and explains the gender roles in this context. Friedrich Engels, who is Marx's collaborator, applied the perspective of conflict theory to gender roles in the family and proposed that relationship between "exploiter-exploited" or "the master-slave" takes place in societies between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is transformed into households. Societies in pre-industrial era had no private property and extremely egalitarian owing to the absence of surplus goods. People consumed as much as they produced. With the appearance of capitalistic institutions and private property, domestic labour of women is not any longer valued compared to the non-domestic labour of man. Absolute power and supremacy of husband are unquestionable. Women are only able to emancipate from oppression with engagement in production to a great extent and thus domestic work of women is not any longer valued and considered only as unimportant, worthless amount of their time (Lindsey, 2011).

Modern conflict theorists improved original claims of the theory to reflect the latest framework in order that the theory would be more satisfactory to individuals who imagine transformation in society toward egalitarianism through unrevolutionary means oppose to revolutionary change which is suggested by classical Marxism. Modern conflict theory claims that in capitalist societies, certain groups dominate others, both the dominated group and the dominant group similar interests in society whether they are conscious or not of it. Class struggle between "owner and worker" or "employer and employee" is typically not the root of conflict; it instead takes place on many levels of groups in society including a great many such as "males and females, gay and heterosexual, black and white, old and young, wives and husbands, children and parents. Social order can divide and classify any group as a majority or a minority aligned with the amount of resources they own (Lindsey, 2011, p. 8). According to Marxist argument, gender inequality mainly results from economic life in social order. Marxist feminists acknowledged that women's domestic labour is exploited and devalued as a result of capitalism. In Marxist feminist perspective, wives and mothers take the leading position in their analysis of gendered structures (Lorber, 2012d). Marxist feminist apply the Marxian perspective in a macrosociological level to the gender relations, which is also referred as conflict theory.

3.4.2.3. Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interaction theory is a microlevel perspective which makes allowance for social interaction when explaining how norms are proceeded mainly through culture. Cultural conventions direct individuals' behaviour and roles, yet symbolic interactionism proposes that people do not independently perform their roles. How individuals perceive reality is formed through subjective meanings which leads to certain practices, which is designated as social construction of reality by theorists of symbolic interactionism (Lindsey, 2011).

Georger Herbert Mead (as cited in Anderson & Witham, 2009) explains the process of socialisation through three stages; "imitation, play and game." In the first stage of imitation, infants imitate and copy the behaviour of persons in their surroundings. In the second stage of play, children start to take the others' role, thus see themselves from the perspective, viewpoint of others. In this stage, children cognitively establish their individuality, their selves through interactions with others surround them and thus they learn to perceive viewpoints of others on themselves. People in the surroundings (e.g. parents, siblings, or other primary caregivers) are emotionally important for children. In the stage of game, children can do more. They play games, which help them to have insight into how others view them. At last, children learn to accommodate to not only certain others but also to generalised other. The generalised other is the representations what society at large culturally expect.

Symbolic interactionism is the main microlevel sociological view which draws attention to close interactional behaviour of people in social settings. According to theory, interactions in social setting are dynamic. Individuals incessantly adapt their practices through interaction with people surrounds them (Lindsey, 2011). Herbert Blumer (as cited in Lindsey, 2011) coined the concept of *symbolic interaction* and asserted that individulas do not straightforwardly react to the world surrounds them, but they do it by making sense of, giving meaning or interpreting. Human interactions consititute social order which includes social structure and institutions. What reality is is agreed by the members of society. Symbolic interactionists claim that we learn who we are and how culture, in society we are a part, forms our identity through communication. Because humanbeing is not born to a separate world with a readymade self. People develops

their selves from the selves of others. (Wood, 2011). As what social reality is is agreed by members of society, what reality of us is is agreed also by interactions of people surround us (Lindsey, 2011).

Symbolic interactionists assert that conceptual categories about people in terms of gender, ethnicity exist subjectively not objectively. To say the list, they are all social constructions. Gender does not appear as a personal characteristics but it is ascribed through interactions with those who surround us (Lindsey, 2011). Scripts design gender roles for both female and male through interaction and communication. Each script limits behavioural options into certain range, which typically results in promoting patterns as gender labels. These patterns are reinforced by routine reference to the opposite sex. Individuals label themselves according to opposite sex, thus shape their behaviour. Performances constructed in terms of labels and they do not function to connect but to separate the gender. Symbolic interactionism proposes that individuals produce reality through interpretations of their interaction with selves of others. People bases their practices according to interpretations of their interaction with others (Van Zoonen, 1994). Concisely, what individuals view on themselves and more importantly what others view is critical in gender development in symbolic interactionist perspective.

3.4.2.4. Standpoint Theory

Standpoint theory is complementary to symbolic interactionism which considers that societies are formed with different groups which are structured in social hierarchies. Central point of standpoint is that which groups in which individuals take part assigned by sexual identity and gender. Being membership of certain groups has influences on people's experience, knowledge, feeling, and doing, in addition to understanding social life as a whole. Each person views society from the perspective which is related to his or her social group and the activities that the group participated in and every perspective is limited. All views are biased because of reflections of each person who has a certain social location within a culture categorised into different groups by power. Members of groups that draw upon power through the interest they already appropriated to maintain their place in the social hierarchy (Wood, 2011).

Standpoint theory claims that women and men develop particular skills, standpoint, and understanding of life as a consequence of being a member of certain groups which are socially constructed. It is possible to achieve a standpoint for members of groups through gaining and using political consciousness to analyse their location in social structure. Major contribution of standpoint theory to insight into gender issue is that it draws attention to how individuals' perspective is shaped by the membership in certain groups which are socially constructed. The difference in social locations possibly leads to development of different standpoints which create a political awareness of social hierarchy, advantage, and oppression (Wood, 2011). The standpoint theory to some extent overlaps with the Bourdieu's concept of habitus and social capital which constructs both subjective and objective structures.

3.4.2.5. Identification Theory

According to identification theory, gender- appropriate behaviour is acquired by children through identifying with the same-sex parent. The theory is based on psychoanalytic perspective and claims that children unconsciously model the behaviour of their parents and constitute their identities. Children learn behaviour, attitudes, and emotional reflections in unconscious way and develop motivational systems. Identification with same sex parent relates to relationship between parent and child end up with an unconscious psychosexual bond that forms sex-role identity of children (Andersen & Witham, 2009). The identification theory is also overlaps with Bourdieu's theory of habitus and social capital to some extent.

Chodorow's (as cited in Andersen & Witham, 2009) theory of gender is coupled with the vantage point of identification theory. Main characteristics of modern nuclear families are the "asymmetrical structure of parenting" meaning that division of labour characterises women as mother and women's work as devaluated. That assymetrical structure creates a dynamic identification, thus girls adopt mothering characteristics.

3.4.2.6. Hegemonic Masculinity

Perspective of hegemonic masculinity claims that power and achievements in economics are related to cultural norms. (as cited in European Institute for Gender Equality, [EIGE], 2019). Hegemonic masculinity is grounded in the political idea of

hegemony coined by Gramsci (1985). He asserts that the ruling class in any society determines the dominant culture. Because men have usually obtained unequally political and economic power throughout the history almost everywhere, values of men are possibly to have been more influential in cultural terms than those of women. Hegemony functions as a mechanism to strengthen the power of ruling class, it is also intended to dominate in terms of gender masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity reveals itself as a hierarchy of men grounded in the strength and toughness of idealism of hypermasculinity. Men are generally most admired and have most capacity to dominate others (as cited in Gile, 2003). Masculinity generally tends to be in hegemonic way within a culture (Buchanan, 2014). Hegemonic masculinity accepted as practical pattern, that is to say, not only an identity or fixed role expectations, which is provided for dominance of men over women to perpetuate (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2010).

3.5. Gender And Media

People encounter almost every day countless characters on television screens especially on genre of drama. Before television, people have never been exposed to that great numbers of different types of characters, social and occupational groups. It is generally assumed that television morally has to portray social groups as they are. This assumption may be reasonable on programmes concerning ongoing events, news programmes but not on genres which are fictional because distortion of reality may necessary for the artistic freedom for both writers and producers. However, distorted or stigmatising representations in media are questionable in the case of involving broader social groups especially in terms of age, gender, race, culture and so on (Giles, 2003).

Feminists have always placed emphasis on media (Van Zoonen, 1994). Media is the most pervasive and powerful agent which influences individuals' view of gender. Media communicates surfeit representation of both sexes, which are stereotypical and some of which are nonrealistic and stereotypical, which shape the way individuals perceive. By doing so, media appropriates the desirable characteristics of both sexes. Also, media influences our viewpoint on people, events and women (Wood, 2011) and dictates what men and women are and how and what they should be. Watching television in a considerable amount of time cause individuals comply with stereotyped and traditional perspective on gender (Lindsey, 2011).

Pervading the daily lives of people and presenting both women and men stereotypically, media limits perceptions of human possibilities. The ways media misrepresents gender may distort people's views and perception about the normality and desirability for both sexes (Wood, 1994). It has been long known by sociologists that stereotyped gendered roles in commercials act as agent of socialisation and lead many people to believe traditional and discriminative gender roles regardless of age (Lewis, 2010). Gender discourses do not make only a particular sense of television program but also make a particular framework in the sense of gender in many different social structures such as in family, at workplaces, in school, etc. (Fiske, 1987).

Television has great power to depict gender and gender stereotypes and does the best to portray men and women in traditional ways. Television is successful in terms of maintaining traditional gender roles and stereotypes that strengthen the appropriate assumption of femininity and masculinity. Television programmes similarly and regularly portray gender roles based on sex: men as the breadwinners and women as a subordinate role concerning home and family; women as dependent, passive, beautiful, thin, young, incompetent and sex objects, whereas, men mostly more social, sexually aggressive, powerful, adventurous, active, etc. (Buchanan, 2014; Wood, 1994). Television characters of men are depicted in aspiring, determined, adventuresome, strong, and dominant roles, on the contrary, women characters, are depicted in passive, dependent, complaint, acquiescent, and weak roles (Doyle and Palundi, 1998).

Media is highly important, pervasive and powerful to influence gender perspectives of individuals. It inculcates messages to masses almost every time and everywhere. Media in all forms presents innumerable portrayals of both sexes. Many of these images limit our perception and perpetuate fixed gendered norms. Media depicts men and women dependent on and associated with each other in traditional ways. Four traditional portrayals of relations which are prominent in media are: men as an aggressor versus woman as a sex object and victim; man as a breadwinner versus woman as major caregiver; authority of man versus incompetence of women; independence of man versus dependence of woman. Media portrayal of girls and women as relatively passive compared to men is another gendered pattern (Wood, 2011).

Almost in all Turkish native serials, the status of women is depicted in the secondary plan. Generally, women act in the affectionate or seducing roles. Generally women are excluded from social life and exposed to many bad events. The serial of “Şehnaz Tango” is the most important one which breaks the prujudice and stereotypes about women. The serial whose story is about Şehnaz who has economical freedom and has an extramarital relationship, got negative reactions because of disgracing women stereotypes and obliged to be discontinued broadcasting (Unur, 2015).

Representation of women in conventional way as they lack knowledge compared to men, which ideologically creates patriarchial codes, thus also organizes codes to produce others codes. So, these representations produce a congruous and consistent context with which generates and forms “*common sense*” in a society (Fiske, 1987).

The research carried out by Skjellum and Allen (as cited in Sparks, 2014) with meta-analysis concludes that television programmes by and large represent role of women and men stereotypically and traditionally in terms of gender. Findings of whole content analysed especially on television illustrate that men hold characters in higher status and portrayed as more powerful than women.

Modleski and Radway (as cited in Laughey, 2007) draw attention to the importance of fantasies of women including especially on soap operas and romantic novels, which provides women to evade from the harshness of routine of life. Women fulfil imaginarily desires that they cannot obtain in their oppressed real life through mass produced genres such as soap operas. According to Laughey (2007), soaps function to create moral parameters appropriate for patriarchial life by presenting women in a dichotomy of villainess and ideal mother. This dichotomy constructs that villainess accords with the patriarchy. Villainess is bad since she is evil to men and the ideal mother is so since she is acceptable for men. Soap operas, therefore, train women to become ideal at home, not only as ideal audiences but also as ideal people. Concisely, soap operas teach women about gender and gender relationship, how to be a ideal women, wife, girl, daughter, etc.

Soap operas address issues related to women merely within the context of familial and domestic framework in accordance with patriarchial norms (Laughey, 2007). Fifty-two percent of population in Netherlands watched the serial of Dallas, female audiences

constitute the sixty-nine percent thereof. The serial drew criticism on two points. First, audiences perceived it as an American cultural imperialism and spread American values both in global and national level. Second, they perceived that it enhances patriarchy by portraying women subordinate to men or the other way around (Ang, 1985). Orthodox Marxist critics supported the first point while orthodox feminists supported the second point (Laughey, 2007). The study of “Watching Dallas” carried out by Ang (1985) on the serial of Dallas on Dutch people is the most comprehensive and best known. Almost half of the population of the Netherlands watched the Dallas every week in Spring in 1982 which has become the symbol of television in the modern Netherlands. In this study, the identification of audiences with the characters of the serial and patriarchy is the most important finding.

Media manufacturers who produce cultural content have symbolic power to present the things and lead people believe what is presented, to reveal the practices of both the natural and social world. Consequently, they bring things into fact through symbolic power which is generally wielded for the benefit of those who dominates the social order (Bourdieu, 1990). Dominant classes hide their domination behind the division in the cultural sphere (Bourdieu, 2017). Television has also political danger with its capacity to make people believe that they see on the screen, which is called *reality effect*. Through this effect, television has power to mobilise groups with ideas and images it created. This power may lead to arouse negative feeling on audiences such as racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, etc. (Bourdieu, 1998a).

Bourdieu (1998) claims that domain of media is complex and the way over ordinary, unlettered people’s head in any society. Television functions to repeat, legitimise and perpetuate the traditional power structures in social order. Television is an effective media tool to reproduce and perpetuate power relations inconspicuously while entertaining people (Shanahan & Morgan 2004). Media discourses enable individuals make sense of social practices and order (Fiske, 1987). Similar banal and unvarying genres and formats of television programmes such as news soap operas, reality shows, tabloids, etc. construct social and personal identities and social relations which are naturalised by those to a certain extent (Fairclough, 1995, 102).

CHAPTER 4: LITERATURE REVIEW

The study carried out by Nas (2015) converges symbolic violence, gender and media analyses how women are represented in advertisements. The study aims to analyse the advertisements of Turkish chewing gum brand “Falım” through the discourse analysis to show how advertisements wield symbolic violence to legitimise and naturalise the gendered relations of power to reproduce gender inequality through the concept of misrecognition by which symbolic violence operates. According to the study, Falım advertisement bears substantial signifiers of symbolic violence. The sexual division of domestic work, bodily emotions sexually attributed to women, and subordination, passivity and weakness of women in respect to men and objectification of women are the patriarchal narratives legitimise and naturalise gender inequality. The study concludes that advertising of chewing gum of Falım brand in large part functions as instrument to legitimise and naturalise the gender inequality through symbolic violence.

Study which is carried out by Udasmoro (2013) converges media with gender inequality and symbolic violence explores the symbolic violence exercised in Indonesian television with the images and languages on the genre of sinetron which is popular in Indonesia and correlates with drama series or telenovela. Udasmoro (2013) states that since 1998, television as a medium has substantial role in the country in shaping the ideology and commonsense in Indonesian society. The study focuses on the how Indonesian television exercise symbolic violence in the programmes of sinetron, the position of women in the symbolic violence by which they are exposed and ideology constructed through the symbolic violence. The study reveals that aspects of symbolic violence television channels incorporates are construction of women subordination and objectification of women. Another aspect of symbolic violence exercised in Indonesian television is the legitimation of polygamy through the destiny effect by taking the androcentric vision. The study concludes that Indonesian televisions as a medium through the genre of sinetron which is correlated with drama series and highly popular in Indonesian society wield symbolic violence to naturalise the objectification of women, that women is subordination of women to men, view of dominant on the issue of polygamy, thus becomes an important agent to create gender imbalance or gender inequality.

The study carried out by Ragneda and Budd (2015) aims to analyse and evaluate the gender issue, how women depicted in Italian media in consideration of Global Media Monitoring Project Reports and Observatory On Gender Representations Report with the implications of symbolic violence. The study aims to reveal how Italian television exercise symbolic violence to get a deeper insight into the cultural dimension of gendered hierarchies and gendered order and in what ways symbolic violence exists in Italian media. Ragneda and Budd (2015) stress that symbolic annihilation of women in the media reinforces the hierarchical structure and thus operates as symbolic violence. Subordination of women in media depictions is one of the major categories of symbolic violence exerted in Italian media. Italian media (re)produces common views of women's subordination to men. Another category of symbolic violence present in Italian media is the objectification of women as a sexual object with the images of showgirls who are usually young and attractive. Images which are attributed to women establishes a dichotomy between men and women. Another category of symbolic violence exercised in Italian media is sexual division of labour. The study reveals that Italian media exercises symbolic violence persistently. Ragneda and Budd (2015) claim that greater public awareness of symbolic violence provides more potential to break the cycle of symbolic violence in media, especially on television and to create more gender neutral roles for both women and men. Ragneda and Budd (2015) suggest that research in international and comparative level may provide individuals to grasp the influence of violence in reproduction of gender inequality to uncover the cross-cultural saturation of symbolic violence. Awareness of symbolic violence involved in the media may promote social change in terms of gender and gender equality in societies.

Research on perspective of feminist literary criticism carried out by Fernández, Bedía and Cerdá, (2016) analyses violence exercised against women in Spanish mass media in the sense of gender issue. The research stresses that mass media, especially television is one of the main agents of socialisation, contributes to perpetuation of the order of patriarchy by characterising the women as subordinate to men with representations of women in stereotypical gender roles. The research exposes to view that structural discrimination reproduces gender inequality by wielding symbolic violence. Fernández et al. (2016) state that this kind of violence is ignored by society and especially media and does not take any notice, interest or importance. Collaboration of feminist

institutions with media organisations and of civil societies is crucially important to eliminate the symbolic violence exercised through media. The research suggests that competent public institutions should insist media institutions to improve the representations of women and provide a gender-neutral perspective through the media literacy. Fernández et al. (2016) stress that it is highly important to raise awareness and consciousness to fight the symbolic violence in media, especially on television.

Study carried out by Ulfah and Wuryanta (2018) aims to analyse the news programme by tvOne which is television station covers the issue of Dedeuh Alifisahrin in respect of symbolic violence. The study analysed four news programmes about murder of Dedeuh Alifisahrin. The study explains symbolic violence and its forms exercised against women with technique of critical discourse analysis. The study reveals that news programmes on the issue of Dedeuh Alifisahrin's murder involves symbolic violence through which reproduces the patriarchy and misogynous ideology. Study concludes that four news programmes covering Dedeuh Alifisahrin murder case exercise symbolic violence to reproduce and perpetuate gender inequality.

Research carried out by Nurbani and Hum (2018) analyses the symbolic violence which eventuates on social media based on gender among social media users. The research adopted qualitative approach and collected data by interviewing undergraduate student instagram users in Medan city of Indonesia and by observing their accounts of social media. Nurbani and Hum (2018) state that patriarchy substantially effective to maintain power relations through symbolic violence. The research finds out that students exercise symbolic violence by imposing certain physical features and dressing style and attributes to women on social media. Thus they naturalise and perpetuate patriarchal values and order through symbolic violence.

The article by Recuero (2015) on the social media and symbolic violence discusses that girls through the messages they share on social media assign and impose certain attitudes and physical features to themselves or each other, which causes symbolic violence. Social media reproduces thousands of discourse and when people share the messages that certain attitudes are assigned to a certain gender, for example being pretty is assigned to female order, they are reproducing a thousands of discourses to contribute

to patriarchal order. Recuero (2015) claims that social media is a field where symbolic violence is exercised in a large part to naturalise and perpetuate gender inequality.

The study written by Morellato (2016) analyses Japanese literature in terms of symbolic violence and stresses the importance of children's literature in socialisation process and importance of folktales and picture books due to the fact that it involves narrative violence. Within the framework of the structural perspective of sociology, the study addresses the how symbolic violence functions and contributes to reproduction of relation of domination in children's literature. The study uses casual-tracing process approach. The study analyses the pictures of a particularly long standing popular folktale in Japan (Click-Clack Mountain). The study concludes that pictures of folktale wield symbolic violence with the mechanism of misrecognition of the order of domination between childhood and adulthood dichotomy.

The study carried out by Marin (2017) analyses how violence women are exposed is naturalised and how body of women is objectified and hypersexualised. The study analyses two novels (Por el lado salvaje by Nadia Villafuerte and Señorita Vodka by Susana Iglesias) in the sense of gender issue and symbolic violence. The study concludes that female body is hypersexualised and objectified in these two novels. Female characters naturalises the violence and accept their own subordination and subjugation, which takes the form of symbolic violence.

The study carried out by Aslan and Nisan (2018) aims to analyse the women stereotypes of polygamic relationships in New Bride television serials with the method of reception analysis. The study addresses to understand how audiences perceived the New Bride television serial. The study carried out by interviewing eight audiences and aimed to obtain qualitative findings rather than quantitative. Sample of the study consists of three students, two housewives, a teacher, an engineer and a hairdresser. The study concludes that New Bride television serial legitimises the polygamic relationships and patriarchal order, which is interpreted by the audiences. Seven audiences think that the serial is intended for women, however, only one audience thinks that it intended for men. When audiences asked if the real world is match up with the characters of the serial, different opinions stated by audiences. These opinions are that character of Aga (master of tribe) represents masculine domination in the society; that nobody accepts to be a cowife

today, that it does not match up with the real world, that cowives cannot be on good terms in real world, that she/he never encounter characters match up with the characters of the serial. The serials naturalises the polygamic family structure of Bozok Tribe. The scenes of the serials depicting the derogatory situations and oppression of women are perceived by audiences are; imposition of certain roles to female order, appraisal of the polygamy and marriage with foreign bride, oppression of women, imposition of certain ideologies and glorification of polygamic relationships. Audiences perceive the masculine discourses and order in the serial and state that it involves patriarchal codes, messages which glorify, naturalise and legitimise polygamic relationships, thus reproduces gender inequality.

The research carried out by İnceoğlu and Akçalı (2018) analyses the gender equality in Turkish serials. The research is conducted by selecting the twelve serials aired on national televisions between first of May and thirty first of May, 2017. Sample of the serials consists four episodes of each serial. The serials and television are Mother (Anne) in Star TV, Back Streets (Arka Sokaklar) in Channel D, Love and Blue (Aşk ve Mavi) in ATV, Resurrection Ertuğrul (Diriliş Ertuğrul) in TRT, Thug Does Not Rule The World (Eşkîya Dünyaya Hükümdar Olmaz) in ATV, Deniz in My Heart (Kalbimdeki Deniz) in FOX, Offend Flowers (Kırgın Çiçekler) in ATV, Warrior (Savaşçı) in FOX, Promise (Söz) in Star TV, You Are My Homeland (Vatanım Sensin) in Channel D and New Bride (Yeni Gelin) in Show TV. The research aims to explore the gender representations, probable gender inequalities, ongoing stereotypes which reproduce patriarchal order or narratives which are alternative to those. The research findings reveal that certain characteristics are predominantly attributed to certain gender. Women are generally portrayed as submissive, demure, shy, emotional, gentle while men are portrayed as aggressive, extravert, impolite, competitive and ambitious. Gendered representations on the serials function as symbolic violence to construct gendered habitus, which reproduces gender inequality. Definition of women and men is determined in accordance with stereotyped gender perceptions. Most of story in the serials takes place indoor. Men are generally portrayed in spaces related to their professional while women are portrayed in spaces related to free time activities. Women are generally portrayed in private spaces while men in public spaces. Characteristics designated as feminine are kindness, slightness, maturity and sympathy. On the other

hand, characteristics designated as masculine are bravery, courage, belligerence, etc. When characteristics which are attributed to feminine attributed to men, they are considered as denigration and when characteristics which are attributed to men attributed to women, they are considered as compliment. İnceoğlu and Akçalı (2018) claim that role of daily routine which is attributed to femininity and masculinity order of gender become visible and are reproduced in the media. Especially parenthood role of women are more conspicuous than men in the serials. The serials involve seventy five women characters, only one woman is in the role of businesswoman. She is also portrayed as aggressive, extravert, competitive, impolite and intelligent. The research reveals that twelve serials analysed involve representations and casting reproduces gender stereotypes. Stereotyped perceptions of femininity and masculinity in the society are reflected on the screen through television serials.

Master thesis by Eroğlu (2015) aims to explore and analyse the symbolic violence in the early era of Turkish Republic. The research adopted qualitative content analysis and analysed the different newspapers in the early republican era on the availability of symbolic violence on the visual and written content. Masculine domination and patriarchy are the categories of the research. The research concludes that newspapers in the early era of Turkish Republic wielded symbolic violence which leads to the construction of masculine domination through the androcentric view. The research also reveals that physical violence was naturalised in the newspapers with the endorsement of androcentric view and misrecognition of masculine order which causes masculine domination. In other words, gender inequality is naturalised in an institutionalised way in the newspapers. Eroğlu (2015) claims that the emancipation of women come true through the transformation of thoughts and symbols related to women by themselves. To this end, symbols naturalise the masculine domination should be decoded.

Study carried out by Unur (2015) reveals that women are depicted as wife and mother in media, which naturalises and reproduces that women are more active in housework comparing to men. According to gender roles imposed by masculine domination, women do housework while men work outside. Labour in the domestic field is sexually divided. Certain labours are assigned to women. Women are generally depicted as they are doing housework. These stereotypical representation of women in such positions reinforces the current mindscape. They have a parasocial relationship by watching the

characters they like in the serials in these positions such as doing different housework that make audiences adopt and internalise housework they do. Despite the fact that the study adopt different perspective, results reveal that sexual division of labour is constructed through symbolic violence.

Arianto (2018) analyses the Indonesian short story “Sepasang Mata Dinaya Yang Terpenyara” with qualitative descriptive method to figure out how symbolic violence is exercised in the short story in terms of Bordieusian sociological approach. The research aims to explain how symbolic violence is exercised against women in the short story of “Sepasang Mata Dinaya Yang Terpenyara”. Objectification of women is the category of symbolic violence takes place in the story. Sexual division of labour is the another category of symbolic violence. The story reveals several problems have to do with the imbalance of social structure between masculinity and femininity in Bali society of Indonesia. The research concludes that character of Dinaya and her mother undertake symbolic violence. Dinaya’s father exercises symbolic violence to his wife (Dinaya) and in general towards Balinese women. The story reproduces patriarchal structure, i.e masculine domination in Bali society through symbolic violence.

The research by Özer (2019) analyses 16 advertisements of eight different Turkish Banks to understand how and what kind of symbolic violence is exercised against man with the method of semiological analysis. The research concludes that symbolic violence is wielded against the male on advertisement and thus constructs a male habitus which is unequal compared to female habitus especially in terms of economical responsibility of family affairs. Economic capital is attributed to only man in advertisements and thus functions as symbolic violence. Özer (2019) stresses that not only women but also men are exposed to symbolic violence which legitimises socially constructed and arbitrary unequal gendered habitus.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

In this section, the research describes data analysed in the New Bride television serial according to the coding frame; symbolic violence is the main category and “sexual division of space, sexual division of labour, exclusion from social space, androcentric vision, bodily emotions, symbolic dependence, Amor Fati (love of dominant), “ancien regime” are the subcategories of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is latent and its subcategories are manifest content of analysis.

Sexual Division of Labour

Bella takes the charge of pouring water for the ablution of Kalender Aga

In the morning of fairy tale wedding ceremony, Bella is woken up for her new duty as the new bride of the Bozok tribe to help the master of the tribe to perform his ablution for dawn (fagr) prayer. Bella as the new bride of Bozok tribe takes the charge of carrying pitcher at the dawn prayer. Case of pouring of water for ablution is seen only for the dawn prayer. Living in an ostentatious huge mansion, even the story of the serial takes place of recent vintage, this kind of scene helps to strengthen the masculine order symbolically by naturalising the sexual division of labour especially constructing a hierarchy of old and new. In fact, although Kalender Aga is married to three wives at the same time, Bella’s pitcher case becomes a disposition and structure the habitus of new bride and leads to sexual division of labour in the domestic place. Even being is highbrow, graduate women, Bella takes this charge without any resistance, which especially help to naturalise and perpetuate the masculine order by assigning certain tasks to women in the domestic place. Sexual division of labour or task in the domestic place construct the sexually characterized habitus of women or non female habitus and reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises the gender inequality by wielding symbolic violence in the serial (Güler, 2017a, 2017b).

Bella serves men at the breakfast table as the new bride in the first day of her marriage

Bella in the first morning of their marriage gets up early for the ablution of Kalender Aga for the dawn brayer, then goes to the kitchen and wants to have breakfast with the

viwes and brides of Kalender Aga. She is not aware of his responsibilities as new Bride and is informed about her responsibilities by her mothers-in love and sisters-in love. She waits standing at the door of the room where Kalender Aga and his sons have breakfast and serves them during their breakfast. Due to the historically created division of new and old bride habitus, Bella takes the charge of serving men during breakfast without any resistance, opposition and complaint, thus contributes to reproduction of sexual division of labour based on sex. Habitus of new bride, which is historically constructed, becomes a disposition for the female habitus in the mansion, in fact it is baseless and arbitrary and misrecognised by those (brides and viwes of Kalender Aga) who are the victim of symbolic violence, contributes to order and domination of masculinity, thus functions as symbolic violence. In the serial, male characters are never portrayed doing any domestic work or task or housework, which imposes the division of labour between male and female, by doing so, contributes strongly to masculine order, in other words, masculine domination leads to gender inequality by wielding symbolic violence. The portrayal of the sexual division of labour strictly as a female habitus and dispositions is misrecognised by the dominated and operates as symbolic violence, thus reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises the gender inequality (Güler, 2017a).

Bella washes dishes by hand

Bella, as the new bride of the Bozok Tribe in the very first days of his marriage at the mansion, does the gruelling housework with the traditional manners. The New Bride serial does not reveal the course of time of its story, yet from the scenes and technologies characters used in the serial such as mobile mobiles, it is implied that story occurs at the current time. In spite of development and penetration of technologies and wealth of Bozok Tribe, even Kalender Aga has airplane, antique cars, different houses for different purposes, doing the house work such as washing the dishes by Bella and other women is used to impose the arbitrary and contingent sexual division of labour, thereby contributes to reproduction of socially and historically constructed characteristics of female habitus and perpetuation and legitimation of the masculine order and domination. Bella does not question and resist to the situation in which gruelling housework is done in traditional manner in spite of the wealth of Bozok Tribe and background of Bella who is graduate, and daughter of a highbrow family, grew in European countries, gives extra strength to impose the masculine order. The portrayal of

Bella washing the dishes by hand used to impose masculine order and reproduces and legitimise female or non female habitus and becomes an example of symbolic violence (Güler, 2017a).

Housework in Bozok Mansion

All the housework in the mansion of Bozok Tribe, which is economically able to afford to hire servants or maid for the housework, is done by the daughters-in-law of Kalender Aga. Domestic work, especially gruelling housework such as cooking, washing the dishes, washing the clothes, is strictly designated to women. In spite of the wealth of Bozok Tribe, any of women show any resistance or opposition to the sexual division of labour, which creates habitus for women designated in accordance with the biological feature of women. The housework becomes a disposition for women in the mansion, in fact, sexual division of labour is misrecognised by the dominated and provide the complicity of the dominated to the order of dominant meaning that masculine order and domination. Historically and socially constructed arbitrary sexual division of labour is internalised and perpetuated with the consent of the dominated below the level of consciousness becoming disposition of women which creates a female or non male habitus operates as symbolic violence, which reproduces and legitimises gender inequality. Therefore it does not need to be justified or legitimised (Güler, 2017a-h).

Hazar: “Haven’t you ever washed the dishes in your mother’s home?”

Women of the mansion are determined to get rid of the Bella. The first day of the wedding, Bella is forced to wash the dishes by hand. Women do not help her and also do not allow Şirin to help her in order to oppress her. The work of washing the dishes is designated to women habitus, thus leads to the unjust and arbitrary sexual division of labour. Hazar confirms this duty as the women disposition and asks Bella if she ever washed the dishes in her mother’s home. Bella expresses that it is done by the dishwasher and does not even ask him why they do not have a dishwasher in spite of wealth of Bozok Tribe. She surmises the sexual division of labour without any questioning and resistance. She does not even question the arbitrary sexual division of labour as a graduate, highbrow woman. Bella is exposed to symbolic violence by confirming the arbitrary sexual division of labour and thereby reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises the gender inequality in the serial. Doing the gruelling housework in

traditional ways without technological devices in spite of the wealth of Bozok Tribe reinforces the effectiveness of symbolic violence to perpetuate and legitimise the unjust and arbitrary sexual division of labour, thus contributes to construction of masculine order, so to speak, masculine domination. Hazar and Bella naturalises the masculine order which is generally taken for granted by both the dominated and dominant (Güler, 2017a).

Bella and Şirin do housework.

Bella as the new bride of Bozok tribe takes the charge of the housework in the mansion and she does the most of gruelling housework in the mansion because of the socially constructed hierarchy through which the certain tasks are assigned to the newest bride, which reproduces a different habitus characterised by the dispositions such as washing the dishes, cooking, washing the clothes, etc. It contributes to naturalisation of masculine order which is eternally arbitrary and misrecognised by both the dominated and the dominant. The dispositions which produce practices generally such as housework, produces female or non male habitus through which symbolic violence operates. This hierarchially differentiated grouping of practices which is assigned to women legitimises the binary division of male and female labour which is in fact arbitrary, not natural, which is not recognised as such by the dominated, in other words, the dominated misrecognise division of labour based on sex. In fact, it is eternally arbitrary and socially constructed. The naturalisation of historically and socially constructed order reproduces the masculine domination through symbolic violence (Güler, 2017b).

Bella washes clothes by hand

Bella washes the clothes in traditional manner with her hands. Even the serial does not reveal the course of time its story, from the scenes and technologies characters used in the serial such as mobile phones it is implied that story takes place at the current time. In spite of development and penetration of technologies and wealth of Bozok Tribe, even Kalender Aga has airplane, antique cars, different houses for different purposes, portrayal of Bella washing the clothes give extra strength to symbolic violence to impose the arbitrary and contingent sexual division of labour and contributes to reproduction of socially and historically constructed characteristics of female habitus,

thus perpetuates and legitimises the masculine order and domination. Bella does not question and resist to the situation in which she washed the clothes in traditional manner in spite of the wealth of Bozok Tribe and background of Bella who is graduate, and daughter of a highbrow family, grew in European countries, gives extra strength to symbolic violence to impose the masculine order. Every activity is precisely divided in accordance with the arbitrary form of social structure, and embodied to constitute the female habitus which functions as a system of perceptual schema, thought and practice as dispositions, thus operates as symbolic violence (Güler, 2017a).

Bella: “I used to go out when I feel like and now I only cook”

Bella is tired of gruelling housework and does not question and resist to the situation in which she is oppressed and denigrated. As a highbrow woman, she remembers his free days and does not express how she oppressed in the mansion to anybody, she does not even share with her husband, Hazar. Through the durable effects of her new habitus, she develops new dispositions which are internalised and naturalised especially due to the love of dominant. The practices taken place in the new habitus of Bella is internalised and naturalised with her own incorporation and complicity, which leads to the legitimisation of unjust and arbitrary social order so to speak masculine order. Thus, gender inequality which is eternally arbitrary and contingent is reproduced through symbolic violence. Bella changes her habitus and constructs her dispositions in her new habitus. Thus, she internalises and naturalises the unequal masculine order (Güler, 2017d).

Elmas washes carpet as the newest bride of Bozok Tribe

Elmas and Kağan have an extramarital relationship. Relation of Elmas and Kağan is learned by the members of the household. Kağan decides to bring Elmas to the mansion as cowife of his wife. Elmas becomes cowife in the mansion and takes the charges of the new bride and washes the carpet by hand. She is belittled and scorned by the women. Denigration of Elmas because of the housework is an example of imposing the certain tasks which are also considered as denigrating by those who are the dominated leads to internalisation and naturalisation of the unjust order of masculine domination with the complicity of the dominated. Symbolic violence is operated through the subcategories of the sexual division of labour. Particular dispositions and bodily

emotions relates to female habitus and also labour of women considered as denigrating by those who are the dominated who undergo symbolic violence. Sexual division of labour as the subcategory of symbolic violence which eventuates in this discourse, thus reproduces and perpetuate masculine domination (Güler, 2017h).

Bella gives Hazar and her nephew Mıstık a bath.

Bella gives Hazar and her nephew Mıstık bath with the urge of women in the mansion. This duty is assigned to women because of the female habitus which is constructed socially and historically. This labour or task is sexually attributed to women becomes the disposition and constitutive of female habitus through which symbolic violence operates. As a consequence of symbolic violence, women are inclined to misrecognise the masculine domination and thus naturalises and reproduces socially and historically constructed masculine order and domination with unwitting complicity to this domination by the symbolic violence. Female habitus or non male habitus produces practices (dispositions) and representations through which male and female habitus is characterised, thus operates as symbolic violence through which perpetuates, reproduces and legitimises the arbitrary masculine domination (Güler, 2017k)..

According to Bourdieu (2001), in the modern world, inequalities and stratifications in gender hierarchy are generally appeared as the division of labour both in the domestic and public sphere, and these inequalities and stratification are constructed socially and historically and eternally arbitrary, which is not recognised as such by the dominated as paradigmatic effect of symbolic violence.

Sexual division of space

Wives and daughters-in-law of Kalender Aga have breakfast in different tables

In the mansion of Bozok Tribe, spaces for women and men are strictly separated. Kitchen is portrayed as the feminine part of the mansion. Mansion has two floors and women have their breakfast and other meals on the first floor and men have on the upper floor. Presence of women on the table of men, in other words in male space, is disapproved severely, which strictly divides the female habitus and male habitus. Kitchen as a female space produces certain tasks which are assigned to women and appropriates dispositions such as cooking and washing the dishes. Thus sexual division

of space also defines male habitus, the space characterised in accordance with the masculine order. In this sense, the mansion of Bozok Tribe can be assessed as a field which struggles take place between men and women. Men generally with the help of their economic capital dominate the women by converting this capital into a symbolic one, objectifying women to meet certain needs of men. In the serial, men are not generally present in women space and women in male space. Division of space based on the sex significantly function to embody masculine order which is characterised in accordance with the dichotomy of female and male space. Spaces divided on the basis of sex constitute two different habitus through which symbolic violence is exercised. As Bourdieu (2001) states domination is possible on where there is distinction. Constructing the division of male and female spaces as field, infact arbitrary and not natural, is necessary to exercise symbolic violence to naturalise, reproduce and legitimise the masculine order or domination. In the serial (Güler, 2017a-h), division of space for male and female which characterises and constructs a female habitus or non male habitus, through which symbolic violence operates to perpetuate, reproduce and legitimise the gender inequality.

Events break the division of space between male and female appear only twice in the first season of New Bride serial. The first event is the picnic when the members of Bozok tribe come together in the same place without division of male and female space. The second event is the breaking the Ramadan fast during the holy month of Ramazan. During the meal time in the course of month of Ramadan, division of space between male and female is broken and both men and women come together and eat their meal on the same table. These two events bespeak that masculine order and domination is arbitrary, historically and socially constructed.

Exclusion from social space

In the New Bride television serial, women are not seen in public space. Public space is predominately occupied by men. Public space and space for economic power are predominantly and continuously dominated by men, on the contrary, women overwhelmingly appear in the private spaces, in other words, in the domestic space which is assigned to women. Private space is also divided according to female and male habitus. Bourdieu (2001, p. 39) use the metaphor of “socially imposed agoraphobia” to

enunciate the confinement of women to the private space and the exclusion of women from the public space, that is to say, domestic space. Division of spaces in accordance with the female and male habitus and exclusion of women from public space become constitutive of masculine order in which symbolic violence is exerted, and thus reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises the arbitrary masculine domination and contributes to the reproduction of gender inequality in the *New Bride* television serial (Güler, 2017a-h).

Androcentric Vision

Bella calls her father “henpecked”.

Bella and Hazar meet in Istanbul in the course of their education and fall in love with each other. At the end of their education, Hazar proposes Bella and Bella accepts to marry to him without thinking in a restaurant. Bella’s mother does not confirm this marriage and discusses with her parents. Bella designates his father as “henpecked” because he agrees with Kamilla on the marriage of Bella to Hazar. Bella calls his father “henpecked”, in doing so, Bella accepts the binary division of “henpecked versus assertive” between men and women and attributes and assigns “being assertive” to his father and “being weak or softness” to his mother. She contempts his father by assigning the characteristics of women to his father. In other words, she attributes “being assertive” to the masculine order and “being weak or soft” to feminine order. Bella espouses the masculine domination and takes the androcentric view, in other words, view of dominant, thus wield symbolic violence with her own complicity (Güler, 2017a). As Bourdieu (2001) proposed, the masculine domination occurs with the imposition of androcentric vision, which leads to symbolic violence. Gender as “a sexually a characterised habitus” is socially constructed and contributes to structure the arbitrary dichotomies between men and women and naturalises and legitimises these attributed divisions between men and women (Bourdieu, 2001). Bella’s calling his father “henpecked” contributes to naturalisation of dominance of men and domination of women, thus help masculine order perpetuated as the effect of symbolic violence. Androcentric vision causes the victims of symbolic violence misrecognise their own domination, by doing so, it obscures itself. Androcentric vision supports the strength of masculine order and does not need to be justified because it imposes and spells itself out

as neutral in discourses whose aim to legitimise it. Thus, the dominated unintentionally and unconsciously support their own domination which is reproduced and perpetuated through symbolic violence. Thus, symbolic violence leads to reproduction of unequal gender relations, so to speak gender inequality in the serial (Güler, 2017a).

Bella: “I become the bride of Hazar Aga at last.”

Bella as a highbrow woman, with her marriage to Hazar, puts herself in a position of being the wife of Hazar and takes androcentric vision and contributes to masculine order. She does not take position in a gender neuter vision. She does not position Hazar as the groom of his family, instead takes the androcentric view as the wife of the Hazar Aga. By taking the androcentric view, she contributes to masculine order, thus perpetuates and legitimises masculine domination, which falls into the subcategory of androcentric vision of symbolic violence which is the main category of analysis (Güler, 2017a). Bella after the wedding ceremony states she is the wife of Hazar. She accepts to take the subject of matrimonial relation and puts Hazar as the subject of matrimonial relation. Therefore, Bella objectifies herself and leads to symbolic violence and contributes to construction of female habitus with her own complicity (Güler, 2017a).

Bella: “I am not the servant of anybody, women of my home, bride of Bozok Tribe, which I should proud of.”

Bella becomes the bride of the wealthy, eminent and reputable Bozok tribe and is oppressed especially by the women in the mansion except for her sister-in-law, Şirin. All of the women in the mansion except Şirin urges Bella to do all the gruelling housework in traditional ways all day on the first day just after the wedding. The second day after the wedding, Bella does the all housework at the mansion and she takes the androcentric vision and expresses that she is not the servant, but the women of her home and bride of Bozok Tribe. She thinks she should be proud of her situation in the mansion because of her love for the dominated. She confirms the socially constructed, arbitrary, unjust masculine order and becomes accomplice to her own domination. Assigning the certain tasks and labour to women habitus through perceptual schemas, dispositions and practices lead to symbolic violence which reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises the masculine domination so to speak gender inequality. Bella character in the serial is imposed to certain female habitus with certain perceptual schema,

disposition and practices, thus undergoes symbolic violence in large part and in a intensive way especially using the old, traditional representations of female habitus in Turkish society. Bella acquires gendered habitus which functions in domestic space, thus reproduces and perpetuate masculine domination (Güler, 2017b).

Symbolic dependence, bodily emotions

In the serial, Bella is generally portrayed with many different bodily emotions. In the very beginning of the serial, Bella is generally portrayed as weak and fearful. She generally faints when seeing the butchering of the animals and also cooked meats at the dinner table (Güler, 2017a). Kalender Aga make an example of Hazar because he married to Bella without informing his family by Kalender Aga. Hazar and Bella are sent to the highland to take care of the animal husbandry of Turkmen Tribe. Bella is portrayed as weak and timid many times in that place (Güler, 2017a).

Bella and Ayşe are generally portrayed as smiling, friendly, unsophisticated and naive. Their bodily emotions contribute to symbolic dominance of women, which reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises masculine domination by assigning certain emotions to women habitus through which symbolic violence operates and leads to gender inequality (Güller, 2017, a-p).

Asiye who is the third wife of Kalender Aga is generally portrayed as fancy (Güler, 2017a-o). Most of the women of the mansion, generally the wives and brides struggle each other and sometimes cooperates against Bella to get rid of her, are depicted as coquettish (Güler, 2017e). In the serial, symbolic violence contributes to the symbolic dependence of women, which reinforces masculine order.

Şirin: “How can we go there as women without men”

With this discourse, Şirin denigrates herself, and thus naturalises, perpetuates and legitimises the masculine order. Şirin who is the daughter of Kalender Aga is in large part in the serial portrayed as passive, weak, anxious, timid and fearful (Güler, 2017a). Bodily emotions of Şirin contribute to the construction of the female or non male habitus. Consequently, female habitus is constructed with the dispositions in the form of bodily emotions which function as symbolic violence and thus reproduces, perpetuates

and legitimises the masculine order and contributes to reproduction of gender inequality in the serial. Nazgül is also portrayed as fearful in the serial (2017k, h).

Möhteber who is the first and oldest wife of Kalender Aga are generally portrayed as demure and modest (Güler, 2017a-o). Almost all of the women in the mansion cries (Güler, 2017a-o). Only men crying in the serial is Kamil. (Güler, 2017k). In the serial, certain bodily emotions are attributed to women, thus creates and reinforces a female, non female habitus, especially with unwitting complicity of women.

According to Bourdieu (2001), symbolic domination comes into view in different form of bodily emotions assigned to women, to name a few; restrained, self-effacing, friendly, smiling, shame, humiliation, timidity, anxiety, guilty, submissive, attentive, demure, restrained,” or passions such as “love, admiration respect”. These bodily emotions assigned to women is expected by the society which contributes to domination symbolically even by creating a dichotomy that is universal for both sexes.

Amor fati (Love of dominant)

Bella: “Being a new bride has become the disease to please. I cannot help myself”.

After some time, Bella as a new bride, her love and admiration for the dominant (Hazar) transforms into symbolic violence through which she internalises, naturalises, perpetuates and reproduces the dispositions of habitus in the mansion, where masculine order and domination is historically constructed and arbitrary. Love for the dominant (Hazar) supports the misrecognition of the masculine order in the mansion, which is considered a field of struggle between male and female, and function as symbolic violence to reproduce, perpetuate and legitimise the socially constructed, unjust and arbitrary order (Güler, 2017b).

The discourses and portrayals reveal the subcategory of amor fati (love of dominant) in serial as following;

Bella: “We are together, which costs everything”

Bella again here undertakes symbolic violence through the amor fati meaning that love or admire for the dominant, thus supports the misrecognition of inequality and legitimises masculine domination which is the effect of symbolic violence. Bella

naturalises and internalises her own domination because of love, admire she feels for her husband. She acquires and adapts the arbitrary unequal gender relations (gendered habitus) by means of symbolic violence, thus reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises gender inequality in the serial (Güler, 2017c).

Bella decides to divorce because Hazar did not trust her, but at the station she misses her life at the mansion because of her love for Hazar.

Bella is dominated in the mansion, especially because of being new bride and a persona non grata in the mansion. She is generally oppressed. Even so, when she is about to leave the mansion, she undertakes symbolic violence. She misses her life in the mansion due to her admire or love for the dominant. Portrayal of Bella yearning for her life in the mansion supports the misrecognition of masculine order which is the effect of symbolic violence (Güler, 2017f).

Bella: “I am not farm labourer and I am the new bride of this household.”

Servility of Bella naturalises, perpetuates and reproduces the sexual division of labour in the Bozok mansion. Masculine domination resulted from the love and admire of the dominant. Bella legitimises the masculine domination which is the effect of symbolic violence (2017h).

Bella : “I can do everything for Hazar.”

Devotion of Bella to her own domination by virtue of love and admire for Hazar (the dominant) falls into the subcategory of amor fati which naturalises and perpetuates masculine order which is the effect of symbolic violence. Consequently, love and admiration for the dominants operates as symbolic violence (2017h).

Bella: “I am self-complacent.”

Bella naturalises the domination with her own collaboration and become accomplice to the symbolic violence which she is exposed due to love and admire (amor fati) for his husband, thus contributes to reproduction of gender inequality. She naturalises and perpetuates unequal gender relations in domestic space due to the love she feels for her husband, Hazar who dominates her in terms of gender relations (Güler, 2017j).

Bella: “I want to give birth to your child, Hazar.” Bella prefers to have baby to her health.

Bella even risk her life to have a baby, which is important in patriarchal system in Bozok Tribe. She is ready to devote his life to perpetuate the masculine order. Symbolic violence operates here with the subcategory of “amor fati (love of the dominant).” Bella even eager to sacrifice her life to perpetuate the masculine domination (Güler, 2017o).

Bella: “Nothing is more valuable than being a mother. I know the importance of having kids for you. I want to have a baby to the death

Bella experiences the dispositions of female habitus in the mansion. These dispositions are internalised and naturalised through the practices, dispositions, perceptual schemas and thoughts by means of her love and admiration for his love, Hazar. As she expressed in the serial, the dispositions she acquired construct her new female habitus, instead of resistance or questioning the disposition in the new habitus, she internalises, naturalises her own oppression with her own complicity. Bella renounces the desire to dominate due to her love for Hazar and confirms the dominant categories. She oftentimes misrecognises her domination and confirms masculine order. Dispositions of female habitus so strongly that she expresses that she cannot help to please the household in the mansion. Love of dominant (Amor fati) justifies the dispositions of her habitus through which symbolic violence operates, thus reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises the masculine order, so to speak gender inequality (Güler, 2017o).

Ayşe: “I die for you, Kalender Aga”

Ayşe, who is the second cowife of Kalender Aga, in this discourse reveals the feeling of her devotion and love for the dominant, which takes the form of subcategory of amor fati and leads to masculine order. Asiye’s love for the Kalender Aga who dominates her gives way to symbolic violence (Güler, 2017h). Ayşe gains some sort of masochism by means of love she feel for Kalender Ağa. Here, symbolic violence eventuates and reproduces masculine domination so to speak gender inequality.

Asiye “I sacrifice both my life and fortune for Kalender Aga.”

Asiye, who is the cowife of Kalender, is also an example of the victim of symbolic violence with the subcategory of the Amor Fati. She undergoes symbolic violence and

reproduces, perpetuates and legitimises the masculine domination with her own complicity, which reproduces gender inequality (Güler, 2017f).

Dilan wants to be cowife of Hazar

Hazar was betrothed to Dilan before marrying to Bella. Notables of Bozok and Duran Tribe decided the marriage of Dilan and Hazar to end the enmity between tribes. Dilan is determined to be wife of Hazar, tries her best to separate the Bella and Hazar. As a last resort, she acknowledges to be a cowife in the mansion due to her love for Hazar. She confirms the masculine order and domination as a result of her love and admiration for Hazar, she does even accept to be a cowife in the mansion, thus reproduces, perpetuates, legitimises her own domination, as the effect of the symbolic violence which leads to gender inequality (Güler, 2017f,m).

Ancien Regime

Bella: “Every bride lives experiences of being new bride, there are rituals, customs and traditions here.”

As in the metaphor of Bourdieu (2001), Bella confirms, internalises and naturalises the unjust, arbitrary masculine order which is historically and socially constructed. Bella naturalises the arbitrary unjust masculine order without any resistance to “ancien regime” meaning that masculine order which is historically and socially constructed. Bella is exposed to symbolic violence since she misrecognises. She internalises dispositions assigned to women and the female or non male habitus in the mansion with her own complicity due to the symbolic violence.

Historically and socially constructed masculine order takes place in the field (in the mansion). Female or non female habitus is strengthened with the dispositions which are assigned to women. Ancien regime supports to perpetuate masculine domination in modern times with the complicity of female agents in the field, thus contributes to reproduction, perpetuation and legitimation of gender equality. The serial involves symbolic violence in large in the subcategory of Ancien Regime (Bourdieu, 2001). Bella in this discourse reinforces and thus naturalises and perpetuates masculine order so to speak gender inequality in the serial (Güler, 2017b).

Ayşe: “Tradition and chastity comes before everything here.”

Ayşe naturalises the masculine domination through destiny effect and internalise the masculine order which is socially and historically constructed. Unequal arbitrary gender relations are eternally feminised by the victims of symbolic violence. The scene falls into the subcategory of ancien regime and contributes to masculine order which is the paradigmatic effect of symbolic violence (Güler, 2017b).

Ayşe :”We have two cowives”

Ayşe naturalises the polygamist structure of masculine order in Bozok Tribe, which is socially and historically constructed. Masculine order is reproduced and perpetuated with the effect of symbolic violence, and leads to gender inequality (Güler, 2017g).

Bella: “Your are Aga, you should have kids.”

In this discourse, Bella naturalises the masculine order taking the androcentric vision which is socially and historically constructed. Bella contributes to the perpetuation of patriarchal structure of Bozok Tribe, in other words to masculine order. The scene constitutes an example of symbolic violence with the category of ancien regime and contributes to reproduction of gender inequality (Güler, 2017k, Güler, 2017 l)

Bella wants baby and forces Hazar to have a baby.

Bella wants to have a baby only as a result of the ancien regime which is socially and historically constructed masculine order of feudal structure of Bozok Tribe in the mansion. Bella internalises and naturalises the importance of having a kid in terms of patriarchal order in the tribe. Thus, symbolic violence eventuates and contributes to reproduction of masculine order, i.e. gender inequality in the serial (Güler, 2017l).

Ayşe: These are the realities of feudality.”

Polygamy is considered unacceptable in modern secular Turkey, conversely polygamic relation of Kaldender Aga is naturalised by Ayşe. Therefore, masculine domination is reproduced with accomplicity of the dominated and functions as symbolic violence. Ayşe naturalises the historically and socially constructed patriarchal structure of Bozok Tribe, in other words, masculine order. The discourse falls into the category of symbolic violence and subcategory of “ancien regime” (Güler, 2017k).

Kalender: “Does man fall in love with his wife”.

Both the dominated and dominant are not aware of the unjust and arbitrary gendered order which is historically and socially constructed. Almost all of the men except Kamil in the serial exercise symbolic violence to legitimise unequal gender relations. The dominant also do not exercise this kind of violence consciously because these arbitrary and unjust masculine order is historically constructed and arbitrary. Habitus of both men and women as a subjective structure and objective structure are reproduced congruously and thus leads to symbolic violence. Kalender Aga confirms the order of dominance, thus reproduces and perpetuates masculine order, which falls into the subcategory of “ancien regime” In this part of the serial, the feeling of love is assigned to men and that men have it is considered as derogatory, which leads to symbolic violence and reproduces and perpetuates unequal gender relations. (Güler, 2017g).

Afet: “Traditions do not have era. It has been before you and will be after you. Traditions are durable.”

Being unaware of the arbitrariness and historical construction of masculine domination, Afet naturalises and legitimises her own domination with her own complicity, which functions as symbolic violence and leads to masculine domination. Arbitrary and historically constructed knowledge of gender relations are naturalised and taken for granted and does not need to be justified, thus leads to symbolic violence. By doing so, Afet is unwittingly exposed to symbolic violence with her own complicity, thus reproduces masculine domination, gender inequality in the serial (Güler, 2017g).

All subcategories of symbolic violence on the coding frame is available in the serial. Especially, sexual division of labour and space is reproduced with the complicity of victims of symbolic violence due to the love of the dominant. Also, women become symbolically dependent on men. Status and value of women is appreciated based on the androcentric vision. Certain bodily emotions are assigned to women who are generally depicted as weak, timid, passive, constraint, fearful, etc. In sum, as Bourdieu (2001) accentuated, “fantastical images of eternal feminine” on New Bride television serial wields symbolic violence in large part and extensive way. Therefore, New Bride television serial reproduces and perpetuates masculine domination by means of symbolic violence and reproduces unequal gender relations to the interest of men.

CONCLUSION

People in all societies exchange information and symbolic contents. Advancement of media technology and its effects must be at the center to insight into modernity and structure of today's societies. Forms of communication people experience in their daily life draw apart from the communication of new media which can produce practices which do not exist physically but are appropriate for people located in different spaces. Using the new communication media transforms the temporal and spatial structure of societies and takes a new form of power which does not necessitate sharing the same space and thus creates new forms of practices and communications (Thompson, 1998).

Television stood the test of the time in spite of strong penetration of internet technology and new media technologies into modern societies. Today, television is still the most widespread and effective medium which produces culture in modern societies. Television both entertains and informs us about the world outside (Kaplan, 1993). Although it is to some extent true that television lost its popularity due to the new communication technologies, the dominance of visual and formal codes created by television increased with the marriage of television and internet technology (Tutal Cheviron, 2013).

Television is one of the major agents of socialisation and substantially important in shaping the worldview of individuals in society (Kurt Topuz, 2016). According to Van Zoonen (1994), not only does media function to reflect the real world, but also stands for fears, feelings, behaviour, fantasies, imaginations, and becomes a fictitious, imaginary, and habitual practice. Reality does not exist only as an objective accumulation of processes and things, discourses rather transform into reflection and power and thus construct it. Media produces countless representations of women and men and separates them in several aspects. Bauman (2003) states that to classify is to divide, to separate. First of all, it presumes that world constitutes different and diversified beings. In other words, to classify refers a structure to the world. It manipulates possibilities to make certain things more possible, to pretend certain things are not possible and to limit or eliminate the possibility of certain things. To classify is to include and exclude. Every action of classification divides the social world, which in any case transforms into violence.

Media content itself does not construct meaning, rather, it is based on the culture within which it takes part and enriches the repertoire of culture. Precisely, culture and media contents reciprocally relates to each other. Media texts are the commodities which are produced through structuring and constructing the possibilities of language and world of symbols and are rooted in the culture or social order within which they are produced (Cangöz, 2016). All of the texts exist in many different genres of television programmes, mainly in serials, aim to make the dominant ideology prevalent and get the audiences to internalise and perpetuate dominant ideology (Unur, 2015). It is beyond doubt that media has power to effect and shape people and groups regardless of gender, age, marital and socio-economical status (Cangöz, 2016). Production of television content and structural factors determine this production should be criticised in order to discern the important social roles which television takes (Tutal Cheviron, 2013). Communication sectors, which developed and grew dramatically in this day and age, have become typically a new means of domination by wielding symbolic violence, imposing cultural values for the interest of the dominant (Bourdieu, 2001).

Particularly, influence of television in socialisation process redoubled. With the proliferation of television in 1980's, it has lead to certain effects in Turkish society in many different aspects and ways. The point in question that new generation is becoming socialised through contents of several media tools (Zencirkıran, 2019). Television generally covers popular programmes such as serials and news which attract many audiences especially during the prime time hours (Kaplan, 1993). According to research on "tendencies of watching television", national serials take the second place after news programmes, which reveal the importance of the entertaining function of television in Turkish society. The first reason to watch television is to follow the programmes which are routine and serials take the first place among them. People tired of working hours and routine of daily life prefer to spend time and relax by watching entertaining programmes. At this point, television is the most widespread entertaining activity in Turkish society. (RTSC, 2018). The report by Deloitte (2014) states that in recent years Turkish TV series have significantly come a long way in terms of production quality and art such as improvement in cinematography, script writing and acting, therefore can compete with cinema films. Advancement of television and its popularity has lead to growing of exporting revenue of television products, especially serials correspondingly.

Gender Gap Index (UNFPA, 2019) reveals that the plight of gender inequality up to the present time remains grim reality in modern Turkish society. Turkey as the seventeenth biggest economy in the world takes the 130th rank out of 144 countries in terms of gender inequality. Patriarchal culture determines the structure of the families across the countryside in Turkey. Patriarchy is the main element which determines the cultural dimension of the structure of all types of families in Turkish society. In spite of the progress in terms of gender equality to some extent, status of women and family structure in Turkish society is still on the way (Batmaz & Aksoy, 1995).

Focus of Bourdieusian sociology is to unravel how relation of domination is produced and reproduced in modern societies. Social agents in different fields struggle to obtain certain capitals for their own interest. Stratification and inequalities arise out of unequal distribution of certain capitals (economic, social, cultural and symbolic) in certain fields as objective structures. Inequal structure of social order is reproduced and perpetuated unwittingly and inconspicuously by those who are dominated with their own complicity as a result of symbolic violence. Additionally, gender division is arbitrary and historically constructed and reproduced by means of symbolic violence by both subjective structure (habitus of social agents) and objectives structures such as family, educational institutions, media, etc. (Bourdieu, 2001).

Television constructs appropriated gender relations and gendered roles of women and men in the society. Media texts on television are by and large sexist and patriarchal. Stories related to women are generally acquired by watching television in societies as result of its accessibility to almost every household. Immoderate gender representations in media especially of women reproduce the stereotyped gendered roles (Cangöz, 2016).

Symbolic forms are more effective than physical force in production and perpetuation of social inequalities and hierarchies which lead to suffering in modern societies, which is referred as symbolic violence which functions to legitimise the categorisations and classifications which are historically, socially and culturally arbitrary. Social agents do not perceive this forms of violence as such since they misrecognise and naturalise it (Schubert, 2008, p. 183). In order to understand the inequalities in societies, Bourdieu (1990c) originated a reflexive sociology with concepts such as capital and its transformational forms, habitus, symbolic violence to transcend common dichotomy

between “agent and structure”, “objectivism and subjectivism” and “theory and empiricism.” To Bourdieu, unequal allocation of the capitals in any form by objective structure is the source of inequalities in modern societies. The dominated or subordinate groups unconsciously and unintentionally follows the principles, worldview, perspective which are established by the dominant. To the theory of symbolic violence, social order and social inequalities including gender are constructed historically and arbitrary. Bourdieu attempted to make visible how symbolic violence are wielded, how symbolic order is internalised, perpetuated and legitimised with the complicity of the dominated and how gender hierarchies are perpetuated.

Different mechanisms permit television to exercise a particularly harmful and destructive type of intrinsically invisible and inconspicuous violence with the accompliceship of victims. Symbolic violence eventuates with an unwitting and implicit complicity between those are victims and those are agents of symbolic violence. Mostly, both victims and agents are unconscious of this kind of violence. The function of sociology, as of every science, is to bring which is hidden into light. In so doing, it can help in minimising symbolic violence within social relations and, in particular, within the relations of communication (Bourdieu, 1998a). Scientific analysis of any order or domination has two possible opposite social effects. Analysis of the form of domination may reinforce it when findings of the analysis seem to approve or intersect with the discourse of the dominant. On the other hand, it may help to neutralise the dominant order with the revelation of the unjust and arbitrary order by mobilising the victims of the dominance, so to speak symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001).

Gender inequality (masculine domination) is reproduced socially and arbitrarily by both objective and subjective structures as the effect of symbolic violence. In the field of media, “fantastical images of eternal feminine” exploded and thus contributed to the perpetuation of the relation of domination, more precisely masculine domination as the effect of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 102). New Bride television serial has become popular and oftentimes took the leading position in the rating of prime time hours. It involves symbolic violence in large part and extensive way in terms of gender relations. Hence, serial gives rise to reproduction of inequality based on gender in Turkish media.

“New Bride” television serial in the form of romantic comedy is based on the romance story of Bella and Hazar. Bella is a highbrow woman; daughter of a Turkish father and Spanish mother, grew up in Madrid; marries to Hazar, son of a crowded Turkmen tribe; grew up in the patriarchal family. Bella is the main character of the story of the serial becomes the victim of symbolic violence. She takes the view of the dominant and becomes the victim of symbolic violence with her own complicity. Subcategories of symbolic violence exerted predominantly in the serial are sexual division of labour and space. Patriarchal structure of Turkmen Tribe in the serial assigns particular tasks and space to the women. Labour and spaces are strictly segregated in the mansion of Turkmen Tribe, which naturalises and perpetuates the masculine domination in the domestic space.

Another subcategory of symbolic violence is the symbolic dependence of women as an object of exchange in the matrimonial market. Dilan and Şirin are characters are portrayed as an object of exchange, they are forced to marry to one they do not want to end the enmity between the tribes in the serial. Almost all of the female characters are portrayed with the certain bodily emotions which are attributed to women such as shame, humiliation, timidity, anxiety, guilt, which constructs the female habitus and leads to masculine domination as the effect of symbolic violence (Güler, 2017).

Symbolic dependence of women with the attitudes and behaviour such as smiling, being restrained, self effacing, demure, being friendly, submissive, etc. is frequently seen in the serial. Ancien regime is also one of the major subcategories of symbolic violence to reproduce and perpetuate the masculine order and domination. Especially in certain discourses, masculine domination and patriarchal norms of the family are naturalised and perpetuated by both the dominated and the dominant. The New Bride serial involves in large part and intense way symbolic violence by constructing masculine domination through the mechanisms which Bourdieu (2001) mentioned in his work of *Masculine Domination*. These mechanisms which are figured out in the serial are “love of dominant (amor fati)”, “sexual division of labour”, “sexual division of space”, “androcentric vision”, “bodily emotions”, “symbolic dependence”, “ancien regime”. The research concludes that “New Bride” television serial reproduces gender inequality by wielding symbolic violence in large part by depicting unequal gendered habitus.

Only way to insight into the symbolic domination which causes masculine domination as the effect of symbolic violence is to go beyond the mechanical forms of force, consent, constraint, etc. and to get insight into how symbolic violence constructs habitus through dispositions, schemes of perception, appreciation and practice in an invisible, inconspicuous way by obscuring itself. It is not possible to cope with symbolic violence by being conscious since it is strong, intense and profound, thus set the body and nature of individuals (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 39). A collective symbolic revolution is prerequisite to overcome this form of violence (Bourdieu, 2014). Sociology is a combat sport and the task of a sociologist is “to unmask the true function of symbolic world and to reveal the domination it hides.” Social agents occupy the certain fields demand conscious of how they build, view the social world. Social agents require to discern the mechanisms and processes which reproduce the social order with stratifications and particular inequalities. Overcoming the conflicts leads to inequalities in societies requires to be cognizant of how symbolic violence sets society agents occupy (Bourdieu, 1990). Symbolic violence can be underrated by those who suffer physical violence, but denial of symbolic violence is also a form of it, because its denial deprives those who undergoes symbolic violence from questioning it and its sufferings (Schubert, 2008).

Gender relations are not natural, and constructed throughout history, therefore gender hierarchies appear in specific circumstances are open to historical change and remediation (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2010). Marxists argue that social and economic arrangements in a given society and time are historically-created and therefore can be changed and remediated. Getting a deeper insight into how gendered order reproduced and perpetuated by symbolic violence undoubtedly contributes to elimination of the gender inequalities by breaking the cycle of naturalisation and misrecognition of masculine order (Berger, 1991). Being aware of media-driven of form of symbolic violence may significantly contribute to promotion of social change to eliminate the gender inequality in Turkish society.

The research provides a preliminary step to investigate different media contents. In attempt to bring symbolic violence into view in the sense of gender issue, more research, especially with the combination of qualitative and quantitative approach contributes to not only academic literature and also citizens to be aware of symbolic violence which is gentle and invisible to eliminate gender inequality in Turkish society.

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