

DISTINCTION AMONG MIDDLE CLASSES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON
THE MEMBERS OF TWO TENNIS CLUBS IN IZMIR, TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

DISTINCTION AMONG MIDDLE CLASSES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE MEMBERS OF TWO TENNIS CLUBS IN IZMIR, TURKEY

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In this study, we analyzed how the process of distinction functioned and accrued within the cultural consumption practices of the individuals that are from different middle class fractions. The research question of the study is “How does ‘the mechanism of distinction’ function between members of different fractions of middle class in contemporary Turkey?” The main theoretical focal point of this study is the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. Additionally, we also theoretically benefitted from Erving Goffman’s sociology on the self presentation in everyday life and Thorstein Veblen’s conceptualization on conspicuous consumption of ‘leisure class’. The method of the research is qualitative; its sampling method is non-random, which is non-representative sampling. The researcher used snowball method and made semi-structured in depth interviews with thirty-one participants who are members of different tennis clubs in Izmir that have different qualities. We analyzed the data we obtained through the method of qualitative content analysis. In conclusion of this study, we saw that cultural practices that middle classes had developed a homogenous tendency comparing themselves with the lower classes, and they differentiate themselves among each other by means of different forms, volume and composition of capital they own.

Keywords: Distinction, tennis players, ‘middle class fractions’, forms of capitals, cultural consumption.

ÖZ

ORTA SINIFLAR ARASINDA AYRIM: İZMİR’DEKİ İKİ TENİS KULÜBÜ ÜYELERİ HAKKINDA BİR NİTELİKSEL ÇALIŞMA

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Araştırmada farklı orta sınıf fraksiyonlarına mensup bireylerin kültürel tüketim pratiklerinde ayrılaşma sürecinin nasıl gerçekleştiği ve işlediği incelenmiştir. Araştırmanın sorusu, “Çağdaş Türkiye’de ‘ayrım mekanizması’ orta sınıfların farklı fraksiyonları arasında nasıl işlemektedir?” olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın teorik olarak ana dayanak noktası Pierre Bourdieu sosyolojisidir. Bunun yanı sıra, Erving Goffman’ın günlük yaşamda benlik sunumu kavramsallaştırmasından ve Thorstein Veblen’in ‘aylak sınıfın’ gösterişçi tüketimi üzerine olan kavramsallaştırmasından da yararlanılmıştır. Bu niteliksel çalışmada İzmir’de farklı semtlerde bulunan farklı niteliklerdeki iki tenis kulübünden birine üye olan tenis oyuncularına kartopu yöntemi ile ulaşılmış, toplamda otuz bir katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Örneklem tesadüfi olmayan örneklemdir ve temsili değildir. Görüşmelerin sonucunda elde edilen veriler niteliksel içerik analizi yöntemi ile analiz edilmiştir. Araştırmanın sonucunda orta sınıfların kültürel pratikler aracılığıyla kendilerini aşağı sınıflarla farklılaştırırken homojen bir yatkınlık geliştirdiği, kendi içleri arasında ise farklı sermaye biçimleri, yoğunluğu ve hacmi üzerinden çeşitli biçimlerde farklılaştırdıkları bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ayrım, tenis oyuncular, ‘orta sınıf fraksiyonları’, sermaye biçimleri, kültürel tüketim.

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ETV AGEAN VETERAN TENNIS CLUB
KTP KULTURPARK TENNIS CLUB

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to detect the process of ‘distinction mechanism’ among middle classes. The research question of the study is “How does ‘the mechanism of distinction’ function between members of the different fractions of middle class in contemporary Turkey?” The sampling is non-representative which is non-random sampling. Through snowball method we made semi-structured in-depth interviews with thirty-one people. After that, we analyzed the data we got via the method of qualitative content analysis. In the wake of this study, we saw that middle class fractions employ distinction strategies among each other via cultural practices. However, in general they have homogeneous dispositions among lower classes.

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) is one of the key sociologists makes an analysis about culture and class relationship in modern societies. He thinks not only economic structure but also cultural structure process as a tool of power and create inequalities among individuals. According to Bourdieu, individuals are not passive but rather decision-maker active *agents*. Within the stratified social order, agents aim at upward mobility or preserve the position they have and prevent themselves from downward mobility. Accordingly, Bourdieu demonstrates culture as one of the tools for gaining power by means of upward mobility (Swartz, 2015, p.17).

According to Bourdieu, different classes have different dispositions among consumption based life-styles. Hence, the dominant class’s life-style becomes legitimate; it is aspired by the ones who are in lower positions. Most importantly, class struggles in the cultural arena become classificatory struggles and having an aim for distinction becomes crucial within this process. The topic of our thesis is about the distinction process within ‘middle classes’¹. Consequently, the major

¹ We will proclaim what we mean deeply on chapter two.

concern behind our study is to see “How does ‘the mechanism of distinction’² function between members of the different fractions of middle class in contemporary Turkey?” In order to find different fractions of middle class, we went to two different tennis clubs that are located in Izmir. We handled semi-structured interviews with thirty-one participants, which is done by snowball sampling method. Our method is non-random and it is non-probability sampling. Since there are not enough sources to maintain probability sample, sample is a non-representative one.

First tennis club is KTP³. KTP is the first tennis club of Izmir, which is founded in 1941 by the notable upper-class professionals, industrialists and politicians of Izmir. KTP is located in a district of, Alsancak, which is at the heart of Izmir, and the most upper-class district of it. Consequently, the membership fees are high as compared to other tennis clubs at Izmir except one of them; Alliance Petty Tennis Club. The other tennis club is ETV⁴ which is located in Balçova district, which is more of a middle-class district of İzmir, and the membership fees are much lower compared to KTP and this makes the club much more accessible. We made sixteen interviews with participants who are the members of ETV and fifteen from KTP. We argue that, these clubs roughly represents upper fraction (KTP) and middle fraction (ETV) of these middle class people⁵. Additionally, we asked questions with different categories in order to get answers to our research questions.

In the second chapter, we give the theoretical background that is fundamental to our study. Firstly, we mentioned briefly about Marxist and Weberian standpoints about ‘class’. Secondly, we clarify Bourdieu’s class analysis, which he created for empirical analysis. In the sub part of it, we mentioned about his ‘three dimensional space’ which leads us to proclaim his enlarged notion of capital and our second sub-heading (Bourdieu, 1998, p.8-9). Thirdly, we will proclaim the notion of capital. As

² Alternatively we may use the term sense of distinction ‘sense of distinction’.

³ Kültürpark Tennis Club.

⁴ Aegean Veteran Tennis Association.

⁵ We know that Bourdieu is against to categorize classes rigidly, but we did this in order to make our empiric analysis more clear.

for Bourdieu, there is not only economic capital but also cultural, social and symbolic capitals exist in stratified society. His cultural capital notion has crucial role in terms of analyzing the inequalities within the stratified society. It has three different states; embodied, objectified and institutionalized state. One aspect of the institutionalized cultural capital is educational capital, which is the most powerful concealer of the inequalities within society. Additionally cultural capital is inheritable, which enriches position of upper class. Agents' position in the social space is determined through the total volume of capital that he or she has (Bourdieu, 2015, p.121). Subsequently, the composition of capital determines different fractions, which are within the class. In addition, we mention about the concept of habitus of Bourdieu. Fourthly, we clarify what the meaning of distinction is and how the sense of distinction functions among individuals/agents. Hence, it is not understood without taking the whole theory as a unit. Namely, the classificatory struggles and the judgment of taste as a classifier is one of the backbones of Bourdieu's theory about distinction mechanism and will be proclaimed as fourth sub-heading.

In the fifth sub-heading of the second chapter, we will state life-styles based on cultural consumption, which is very crucial to understand cultural hierarchies between one another. It is also important to understand classificatory struggles that lead through the judgment of taste and sense of distinction. Thus and so, they are crucial to examine our research targets and questions. Secondly we mention about Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of Leisure Class* within the concept of conspicuous consumption, and then we explain why Bourdieu's theory about consumption must not be confused with Veblen's theory. Thirdly, we show how consumption of sheltering, clothing and nutrition as physical needs⁶ change from one class to another, and how classification and distinction among others function and tastes are embodied within this process (Bourdieu, 2015, p.91).

We declare how preferences about leisure activities differ among social classes in the sixth sub-heading. The leisure time practices that we analyze are holidays, playing tennis as an amateur, interested in art, photography and Instagram usage. Being able

⁶ They are physicals needs but not determined by the needs but rather by tastes (Bourdieu, 1984).

to go on a holiday is a class-based activity all in itself (Bourdieu, 1984). Additionally, we know from Bourdieu (1978) that the preferences of which sport to do differ according to one's social class. Due to the fact that, tennis at first is the sports of elite, day-by-day it has experienced a fall by 'trickle-down effect' and now is a sport of both upper class and both middle class people. Additionally, we explain the choice of playing tennis as a sport within leisure time. Then, we will mention about the interest of different classes about artistic activities as leisure by taking *The Love of Art (1991)* as basis. The practice of photography is another interest which we took as a leisure activity. Bourdieu in *Photography: A Middle Brow Art(1990)* examines the interest of different classes to photography and we also utilize from this source. Lastly, we examine the social media application Instagram. We briefly mention about social media in general, and then we mention about Instagram as an imaged based social media application and how do the users of middle class make online self-representation and how they differentiate themselves from their peers on Instagram whom they follow. Erving Goffman's study about *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (2012)* is the auxiliary academic source of the clarifying the online-self-representation process.

After, we mentioned about related studies made about our research topic. Bourdieu's theory is one of the most important theories and based on empirical data within politic-sociological theory. Consequently there are lots of national and international studies about Bourdieu's theory. Additionally, Goffman's theory about the self-representation on daily life is also studied in different aspects. However, our research has a uniqueness. First, our sampling composed of veteran tennis players, the average age rate is forty three and this rate makes us observe that the ones who play tennis as an inherited cultural capital like for years, since childhood and the ones who can only play it in his or her middle ages. Secondly, we compared two different tennis clubs that are located in different spaces in social hierarchy, this helped us to compare the self-distinction process within a class, and different life-styles were observed comparing the members of two different tennis clubs. Lastly, after we analyzed the participants' off-line positionings in their life we got through their usage of Instagram, which is a social media application, based on sharing images and

making self-representation. Due to the fact that we would like to learn the sense of distinction of the class fractions we mostly asked what they disliked on Instagram and through this we detected how the process functioned on-line, specifically on Instagram. Hence, there are not any other studies which focus on these facts in contemporary Turkey like our study did, which is why it is unique.

In the third chapter, we made a qualitative content analysis on the data we collected within the research field. We categorized the topics that were talked in interviews. In all sub categories we asked the participants about their likes and dislikes and how this changes from one tennis club to the other. Hence the whole analysis is based on the tastes and dislikes and the sense of distinction among classificatory struggles following the footsteps of Bourdieu. We firstly deeply explain the method of the sampling and features of the tennis clubs. Then we analyze the general profile of the participants. Secondly we focus on life-styles preferences of participants in the part of the space of life-styles. We mention about what education, class and conspicuous consumption mean for participants from different tennis clubs and we compare the answers, which show differences. Afterwards, we make an analysis of physical needs, which are sheltering, nutrition and clothing. According to Bourdieu, the choices about these like all other cultural practices are styles of self-distinction. Thirdly, we make an analysis about preferences of leisure time practices. In this sub-heading we firstly analyze the preferences of holidays, and these are divided into three; 'ski holidays', 'travel and tourism', and 'sun and sea tourism'. Secondly, we analyze the preferences of leisure time and weekends and sub headed as, playing tennis, the love of art, and distinction on Instagram through photography. Subsequently, we conclude the analysis by proclaiming the sense of distinction within middle classes, by comparing people from upper fraction and middle fraction of middle class who are playing tennis in contemporary Turkey. In the last chapter, we provide conclusions about the research. Specifically we proclaim the results of the research questions that we detect from the data we collected.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

In this section we will proclaim the theoretical background, which we use in the analysis section. We use mainly Pierre Bourdieu's '*tool box*' in order to clarify the thesis aim. Bourdieu, as a sociologist, also developed theory in order to explain micro structured structures. Hence, we will use some of the terms he developed. In the first section, we firstly briefly mentioned about Marxist and Weberian standpoints of class.

Secondly, we will mention about Bourdieu's class analysis. Secondly, we will mention about what capital is for Bourdieu. Thirdly we will mention briefly about what habitus is and why we do not employ it in our research. These are all important in order to understand the mechanism of *distinction*.

Additionally, the second part will be mainly dedicated to proclaim notions which will help us to understand how *distinction* mechanism process in stratified social order within the micro-structures. In the second part we will firstly emphasis on what the meaning of *distinction* is. Subsequently we will mention on what are *classificatory struggles* and how they are held by the agents within the social space. Additionally, how the *symbolic power* is used by the agents that have legitimate '*taste*' also realized within what he calls '*the space of life-styles*'. Due to the fact that playing tennis and being an Instagram user is a part of one's life-style we will mention these '*leisure practices*' within the space of life styles.

Within *the cultural consumption and Life-styles* part, we will mention about taste as a classifier, and then physical needs, which engaged in to the consumption, these are, sheltering, clothing and nutrition. Then we will mention about what Thorstein Veblen wrote about conspicuous consumption and we will clarify why Bourdieu's theory is not about it, and should not be mixed. Then we will mention about the leisure time activities, these are going vacations and joining in artistic practices. Secondly we will mention about sports –mainly- tennis as a leisure activity and which is an indicator of class distinction. Thirdly, we focus on photography as both a leisure time activity and class based practice. And then we will focus on Instagram as a social media application that is based on and dominated by photography and both used as a leisure time activity and within this section we will mention about Erving Goffman's theory of self-presentation on daily life in order to clarify the social media usage process.

2.2. Looking at the 'Class'

There is a very thick and concentrated literature about social classes but we can say that all the class literature have been rising on Karl Marx's and Max Weber's conceptualizations. Therefore, we would like to clarify through simple terms of Marxist and Weberian standpoints about the class and middle class, and then we will focus on Bourdieu's approach about social classes. We know that it is impossible to handle the theory of Marx and Weber in this limited pages, hence we ask for forgiveness from readers for any lacking points of these theories.

2.2.1. Marxist Standpoint

According to Karl Marx there are two major social classes; bourgeoisie and proletariat. The first one is the one who owns the means of production, which is bourgeoisie or capitalist classes. And the second one is proletariat or working classes. These classes are "determined by the dichotomy in production relations" (Karademir, 2009, p.17). Furthermore, according to Marx and Friedrich Engels, throughout the history every ruling class tries to represent its own benefits as benefits of whole society. In order to do this the ruling class has to make its ideas universal and also show these ideas as sole logical and valid chain of thoughts (Marx &

Engels, 1970, p.65-66). Marx is not only a theoretician he but also grants working classes a political and strategic role; abolishing exploitive, alienator, possessive capitalist system and capitalist classes in this way providing equality for all. Furthermore, there is a class struggle between these two classes; while bourgeoisie tries to maintain its own class domination (Marx, 2009, p.117), proletariat tries to win the class struggle and become sovereign. In addition, according to Erik Olin Wright, the term of *exploitation* is the main founder notion of Marxist class analysis (Wright, 2014, p.41).

The existence of the middle class in Marxist theory has been regarded as a problem for a very long time. According to Saraçoğlu; the basic problem is giving middle classes a strategic political role. In other words, as we said before, working classes have a strategic political role, which is terminating the system of exploitation and constructing the socialism. For Marxist theory it is dangerous and wrong to take this role from proletariat and then give it to the middle classes. Thus, these kind of approaches about middle class(es) have been criticized by Marxists for a long time (Saraçoğlu, 2015). Moreover, Marx himself mentions about middle classes in his *18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, saying that middle classes help to the bourgeoisie in order to maintain this capitalist system (Marx, 2009, p.125). According to Stephen Edgell, Marx especially on the *18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* mentions about a lot of classes and class fractions/segmentations. In this book, Marx embraces class divisions within the form of two major social classes; capital (namely based on landed property, financial, and industrial capital) and labor power (lumpen proletariat and proletarian). He mentions also about two transitional classes (petite bourgeoisie and peasantry) and also mentions about several middle classes (military, university, law society etc.) (Marx 1972, p.28 quoted in. Edgell, 1998, p.18). Additionally, in *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels, used the terms of ‘middle class’ and ‘lower-middle class’ in order to define self-employed ones and small-scaled capitalists (Marx & Engels, 1848, quoted in. Edgell, 1998, p.19). Furthermore, in the third volume of the *Capital*, Marx says that, capitalist mode of production is composed of three main classes; labor-power owners, land owners and capital owners, but surely this class formation does not appear as a pure form; middle and transitional levels are

always conceal the borders. Nevertheless, perpetual tendency of capitalist mode of production has been continually separating means of production and labor, and it has been compounding this fragmented means of production, in other words, converting means of production to *capital* and labor to *wage labor* (Marx, 1993, p.1025, quoted in. Gülhan, 2014, p.47). Although Marx mentions about middle classes, he argues that these classes will be lessened and will disappear within advanced capitalist social formation and become proletariat. “However, to foresee the decline of the old petty bourgeoisie doesn’t mean that Marx and Engels were not aware of a rising new middle class instead of old petty bourgeoisie and its contradictory position between proletariat and capital owners” (Karademir, 2009, p.18). To sum up, Marx could not constitute a detailed middle class conceptualization and that’s why lots of different theoreticians interpret and enhance Marxist class theory in a different way.

2.2.2. Weberian Standpoint

Weber’s class view is known as social stratification theory (Edgell, 1998, p.20). Unlike Marx, Weber draws attention to different stratifications apart from class such as, status and ethnic stratification. Although Weber gives attention to status and ethnic differences, he thinks that after all class position is the major factor (Paul, 1961, p. 182 quoted in. Edgell, p.22-23). According to Weber, due to the fact that industrial capitalism improves day-by-day, petty bourgeoisie is going to fall and white-collar workers are going to rise (1998, p.23). Weber’s class sociology, starts from property owners and propertyless but he defines lots of classes that have positive or negative privileges, which are identified according to education or property. In addition to this, status is very important according to his analysis (Weber, 1961, p.82. quoted in. Edgell, 1998, p. 24)

Weber believes that classes are just a *one face of power distribution in societies*. Moreover, not only classes but also status groups are basic phenomenon that effects distribution of power in a society (Wright, 2014, p.52, emphasis added). Furthermore, significant community of individuals shares a common class position, and they have tendency to behave in similar ways. Class position is determinant on individual’s behavioral conditions. And it is expected that the ones who own a

similar behavioral conditions behave in a similar way (Weber, 1978, p.929 quoted in Wright, 2014, p.53). In addition, according to Weber, the ones who are members of a class share common life chances and the market conditions determine class positions (Wright, 2014, p.50).

The most important distinction between the classical Marxist and Weberian theories of class is about the dimensions of social stratification. Marx, as discusses above regarded class as the only one dimension of stratification, whereas Weber holds to a multidimensional view in which class relations intersect with and are often outweighed by other (non-class) bases of association, notably status and party (Karademir, 2009, p.20-21).

Moreover, according to Karademir, new middle class for Weber is not a negative privileged wage labor (2009, p. 25).

To sum up, according to Weber, property is very important but status, competences through education are important also in social stratification. Both Marx and Weber conceptualize the class through the terms of economics but they have apparent emphasis differences. For example, Weber mentions much more about class advantages resulting from knowledge and abilities compared to Marx. He also differentiates class positions from status positions but he thinks that class positions are the most important compared to status. Thus both Marx and Weber apply important conceptual tools in order to analyze modern class structures (1998, p. 24).

In conclusion we choose to use Pierre Bourdieu's class analysis, which he got influenced by both Marxists and Weberian standpoints and better in making cultural class analysis.

2.3. Bourdieu's Class Analysis

Understanding what Bourdieu means by *middle class* requires us to consider how he defines *class*. According to Bourdieu, analyzing only the economic structure is not enough to define class completely. Cultural (symbolic) structure should also be taken into consideration. As he writes in *Distinction*, a class is defined by its perceived existence as well as its existence, it is defined by its consumption (that has no need to be conspicuous in order to be symbolic) as well as its position in the relations of

production (while it is true that the relations of production directs the other) (Bourdieu, 2015, p.700).

In the part named 'Class Condition and Social Conditioning' of *Distinction* Bourdieu mentions about the construction of the objective class as follows:

One must therefore construct the *objective class*, the set of agents who are placed in homogenous conditions of existence imposing homogeneous conditionings and producing homogenous systems of dispositions capable of generating similar practices; and who possess a set of common properties, objectified properties, sometimes legally guaranteed (as possession of goods and power) or properties embodied as class habitus (and, in particular, systems of classificatory schemes) (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101).

Consequently, Bourdieu states that the class relations can also be observed in the symbolic field of social space such as culture. As for Bourdieu, people within the same class, have homogenous predispositions and this homogeneity has been embodied. Additionally, Bourdieu states that a class or class fraction is not only defined by its position in the production process such as, income, level of education and occupation, but also determined by a kind of sex-ratio and a distribution of geographical space and with a whole supplementary elements. What's more, these supplementary elements (gender, ethnicity) as constructive necessities –without uttering officially- may function as principle of exclusion or inclusion. Hence, lots of official criterion works for masking hidden criterions. These variables hide the system of relations within themselves (Bourdieu, 2015, p.158-160).

Bourdieu, while mentioning 'Constructed Class' in *Distinction* says that social class cannot be explained by possessions (not even the most indicative ones such as the volume and composition of capital) nor by a cluster of possessions (of gender, age, social genesis, ethnicity –ratio of blacks or whites, natives and immigrants, income and level of education etc.) nor even by a cluster of possessions come from a basic property (position in the relations of production) within a cause and effect relationship, conditioner and conditioned. However, social class constructed by the

structure of relations between the relevant possessions that supplies it's significant value to all of them and to the influences they exert on practices (Bourdieu, 1984, p.106).

Namely, as Swartz mentions in the chapter named 'Social Classes and The Struggle For Power' within *Culture and Power*, for Bourdieu 'class' is a universal statement of a principle. Consequently, forms of symbolic and social accumulation and differentiation are considered among the crucial dimensions of social class relations. The accumulation of non-economic goods and resources are crucial in terms of the usage of power including economic power: this feature cannot be explained by taking only property or propertylessness into consideration. Furthermore, Bourdieu includes in his class analysis not only income and occupation but also elements about life-style, tastes, gender, age and qualification of education. Eventually, Swartz states that Bourdieu's social classes are not originated by a single determinant fact but rather they originate via togetherness of whole stratified elements (Swartz, 2015, p.205).

According to Rogers Brubaker, Bourdieu within the field of concepts defines class not within the field of relationship of production but rather defines it within the field of *social relations* (emphasis added). Class divisions are not defined through relations that differentiate through mode of production, but rather defined via varying conditions of existence, varying system of tendencies produced through different conditionings and defined through varying features of capital or power (Brubaker, 2007, p.244). Although for Bourdieu, power is a crucial feature of a class, it is not the founder of it. Rather, the distribution of power produced and sustained by the class practices founded by shared tendencies and shared conditions of existence emerged through shared conditionings (Brubaker, 1985, p.762). That's because class formally defines as such:

Biological individuals who, being the product of the same objective conditions, are endowed with the same habitus: social class (in itself) is inseparably a class of identical or similar conditions of existence and conditionings and a class of biological individuals endowed with the same

habitus, understood as a system of dispositions shared by all individuals who are products of the same conditionings (Bourdieu, 1980 quoted in Brubaker, 1985, p.762).

Namely, the thing that founds class divisions is not the one of these divisions but rather the *harmony* (emphasis added) of these divisions. The class that defined by above embraced by Bourdieu as *universal explanatory principle*. Bourdieu's understanding of class focuses on common class conditioning practices within all fields of social life and especially focuses on tendencies that are typical to one class (Brubaker, 2007, p.246). He focuses on shared tendencies and matching practices of classes that contribute legitimization of social order. Concretely he is interested in consumption habits, leisure time activities, and tastes such as clothing and nutrition that generates life-style (Brubaker, 2007, p.246). In addition, as for Bourdieu, classes differentiate themselves through a variety of consumption practices. There is an association between class and consumption patterns, which cannot be fixed with income level specifically (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 262).

2.3.1. A Three-Dimensional Space

Bourdieu creates a model of class structure, which covers the whole occupational division of labor. His model consists of three-dimensional space and through this model he proclaims the features of stratified social order. Understanding the form of this structure is important in order to 'define' the class. However, classes are not solid things for Bourdieu, he thinks about classes from a reflexive perception. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu mentions that the fundamental three dimensions are the volume of capitals, the composition of capitals and the evolution of these two features over time (Bourdieu, 2015, p.177). According to Weininger (2014) Bourdieu explains this model as a *factorial*⁷ *space* consisting of three vertical axes. First and most important axis differentiates locations inside the occupational system according

⁷ Bourdieu chooses to employ multiple correspondence analyses as a statistical method, which resembles factor analysis, but it is a technique that is used with categorical variables. In this analysis individualities are safe in its factorial space (Weininger, 2014, p.118)

to *total volume of capitals*⁸. Bourdieu mentions that class location is a function of a position in this first axis. His data shows that factory owners, private sector executives and university professors occupy intersection positions on the upper end of the axis. He collectively cites these categories as ‘dominant class’ and sometimes ‘bourgeoisie’. Manual workers and farmers occupy positions at the end of the axis. In this first axis these occupations share the opposite class location to the occupations that dominant classes have. These categories collectively constitute ‘working class’. In the middle of this axis (between the dominant class and working class), there are occupational categories such as technicians, secretaries, small business owners, and teachers. He collectively conceptualizes these categories as ‘petty bourgeoisie’ (Weininger, 2014, p.118). He generally conceptualizes the positions as middle class in the middle of the axis.

Second axis in the factorial space distinguishes positions *inside* class locations in order to difference the economic and cultural capitals of agents have. Bourdieu uses the Marxist term ‘class fractions’ in order to demonstrate the opposite locations along the second axis (Weininger, 2004, p.123). For Bourdieu, classes are internally divided in accordance with *composition of capital*⁹ possessed by actors within the second axis (Weininger, 2004, p.123). When he records about class locations within a class (such as class fractions inside the middle class) he uses term ‘class’ in plural, such as ‘middle classes’ and ‘dominant classes’. However, while making comparison with other classes he uses the term in singular such as middle class and dominant class. Third axis comes from economic and cultural capital indicators of family origins. This axis differentiates positions with regard to stability or fluctuation of actors’ volume or composition of capital, which they experience over time (Weininger, 2014, p.119). Weininger clarifies this axis as,

⁸ According to Bourdieu, volume of capital means quantity of the capitals. The volume of capital changes according to scarcity or plenitude of capitals of a person or group. For instance, although working class has low volume of capital, dominant classes do have high volume of capital.

⁹ Composition of capital describes the content of a person’s capital. In other words, it describes which type of capital is more dominant or scarce For instance, university professors have much more cultural capital than economic capital. This division of capitals underlying the total volume of capital is composition of capital.

Generated primarily from indicators of the economic and cultural capital of the family of origin, this axis differentiates positions according to the trajectories followed by their incumbents - or in other words, according to the change or stability they have experienced over time in the volume and composition of their capital (Weininger, 2004, p.123).

The trajectories of agents become visible in this third axis. Due to the fact that classes are not rigid categories for Bourdieu and agents' class position may have changed over time according to agents' possible trajectory, Bourdieu mentions that agents' trajectory possibility can be changed with regard to his or hers *field of the possibles*. Additionally, for Bourdieu agents do not change place in social space randomly. Namely, individual positions and their trajectories are not independent categories (Bourdieu 2015, p.170-171). Additionally, middle classes *which are about to crumble* as an ambiguous space *within the social structure*, perform the features of class at the top level and within its entirety by providing agents who have scattered trajectories within social space to exist together (Bourdieu 2015, p.174).

This model that Bourdieu generates from occupational division of labor should be interpreted as the structure of objective positions –namely agents occupy positions but the positions are independent from agents, positions exist as a quasi-reality (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 quoted in Weininger, 2014, p.120). In this context, Bourdieu named social formation under analysis with this model as *social space*. It is generated to represent the system of objective relations of the most important 'powers and resources' within social formation and to represent their evolution over time (Weininger, 2014, p.120). Moreover, Bourdieu states that his model is a 'class and class fraction model', which is defined through carrying a specific volume and composition of a capital (Bourdieu, 2015, p.177).

Subsequently, Bourdieu claims that there are different classes and class fractions which represent different economic or cultural compositions of capital. He shortly defines classes in accordance with occupational division of labor. He distinguishes classes as working class, petty bourgeoisie, generally middle class and dominant

class. He also internally divides classes into fractions, which indicates differences in respect to their cultural capitals. Ultimately the differences of the volume and composition of the capital within social classes explain class conflicts and distinctions. By this way, while economic basis considerably determines class, cultural capital (which is partially conditioned by economic capital) shapes class fractions (Çeğin, Öğütle, 2010, p.125). Also, his social class theory is relational. Class identities reflect contradictions between classes and fractions because they are constructed relationally. Hence classes are not rigid categories for him (Swartz, 2015, p.206).

2.4. Capitals and Its Forms

Within Bourdieu's non-rigidly stratified social space, agents' class positions are very much related to their volume and composition of capital. Bourdieu's theory about classes cannot be understood without clarifying what capital means to him. It should be noted that, although Bourdieu was inspired from Marxist standpoint about the notion of capital, he developed Marx's theory about this concept. Bourdieu draws on Karl Marx in his conceptualization of the *capitals*, he rejects the idea that the capital is only in the form of economic capital, borrowing from Marx's ideas. According to Bourdieu *capital is accumulated labor*. In addition, universal equalizer between different power types is *labor-time* which is criterion of all equivalents (equations). Thus, Bourdieu's theory of capital is based on a kind of Marxist labor theory of value (From Bourdieu, 1991c. quoted in Swartz, 2015, p.109). Moreover, as for Bourdieu, capital is a social relation and it also is a social energy (Bourdieu, 2015, p.176). Additionally, forms of capitals that are accumulated by agents (the energy of social dynamics) create effects that differentiate in terms of their quantity of fluctuation, ability to transform and the shapes of applications through practices (Bourdieu, 1977, quoted in Göker, 2014, p.279). Subsequently, Bourdieu expands the idea of capital adding cultural, social and symbolic capital that can accumulate just as money; such as increasing and decreasing in time (Göker, 2014, p.279).

Loic Wacquant tells what capital is for Bourdieu as follows: the system of dispositions, which one gains depends on positions that they occupy in society and it

depends on special equipment of the capital they have. For Bourdieu capital is an effective resource that exists in a specific social arena, which enables participation of an agent in a significant social field, and within this field it enables special kinds of profits that come from competition within that field. There are three basic types of capital: *economic* (financial and material values), *cultural* (symbolic goods, abilities and titles) and *social* (which are gained by being a member of a certain group). The fourth type of capital is named as *symbolic* capital; it actually reveals the effect of a specific form of capital, which is not perceived by people as capital (such as, attribute to members of upper classes a moral character as a result of attributing a character of philanthropy to the money and time they donate). In this way, agents' position in social space can be placed within two coordinates; *the total volume and composition of capital* they accumulate. There is the third coordinate, which shows the fluctuation of these volume and composition in time as a trajectory (Wacquant, 2014, p.62-63).

According to Wacquant, Bourdieu reveals the space of social positions organized in order to *economic capital and cultural capital* that provide a basis of division and struggle lines within developed societies (Wacquant, 2014, p.66). As for him, agents perpetually try to develop or sustain their positions in social space through the strategies of reconversion, which contain transforming, or transferring of a type of capital to another (Wacquant, 2014, p.67). This is a significant aspect of classificatory struggles that we will proclaim on the next part.

With regards to Craig Calhoun, the most important and unique specialty of Bourdieu's theory is analysis of the differences in the capital types and dynamics of conversion among them. The term proclaims both different types of sources that are accumulated by winners of the struggles within different fields and both describes more general types of capitals which provides reconversion of these sources into one another (Calhoun, 2003, p.297). For instance, families besides having material ownership (economic capital) can expand their connection lines (social capital) and can increase their prestige (cultural capital) through the forms of rearing their children and planning their marriage, because accumulation has to be reproduced in

every generation otherwise it will disappear. Briefly, the conversions of capital to one another have two different meanings. Firstly, this process of conversion is a part of reconversion of capital within generations. Wealthy people try to send their children to good schools –in realty almost always private and expensive schools in USA-. This is one of the ways of conversing money to cultural capital (via educational qualifications). Capital may be transferable by this way and may acquire an economic form (Calhoun, 2014, p.106-107).

2.4.1. Economic Capital and Cultural Capital

Economic and cultural capitals are the most important capitals that Bourdieu offer. Economic capital is money and possessions that agents have. Additionally, it is the base of all the other capital types, because all the other capital types can be created by economic capital. Swartz mentions that for Bourdieu economic capital lies down in the origin of all the other capitals, which are transformed, disguised forms of economic capital (Swartz, 2015 p.110-117). Namely, in the last instance economic capital has decisive role in other capitals. Moreover, economic capital is very much related to cultural and symbolic capital.

Cultural capital can be basically explained as capital, which is accumulated in cultural field. This notion points at a process of accumulation and power modes based on culture, although these processes frequently conceal that the culture can be also a capital (Featherstone, 2013, p.185). The accumulation of cultural capital starts at the childhood years. The notion indicates predispositions that are gained via culture. The meaning of cultural capital contains several opportunities such as, linguistic ability, general knowledge awareness, aesthetical preferences and education. Bourdieu's aim is to indicate that culture can be a source of power. According to Bourdieu, agents are likely to establish a hierarchy above each other through cultural capital. From childhood, agents begin to accumulate cultural capital, which is distributed inequitably between classes and class fractions. This unequal distribution is one of the most important indicators of the social injustice (Swartz, 2015, p.111-113). Furthermore, as for Bourdieu there is important relationship between economic and cultural capital. Namely, it is economic capital that provides

investment of time in order to accumulate cultural capital. Financial structures shape cultural arenas in a decisive way. Consequently, although the world of culture has autonomy it is subordinated by economic capital (Swartz, 2015, p.117).

Bourdieu distinguishes cultural capital into three different types; *embodied*, *objectified* and *institutionalized* capital. The embodied state refers to the characteristics such as posture, language or accent, which are processed into the body since childhood (Göker, 2014, p.283). The accumulation of the embodied state starts at childhood years. It requires ‘pedagogical act’: parents, other family members or experts that are paid invest in time in order to make the kid sensitive to the cultural differences. The embodied state also indicates the total predispositions that are gained through culture, which generates agent’s patterns of taste and understanding internalized by agent via socialization (Swartz, 2015, p.112). The objectified state emerge through possession of things that have symbolic values such as objects that require specialized cultural abilities i.e. books, objects of art and musical instruments (Swartz, 2015, p.117). The institutionalized state refers to the academic qualifications that an agent acquires since childhood (Göker, 2014, p.283). The graduate education becomes widespread, which resulted in the emergence of huge markets about educational qualities and these have determinant role in reproduction of social class structure. Through education, economic capital transfers into cultural capital because of the investment that parents make for their children future. According to Bourdieu, objectified and institutionalized states of cultural capital invade markets and it is the most important fact of stratification in developed countries. As for him, unequal distribution of objectified and institutionalized states of capital within social classes is one of the basic dimensions of social inequality in modern societies (Swartz, 2015, p.112).

2.4.1.1. Educational Capital

Educational capital is another types of capital that Bourdieu laid emphasis on within cultural capital. We think that it is a form of institutionalized state of capital. Bourdieu notes that inequalities of distribution of cultural capital within classes lead culture to be an aspect of power. Accordingly, educational capital is one of these

power modes that create inequalities. With regards to Bourdieu, educational capital is product of the accumulated effects of both the cultural transfers provided by the family as well as the cultural transfers provided by the school. The education system imposes the titles that all groups produce by dividing individuals into hierarchical classes. This creates the effect of assigning status: *ennoblement* in the positive case and *stigmatization* in the negative case (Bourdieu, 2015, p.41-42). Subsequently, access to income sources in the labor market depends on cultural capital in the form of education and social capital in the form of networking networks. Due to the fact that the education qualifications market is an emerging important stratification source for industrial societies and it provides vital resources that lead to status distinctions among fractions within upper and middle class groups (Swartz, 2015, p.252). Consequently, the inflation of education titles has increased and two individuals who perform the same function but have different educational titles are more likely to be separated from each other by means of different statuses (Bourdieu, 2015, p.477). Namely, education system is an objectified classification system and it is an institutionalized operator of classifications, it transforms social classifications into educational classifications in the most visible manner (Bourdieu, 2015, p.559). Additionally, education system excludes the lower class with the most naturalized way (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2015, p.261).

...with every appearance of neutrality, and establishes hierarchies which are not experienced as purely technical, and therefore partial and one-sided, but as total hierarchies, grounded in nature, so that social value comes to be identified with 'personal' value, scholastic dignities with human dignity... Misrecognition of the social determinants of the educational career – and therefore of the social trajectory it helps to determine- gives the educational certificate the value of a natural right and makes the educational system one of the fundamental agencies of the maintenance of the social order (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 387).

With respect to Bourdieu, educational capital held at a certain time interval, along with other things, reflect the social and economic level of the family (Bourdieu, 2015, p.162). Additionally, educational capital is the guaranteed cultural capital. The

educational institution partially confirms the inherited capital. Inherited cultural capital can turn into educational capital (Bourdieu, 2015, p.128).

2.4.1.2. Inherited Cultural Capital

Cultural capital's inheritability is one of the most important explanations of social inequality. Due to the fact that accumulation of cultural capital starts at childhood years, the social circle of the child is an important determinant. Embodied state of cultural capital is inherited via learning from the parents and family members in terms of having a fluent accent or not, attitude, and posture. Objectified state of cultural capital is also inherited from the family such living in a house that has library, or classical musical instruments such as piano. For example, during Jean Paul Sartre tells about his childhood years in his autobiographical work '*The Words*' (1963), he says that his grandfather has a library at home and his greatest pleasure is looking and trying to read the books, it is an example of inheriting the objectified state of cultural capital.

2.4.2. Social Capital

According to Bourdieu, social capital is a network of relationships; reaching sources of income in the labor market depends on the social capital and the institutionalized cultural capital (Swartz, 2015, p.109). John Field say that Bourdieu defines social capital for the first time as it is the capital of social relations that provide useful 'supports' when necessary and it is the capital of dignity and honor (Bourdieu, 1977, quoted in Field, 2008, p. 20). Bourdieu afterwards clarifies his definition and defines social capital as, "Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.119). Accordingly, in order for social capital to sustain its value, agents must work for it. Therefore, for Bourdieu, the principle of social values becomes visible where agents have earned rather unequal amounts of profits with the capacity to act on behalf of a group of people from (family, exclusive club members, graduates of elite schools, etc.) more or less equal capital (economic or cultural) (Bourdieu, 1980 quoted in Field, 2008, p.22). Consequently, social

capital has a function that reproduces inequality in its own particular form, but it still does so, partly independently of the economic and cultural capital it depends on (Field, 2008, p.22).

2.4.3. Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is another important concept to understand Bourdieu's sociology. As for Bourdieu, symbolic capital is *denied* capital; it cloaks relations that are based on interest under the guise of profitless struggles. Actors, who benefit from the transformation of personal interests into disinterest, gain symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is a transformed form of physical economic capital and it can have an impact if and only if it can hide that it has emerged through material forms of capital (From Bourdieu, 1977, quoted in Swartz, 2015, p.129). Symbolic capital is important just because it *ostensibly* negates economic capital. It is a mode of power emanating from demands of agents for social respect, prestige, reputation and service. Through symbolic capital one can notice that power relations become legitimate via symbolic forms. Furthermore, it can be accumulated just as economic capital, and it can be exchanged with economic capital under certain conditions. Hence, symbolic power relations strengthen and reproduce the structure of stratified social space (Bourdieu, 2013, p.204).

To sum up, Bourdieu creates hierarchy between forms of capital and puts economic capital on to the base level. However, he underlines that symbolic power is necessary in order to efficiently apply political and economic power. After mentioning theory of class and capital shortly we can go on to other keywords of our research.

2.4.4. Habitus

Habitus is a system of continuous and transformable trends that are produced in certain social settings that function as a principle of formation of the practices and representations. Each individual has a habitus, which determines the perceptions, thoughts and actions of the individual. In this process, the agent is not conscious; habitus is a system of non-temporal predispositions that determines how to behave and what to think about. Individuals in different social conditions acquire different

predispositions. Hence there is a similar habitus to individuals of the same social conditions and of the same social classes. For these reason the habitus is always the class habitus (Bourdieu, 2014b, p.44-7). However, this condition may not always apply in all circumstances. Although each individual may belong to the same social class with the others, it goes through different experiences. Bourdieu says that, his notion of ‘class habitus’ is not de facto. Hence we do not take it to our analysis of sample.

2.5. The Meaning of Distinction

Bourdieu has attempted to scientifically explain the logic of transformation of the tastes which is crucial to understand the meaning of distinction.

In order for there to be tastes, there have to be goods that are classified, as being in ‘good’ or ‘bad’ taste, ‘distinguished’ or ‘vulgar’ – classified and thereby classifying, hierarchized and hierarchizing – and people endowed with principles of classification, tastes, that enable them to identify, among those goods, those that suit them, that are ‘to their taste’ (Bourdieu, 1993b, p.108).

Tastes that are seen as a whole of the practices and characteristics of a person or a group are products of an encounter (a pre-existing harmony) between products and a category of tastes. Tastes arise from encounters between classified objects and classification systems (Bourdieu, 2016b, p. 192-7).

Bourdieu in his work *Distinction* (1984) examines the cultural practices of the agents who take a position in the society he perceives as social space. According to him culture is a field of power. In *Practical Reason* he makes an introduction to read *Distinction*. He says, existing in a space, being a dot, an agent means differentiation. Namely, the driving force of all the attitudes of agents is not seeking difference, but distinction. Clearly, a difference, a discriminator feature such as golf or football, red wine or champagne, piano or accordion only becomes detectable, visible, non-indifferent socially *meaningful* difference only if it is perceived by *an individual who has the ability to grasp the distinction* (Bourdieu, 2015a, p.23). “...because, being

inscribed in the space in question, he or she is not *indifferent* and is endowed with categories of perception, with classificatory schemata, with a certain *taste*, which permits her to make differences, to discern, to distinguish – between a color print and a painting...” (Bourdieu, 1998, p.9). Distinction, only as a consequence of assimilation of the structure of objective differences (such as the ones distribution of the social space who prefer piano or accordion), when it is implemented to a principle of distinction and principle of vision transforms into indicator of a symbol, an excellence (or asperity) and structures the perception of the ones who own piano or accordion. According to Bourdieu, his work demonstrates that distinction exists everywhere (Bourdieu, 2015a, p.24-26). “Thus, *difference* exists and persists...Social space (is) a space of differences, in which classes exists in some sense in a state of virtuality, not as something given but as *something to be done*” (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 12).

According to Bourdieu, agents try to reach upper class positions, try to maintain their class positions and are scared of falling into lower class positions. Therefore, they consciously or unconsciously behave keeping this longing in mind as well as feel the fear in every act they do. In the social space each agent is both simultaneously classified and classifier. However, there is inequality between agents with respect to their capacity to impose their own classifications (Weininger, 2004, p.133). The classification is always a two-sided process. It categorizes, divides, and differentiates agents. By this way it constructs social collectivities (Weininger, 2004, p.130). In addition, social world experiences are full of experiences of distinction (Weininger, 2014, p.141). Differentiating between groups of people is inevitable. In this process actors consciously or unconsciously use strategies of distinction. As for Bourdieu, this act is the basis of class struggle and it appears as classificatory struggles in the symbolic space. As we have mentioned above every agent in the social space has a desire to reach an upper level through increasing total volume of their capitals and composition of capitals. In this manner every agent uses *strategies of distinction* in order to differentiate herself from others. As for Bourdieu “social identity lies in difference, and difference is asserted against what is closest, which represents the greatest threat” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.479). In other words, strategies of distinction are

applied even to the ones who are in our nearest milieu, including the ones who are in the same fraction- and classificatory struggles are continuous in social space without any exceptions.

In order to understand what Bourdieu means by *sense of distinction* deeply, one has to examine what he means by classificatory struggles that occur within space of life-styles via taste. In the distinction process one's tastes have an important role for creating classifications. Now we will proclaim these notions in order to understand the theoretical background of the thesis.

2.6. Classificatory Struggles

According to Bourdieu, struggle in social space is not class struggle but rather a classificatory struggle. Besides, main emphasis of social space finds its reality not on class structure but rather on classificatory categories. Class struggle in the Marxist sense has not ended but it has spread out across a wider symbolic area (Çeğin and Öğütte, 2010, p.122-123). Moreover social classifications are tools of symbolic dominance and they constitute a basic support of struggle that occurs among classes and class fractions (Çeğin and Öğütte, 2010, p.129). Hence, creating distinction among others which leads in class conflict, as a classificatory conflict is inevitable and an ongoing process for Bourdieu. The distinction and consequently classification struggle process is mainly held in symbolic space which is the space of life-styles. Social identity is made through distinction and also presents itself through distinction (Bourdieu, 2015, p.256).

Swartz mentions that, as for Bourdieu, individuals make struggle to raise or maintain their relative positions within the hierarchically structured social space. Due to the fact that the roots of social inequality lie in objective structures based on the uneven distribution of the capital types, one of the key drivers in the class struggle is the change rate between different types of capital. Bourdieu argues that social classes are not simply given in reality, but they are contentious identities built through the struggle over a legitimate view of the social world and its divisions. Additionally, class identities reflect the opposition between the existing classes and are therefore

constructed in a relational way. Bourdieu criticizes any attempt to draw boundaries between classes and class segments. His definition of class itself is the object of social conflict, so the boundaries between the classes are also objects of struggle. For him, it is necessary to examine the symbolic dimension the class struggle, because the class identity itself is a matter of perception and imagination as well as being materially formed (Swartz, 2015, p.203-7).

According to Bourdieu, principles of division function within the struggle and for the purposes of the struggle. Classification systems contribute to the effectiveness of the objective mechanisms and the existence of classes (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 694-5). “What is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.479). As for Bourdieu “the social world is the site of continual struggles to define what the social world is” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.70). ‘Struggle’ is located in the center of Bourdieu’s theory and studies (Joas and Knöbl, 2011, p.22). Furthermore, Bourdieu rejects the idea that there is only struggle over economic goods in social life. His aim is to clarify that it is not enough to define the social struggles by only with financial utility and economic capital. Social struggles contain more than these material things. Additionally, the different types of capital help to make sense out of the classification process (Joas and Knöbl, 2011, p.15).

In Bourdieu’s social space, the developed forms of capital (basically economic and cultural capital) are not only the objects but also the weapons of classificatory struggles among social classes (Jenkins, 1992, p.92). Although the difference in economic capital supports the reproduction of social stratified order, the difference in cultural capital strengthens the classification power of the domination in symbolic state. The strategies of economic and cultural reproduction of society develop out of the classificatory struggles via power and resources, which determine the differences and segregation among the dominated and the dominant classes (Susen, 2011, p. 181). According to Bourdieu,

Competitive struggle is the form of class struggle, which the dominated classes allow to be imposed on them when they accept the stakes offered by the dominant classes. It is an integrative struggle and, by virtue of the initial handicaps, a reproductive struggle, since those who enter this chase, in which they are beaten before they start, as the constant of the gaps testifies, implicitly recognizes the legitimacy of the goals pursued by those whom they pursue, by the mere fact of taking part (Bourdieu, 1984, p.165).

Subsequently, “class struggle is a struggle over the legitimacy of a given form of social reproduction” (Susen, 2011, p.181). Additionally, what has become a trump in the symbolic struggle is the imposition of the legitimate perception of the social world and its separation into categories. In other words, symbolic power turns into *world making* power (Bourdieu, 2012, p.380, emphasis added). On the basis of every kind of social process, the dialectic of falling class and reclassification lies (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 246).

2.6.1. Cultural Classifications and Taste as a Classifier

As regards to Bourdieu, social class differences appear as life style differences - namely status differences-. In this context, he asserts three arguments. Firstly, he suggests that there is causal connection between class locations and habitus. Secondly, he suggests that there is a relation of ‘expression’ between habitus and practices that are located in different consumption arenas. He mentions that, the practices are symbolically in harmony with each other with the aim of creating a whole ‘life style’. Thirdly, he claims that, these practices constitute symbolic boundaries between agents who occupy different locations within class structure. By this way these practices serve for generating status groups, namely social collectivities. This process is a contentious process and it takes the form of what he calls ‘classificatory struggle’ (Weininger, 2014, p.116).

In this way, Bourdieu asserts that the classificatory struggles are shaped through cultural consumption. He mentions that cultural consumption is a way of class fractions in which they claim distinction and higher status from the others. Cultural

production and consumption are especially among the ways of establishing and sustaining the ruling fractions of classes' sovereignty. Their aim is to make their cultural tastes, standards and life styles desirable and dominant. They may maintain their hegemonic class status inasmuch as their values, aesthetical styles and judgments become dominant socially (Çeğin, Öğütler, 2010, p. 127).

According to Wacquant, inasmuch as social classifications exist in the constitutional base of class, they are tools of symbolic domination and they generate a main stake in the struggle among social classes (and class fractions). All of them attempt to acquire control above the classificatory schema, which command the power to protect or alter reality by protecting or changing the representation of reality. Additionally, Wacquant mentions that cultural consumption is the hidden dimension of class struggle in stratified societies. Agents make classifications through symbolic goods. As for Wacquant, Bourdieu perpetually mapped the social positions, tastes and the relationship between them and demonstrates that the *conflict* among groups in *the space of lifestyles is a hidden, even so essential aspect of class struggles*. Besides, Bourdieu demonstrates that taste is the both weapon and stake at the same time in the classification struggles by which groups look for maintaining or developing their position in society by dictating their lifestyle as the singular legitimate *art de vivre* (Wacquant, 2011, p.105).

Bourdieu and his co-authors in studies like *Photography: A Middle – Brow Art (1990/1965)* have attempted to explain how art and culture differ from one social class to another, and to clarify how class struggle contains contradicting styles of adopting art and culture (Joas and Knöbl, 2011, p.3). Moreover, cultural struggles have always been the ones over the parameters of social legitimacy and all of them form classificatory struggles 'over historically contingent forms of perception'. In this case the dominant role of cultural consumption cannot be denied. Each action about consumption presupposes an action of acceptance; each action about cultural integration is in company with an act of cultural classification. One has to have an ability to make classifications for consuming any good (Susen, 2011, p.180-183). Subsequently, "Bourdieu conceives of everyday life as a constant struggle over the

final word in determining good taste means. This struggle is a cultural game that no one can escape” (Rahkonen, 2011, p.126).

Notions of distinction, life style, consumption practices and taste are all related with each other in Bourdieu’s classificatory struggle mechanism. As for Bourdieu, life style differences deeply get involved with conflicts about the location of agents in the social space. This means the struggles between classes and class fractions have symbolic component (Weininger, 2004, p.128). Life styles are also socially ranked. Besides, hierarchical status of a life style is a function of whether it is close or distant to the legitimate culture. By this way, Bourdieu mentions about ‘*trickle-down effect*’. According to this effect, there is perpetual competition on acquisition of ‘exclusive’ objects or practices¹⁰. Firstly these objects or practices are captured by those with the highest economic and / or cultural capital -that is by the dominant class or dominant class fractions-. Over time these objects and practices spread down to the lower parts of social space. However, just as they become increasingly popular, each previous group in the upper positions tends to abandon them in the name of new objects and practices that will re-emerge to enable exclusivity of their tastes. This type of conflict is quasi-imitative and dominant class or dominant class fractions behave as *taste maker* in this process (Weininger, 2004, p.129 quoted from. Bourdieu, 1984, p. 247-256). Taste means having a dislike for others’ taste in the first place (Wacquant, 2014, p.66) Consequently, “the struggle for (good) taste is also a symbolic struggle for power” (Rahkonen, 2011, p.129).

In compliance with Bourdieu, *aesthetical sensitivity* that leads agents’ daily life preferences -in terms of issues of clothing, sport, nutrition- functions as a tool for symbolizing their *social difference* and *social similarity* from one another. In other words, through the slightest detail of daily life consumption, each agent perpetually *classifies* themselves and all others as *alike* or *different*. Acknowledgement of this symbolic function of daily life consuming behavior opens the road to the analysis of classification struggles (Bourdieu, 1984, p.483 quoted in Weininger, 2004, p.130). Accordingly, individuals try to reach upper class positions or try to maintain their

¹⁰ Practices are guided by *principles of taste* within the habitus (Weininger, 2004, p.130).

positions with every act they take and they are intimidated with the probability of falling into lower class positions. His social class theory is relational, he mentions that class identities reflect contradiction between classes because they construct relationally (Swartz, 2015, p.206). To sum up, each individual is simultaneously classifier and classified. However, there is inequality between agents in respect to their capacities of imposition their own classifications. Bourdieu mentions that social world experiences have always been the experiences of distinction. In this process lifestyles play big part. In conclusion, classification is a two-sided process. It categorizes, divides and distinct individuals and by this way it constructs social collectivities (Weininger, 2014, p.116-153).

2.7. Cultural Consumption and Life Styles

2.7.1 Life-Styles

According to Bourdieu, life-style differences are deeply connected to conflicts of the location of agents in the social space. This means that struggles between classes and class fractions have a symbolic component. Life styles are also socially ranked. Besides, hierarchical status of a life-style is a function of whether it is close or distant to the legitimate culture (Weininger, 2004, p.128- 129).

Bourdieu attempts to analyze the relationships between socioeconomic hierarchies and hierarchies of lifestyle. He claims that social and class relations occur in a social space or a field of social classes (Weininger, 2014, p.128). In connection with this, he locates *the space of life-styles* within the social space. According to Bourdieu, every class fractions' cultural patterns are generally homogenous and by this way every class fraction leads homologous life-styles. Life styles, however, always turn into the stylization of life (Bourdieu, 2014a, p.203). The space of life-styles is a *represented* state of the social world and the space of lifestyles occurs between the relationship of the capability to produce classifiable practices and the one to evaluate and differentiate these practices and products (Bourdieu, 2015, p.254). Thus, Bourdieu argues that, life-styles are classified and classifiable practices. Additionally, many features reach a significance not only when they are expressed in social conditions they express, but at the same time in relation to the features placed

on the other pole of space (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 193). Furthermore, the space of life-styles separates the agents that occupy different positions in social space whether they have a purpose to create distinction among others or not (Bourdieu, 2015, p.367).

The notion of the judgment of taste is significant in terms of every choice an individual makes in the space of life-styles, and also in the cultural consumption. According to Bourdieu, symbolic struggles between classes are always condemned to take the form of a competition struggle that contributes to the reproduction of the gap of differences that lies on the basis of the race itself (Bourdieu, 2015, p.368). Namely, the definition of the art of living is a struggle between classes but never reminded of (Bourdieu, 2015, p.79). With regards to Bourdieu, the logic of new economy requires a social world that judges people according to not only their production capabilities but also consumption abilities, lifestyle and *standings* (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 452). In addition the lifestyle of the dominant class becomes legitimate and it is seen natural (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 193). Hence, feeling a loath towards different life-styles is one of the most powerful obstacles between the classes: the marriage between people belonging to the same social groups is one of the proofs of this (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 91).

2.7.1.1. Taste

We should also consider the impact of cultural consumption and taste in the space of life-styles. The judgment of taste develops within the space of life-styles, and it determines cultural consumption. According to Bourdieu, *taste* is a practical operator, which converts things into different and distinguishing markers, and it also converts the differences that penetrate into physical order of bodies into *symbolic order* of meaningful distinctions (Bourdieu, 2015, p.260). Furthermore, Bourdieu notes that, it is not the level of income that manages consumption practices, but it is taste. Thus, consumption preferences are not just a basic function of income; the main principle that lies under the consumption preferences is the judgment of taste (Bourdieu, 2015, p.265).

Wacquant mentions that, Bourdieu firstly demonstrates that aesthetical judgment does not indicate individuals' special features but it is rather a *social competence* that comes from manners and education based on her class. Evaluating a painting a poem or a symphony requires mastery of the specialized symbolic code, which requires the appropriate type of cultural capital. This dominance is earned during the first transition period of the person or by direct teaching. (Such as children of upper class families having high cultural capital) once realized with a natural familiarity, this education capacity experienced as an innate tendency (Wacquant, 2014, p.64).

As for Wacquant, Bourdieu secondly demonstrates that the aesthetic senses that different groups exhibit and their lifestyles define themselves in opposition to each other. Taste, at the first sight, comes from not being into the others tastes. Because of this any cultural practice -such as playing golf or football- gets its social meaning and its ability to show social difference and distance not from some implicit reasons but rather from its place within a system of objects and practices. That's because revealing the social rationale of consumption does not require a direct connection between a particular class category with a particular cultural practice but on the contrary it requires to reveal the structural equilibriums between the ones that are in force and between the space of social locations that are occupied by different groups and space of life styles (Wacquant, 2014, p.66).

According to Bourdieu, there are two different types of tastes; tastes of necessity and tastes of freedom (tastes of luxury). Moreover, basic and main principle of the observed differences in consumption-even off site topics about consumption-is the contrast between *tastes of freedom* and *tastes of necessity*. "Tastes of freedom are the tastes of individuals who are the product of material conditions of existence defined by distance from necessity, by the freedoms or facilities stemming from possession of capital; tastes of necessity express, precisely in their adjustment, the necessities of which they are the product"(Bourdieu, 1984, p.177). Furthermore, "The tastes of freedom can only assert themselves as such in relation to the tastes of necessity, which are thereby brought to the level of the aesthetic and so defined as vulgar... The most 'classifying' privilege thus has the privilege of appearing to be the most

natural one”(Bourdieu, 1984, p.56).

Moreover, Bourdieu distinguishes three different styles of self- distinction, which is happened through consumption. The first one is nutrition. The second one is identifying one-self via culture, and the third one is the expenses that are made for representation such as clothing, cosmetics, hiring a maid etc. (Bourdieu, 2015, p.274). *Aesthetical sensitivity* leads agents’ daily life preferences about the issues of clothing, sports, and nutrition-functions as a tool for symbolizing their *social difference from* and *social similarity to* one another. In other words, through the slightest detail of daily life consumption, each agent perpetually classifies themselves and all others as *alike* or *different*. (Weininger, 2004, p.130. quoted from Bourdieu, 1984, p.483).

2.7.1.2. Conspicuous Consumption

John Fiske, who studies media and cultural studies; says that in the consumer society of late capitalism everyone is consumer without exception. Whether it’s a material-functional (food, clothing, transportation), or semiological-cultural (media, education, language), consumption is the only way of taking over life sources. In addition, all material-functional and semiological-cultural sources are intertwined with each other. For instance, a car is not only a vehicle of transportation, but also a car is an act of talking. Just as the same as the car example, cooking is not only preparing foods but also is an act of communication. Whole commodities of late capitalist era are objects and its possible to talk to them. Moreover, every kind of consuming act is also a cultural producing act because; consumption is always a production of meanings (Fiske, 2012, p.49). According to another sociologist Mike Featherstone, consuming culture is based on enlargement of capitalist commodity production, because, this form of production creates accumulation of consumption goods, giant shopping and consumption areas. Moreover, leisure time has become a consumption time. That’s because people want to spend their leisure time through consuming. Commodities have double symbolic meaning, admiration, and perception of segregating, knowledge or ‘cultural capital’ provides people to understand and categorize commodities (Featherstone, 2013, p.41- 45). Below, we

will have a closer look on the notion of consumption upon theoretician problematizing as a conspicuous activity.

Thorstein Veblen tries to explain how consumption becomes important in order to achieve higher status. For Veblen, *conspicuous consumption* is a way of showing the richness and also of demanding high social status (Yanıklar, 2006, p.147). Veblen, in his book of *Theory of Leisure Class*, mentions that in order to be prestigious having only fortune or power is not enough. Reputation is only bestowed when it is proved, that's because fortune or power must be proven. In the eyes of all human beings, a life that passes through leisure is beautiful, noble and royal (Veblen, 2005, p.40). Leisure life is an ultimate proof of monetary power, in other words a proof of superior power. Earnings that come from having a fortune take the form of commodities of personal service and personal care. Upper classes perceive labor as a proof of poorness and labor is counted as dishonorable. From this moment the main feature of leisure class is to avoid all kind of labor, which is seen as a traditional proof of fortune. Moreover, it is important to note that the term of leisure doesn't mean inactivity or inaction, rather it means, consumption without production. In this process, the usage of trophy turns into a system of degree or title and position (Veblen, 2005, p.41-44). Tastes, behaviors, and lifestyle habits are the proof of politeness, because they require good education, time, payment and practice. So, the ones who consume their energy to work and produce cannot reach these leisure time and money, and this creates a difference between high and low classes. In addition, high classes have the ability to determine how to behave to lower classes (Veblen, 2005, p. 46-48).

According to Veblen as a proof of material power, the professionalized consumption of commodities has become a graceful system and consuming desirable objects is also a prestigious thing. If a consumption material is expensive, then the perception is based on the assumption that consuming them is noble and honorable. The gentleman and lady that consume the luxurious goods do should know the quality and features of the consumption materials beyond consuming them. He or she should professionalize over the consumption materials. For example, he should know the

difference between qualified wine or bad wine, and whiskey. She should know the quality differences between food, beverages, services, clothing etc. A gentleman that belongs to high classes should know the difference between noble and ignoble goods, so he should tame his tastes in order to be noble. Becoming an expert in distinguishing the degree of quality of commodities is very important. Gentleman must know how to live a conspicuous leisure life. In order to fit conspicuous consumption and leisure, noble person should know noble styles and noble modes of living (Veblen, 2005, p.57-61).

Furthermore, leisure class is on the top of the social norm by means of reputation, life styles and value standards. Due to the fact that every well-organized industrial society is in the end based on material power and the tools of showing material power, having a good reputation and maintain this position depend on conspicuous consumption and leisure. In addition lower classes try to use these tactics also. Veblen says that even the most miserable family doesn't want to abandon the consuming of spectacular things (2005, p. 65-67).

As soon as the social stratification among social classes increase, consumption becomes more important as a reputation tool compared to leisure. Consequently, the main tool to show wealth becomes showing the ability to afford luxury commodities in front of the public in a spectacular way. In a modern industrial organization, the social interaction between people is very low, and this doesn't change even they belong the same social class and live in the same neighborhood. Thus, the only practical tool to show the material ability to the other observers and satisfy their voyeuristic pleasure is indispensable showing of the person's ability to pay. In order to influence this observers and self- satisfaction in front of them, a person has to show his money and wealth and ability to buy luxurious goods. Thus and so, conspicuous consumption become more and more important compared to conspicuous leisure. Consumption is given even more of a significance in cities than it is in small villages, because, unlike the villages in cities people don't see each other closely. Thus people have to show their wealth in order to be reputable in cities (2005, p.68). As for Veblen, in order to be reputable one must be 'spend-all'; the

fame of a consumer will increase together with his consumption. The real needs of life do not have an impact on building a reputation, having enviable, spectacular, expensive things can only increase ones nobility. Thus, one end of that is, we mostly suppose that the expensive goods are at the same time esthetical and intellectual, that's because intellectual comparison and conspicuous comparison are linked to each other strictly. Veblen adds that in order to be conspicuous, a good have to be enviable (2005, p.70-75).

In the part of *'Pecuniary Life Standards'*, Veblen argues that every individual in a society has a desire of reaching an accepted reputation standard. The life standards of a society are flexible and can expand in an infinite degree. When a person naturalize a life standard the renouncing of it in mandatory positions is very difficult for them. These goods are bought in vain, however they serve the goal of building reputation. Increasing life standards is easier than lowering them and their general purpose is increasing the standards as much as possible. Furthermore, through conspicuous consumption people provoke the others, since their standard of spending money makes the others envy or scorn, and they also want to envy the others, do not be looked down by them. Every society and class has these expedition rules (Veblen, 2005, p.77-78). According to Veblen, people make their expenditures in order to enhance their reputation, and their consumption is mainly derived from conspicuous purchases not from a requirement. Furthermore, jealousy is probably the most powerful instinct among economic motives. This jealousy leads to conspicuous wastage, and people satisfy their desires, which are impressed by social interaction, envy and the need of reputability. Thus, the individuals' social classes mostly determine their life standards. However, upper classes are mostly spending their wealth for conspicuous wastage (Veblen, 2005, p.80-84).

'Pecuniary Canons of Taste' is another part of Veblen's book. In this part he emphasizes that the regulatory norm of consumption is conspicuous wastage obligation. In order to be respected, one must fit in the accepted reputation rules. Accordingly, Veblen adds that as soon as a good is expensive, it is perceived beautiful. So the perception of taste is very linked to the price of the goods (Veblen,

2005, p.92). “The superior gratification derived from the use and contemplation of costly and supposedly beautiful products is, commonly, in great measure a gratification of our sense of costliness masquerading under the name of beauty”(Veblen, 1915, p.128).“The requirement of conspicuous wastefulness is not commonly present, consciously, in our canons of taste, but it is none the less present as a constraining norm selectively shaping and sustaining our sense of what is beautiful, and guiding our discrimination with respect to what may legitimately be approved as beautiful and what may not” (Veblen, 1915, p.128). In many times an object that is bought can really be beautiful but the thing is possessing these luxury goods is honorable so the real advantage of having these goods is the honor and reputation they have, not their beauty (Veblen, 2005, p.94).

The beauty quality of the objects is very important for all classes yet, according to Veblen, in this world only the expensive can be beautiful. Thus we may say that, conspicuous waste takes place of aesthetical and monetary beautifulness. In addition, people are curious about making somebody jealous about something. So, due to the fact that expensive goods have prestige and reputation, upper classes want to consume the most expensive ones. Veblen adds that, if a thing is not expensive it is humiliating. Thus people insist on lavish expensiveness (Veblen, 2005, p.108-109). Another important thing is clothing, clothing can show ones financial situation to the other peoples in a glimpse of a look. The conspicuous wasteful rules are valid about buying clothes as well, ‘the cheap is poor’, and ‘the expensive is good’. According to Veblen, “The law of conspicuous waste guides consumption in apparel, as in other things, chiefly at the second remove, by shaping the canons of taste and decency. In the common run of cases the conscious motive of the wearer or purchaser of conspicuously wasteful apparel is the need of conforming to established usage, and of living up to the accredited standard of taste and reputability”(Veblen, 2007, p.112). Now, we end up with the Veblen’s theory of conspicuous consumption. It is clarified that Veblen gives importance to upper classes ways of seeing about their lives, and their main features of a good life. They want to consume the enviable and expensive goods, because they consume just for the conspicuous consumption. Their aesthetical gaze is shaped through this perception; cheap is ugly.

Bourdieu says that his theory should not be mixed with Veblen's theory. According to Bourdieu, economic power is primarily a power to approach economic necessity at a certain distance. Thus, universally, it is manifested with conspicuous expenditure, destruction of the resources of wealth, brash and all kinds of luxuries. Moreover, even if one does not have any interest in the conspicuous expeditions with the extravagancy, they are compulsory elements of a particular lifestyle. And it is an excellent investment, which is often possible to accumulate social capital. Furthermore, according to Bourdieu conspicuous consumption seeks distinction in the primitive display of a luxury that is managed and ruled badly. It is naively exhibitionist and when it is compared to the power of the pure vision it is nothing (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 54). In addition, when the aim for distinction is obvious, it loses all its power (Bourdieu, 1990, p.50).

2.7.2. Consumption Based on 'Physical Needs'

2.7.2.1. Sheltering and its Geographical Effect

According to Bourdieu, to understand the lifestyle differences between different fractions, it is necessary to consider their distribution in the *socially hierarchical geographical space*. The distribution of a class or a class fraction in socially hierarchical geographical space – and in particular its distance from economic and cultural “centers”- is almost always an indicator of the inner hierarchy of the class, except that it constitutes one of the indicators of its position in social space.

The variations in cultural practice by size of town of residence cannot be ascribed to the direct effect of spatial distance and the variations in the supply of culture, until it is confirmed that the differences persist after discounting the effect of the inequalities in educational capital concealed (even in the occupational category) by geographical distribution. The opposition between Paris and the provinces needs to be analyzed in a way similar to that used for the notion of 'educational level'. Relationships involving the variable 'place of residence' manifest not only the effect of cultural supply, linked to the density of objectified cultural capital and so to the objective opportunities for cultural consumption and the related reinforcement of the aspiration

to consume, but also all the effects of the unequal spatial, distribution of properties and their owners (e.g. possessors of high educational capital) in particular the circular reinforcement each group performs on itself, for example, intensifying cultural practice if it is cultivated, discouraging it by indifference or hostility it is not (Bourdieu, 1984, p.105).

Namely, the location and district one lives does not only have a class-based feature but it also affects the people's reachability to cultural activities. In other words, the choices of sheltering preferences demonstrates and effects the capitals of the individuals and thus this creates distinction hierarchies, being in the center leads individuals easily get in relation with artistic or cultural activities but being at the spheres makes this more difficult and effect the choices of ones.

2.7.2.2. Nutrition

According to Bourdieu, one can clarify the system of distinction by looking at the distribution of food consumption. The choices of what to eat show differences between social classes. It originates from the different usages of body between social classes. He mentions that, the taste about the food preferences depends on the idea that each class's thoughts about the effects of nutrition on body –namely, the effect about the power that body has, its health and beauty- and it depends on the categories while evaluating these effects and the ability of different classes to establish different hierarchies between different effects. That is why, lower classes that do not take care of the *shape* of the body but rather its *power* tend to eat both cheaper and nutritious products, the upper classes that care of shape of the body favor the delicious, healthy, light and fat-free products. Bourdieu mentions that culture transforms into nature that is to say it is embodied in the body, and taste contributes to shape the class body: thus, taste, as a principle of classification that is embodied in body which governs all forms of body processing, selects and changes everything that the body physically and psychologically digest and ingest and assimilates. This means that the body is the most irrevocable object of the class taste, which is externalized, in different forms. In the first place, the class body makes this embodiment with the seemingly

most naturalized aspect –such as gaze of the body, the way taking care for it and feed it (Bourdieu, 2015, p.281).

Furthermore, the mediation that enables creation of the social definition of appropriate foods is not only the semi-conscious representation of the perceived body and in particular its fatness or slimness. At a deeper level, the whole of the body schema, which is the basis of the selection of some food, and especially the way of eating the body in the act of eating. Namely, eating fish is not preferred for lower classes not only because it is not filling but also it is consumed elegantly, “with restraint, in small mouthfuls, chewed gently, with the front of the mouth, on the tips of the teeth (because of the bones) (Bourdieu, 1984, p.190).

In other words, food preferences and the way these foods eaten are based on class taste. Although the meat and fatty food are desired for lower classes this is not the case in upper classes because they give much more importance on shape and form and style of the nutrition. Additionally, these differences process as a lifestyle differences. Furthermore, as for Bourdieu, nutrition is one of the consumption practices that is made for self-distinction.

2.7.2.3. Clothing

As for Bourdieu we can read a group’s lifestyle from their clothing styles, it is not only because the preferences of these products are an objectified state of the economic and cultural necessities, but also at the same time because of social relations that are objectified in family objects with their luxuriate or poverty, the privilege or the vulgar, beauty or ugliness- impose themselves unconsciously. Relations that are socialized in things and in people are internalized without being aware of it. The way cultural products are acquired is also a dimension of it. In any case, the objects that are acquired are objectified social relations, i.e. class relations (Bourdieu, 2015, p.123). Furthermore, objective and subjective aesthetic positionings such as cosmetics, clothing, decoration as a distance to be kept or a standing to take are opportunities to test or to affirm positions that are occupied in social space

(Bourdieu, 2015, p.93). Hence, through the judgment of taste, which is class taste clothing preferences are made.

Additionally, disliking the others' taste also strengthens the class taste. From this way Bourdieu says that, upper class people's "discretion signals its presence by a sort of ostentatious discretion, sobriety and understatement, a refusal of everything which 'showy', 'flashy' and pretentious, and which devalues itself by the very intention of distinction"(Bourdieu, 1984, p. 249). However, people do not emphasize on fashionable women, but rather they think that women should be free, sportive and comfortable (Bourdieu, 2016, p.232). The women from upper and middle classes provide double security from their bodies, they believe in the value of beauty and struggle for being beautiful and through this they associate with aesthetical value and moral value, they see themselves as superior with everything that they named. This is both an aesthetic and a moral virtue, which establishes naturality as negligence through negation (Bourdieu, 1984, p.206). "Beauty can thus be simultaneously a gift of nature and a conquest of merit, as much opposed to the abdications of vulgarity as to ugliness"(Bourdieu, 1984, p.207).

Namely, people from middle and upper classes have a gaze of lower classes or the ones who they create distinction through the elegance. The beauty taken, as '*classy*'¹¹ and determining what is beautiful about clothing and about everything defined by the legitimate taste which is the taste of dominant class. Hence clothing preferences are also an indicator of class in a symbolic and cultural sense.

2.7.3. Leisure Time

According to Bourdieu, leisure time activities are closely linked with life-style. Agents who are located in the same class fractions have similar life-styles, and so, how they spend their free time is also similar to each other like doing the same sport such as tennis. Ones choices about what to do in their leisure time show their class. For example, choices about going to cinema or going to coffeehouses demonstrate

¹¹ Bourdieu mentions that the term '*classy*' carry the class hierachies in itself (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2011, p.138).

one's class position just because an agent's lifestyle is not free from their class.

Leisure time activities are changeable between social classes. Hence, going to summer vacation, or going to ski, and going both museum and sea tourism gives us some clues about middle and upper class peoples life style. First of all, Bourdieu mentions that within this market economy people from middle class also buy holidays with the help of credits and pay for it whole working year, and that's why activities what are 'belong' to upper classes are also reachable for the people who has scarce economic capital. Consumers take into possession of luxurious holidays through credits via precipitation that are indicators of legitimate life-style (Bourdieu, 2015, p.525). Moreover, going on a ski holiday is not a determinant of a legitimate life-style if it is made for an aim for distinction. The people of elites have the taste to determine who is from them and also who is 'imitating'. The realization of the one is imitating will automatically make she or he down on the social stratified order within cultural arena.

2.7.3.1. Tennis

According to Bourdieu reaching the practices and the materials of sports is very related to the ones about class. Hence, practice of sport is also an indicator of one's lifestyle. In his work *Distinction* he mentions about tennis as the sports of elites. In this sense, we can say that there are differences of the manners about playing tennis. He mentions about tennis as 'sports that is in the process of democratization'. Hence in today's Turkey, we observed that tennis had fall into 'trickle down effect' so not only dominant classes have opportunity to play tennis no longer, but also the middle classes may be able to reach it, in a parallel way with what we will see in our sampling, in the case of İzmir.

Bourdieu questions folded meanings of practices and consumption of sports. He shows that these practices of distribution may differ by means of the level of education, age, gender and occupation. He wonders according to what kind of principles the agents make choices between different consumption and practices of sports that are offered in a form that is accessible to them in any moment of time

(Bourdieu, 2016a, p.206). As for Bourdieu, different social classes attribute different social meanings and social functions to different sports. One should inquire on the differences about these attributions (Bourdieu, 2016a, p.220). Additionally, the possibility to do different kind of sports depends on -different degrees for each sports- first economic capital and secondly cultural capital and free time (Bourdieu, 2016a, p.223).

Bourdieu, when he mentions about the relationship between sports and social class in *Distinction*, says that the meaning of sportive activities depends on both the frequency and oldness of the practice besides depending on conditions of evaluation by society about where it is played (place, materials etc.) and on the form of its style (style, team etc.). He asks that can we evaluate the ones who started to play tennis or doing ski in their childhood and the ones can only be able to start to do these sports as late as in adult age within a similar fraction in a similar class? The struggles about legitimate styles of practice or conditions of doing it (providing budget, material, field etc.) nearly always, present social differences of the logic of the field (Bourdieu, 2015, p.309). Therefore, sports that are on the way of democratization (in this context democratization means proliferation of practices which are special to upper classes rather than working classes) enable the masses which are in socially different subsets (even mostly in separate places and times compare to each other) to come across. Accordingly, in the example of tennis, private tennis club members who are playing tennis for years show sensitivity to the values that are accompanied with tennis and the necessity of wearing suitable clothing (Lacoste t-shirt, white shorts or skirt and special tennis shoes) more than anyone does. They are in definitely the opposite direction when compared to the ones who have just started to play tennis at the courts of municipality or holiday camps and also to the ones who demonstrate that despite everything clothing ritual is not a superficial feature of the legitimate practice: tennis that is played with shorts and a t-shirt, is regarded as more of a tennis kind than the one which is played with swim wears and sneakers, by means of manners and the pleasure it give during playing is obviously a *different* tennis... Hence, according to Bourdieu, although some sports such as Tennis has been in the process of democratization, the style of how it is played indicates

differences by means of manners, clothing, the place and the time it is played. Tennis that is played in the municipalities' 'all in one sports pitch' (all basketball, and volleyball field markings are included) is completely different as compared to tennis played in special clubs¹². Afterwards, he continues and mentions that in any case the notion of practice of sports varies with regards to social classes. This difference arises from not only agents' evaluations about their *benefits* but also from varied economic, cultural and even bodily expenses therefore these variations caused the change of the distribution of practice of sports from classes and to class fractions (Bourdieu, 2015, p.311).

In other words, the possibility to do different sports depends on the economic (and cultural capital) and free time that an agent has (Bourdieu, 2015, p.311-312). Bourdieu mentions in his article on sports and social class that, the possibility of doing different kind of sports (at a different level for each sport) is based on firstly economic capital. It is secondly based on cultural capital and free time. In addition to these, the possibility of doing different kinds of sports is also based on the relationships of ethical and aesthetical dispositions with all class or class fractions features (Bourdieu, 2015b, 114).

According to Bourdieu, distinctive features that are appreciated and perceived by a legitimate taste come together with the sports such as, golf, tennis, horse jumping, ski, and fencing. These are played in places that are privileged, exclusive and isolated such as special clubs and they are also played only in the free time of the player and with a selected partner (absolutely they are opposed to the sports that are played collectively with a collective discipline. The ones who can reach these places determine freely where to play, in what time and with whom). However, this sport (tennis) is played well in return of giving too many years to learn it. Besides, the ones who have started to learn it in early ages are luckier than the ones who can only start to learn it in their adulthood (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 317). Additionally, for Bourdieu age becomes an important variable by means of determining the one's class fraction (Bourdieu, 2015, p.322).

¹² Hence in our sampling we interviewed with the ones who play tennis in special tennis clubs.

“Fair play’ is the way of playing the game characteristic of those who do not get so carried away by the game as to forget that it is a game, those who maintain the ‘role distance’, as Goffman puts it, that is implied in all the roles designated for the future leaders”(Bourdieu, 1978, p.824). Nevertheless tennis matches are ritualized by unwritten rules of *fair play*: herein sportive exchange takes the shape of a social exchange that becomes civilized at the top level, through elimination of all kinds of physical or oral violence, all kinds of anomy usage of body (noisy clamor, gestures etc.) and specifically entirely elimination of all kinds of bodily contact with competitors¹³. Besides, when ‘Californian types of sports’ (such as yachting, wind-surf and ski) is discussed, it is seen that the opponent is not a human in these sports but the nature (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 317). In order to mention the differences of class fractions that can reach this ‘noble sports’, Bourdieu mentions that the distinction between the ones who inherited to play tennis and the ones who learn to play tennis in adulthood’ locates also in the different class fraction. Hence, according to Bourdieu financial restrictions –no matter how important they are for example: tennis, ski, golf and yachting- are not enough to explain the distribution of these sports between social classes: herein the topic is about ‘hidden entrance rights’ such as familial tradition, *early learning* and knowing the manner, clothing and even strictly applied socialization techniques, because of these hidden entrance rights these sports become indicators of dominant class (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 319).

Bourdieu states that as dominant classes’ typical way of bodily behavior puts the style in the first place, their behavior is *noble* with a self-assuredly *rhythm* that is particular to them. This rhythm is in contradiction with the working classes’ rashness and along the same line it describes the *langue* of dominant classes (Bourdieu, 2015, p.320). Nevertheless, tennis is a classic sport that concerns clothing, manners, and rituals. At the same time, it is played without presenting any kind of complex of wealth and luxury demonstrated by the ones that play tennis in special clubs. Thus,

¹³ The participant’s also make this emphasis we will see on analysis chapter, they spontaneously compare tennis with football and mention that it requires high levels of knowledge of manner, and unlike to football compepitor can get closer to each other a most approximately one meter.

tennis concerns respect to any kinds of formalism (Bourdieu, 2015, p.323). This formalism is not an exception when it comes to exhibition and usage of the body. Tennis is a sport that played with specific clothes and with a specific style of running. It has rules such that players cannot enter to the components field, and so cannot touch the component. Hence, it is a sport that is convenient for dominant class practices because it requires body usage, which is not overshadowing the agent's high dignity (Bourdieu, 2015, p.319). In addition, the social definition of sport is an object of classificatory struggles (Bourdieu, 1978, p.827).

In conclusion, for Bourdieu, sports contain also classificatory struggles in itself. What kind of sports to do and where and how depends on the individuals, class and class fraction. Tennis has been the sports of elites but it is in the process of democratization and not only dominant classes have been able to reach it now. Thereby different kinds of classificatory struggles also held on this field of sports practice. Such as people who are familiar with tennis as an inherited cultural capital, like early learning and the ones who are familiar with manners of the sport have different aspects of looking. Perhaps they intentionally or unintentionally use a kind of symbolic power over the ones who try to learn tennis in their adulthood. As Bourdieu mentions, age is an important variable in the context of field of sports. Hence tennis is also a practice that hides classificatory struggles within itself. Furthermore, it is played also as a leisure activity by the upper and middle classes.

2.7.3.2. Art

Secondly, we would like to mention about the interest for artistic activities and its dimensions from classes to classes. Bourdieu with his friends Alain Darbel and Dominique Schnapper made an analysis about European art museums and their public in *The Love of Art (1991)*. This research is also important to understand cultural consumption of leisure time because it is based on the differences between classes with respect to going to museum as a leisure time activity. According to Bourdieu, as we have already mentioned in educational capital part, school is the transformer institution of class inequalities into success inequalities (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2011, p. 138). Perceiving messages of works of art requires education and it

is also a leisure time practice. However, the reception of the works of art are changeable from class to one another, and so Bourdieu made an analysis about this cultural consumption and leisure time activity which is also mentioned about our participants based on the practice of going to museum.

According to Bourdieu, privileged classes of this stratified society carry the principle that separates themselves from other classes in the field of economics to field of culture symbolically. In addition, the ordination of culture and art performs as a vital function for ordination of social order. Culture has become ‘the second nature of people’ who are privileged have the means of ‘owning’ the culture¹⁴. Therefore, the social conditions that make up this legitimacy of the culture become invisible and must be brought to bear for it (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2011, p. 139). Hence the love of art is a symptom of the selection that separates those who have this natural merit or not and museums perform as to intensifier by means of some visitors the sense of belonging and the others the feeling of the exclusion (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2011, p.140). Namely, there is inequality by means of understanding cultural works of art. The work of art exists only for the one who is capable of deeply internalize it (Bourdieu and Darbel, 2011, p.58-9). Hence the inner process of the leisure activities depends on class to one another. Just as playing tennis at court or playing tennis at exclusive club is a *different tennis* (Bourdieu, 2015, p.311). The interest for art practices and what is understood from them has changed in order to social class, which is a fact of inequality. Hence different classes have interest in different types of artistic activities.

2.7.3.3. Photography

Bourdieu, in his and his friends work *Photography: A Middle Brow Art (1990)* made an analysis about the usage of photography as a leisure time activity, and an act of shooting practices from one class to another. Photography, which is also leisure time activity and in today’s world with bombing of the social media applications, is a very important one. Additionally, when Bourdieu made this analysis there were no social media technologies. However, we think that his class-based approach to photography

¹⁴ Which is mentioned here is about ‘high culture’.

is very important and also can be adapted to usage of social media blogs, which based on photography such as Instagram.

According to Bourdieu, photography as a cultural activity does not require education and expertise which drawing, painting, playing piano requires. Or it does not require an education such as an art museum needs. However each social class's thought about what is worth shooting a pose differs from one another. By this way, photography represents a system of perception schemas that any social class it belongs. In other words, what is worth to be photographed is changeable act of cultural practice from one social class to another. Namely, although aesthetical perceptions of agents are relative, every class and every artistic clan's aesthetical perception is similar (Bourdieu, 1990, p.5-9). Furthermore,

The relationship between individuals and photographic practice is essentially a mediate relationship, because it always includes the reference to the relationship that the members of other social classes have to photography and hence to the whole structure of relationships between classes (Bourdieu, 1990, p.9).

Bourdieu while thinking of the photography shooting practice presupposes that this act can be provide satisfaction in five different dimensions if there are not any financial restrictions (films are 'expensive'). First, with the feature of 'protection against time', second 'communication with others and showing the feelings or showing others interest that one has for them', third 'self-realization of the one', forth it 'provides the satisfaction of social prestige' (journey, an event...) and finally, it provides 'distraction or escape' such as a game. However, Bourdieu adds that the practice may lead a psychology that gets and dives into the "Freudian abysses of voyeurism, narcissism and exhibitionism" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.15). Bourdieu while mentioning the devotees of photographical practice benefits from and gives reference from Emile Durkheim's in *Suicide*. He mentions that these devotees of photography can be seen characters as 'egoistic' or 'anomic'¹⁵ (Bourdieu, 1990, p.41). Furthermore,

¹⁵ Which also can be observed on the usage of Instagram.

...Photographic practice, subject to social rules, invested with social functions and therefore experienced as a 'need', is explained with reference to something that is actually its consequence, namely the psychological satisfaction that it produces (Bourdieu, 1990, p.15).

Hence, photography generates a psychological satisfaction but there are social functions hidden more than meets the eye. At this point Bourdieu mentions about the taste of necessity and says that agents within their object conditions *exclude* the possibility of desiring the impossible and through this way, he mentions that the perception of a working and an upper class people about practice of photography differ from one another (emphasis added). Namely, desires and demands both formally and substance are defined by objective conditions and these conditions (of i.e. working class) are concrete conditions that exclude the desiring of the impossible (Bourdieu, 1990, p.16).

Bourdieu wrote about the cult of unity and cultivated differences based on photography and he defines the social class's usage of the photography and how the sense of distinction proceeds within different classes. As a traditional role, photography is firstly and mostly used for ceremonies and celebrations (i.e. "there is no wedding without photos") not for shooting daily routine. And it is used for touristic purposes; "photography what one does on holiday and also what makes a holiday (Bourdieu, 1990, p.36).

According to Bourdieu photography does not only reveal something but also represents the social relations. Bourdieu shows that although working class people use photography by means of its function and realistic feature, when climbing up for the social hierarchy middle and upper middle class uses photography in more artistic gaze. Hence, Bourdieu says that due to the fact that photography is an imitation of art, it does not seen as an artistic activity for dominant classes (bourgeoisie) and so, unlike going to museums, photographic practice is more likely to be used by a middle and lower middle class person for an any purpose including artistic one (Bourdieu, 1990, p.62-65). Moreover, as for him "the different social classes

encourage the practice of photography to different degrees”, and says that people from lower and middle class are more likely to engage with the practice as compared to upper classes (Bourdieu, 1990, p.42).

Bourdieu mentions that although the ones from working class use the practice in realistic ways, the people from middle class see the practice as much more artistic and they detract from its traditional meaning i.e. does not like family photography but rather they use photography with the desire for ‘self-distinction’. And also they tend to generate distance from popular aesthetic with their perception of aesthetic (Bourdieu, 1990, p.63). Furthermore, photography is a middlebrow and ‘minor art’ and is not found as a respected type of art by the ones from dominant class (Bourdieu, 1990, p.63). In addition, the photographic practice may be used by means of only if it fits into the class *ethos* of the upper fractions of middle classes, if it is noble, and not vulgar and not ordinary. Bourdieu says that,

To conform with the norms of one’s class is therefore above all to refuse a vulgar practice and to deny the norms of the classes from which one wishes to distinguish oneself, thus depriving their behavior of any meaning. These norms only become apparent in the form of negative precepts, which are continually recalled and revived by the fear of ridicule. But they can be negative without being reduced to the simple negation of the norms of other classes. The refusal of vulgar practice expresses the demand for differentiation in terms of the logic of the class *ethos*... Refinement and distinction can only be affirmed with regard to photography when they are opposed to vulgarity...(Bourdieu, 1990, p.69).

The aesthetic intent that is merely one of the forms of the tracing and pursuit of differentiation or ‘distinction’, is just unconditionally and precisely manifested in rejections, and is fulfilled only as entirely in a practice that is nervous to break with typical laxity as it is in pure and simple refrain. Furthermore, simply putting self-distinction intention in photography is not enough to make positive definitions about that practice. In addition, due to the fact that middle classes uncomfortable position about cultural situation, they leave the path of error but it does not mean that this

lead them to the path of right, their disrespectful and inconsiderate rejection about popular aesthetic and popular practice causes at first glance to embrace anything that separates from it (Bourdieu, 1990, p.70-1). Most importantly, Bourdieu says that different social classes can only distinguish themselves through keeping their distance to any kind of the ordinary practices via different ways. In conclusion, in Bourdieu's analysis although middle class uses the photography practice by means of artistic aims, the working class rejects this usage but rather cares about its traditional value and hence upper classes reject practice as an artistic practice. Hence middle classes and upper classes rather use it on tourism (if it is not for artistic practice) but by creating distinction of refusing usage of any kind of vulgarity and ordinariness. However, as it is middlebrow art, mostly the ones from middle classes engage the practice as compared to the others.

Bourdieu, then made the social definition of photography, first of all he mentions about the timelessness feature of it, and it also imitates the art and nature but it is a reproduction of reality and can never be objective. Furthermore, about the practice of giving pose to a camera, Bourdieu mentions that, within ritual character of photography there is no space for artistic way. In addition,

Photographs are certainly taken just as much – if not more- in order to be shown as in order to be looked at...¹⁶Because the picture is always judged with reference to the function that it fulfills for the person who looks at it or the function which that viewer thinks it could fulfill for another person, aesthetic judgement most often takes the form of a hypothetical judgment relying explicitly on the recognition of 'genres', whose 'perfection' and range of application at conceptually defined (Bourdieu, 1990, p.88-89).

Traditionally striking a pose, applying make up or wearing fine clothes before shooting namely obeying conventional and etiquette rules of the stratified society means demanding respect, and dignity and whether the pictures seem natural, there is always a 'stage' which is set up before the posing (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 80-83). "How, under these conditions, could the representation of society be anything other than the

¹⁶ Which is also the main basic principle of Instagram.

representation of a *represented* society?”(Bourdieu, 1990, p.84). Thus, legitimate culture is always in reference even if it is tried to exclude for distinction. The ‘bad’ taste is always defined with reference to ‘good’ taste, which is created by the legitimate culture. Additionally, disadvantaged groups de facto excluded from the ‘owning’ of the legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 199, p.95). In conclusion, the subjects judgment of taste are organized in order to a

type of systematic arrangement that has nothing more to do with individual psychology than that which structures the preferences and knowledge of ‘cultivated’ people, but which is based precisely upon the class ethos- the set of values which, without attaining systematic explanation, tend to organize the ‘conduct of life’ of a social class (Bourdieu, 1990, p.98).

Additionally, it is a practice of communication, which is both aesthetic of communication with others and communion with the world (Bourdieu, 1990, p.94).

2.7.3.4. Instagram as a Photograph Based Social Media Application

Social media have come into existence through the development of web 2.0 technology. The difference of social media from the traditional media is that users’ play an active role in both production and consumption of the content, and even the content of social networks is produced by consumers of those networks themselves. In this context, social media does not only differ from traditional media but also from Internet based media that are not web 2.0 based. In addition to these features, social networks allow instant, fast, and multi-way communication. Therefore, they located outside of the old type of communication formulation, which is ‘message → sender → receiver’. Thus, through social media networks, it is now possible to have multiple and mutual communication instead of a one-way communication. Users /Agents, both participate in the communication process in terms of creating and sharing content, as well as being able to change and interpret content and affect the communication process. Additionally, as of 2015, over 2.5 billion people worldwide are using the internet and 1.8 of these users billions of accounts in social media networks (Eraslan et al., 2015, p.3).

Due to the fact that the notion and importance of the social media in the communication studies is kind of new, there aren't any accepted definitions about social media. Lots of researchers make different definitions about the term. For instance, Treadaway and Smith's definition is; "the term social media refers to the collection of technologies that capture communication, content and so on across individuals, their friends, and their social networks" (2010, p.24). "The definition by Treadaway and Smith includes all the well-known social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, blogs, as well as the photo and video-sharing sites You Tube, Flickr, and Instagram" (Jakobsen and Hviid, 2013 p.23). Furthermore in the *Social Media At Work* book, the term described as; "the various electronic tools available to help accelerate and improve our ability to connect, communicate, and collaborate" (Jue, 2009 quoted in Jakobsen and Hviid 2013, p.43). We can give Facebook, Twitter, Foursquare, You Tube, and Instagram as examples of social media. Although they have some features in common, they are totally different. For example, Twitter is a social media application that one can write a sentence only one hundred and forty characters length, and Instagram is also a social media application and it is a photo sharing medium, so you can only share your photographs and one minute length videos, but you can write as long as you can on the comment area of your photo. Our main interest is Instagram as a social media application, thus we will focus on it. According to the research conducted by the Pew Internet research company in 2014, which social networks vary according to the social classes of the people use. While networks such as Facebook and YouTube are used by lower and middle classes, networks such as Twitter, LinkedIn and Instagram are mostly used by middle and upper class individuals (pewinternet.org date of access, 20.07.2016). Instagram in 2010 is purchased by Facebook and integrated into Facebook application. Instagram, which has been growing since the day it was founded, became a fast-growing social network (Statista.com, date of access, 20.07.2016)

Using a social media application based on sharing photographs is a signifier of a certain kind of life-styles. "Instagram is an online photo sharing and social networking service. It goes beyond being just a digital platform, and functions as a

virtual gallery, online meeting space and pictorial narrative compressed and accessible from a single, hand-held device. Since its launch at the end of 2010, it has been a huge success, with close to hundred million monthly users. Over forty-million photos are uploaded everyday” (Verdina, 2013, p.7). As we mentioned above, disliked or liked images are very much determined by ones social class, we can argue that what is liked on Instagram and what is disliked is an indicator of ones social class and ones tastes and life style. Hence, what the one dislike on Instagram is also an indicator of from what he or she differentiates himself.

2.7.3.4.1. Presentation of the self in Instagram

Before addressing the self-presentation in Instagram, we will briefly discuss the key concepts in the work of Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of self in Everyday Life* (1959). Then we will look at how these concepts can be used meaningfully in social networks especially in Instagram. To put it briefly, according to Goffman, social life is like a theater stage. The person on the stage may want the audience to have positive thoughts about him. One constantly demonstrates certain performances in his social life in line with these aims (Goffman, 2012, s.17). In everyday life the process of presentation of self is a process of communication, and this process is not symmetrical, because audiences, i.e. witnesses, are more advantageous than players. Since the agent is in the tracked position, witnesses can easily notice an error in his performance and the perception created by the perpetrator can be destroyed (Goffman, 2012, p.22). But every witness is an agent at the same time.

According to Goffman, *performance* is all the activities that an individual has done at any time and place in order to influence at least one of the others. The *role* is the patterns of action that can be played back in any case that is played during performance, pre-worked, and finalized (Goffman, 2012, p.28). Another key concept used by Goffman is the *showcase*; According to him, the showcase is the general and invariant part of the performance of the person and is the expression equipment that is used consciously or unconsciously by the perpetrator during performance. The personal showcase is the feature of appearance that each person takes during his performances. Agent's features as race, age, etc., are more temporary personal parts

of the showcase when facial expressions are permanent (Goffman, 2012, p.36). According to Goffman, the showcase becomes a collective representation, when the individual begins to play any of the roles specified in the past; he realizes that there is already a specific showcase for that role. In other words, the showcases are actually selected from a display cartel; they are not made out of nothing (Goffman, 2012, p.39).

Presentation of the self through performances in everyday life is the most important part of the individual's socialization process. In this process of socialization, the actors try to give impression to the spectators in different ways. The progress of the performances on the line of attitudes, which are considered as the ideal norm by the society, is important for the perception that the individual is trying to create. Therefore, one's performance symbolizes the ethical-moral values of the society (Goffman, 2012, p.44). Goffman's theory concerns the individual's self-representation strategies in everyday life, and precisely because of this, he is interested in how the individual wants to present himself. According to him, the individual presents his self in a desire to ascend in society, which is very useful for our analysis. Goffman says that, Writings on social mobility are one of the richest sources on the presentation of idealized performances. In most stratified societies, the upper class is idealized and the ones who are in the bottom are longing to go upstairs. This is not just a desire to have a prestigious position, but also a position close to the sacred center of community common values. Upward mobility requires proper performance to be exhibited. Striving to go down with the efforts to go up is expressed in sacrifices made to keep the display standing (Goffman, 2012, p. 45-46).

In Goffman's theory, one has more than one identity, that is, people actually have a kind of identity repertoire. Individuals choose an identity from their repertoire according to the situation they meet in social life and exhibit it. Persons have the basis of this approach to maintaining prestige and creating power over the audience. It is tried to achieve this goal by giving appropriate and consistent images in social life (Goffman, 1956, p.126). As a result, according to Goffman, in the social stratification system, the performances that the individuals show 'on stage' when they

are in the desire to go up are the most idealized form of self. However, it is very important that the audience is convinced of the performance of this masking and presentation process. Therefore, in everyday life self is exhibited with the ideal form that can be in line with social norms. Based on this point, we are thinking about how we can analyze what is presented in social networks and Instagram.

Instagram is, first of all, a photo-centric social media practice. In addition to photo sharing, short-ten-second videos can also be published. However, it is a micro blog that is based on photography sharing. In the footsteps of Goffman's self-presentation theory, we can see Instagram as a stage. In this stage, sharing and the profile of the user are the reflections of ones performances. As for Kramer and Winter Instagram, a social network, also gives people more control over their self-presentation (Kramer and Winter, 2008, p.106). The lives of the individuals in the social networks, the stories they share, the messages they like and the comments they make are in the performance mobility displayed in a theater play. In this theater scene, the player who plays the game, that is, the performer who performs the roles, may be included as he / she wants for the game on the stage (Bilbil et al. 2015, p. 286).

Along with digital culture, digital photography has become a communication medium with the ability to record and instantly share every detail of everyday life. In social networks (our analysis is about Instagram thus we will say Instagram), the sharing of digital photos has become an area where both performance of daily life and events can be stored as souvenirs. Nowadays, the act of photographing and sharing has become to be done for social networks. The photographic stage is consciously edited before shooting. With regards to Goffman, the set is prepared and the perception that will be created by other users who will see that photo during sharing / performance also counts. The person presents himself as a person in a reputation management process (Şener et al., 2013, p.123-126). According to Zhao et al, the user is in an identity performance through photo sharing in Instagram. In social networks, digital photo sharing has become the most important means of constructing the identity of the user. However, the desire for approval during social performance is also present in the performance of social networks, which also

reflects the user's desire for approval through digital photo sharing (Zhao, Grasmuck et al., 2008, p. 1820). The photograph gives more general information about the individual when compared to written or auditory means. Social network accounts like Instagram are a place of representation and representation based on a lot more than to say. Through the photos uploaded to the Instagram account, the user builds her self and presents idealized images about her self. Sharing and interpretation of the shared picture generates different stages of the self-presentation process in which the agents adopt the different strategies. Through shared photographs, the person re-establishes, presents and appreciates his / her own self, and this cycle becomes a ritual. Additionally, social networks have become applications that reflect the individual's identity, assets and lifestyle (Şener et al., 2013, p. 125-129). Through this ritual, a daily identity is constructed. People in photo exhibited the most idealized state of self. However, it is tried to overcome the class position by sharing photographs (Şener et al., 2013, p.148). Instagram is a field that the individual uses to be visible.

Due to the fact that, the sense of distinction is in process in every kind of leisure activity, and as we seen above the photography sharing on the social medic application is also a leisure activity and a process of self- presentation. Within this the most idealized self-presentation process the distinction mechanism is also in stage. And the users classify one another through the sharing they make and categorize them as parvenu, braggart and so on. We will make our analysis about the samples choices and classification process in the analysis chapter.

2.8. Related Studies

Research about Pierre Bourdieu and his theory, the notion of middle class and Instagram as a social media application are common in the academic world. In Turkey, there are hundred theses about Bourdieu's theory exists. However, only several of them are about the distinction processes. Additionally, there are only five theses about Instagram and only two of them mention about Goffman's self-representation theory on Instagram.

In global literature we found too many articles about Instagram. Although there are too many articles, there are limited theses that conduct research on Instagram as a case. We could only find four theses about Instagram and we will mention about their methodologies below. Firstly, Frey, from Lund University has made research about Instagram, his focus point is prosumer capitalism and reflexive modernity, and he made qualitative analysis and used mixture of methods. His methods are, participant observation and serendipitous informal interviews with 38 people. The participants gathered through researcher's own social media profiles. He made a diary study format in his interviews. Secondly, Gunnarsdottir from Haskoli Islands looked at "motives for posting electronic word-of-mouth in visual content on Instagram"(2014). This thesis is about business administration, the researcher has made a qualitative analysis. Researched used "the convenience sampling, which is a type of non-probability sampling method" (Gunnarsdottir, 2014, p.25). The author have made an online survey with 559 participants, and examined with SPSS (Gunnarsdottir, 2014, p.28). Thirdly, Verdina (2013) has written a thesis about storytelling with Instagram, her methodology is participant observation, which is a form of netnography (Verdina, 2013, p.18). In addition, she made interviews with 19 participants. The ratio of genders were not equal. She asked questions about the participant's Instagram profile, and the images that profile consists of. "The sample amount of participants doesn't claim to be representative of the whole Instagram population. The findings of this research should therefore not be over-generalized. Therefore, the sampling was purposeful rather than representative" (Verdina, 2013, p.21). Fourthly and lastly, Hviid & Jacobsen's research is about social media marketing strategies, they made a research on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. They made qualitative analysis such as, semi-structured in-depth interviews with seven participants (Hviid & Jacobsen, 2013, p. 13).

Although there are too many researchers where middle class has been held, due to the fact that time limitations, we couldn't examine those studies in a detailed way. We searched with the key words of middle class on the web site of National center of Thesis, there are thirty five thesis available on website. We can examine only three of them. First, Karademir has written a thesis named, *'Different Facets Of New*

Middle Classness: A Case Study In Ankara' (Karademir, 2009). She has made both qualitative and quantitative analysis. In the first part of her methodology, she made a survey, with 1769 households, and secondly, she chose 30 participants by random sampling (Karademir, 2009, p.121). However, because of the restrictions, she couldn't achieve this task so, she decided to do snowball sampling. She made semi-structured interviews with 31 participants (Karademir, 2009, p.122). Secondly, Aslan made a study about urban middle class; her focus point is decoration and furnishing preferences. She used both quantitative and qualitative methods. She made structured interviews with 421 households and she made participant observation. Her sampling is not representative (Aslan, 2011, p.23). Thirdly, Aydın made a research about '*Gated Communities And The Middle Class In Istanbul*'. She made semi-structured in-depth interviews by 20 participants who are living in 10 randomly selected gated communities (Aydın, 2012, p.12). Furthermore, Keleş, Didem wrote a master thesis named '*An analysis on middle class' consumption behaviors, taste and habits from Bourdieu's perspective: A qualitative study in Istanbul on middle class in 2014*'. She made in depth interviews with twenty-six people (Keleş, 2015, p.40). Moreover, Yaran, Pınar wrote a thesis named '*Reproduction and Differentiation Strategies of Upper-Middle Class Group in Ankara*' (Yaran, 2009), She made in-depth interviews with thirteen women and analyzed the strategies about housing and living space strategies (2009, p.49).

There are not any thesis or studies about that analyses distinction process on Instagram. There are thesis about Goffman's theory and social media. For example, Gölge made a research named as '*Online presentation of self on Instagram: A case study of yoga practitioners in Turkey*' (2017). Which it is access restricted by the writer.

However, none of the research is about distinction process within middle classes and its appearance on Instagram and what makes our research is different and valuable is that we both looked at the samples' 'real life' sense of distinction and also looked at the sample's usage of Instagram by means of a classification process. We become able to see their 'sense of distinction' in their life-style but we also observe this

‘sense of distinction’ on Instagram, which is also a leisure activity that is one of the components of life-style.

2.9. Conclusion

In this chapter we mentioned about the theoretical background of the thesis. We firstly mentioned briefly about Marxist and Weberian class analysis. Due to the fact that our main concern is to detect distinction mechanism within a class, we read Bourdieu’s whole theory about consumption based lifestyles and leisure activities in order to proclaim the principles of distinction and self-distinction, which is for Bourdieu (2015) main motor of the temporary society. It is because; as for him class struggles show up in cultural and symbolic arena as classificatory struggles.

In order to proclaim the distinction mechanism among people, we firstly mention about Bourdieu’s class analysis. As for Bourdieu (1998), the term of classes ‘on paper’ is useful to apply in order to make empirical data analysis easier. According to Bourdieu social classes are not rigid categories but rather are relational. He constructs the social space, which is three-dimensional. He differentiates classes within three dimensions. Firstly, individuals are located in three different classes with regards to the total volume of their capital. The ones with the lowest total volume of capital are located in the lowest level of the stratification which is working class, the ones who own the highest total volume of capital are located at the top which is a dominant class (he uses sometimes bourgeoisie) and in the middle there is middle class (he says sometimes petite bourgeoisie). Secondly the ones in the same classes are divided in accordance with their composition of capital after they are positioned in accordance with their total volume of capital and thirdly, individuals may show upward or downward mobility with regards to their trajectory that is their potential of the capital.

Bourdieu’s proclaim about different capital types is important in this statement. According to Bourdieu (2015), there is not just economic capital; but cultural and social capital also exist and they work with the logic of economic capital i.e. they may increase or decrease. Hence cultural capital is the accumulated abilities, which come

from one's childhood, knowledge, and accent of the ones. Bourdieu distinguish cultural capital into three. These are, embodied state (accent), objectified state (owning books, piano) and institutionalized state (education system) of cultural capital. Consequently, culture is a form of power and creates inequalities between individuals because culture can be inherited. Bourdieu mentions about inherited cultural capital, it is basically inherited culture from family or hired experts in the childhood, and the ones who have higher cultural capital become more successful at school which is the system that the one most naturalizes inequalities, because the kids that are from upper classes know the manners or talk with a good accent and Bourdieu mentions that the school teachers tend to give higher notes to the ones who are good at self-presentation which is mostly learned through inherited cultural capital. Additionally, Bourdieu emphasizes on the institutionalized state of cultural capital as educational capital, which is education system. Social capital is another types of capital, which are social networks of individual have and it can also increase or decrease and even can be a substitute of economic capital.

Most importantly, these capitals are used in order to gain position in stratified social order. According to Bourdieu (2015) individuals consciously or unconsciously use and try to accumulate the capital they have, and the capital they give importance to. Because, in this stratified social order, individuals intentionally or unintentionally try to show upward mobility or secure their own position if they are satisfied and are scared from downward mobility. Bourdieu says that due to the fact that middle classes positions are more insecure, they have much more fear of falling down compares to others classes (Bourdieu, 2015, p.174). Hence within this process the distinction strategies are applied even to the nearest ones.

Bourdieu's notion habitus is a system of predispositions that ones have from their childhood. Additionally for Bourdieu, habitus is always a class habitus, namely, the ones from the same social class and fraction have similar habitus. However, as for Bourdieu the feature of habitus as class habitus not *de facto* because every individual may have exclusively his or her own experiences. That and the limitations of the thesis are why we do not attempt to clarify the samples habitus.

According to Bourdieu, class struggles are experienced as classificatory struggles through which differentiating others are inevitable. Additionally, taste is the main operator of these processes. Every class has its own taste, and individuals define what good taste or bad taste mean in harmony with their class ethos. Moreover, lifestyle differences are indicators of class differences. Lifestyles are also shaped by class ethos and thus show similarities within the same classes and class fractions. Within this process, consumption is another important thing, because it determines the form of life-styles. However, according to Bourdieu, his theory must not be confused with Veblen's theory of leisure class, because as for Bourdieu, when consumption is made consciously for conspicuous it becomes vulgar and denominated vulgar and cheap by upper classes. Hence consciously made conspicuous consumption for the aim of self-distinction is 'imitation' and it is the one reason why Bourdieu's theory is different from Veblen's, because Bourdieu makes this separation (Bourdieu, 1990, p.50).

Putting that aside, we mentioned about consumption and life style choices about sheltering, clothing and nutrition, which are basically preferred in respect to the individual's class, and the tastes about these function as classification struggles with the aim of self-distinction. However, these choices represent a class ethos. Secondly we will focus on leisure time activities which are playing tennis, artistic activities, photography and usage of social media application, Instagram. We argue that the class choices are hidden in these practices and the distinction process can be observed because, these cultural practices embody classification struggles. Hence, on Instagram there is a process about self-presentation and we briefly mention about Goffman's theory about self-presentation on daily life. In Instagram, users show their most idealized self and so, they classify each other as compared to their most idealized representation of the self. Consequently, on Instagram we will be able to observe the classification and self-distinction process apparently.

In conclusion, we try to clarify Bourdieu's theory about lifestyles and distinction mechanism. In order to do this we should first mention about his class theory and

understanding about capitals, then we looked at consumption based and leisure time based life-style activities and try to mention that classificatory struggles and self-distinction mechanisms are hidden in every cultural practice an individual does. Additionally, we also briefly give related examples, which have some common point with our study

CHAPTER 3

DISTINCTION AMONG MIDDLE – CLASS TENNIS PLAYERS

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, we mentioned about theoretical background that we use in the thesis. Within this chapter we make the analysis by following the footsteps of mainly Bourdieu's box of tool. Namely, our research question can be presented as: "How does 'the mechanism of distinction' function between members of the different fractions of middle class in contemporary Turkey?" These people also choose to play tennis and use Instagram application as a leisure activity. In addition to that, we observe that the distinction mechanism in process in three ways, firstly, the participants, in general, distinguish themselves from the lower classes, secondly, the participants create distinction from one fraction to another, thirdly, they also differentiate themselves from within their fraction. For example the ones from KTP (upper fraction of these middle class people) and the ones from ETV (middle fraction) differentiate both compared to each other and within each other. This proves that the Bourdieu's notion about the distinction is applied to the even the nearest one. We generally focus on what the participants choose to do, eat, go and etc. and what they do not do. What they reject means more to us since Bourdieu says the taste and the distinction occurs within the notion of rejecting the others' choices.

Firstly, the sampling and method of the thesis will be clarified. The non-random sampling handled in two different tennis clubs of İzmir; Kültürpark and ETV. We did thirty-one semi-structured interviews with the participants that are the members of the tennis clubs. Due to the fact that these tennis clubs' membership procedures are not equal to each other we argue that the members of these tennis clubs are located in different class fractions within middle class. In order to be clear we can say that the people from Kültürpark relatively represents upper fraction of our

sampling and the people from ETV relatively represent the middle fraction of our sampling.

After explaining the features of sample we will make a qualitative content analysis of the data we get. We took attention to their life-styles, which we think that the class relations and symbolic hierarchies are hidden in the preferences and taste of lifestyles. Thus we firstly try to learn what the importance of educational capital is for them, because, according to Bourdieu, different class fractions emphasize on educational capital differences and this indicates us in a way of the *sense of distinction* they have.

Thirdly, we will mention about what the participants' feel when they hear the term' social classes and where -or if- they locate themselves in the stratified society. Every topic we mention is based on the distinction process of the participants. Hence this part will take us directly to observance of the distinction mechanism.

Fourthly, we will mention about what conspicuous consumption means to them. We mentioned above what conspicuous consumption is for Veblen, and we clarified briefly why Bourdieu's cultural consumption should not be mixed by Veblen's conspicuous consumption theory. Namely, as for Bourdieu, the consumption, which is made for the aim of distinction via imitating upper class's tastes, is answered with humiliation from the upper classes. Hence, in this conspicuous consumption part, we will proclaim the participants' thoughts from different fractions about the ones who made conspicuous consumption and how the participants distinct themselves from others via criticizing this 'show-of'.

Then, we will move on to consumption and distinction practices of physical needs. Bourdieu says that through consumption there are three different ways of self-distinction. These are nutrition, differentiation via culture and expenditures for representation (clothing, body beauty i.e. sports) (Bourdieu, 2015, p.274). Through this way we firstly look at physical needs based consumption practices. These are,

nutrition, clothing and sheltering. As we have mentioned above all these practices differentiate according to classes we analyze this distinction in order to our data.

Then we will focus on leisure time activities of the participants. We look at what they choose to do and what they do not choose to do. They would like to go ski holiday, sun and sea tourism and travel. The upper fraction of middle classes also would like to go museums. Furthermore at the weekends they would like to do artistic activities but the qualification of the activities they would like to do differs. For example, although the ones from KTP would like to watch art films the ones from ETV mention that they would like to watch the box busters. Although the ones from KTP mention that they would like to do painting or sculpture in their free times, in ETV this is not the case, but a desire. Moreover, we will analyze tennis and photography via Instagram as their leisure activity and what this activities mean to them and from what they differentiate themselves within these activities.

Instagram is both photography based application and it is definitely one of the most widely used application of middle classes. Hence in the Instagram the user makes an online self-representation. Secondly, people make their most idealized presentations and there is distinction processes occur within the most idealized selves of the peers. That's because the Instagram part is very much important for this thesis, in order to understand 'sense of distinction'. In conclusion within this chapter we will analyze the 'sense of distinction' by means of three different processes we observed. Analysis is as follows:

3.2. Sample

3.2.1. Method and Tennis Clubs

Non-random method was employed during the sample selection process. It is non-probability sampling. Sample is non-representative since the researcher does not have enough sources to provide a probability sample. Although the researcher tried to have access to the list of members of the tennis clubs, her attempts were unsuccessful. The board of managers of the tennis clubs does not permit to give the list of members due to the data protection laws. Hence, the researcher's peers served

as gatekeepers and the snowball sampling method was applied to create the sample. The researcher conducted thirty-one semi-structured in- depth interviews with the members of two different tennis clubs in İzmir¹⁷. The data we collected were analyzed via method of qualitative content analysis (completely fictional names were used in analysis). One of these clubs is called ‘Kültürpark’; and the other one is called ‘ETV’. One reason why we carried out our research in İzmir and particularly in these two tennis clubs is convenience. These tennis clubs were within the reach of the researcher’s social networks. Secondly, although we could not claim that all members of the tennis clubs were from the middle or upper classes, it would still be safe to assume that these clubs would be convenient places to access and observe the target group and have interviews with them, i.e., middle-class fractions. The major reason behind this assumption is the researcher’s previous observations in these clubs for a long time. Spending her free-time in one of these clubs (ETV) and joining in tournaments in the other (Kültürpark) for years provided her with advantages to more easily observe and understand cultural patterns and cultural hierarchies among these clubs members.

ETV (Egeli Tenis Veteran Derneği/Aegean Veteran’s Tennis Association) was established in 1994 in Balçova, İzmir. The current membership fee of the club is 1200TL approximately 300 USD per year. There are approximately 200 members of this club. The club is located in the Balçova district of İzmir. Although Balçova is very near to the city center today, in the 80’s and 90’s it was a suburban area of İzmir. Being a former suburb makes the district relatively cheaper than the districts that are in the city center. However, we can still say that Balçova is a middle class district in İzmir. Majority of the people who play tennis in ETV live nearby. As compared to Kültürpark, being a member of ETV is more affordable. Both the cost of life in Balçova and the fees make ETV a more modest alternative to Kültürpark. This relatively easier accessibility lets the fractions of middle classes with somehow limited economic capital buy a membership in ETV. That the members of ETV, on

¹⁷ İzmir is located in the west coast of Turkey and it is known as the most secular city of the country. These features of the city manifest themselves in our participants’ some answers.

average, have lower levels of capital than their counterparts in Kültürpark serves our research by allowing us to include different class fractions of middle classes in our sample.

On the website of ETV the club's aims and objectives are written as follows: *“To support youngsters who want to learn to play tennis. To spread this sport and make it more popular. To help the Turkish tennis develop in accordance with the concept of ‘noble sport, white-sport’. To make use of the time well with the social connection and the environment of solidarity. Hence, the members of the club are meant to be contributing to society through promoting they peers to have a healthy, moral and an active lifestyle. They should be social, have high culture and the power of thinking big”* (www.etv.com.tr, accessed March 2, 2017).

Kültürpark tennis club is the first tennis club of İzmir, which was founded in 1941 by people like Ali Halim Bayer, Nejat Eczacıbaşı, Sait Odyak and Behçet Uz who are notable figures of İzmir. It is important to note these founding members who are all upper-class professionals, industrialists or influential politicians of their time. These people are positioned quite high in the class structure with respect to both volume and composition of capital. Furthermore, this club was founded in Alsancak, an elite district in the very center of İzmir. It is not only one of the most expensive districts but also a place home to the majority of the non-Muslim population including Sephardic Jews, Levantine Christians, etc., which makes the district even more elite. Kültürpark tennis club is the best choice for these higher-class people to play tennis and socialize. The membership fee is much higher than ETV. Annual membership fee is 3000TL approximately 750 USD and the members also have to pay a yearly contribution fee of 1000TL (app. 250 USD). This amount is nearly four times higher than ETV's annual fee.

The following excerpt is from the club's website: *“Our aim is to spread tennis among youngsters and train them to represent their country in the international arena. Additionally, our aim is to organize events for athletes in order to improve them in an educational and cultural basis. It's because every athlete has to have*

social, intellectual and cultural features”(www.kptk.org accessed March 2, 2017).

If we compare the aims of these two different clubs, we see there are not also similarities but also differences. Both of the tennis clubs' aims are teaching youngsters how to play tennis. Both of them give importance to social, cultural and intellectual features. However, only ETV mentions about tennis as a noble and 'white' sport. As we recall the sentence: “*To help the Turkish tennis develop in accordance with the concept of 'noble sport, white-sport'*”. Describing the sports they do as 'noble sport' means with a simple logic that they also want to describe themselves as noble. Additionally, they say that their aim is to *help* Turkish tennis improve with the concept of nobleness. *To help* as a verb holds hierarchies in itself in terms that they offer and mention that they are *able to help* candidates to teach tennis without ignoring the concept of nobleness. Furthermore, they describe tennis as 'white sport'. We want to recall that this club is located in the city of İzmir and the people from İzmir see themselves as more secular, modern, western and 'high-cultured' compared the other parts of Turkey and this claim about defining tennis as a 'white sport', claiming the type of sport that they do to be 'white' shows that the term 'white Turks' and its meaning become visible in this context. We do not see such wording on the website of Kültürpark. However, if we talk with the language of ETV, Kültürpark is more 'noble and white' but they do not feel the need to describe themselves as 'noble and white'. Furthermore, ETV states its expectations from the candidate members saying *having high culture*. High culture and low culture differentiation loaded with hierarchies in itself and seeing themselves as the ones who have 'high culture' and mentioning it this way indicates the usage of 'culture' as a distinction tool.

Our expectation was that the members of these two clubs would relatively show differences in terms of their volume and composition of capitals. Although they are all middle class members who choose to play tennis at tennis clubs, their class fractions may differ. There are objective facts such as fee that is required by Kültürpark Tennis Club is higher than ETV's required membership fee, or Kültürpark is located in a district which is at the very center of İzmir and the city elites live in this district, while ETV is located in a modest district. Thus, we expect

the samples from K lt rpark to have relatively higher economic capital on average as compared to the ones from ETV and that this difference would be exacerbated symbolically, i.e. through mechanism of distinction.

3.2.2. General Profile of The Participants

As mentioned above, we used non-probability sampling selected via non-random method that is snowball-sampling method. At tennis clubs the researcher's peers served as gatekeepers and helped her to do interviews with the members of the tennis clubs'. In order to do qualitative research the researcher fulfilled semi-structured in-depth interviews with the participants. Sixteen people from ETV and fifteen people from K lt rpark accepted to participate in the interviews with the researcher. Some of our participants were not alone during interviews, and they wanted to answer the questions together, which led us to make a focus group interview with them. Hence, we made two focus group interviews, one in each tennis club. The interviews lasted approximately forty-five minutes; the longest interview, which was a focus group with two participants, lasted for two hours and the shortest one lasted for fifteen minutes as the participant was in a hurry. We have put the interview questions in appendix part but we want to briefly mention about it; we asked about demographics in order to gather objective data, we asked about our participants' physical needs, free time and consumption patterns in order to understand their life-styles, and then we asked about their sense of self and class position. Additionally, in order to understand how the distinction mechanism proceeds in Instagram we asked several questions about Instagram.

Through mentioning general profile of our participants we will show demographic variables of our participants, on the basis of which we claim them to be a non-representative sample of 'middle-classes'¹⁸. Collected demographic features are age, gender, education, profession and employment status. Unfortunately we could not reach their monthly income because of our participants' unwillingness about

¹⁸ Although we know that as for Bourdieu (2015) classes do not constitute rigid categories but rather originate relationally, it will be convenient for us to say that the participants from KTP are from upper fraction of the middle classes and the participants from ETV are from middle fraction.

mentioning their income. The underlying factor of this unwillingness maybe the identity of the researcher; as we mentioned before, the researcher and her family are members of ETV tennis club, and her family members have connections with also Kültürpark. Hence, each participant knew at least one relative of the researcher. This acquaintanceship made the researcher hesitate over specifically asking of their monthly income after receiving several rejections such as *'Why you need this information? Why is it important? I don't want to answer this question.'*

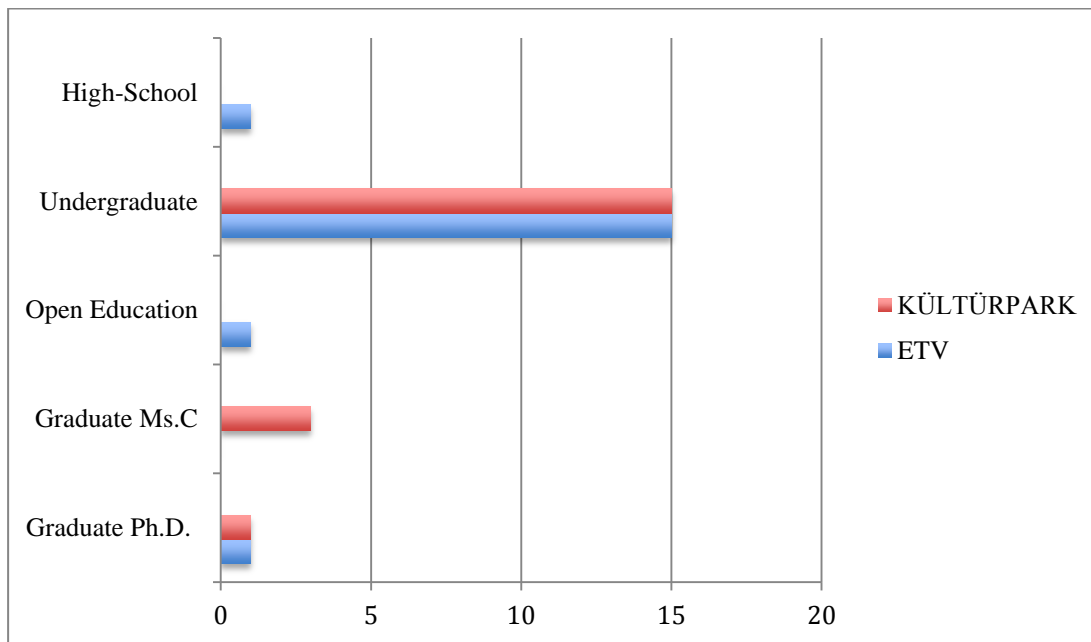
The average age of our participants from ETV is forty-four and the average of age of our participants from Kültürpark is forty-three. This similarity makes it more possible to compare the groups we selected from different tennis clubs. Hence this comparable selection relatively strengthens our comments' accuracy with respect to their class position and the ways in which it affects distinction mechanisms. Thereby as we have mentioned in the part 'Bourdieu's Class Analysis' age is a determinant to define ones class position (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 106).

Secondly, we believe gender is a very important indicator and it is the topic of a more detailed analysis. In Turkey, which is a country deeply suffering from patriarchy we agree with Bora's (2005) opinion: each gender experiences class position and class hierarchies in a different way. Although we tried to take account of putting equal emphasis on the gender of the participants when we created the sample groups, by sampling method's nature, which is snowball sampling, we could not achieve this goal. Hence, nineteen of our participants are women and twelve of them are men. The gender distribution of our participants from ETV is fortunately equal; eight of them are men and eight of them are women. However, the gender distribution of our participants from Kültürpark is unequal; eleven of them are women and four of them are men. Due to the fact that it is a non-representative analysis we believe this restriction would not harm our analysis in an intolerable way.

Education is another variable. In ETV, fifteen out of sixteen participants have an undergraduate degree. One of the participants has a Ph.D. degree. One of the

participants has a high-school degree. One of the participants has joined Anadolu University Open Education Faculty and has Open Education Diploma, which is not regarded as ‘prestigious’ for upper classes due to the fact that *‘everybody can have that degree’*. However, as for Kùltürpark Tennis Club, all participants have at least a bachelor’s degree. Additionally, three of the participants from Kùltürpark have a master’s degree, and one of the participants has a Ph.D. degree. Also two of our participants from Kùltürpark have university degrees from US, which means that, they have excelled at least two languages which makes their cultural and educational capital even higher (having lived in another country, participated in its culture, made friends and social networks there etc. are all factors that are likely to increase social and cultural capital)¹⁹. In addition, we know that education is the most naturalized power apparatus within this system, which imposes classification at all times (Bourdieu, 2015). Hence, considering our participants’ level of education, it is possible to argue that the members of Kùltürpark, on average, have a relatively higher educational and so cultural capital as compared to their counterparts from ETV. Chart for educational level is available below.

Table 1. Educational Level



¹⁹ Two of the participants from KTP mentioned that their children are in abroad for studying.

Fourth demographic variable is profession. Bourdieu states that profession affect one's not only economic but also cultural capital. Hence, he lays emphasis on professions in his model of class structure (Bourdieu, 2015). We think that this variable also gives us objective data about our participants' class fractions. In ETV two of our participants are physicians, one is a retired soldier, three of them are engineers, one is a high-school teacher, one is an architect, seven of them are graduated from faculties of economic and administrative sciences at several universities and one is a worker with a high-school degree. In Kùltürpark, two of them graduated from the department of physical education and sports. One of the participants is an engineer, and also there are two high-school teachers, one physician, one architect, one graduate from English Literature, and seven of them are graduates of economic and administrative sciences. Hence, as we see above the professions of our participants are not so different. This is why they belong to more or less the same class. However when we see that their employment conditions are different, we feel the urge to comment about the difference on their class fractions.

Fifthly and lastly, the issue of employment conditions of the participants is another demographic data that we gathered. In ETV, three of our participants are retired. Five of them are private sector employees, (we may say 'white collar workers'). Two of them are civil servants (one physician and one teacher), one unemployed, two of them are housewives (their husbands' have their own business) and three of them have their own business. In Kùltürpark, four of the participants are retired. Four of them are private sector employees –white-collar workers-, two of them are civil workers (one physician and one teacher) and five of them run their own businesses. Chart and rates are available below.

Table 2. Employment Conditions

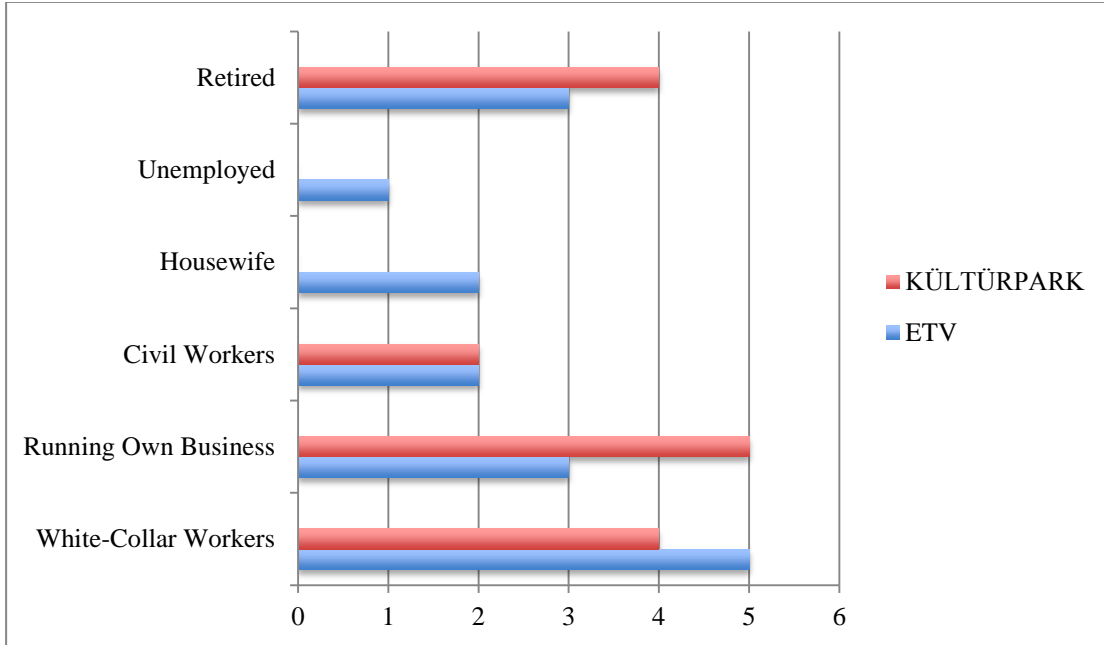


Table 3. Employment Conditions From ETV

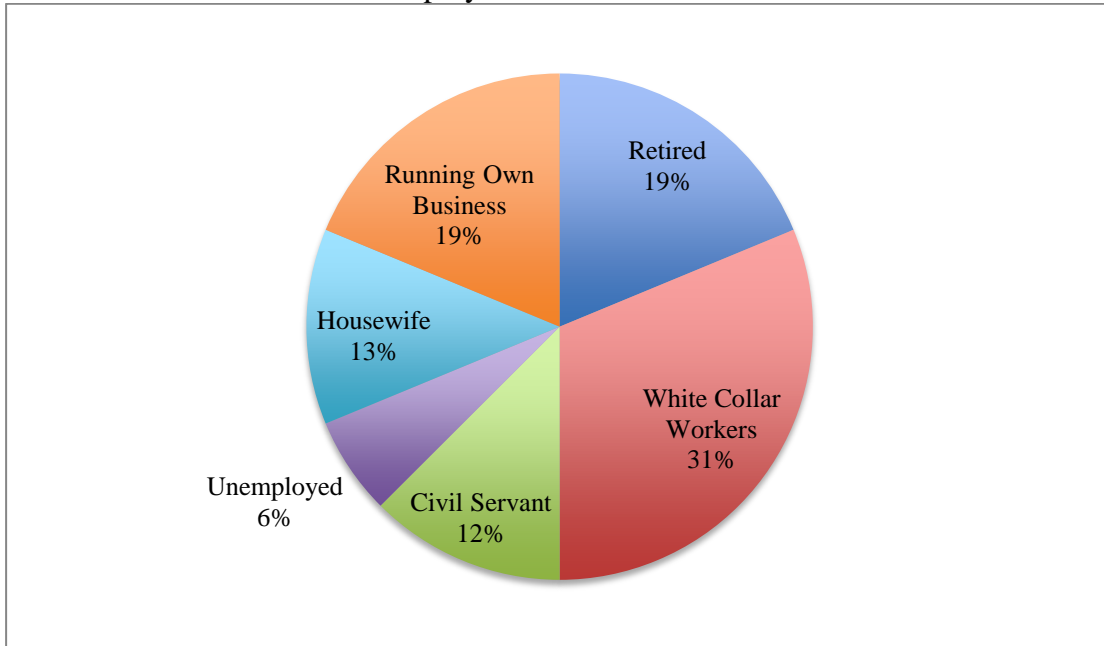
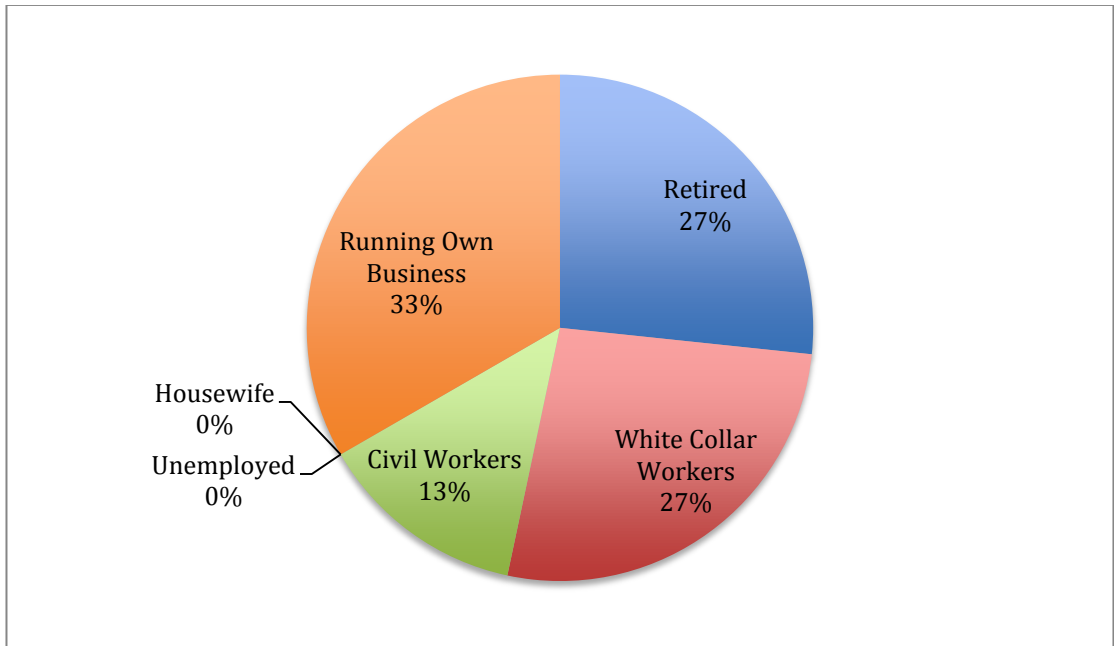


Table. 4. Employment Conditions From KÜLTÜRPAK



The charts above indicate the differences about employment conditions between two tennis clubs. Firstly, unlikely Kültürpark, there are housewives and unemployed members at ETV. Secondly, 31% of participants from ETV are white-collar workers, but this rate is lower at Kültürpark with an amount of 27%. Thirdly, although 33% of the participants in Kültürpak run their own business, this rate is lower at ETV with an amount of 19%. Lastly, 27% of participants from Kültürpark is retired, but in ETV is lower with a rate of 19%. These rates make us think that our participants from Kültürpark, on average, have higher economic capital as compared to ETV. That is firstly because, workers ratio is higher in ETV; secondly, there are more people who run their own business, which requires high levels of economic capital in Kültürpark; thirdly, in Kültürpark the number of retired people is higher than ETV. The ones who guarantee the rest of his/her life economically have the luxury of being retired (particularly considering that the distribution of age is quite similar in these two groups).

In this part we analyzed concrete and objective data about the participants. These are demographic variables such as, age, gender, education, profession and employment status. Briefly, the two different groups are comparable in terms of these variables above. In general, we can say that they are all relatively located in middle class but

due to their differences on their volume and composition of capitals their class fractions differ, for example, they are all have a bachelor's degree, however, while some members of ETV have their bachelor's degree from Anadolu University Open Education Faculty, some members of Kültürpark have their undergraduate degree from the USA which is a country that have paid education and Turkish Lira's monetary value is low as compared to USD. Additionally, this difference makes us claim that the members of Kültürpark have relatively higher educational capital as compared to the members of ETV.

If we recall from Bourdieu, access to sources of income within the labor market is highly linked to educational capital that is a type of cultural capital (Swartz, 2015, p.109). Hence, agents can reach high amounts of economic capital, through educational capital but without economic capital an agent's ability to reach educational sources is rather limited. And so, educational capital also indicates the economic and social level of the agent (Swartz, 2015, p.162). The education market has become an important source of stratification in industrial societies and it provides resources that create distinction of hierarchies and status among middle class fractions so that the cultural capital becomes the source of power (Swartz, 2015, p.162). Moreover, nearly all of our participants are employed but in Kültürpark there are more people who run their own business and in ETV there are more people who work as white-collar workers. Furthermore running one's own business requires partially high amounts of economic capital.

In picking these two clubs, we assumed that the members of Kültürpark would have relatively higher volumes and composition of capital, i.e., they would be located at the upper levels of class structure as compared to the members of ETV and their class fraction would differ. Our data seem to support this assumption. Although we cannot generalize the findings to all members of these clubs, we can say that there is a tendency in this direction.

The volumes and compositions of cultural and economic capital determine one's class position in the class structure, and also determine one's class fraction within the

class. In consideration all the data above, we argue that participants' from different tennis clubs also partially located in different class fractions within middle classes. By drawing on Bourdieu, we anticipate that this difference could be observed also in the symbolic field, such as consumption in physical needs like clothing, leisure time activities, usage of social media and thoughts about education and class. If we recall Bourdieu, class conflicts can be observed as classificatory struggles, and every agent classifies herself and the others in every act they do and in this processes tastes play a big role. In addition, these struggles occur in what Bourdieu calls 'the space of lifestyles' (Bourdieu, 2015). Hence, now we will analyze symbolic differences within different class fractions with the sample of the two different tennis clubs by considering distinction practices that agents apply in order to gain upper level position for classification struggles. We should point out that we will use the terms upper fraction and middle fraction while identifying these middle class people. Although we argue that classes are not rigid categories we will still use these segmentations for empirical and pragmatic reasons in order to make this analysis crystal clear.

3.3. Life-Styles

According to Bourdieu, the market economy requires a social world that judges people in accordance with their ability to produce and also their capabilities of consumption and their life-styles and their *standings* (Bourdieu, 2015, p.452). Additionally, the symbolic struggles between the classes are always condemned to take the form of the competitive struggles that contribute to the reproduction of the *gap of differences* that lies at the basis of the race (the classificatory struggle) itself (Bourdieu, 2015, p.368). Hence, life-styles are distinctive, and the life-styles of different classes and class fractions create hierarchies of life-styles. By this way, life-styles can only be considered in comparison with the other life-styles (Bourdieu, 2015, p.287). Life-styles are classified and classificatory practices (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 258). In this classification process the life-style of the dominant class becomes legitimate (Bourdieu, 2015, p.193). As for Bourdieu, the space of life-styles is located within the space of cultural consumption (Bourdieu, 2015, p.306). The space of life-styles is a universe of possessions that differentiates agents –whether their

aims are creating distinction or not- that are located in different positions on the social space. As a result, the space of life-styles is nothing but the ambition of a particular moment of symbolic struggle, whose goal is to impose the ‘legitimate life-style’ (Bourdieu, 2015, p.367).

After the brief recall above about what is the space of life-styles for Bourdieu, we will make an analysis about our participants’ life-styles at this section. We always consider the notion of the judgement of taste in the background because the judgement of taste imposes life-styles, which is crucial for classificatory struggles (Bourdieu, 2015 quoted in Wacquant, 2011, p.115). According to Bourdieu, what lies under every kind of classification is the judgement of taste (Bourdieu, 2015, p.90). As mentioned before, he defines two different styles of taste; first one is taste of freedom and the other one is taste of necessity. Tastes of freedom are tastes of luxury that require high levels of economic capital and agents have sources to reach ‘expensive’ products. Taste of necessity clarifies the applause and the pleasure of agents for what they already have because they cannot get more due to economic restrictions (Bourdieu, 2015, p.265). With this notion in mind, we will firstly analyze their thoughts about the importance of education as an institution and their thoughts about ‘classes’. Secondly, we will analyze the consumption habits and preferences of our participants by dividing these into two: consumption of physical needs and free-time consumption patterns. We will also learn their thoughts about ‘conspicuous’ consumption. We take physical needs as sheltering, nutrition and clothing. We take free-time consumption patterns as holidays, sports and usage of social media, particularly Instagram.

Consequently, we generally make the analysis by considering distinction mechanism by means of three different parts. Although we argue that the data of the sample differs in three ways in general, however it can be said that they differ in two ways partially. The analysis will be made this way since our data make it a requisite. The first tendency we observed is that: participants from all tennis clubs, to name; ‘middle classes’, differentiate themselves from lower classes and this is the first distinction mechanism we detect. The second tendency is the ones from different

groups, which are different class fractions, are differed as upper fraction and middle fraction even if they are from the same class, therefore there is difference among them and they also differentiate themselves from others within the same fraction, but not always clear in every part. The data, both made it a requisite to conduct such an analysis; and employ the notions of Bourdieu (2015) which points out that ‘class struggle is a classification struggle’ that is valid for all agent, and the agents position themselves in the social space through classifying themselves comparably with others. Consequently, we want to note down that we do our analysis by following these footsteps.

3.3.1. Education

In this part, we will analyze what education means for the participants. Although in other parts we observed that education had a big role in classification process, this part will elaborate on the inherited cultural capital and its relation to class fractions. When we asked the participants how important education was for them to improve oneself, we observed two different tendencies from the data we collected. As for the participants of ETV the educational capital is very important. However, as for participants from Kültürpark inherited cultural capital is much more important. In education part, we see that creating distinction within the class itself is the main issue. Consequently, in this part we see the two main tendencies, first one is from both fractions of classes the notion of education is crucial. However, they differentiate within each other, the second feature is that the ones from upper fraction interpret the notion of education not only as an institutionalized one but also as an inherited one. On the other hand, the ones from middle fraction of the middle class only mention about and give importance about ‘the institutionalized education’ without mentioning the inherited one. In following pages we will interpret these differences.

Firstly, the participants from ETV generally think that education is very important; *‘having at least an undergraduate degree is essential especially in today’s Turkey’*. Besides, one also has to improve oneself. Hence, *having only university education is not enough, it only creates vision; one has to make an effort, work hard and improve*

oneself.' We see the discourse of individualism here. As Bourdieu mentions, educational system brings hierarchies in itself and the one with high amounts of inherited cultural capital becomes more successful than the others such as children of working class families. Due to the fact that children of upper class families learn how to behave appropriately such as having table manners, talking in an accurate accent before going to primary school, teachers and the organizations of education system regard them as more successful than children of working class families (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2015, p. 248-9). Additionally, education system also supports this approach perpetually and the advantageous position of upper class family's children cannot become visible. Hence this mechanism functions so naturally that the children who come from lower classes think their failure is caused 'only' by them, by their inability (Bourdieu, 2015). Thus and so, from ETV Ela said similarly *'I think education is very important in order to improve one's character. Education is not only about the lectures, in university one also learns how to talk, how to use the diction and be social'*. In ETV participants mainly emphasize on the importance of the institutionalized education on individual's success and self-development. Additionally, we should say that there is not any extra emphasis about the notion of education in ETV. We knew from Bourdieu that lower classes attach to importance of education for dear life, thus and so, in participants from ETV we see this attitude, which is the part of 'middle fraction' in our sample -and relatively lower as compared to the ones from KTP-, such as Ela's words which claim that education is important not only learn a 'scientific knowledge' but also important to be able to talk with a fluent accent.

Secondly, unlike ETV, the participants from Kültürpark mention that education is important but early childhood education that child receives from family is much more important compared to the institutionalized one. That is 'inherited cultural capital' for Bourdieu. The agent itself cannot accumulate this type of capital. It is only inherited if the legator such as family or the environment of the kids gets during their juvenescence process. Hence this type of capital also creates symbolic boundaries and the agents use it as a source in classification process (Bourdieu, 2015, p.128). Furthermore, we think that it is important to ask the question why the

participants from Kültürpark mention about this kind of a capital that often although people from ETV do not mention it. As stated before, Kültürpark is regarded as a long-established club compared to ETV. Its participants' class position in class structure is also higher than the ones in ETV. Hence the participants from Kültürpark constitute the 'upper fraction' part in our sample. Due to the fact that the amount of educated people is ever increasing, having only an undergraduate degree started to be regarded as inadequate to ascend in social strata in distinction process. Hence mentioning about education that children get from family processes serves as a kind of distinction strategy we see in KTP. Such as Arman says, *'education is so important but first education is a thing that comes from family. Just as for example your father and your grand father is a professor. There can be exceptions that cut out this circle but these are only exceptions. Namely, social education that you get through your family is more important. This is the strong one but if your basis is rotten than school education will not enough. For example, the man becomes an engineer but he does not know any code of conduct, you won't greet him in anywhere, but he thinks of himself as if he was a king and behaves workers accordingly. Why? Because he had an indecent education from his family.'* Hence Didem from Kültürpark says *'education is very important but family education is more important. Sometimes, well not sometimes, think about right now and look at everything, look at every people in every position, she had any kind of university degree with a perfect education, it is hard if she doesn't have culture of family, if she does not get education from family. I think family culture is much more important...'*

We observed that people from Kültürpark use having inherited cultural capital as a distinction strategy against the ones who does not inherit 'enough' cultural capital from their families. And they classify themselves in an upper position compared to them. Subsequently, knowing 'code of conduct' and manners that can only be learned since childhood work as a distinction strategy of the 'upper fractions of middle classes' who not only have education but also have 'inherited cultural capital'. However unlike participants from Kültürpark, the ones from ETV give much more importance to school education because this type of educational capital can be accumulated on purpose although inherited cultural capital can not and they

do not have ‘enough’ inherited capital.

3.3.2. ‘Class’

We asked the question: “What do you think about social classes and how do you locate yourself within these classes?” in order to understand what the participants from all clubs think about social classes and whether or not they locate themselves in any classes, how they locate themselves and in which class. Unlike some other parts of this analysis, people from different tennis clubs answer differently. However we got parallel answers within the same tennis club. Which is a proof of Bourdieu’s thought about same class fractions have the same predispositions (Bourdieu, 2015, p.258). Consequently there are two different tendencies, participants from Kültürpark mention that they are generally against any kinds of classification. Differently, participants from ETV answer the question saying that they regard themselves as middle class.

Firstly in Kültürpark a striking majority of the participants refuse to answer these questions. Minority of them does, though. We want to provide explanations about the reason why they did not want to answer these questions and the way how they made comments about it.

First of all, in Kültürpark many people say that they are against classifying people. One reason of this standpoint is their belief that economic power of people is not enough to locate them in any classes. As for Berk, *‘I am definitely against differentiating classes. I think this distinction absolutely should not be made by means of economic power of the people. In any case if they want to make this distinction, this differentiation should be made on intellectual and mental level of people. We see, in our country people cannot express themselves, they are not able to do this. In our country there are people who are ‘sheep’, who are herded as sheep. Upper level of them is the people who are ‘liberal sheep’; they only look after their own interest. Although some of them think differently to protect their benefits, they forget their ideas. Some of them have completely ‘the style of Nietzsche’ they say ‘I ignore everything and this is my point of view’. As for me the ones who have their own ideas are from the uppermost class. The rest are classless.’* Firstly, although

Berk said that he is against classification, we later understood that he was against classification in accordance with economic capital. He claims intellectual capital is much more important and the classification should be done in reference to intellectual capital. Secondly, he classifies himself above others because he has his own ideas and he is not scared for expressing it, thus because of this qualification he has, we understand that he sees himself in the upper classes. He creates distinction in social strata for having intellectual capital. Similarly, Baha says that *'I think the notion of class still exists, once there was slavery, once they used people as slaves. What do you think; do you think slavery is over? No. Its form has changed only. Now there is modern slavery. Thus, classes still exist. You get paid with regards to your class. I think the most important thing is inner self, the self-development of a human. I think this should create classes not status. I think we should classify people considering their character and honesty.'* Hence Didem similarly says, *'I don't like to categorize people in this sense....'* And Hazal says, *'the word 'class' irritates me a lot I really get furious when I hear this word because I don't like classifying people. I am very sensitive about it. I don't want people to feel sad. That's because I don't classify anybody.'* And Selim says *'I think classifying people is not true. I am against every kind of discrimination and classification. I am against classes. I do not know where I am in this stratified society but I am a drop within an ocean.'* Thus and so, there is a tendency about non-classifying the society and differentiating people from each other not for economic capital but for intellectual capital. Although they give this reaction we knew that they have tendency for classification knowingly or unknowingly but its elevation towards to surface within this concreteness annoys them a lot; hence Hazal says that she gets mad when she hear *'the word class'*.

Minority of the participants from Kültürpark classify themselves in the social strata for example Sevim said that *'I see myself in the lucky fraction within this society but unfortunately this classification made by financial situation but for me it should be made on the basis of education because education is very important.'* Again we see that they disregard the economic capital of one in society but rather regard the educational capital. Although Sevim sees herself in upper class she rejects to put into words this sentence but she uses *'lucky fraction'*. Additionally, Arman from

Kültürpark also says ‘...yes, I have income which is above the middle class. However, there is a philosophy, you can not only differentiate by means of financial structure... You cannot get the ones that live in suburb and with the clique that lives in Alsancak side by side. For once their attitudes of mind is different. I wish the ones from suburbs could come by means of attitude of mind as the clique of Alsancak. For example, in Kültürpark there are celebrations of Hidrellez²⁰ for two days. The municipality gives permission to Gypsies, they come hear and have barbecue. ‘Roman’s. You will see and think how nice. However, the municipality never puts a toilette cabin. Ulan²¹, these people are here from morning till night. Its ok I like them, of course they can come here, but one have to teach these guys (Romans) what a city is! What are the orders of the city. These guys come into the heart of Alsancak; they come to see the sea. A people of Alsancak, they come to the culture. Municipalities have to say, ‘look brother, don’t piss on the ground, and use toilette’. If municipality gives permission to them to celebrate Hidrellez in the middle of the Alsancak, it has to put the toilette cabin for them. Has to teach the culture....’ In these words of Arman, we see that he creates differentiation over people from lower classes by means of knowing the manner, and defecate appropriately.

When it comes to ETV the majority of the participants answer our question by saying they are from the middle class. Nil says that ‘I think I am from middle class, but I do not like to talk about these things’. Kenan says that, ‘I don’t classify anybody. Classification means discrimination. What is class? Is it calculated by level of culture or level of income? There are people who have culture but are short of money and vice a versa. I see myself in the middle of it.’ Emine from ETV says ‘I never want to answer this question because a person’s location is determined through the others. It does not suit to my soul that saying ‘I am this’...but if you ask me I can only say that I am from the middle group’. Thus there is a tendency in this club about classifying people and they are generally disturbed from this question.

²⁰ Hidrellez is an old Anatolian tradition of the celebration of the welcoming the spring.

²¹ ‘Ulan’ is a Turkish slang. It is a rudely yelling exclamation.

http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_ttas&view=ttas&kategori=derlay&kelime1=lan date of access. 01.08.2017.

Hence unlike Kültürpark they answer the question and classify themselves mostly in the middle class.

To sum up, unlike ETV, the people from Kültürpark either criticize classifying people or do not give answer to this question. On the contrary, in ETV most of them say that they see themselves in the middle class. Only two of them say that they see themselves from upper and that's because they have intellectual capital and time. We can interpret this fact, as upper fraction of the middle classes manner is not able to 'express' the classification.

3.3.3. Conspicuous Consumption

In this part, we will analyze the participants' tendencies and thoughts about conspicuous consumption. In order to find answers to the issue we are interested in, we asked several questions such as, "Are there anything that you want to buy which can be named as luxurious consumption and why?" "What kinds of luxurious things do you never want to buy?" The reason why we asked these questions was to understand what they aspired and what they differentiated themselves from in terms of conspicuous consumption²². Hence, we wanted to understand how distinction mechanism works when it comes to the conspicuous consumption notion. People from both tennis clubs mention that they do not like showing off and using economic capital in order to gain status, but there are different interpretations about this. For example, although people from upper fraction mention that they may have bought luxurious things but not with the aim of show off, the people from ETV (we can say middle fraction) is say that they do not have enough money to make expenditures that cost too much. We will make the analysis as follows.

So many participants from all clubs mentioned that, they had never wanted to buy luxurious cars. Firstly when we look at ETV, according to participants from ETV, buying luxurious cars such as Ferrari is a very unnecessary expenditure and a show off. As Mahmut from ETV stated, *'Super- luxurious cars seem meaningless. I think*

²² Due to the fact that we mentioned about what is conspicuous consumption for Veblen in the second chapter, we will not mention it again in this part.

there is no need to exaggerate things that are used only because they have a function. People attribute an overrated mission to such things as super-luxurious cars. I think it is very unnecessary. It is because of the aim for gaining a higher place in the society. It is the desire of differentiating themselves from others. People who buy these things buy them only to have status within the society. I think, having status and this kind of positions in society cannot be provided by these things. Or I think it should not be like this. Unfortunately these show off works in this society.' As we see, Mahmut criticizes the type of people who do not only buy these objects for their function but also buy them for gaining status in the society via conspicuous consumption and showing they have money. Via criticizing this thought Mahmut compares himself to this kind of people and puts himself in an upper ethical and intellectual position because he is not that kind of a person. He does not try to gain status with his money. His perspective of world to life is different from the ones who try to gain prestige through showing off. Hence, In ETV majority of participants make very similar comments as Mahmut. They find conspicuously using luxurious cars unnecessary. For example Aydan from ETV says, *'People give high amounts of money and buy a hundred million liras priced cars and put them in front of their home at the street. I cannot do this now. It is unnecessary. Maybe because I do not have enough money to buy that car but it is not a requisite for me. I do not do this kind of a thing. Maybe because they have limitless money they do not think about money and it becomes a necessity for them, but in the end you put that car at a street.'* Thus, Aydan adds that she does not have enough money to make that kind of expenditure.

Accordingly, participants from Kültürpark also give the same example about luxurious cars but with a *different* emphasis. For instance, Baha from Kültürpark says that, *'I will never buy a playboy car such as Ferrari or Lamborghini. I never will. Never. I do not like showing off and saying that 'Look! I have lots of money'. For example, I will never wear a Rolex watch. It is possible for me to wear a watch with the same price and as a Rolex watch. However the people won't know the price of it. It is about a matter of taste. I can do this. But I don't like showing off. I don't like to be a person who yells 'Look I have a Rolex'. I don't like it.'* Hence the one

from Kùltürpark differentiates himself in a different way. Baha, unlike the ones from ETV, says that he has the sources and the potential to spend high amounts of money on an object but the objective will not be showing off as the others do. It will happen just because of his taste and his joy. Baha says that he is not ‘that type of person’ like the ones who are fond of showing off and try to gain a status through his or her money. On the other hand, we learned that he is able to buy a ‘watch’ with the same price as a Rolex, thus he is comfortable about mentioning it. So, we see that he differentiates himself from people who are making conspicuous consumption only for showing off. The participants from Kùltürpark generally all differentiate themselves from the ones who do things to attract attention as the way they put it. Hence, none of the participants from Kùltürpark says they do not have enough money to buy luxurious things, they can buy but without seeming like a parvenu, just for their tastes. With regards to Bourdieu conspicuous consumption is naively exhibitory (Bourdieu, 2015, p.54) and when it is ‘obviously’ made with the aim of exhibition it is considered as an imitation by the upper classes (Bourdieu, 1990, p.50) Consequently, we see that Baha humiliates the ones who consumes conspicuously such as saying ‘playboy car’. Additionally, Hazal from KTP says that *‘I don’t understand why these people buy meaningless luxurious car. However, I want to buy a painting to my house. This will be my luxurious consumption. I enjoy it very much. I want to look at it for hours, contemplate and want to think about how the painter paints it? How she finds the tone of color? I want to buy a painting to my house’*. In addition, Cansu from KTP also says that, *‘I don’t buy very expensive bags, clothing and shoes. It is nonsense. However, I can go abroad or go to another city for only watching the concert of the artist I like. This is luxury for me, and I love it.’* As we see the examples of ‘the art of love’ of upper fraction of middle class people, which is not the case in ETV. However, in ETV Derya says that, *‘I can’t criticize a women who wear Lois Vuitton bag which costs 5000TL (app. 1500USD). I cannot buy this right know, but if I have power I will buy directly²³, I love brands.’* Additionally, Ramiz say *‘I have passion for cars. This is my biggest luxury. For example, BMW²⁴ launched its fourth model I went and buy. However, I won’t buy luxury watches or*

²³ ‘..gücüm olsa çatır çatır alırım..’

²⁴ BMW is ‘relatively’ luxury car brand.

pencils'. In addition, Kenan from ETV says that, *'I use BMW as a car. It is addiction. It is good for health'*. Namely, in ETV there are also people who would like to do conspicuous consumption, but there are people who criticize this act too. Hence this is not the case in KTP.

In conclusion, there is a tendency about criticizing people who show off using their purchasing power. In ETV, people differentiate themselves from this kind of people because they are against becoming powerful in society via purchasing power. However, there are also people who would like to do conspicuous consumption. Moreover in Kültürpark the distinction mechanism process functions in a different way; which is, they *may* buy luxurious products but it is not to show off rather only for their *taste*. Additionally, some participants from KTP have the feeling of 'love of art' and make their luxury consumption by means of consuming art, not consuming cars.

3.3.4. Consumption Based on 'Physical Needs'

3.3.4.1 Sheltering

In Bourdieu's work, the distribution of a class or a class fraction in the socially hierarchical geographical space –and in particular its distance to economic and cultural centers- is one of the indicators of its position in the social space. This distribution is also almost always an indication of the inner hierarchy of the class (2015, p.188). Hence, he states that preferences of sheltering are very much related with agent's volume and composition of capital. Desires and necessities about the preferred district to settle (like a suburb or a more central area), the kind of house to live (like a flat or detached house) depend on agents' volume and composition of capital. We asked four questions to our participants regarding the thoughts and preferences about sheltering. These are, "Where do you live and why do you live there?" "In which districts of Izmir would you like to live?" "In which districts of Izmir would you never like to stay?" "Can you describe your dream home?" Below is an analysis of our participants' answers.

There are several tendencies that symbolize different meanings. First of all, all

participants from all tennis clubs provide corresponding answers while clarifying the issues that they find unpleasant which is a proof that Bourdieu's notion about 'similar classes have similar tendencies'. Secondly, although they mention about the same unpleasantness, their motives differ from fraction to fraction, from club to club. We can say that upper fraction of middle class's reasoning and middle fraction of middle class's reasoning are different. This leads us to a third tendency about the strategies of distinction in process within the middle classes.

There is a general tendency about where to live and where not to live in both clubs, which generates the features of a class from both clubs. Recalling Bourdieu (2015), the underlying notion about these preferences and distinction is the judgement of taste. One's tastes of luxury and tastes of necessity are crucial in this process. We assume individuals differentiate one-self through the difference of their tastes. Most of our participants from Kültürpark live in Alsancak and the rest mostly live in Karşıyaka, which is an indicator of their economic capital because living in these districts requires considerably high amounts of purchasing power. The ones who live in Alsancak say that they are pleased to live in Alsancak, that's because Alsancak is located in the city center and so they are close to all social facilities, artistic activities and have neighborhood culture. The ones who live in Alsancak say that they feel sense of belonging to the neighborhood. It is important to note that Alsancak is a district of community life of elites. If we follow Bourdieu's footsteps we may say living in this district is not only about economic capital but also about social capital, living next door to a person that is from dominant classes may also be giving the feeling of being close to these classes, feeling as one of them and feeling of having a positive attitude or feeling to have an advantage of this on going classification process. For example, Didem from Kültürpark says that, *'we lived in very different districts now we live in 'Dutlu Sokak', we are very happy to live in Alsancak. For once it is close here (she means Kültürpark) and I think the atmosphere of it is more elite'*.

Five of our participants- they also live in Alsancak-say that they have never wanted to live at districts like Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe that is far from city center but

composed of sites consisting of detached houses and gated communities, which are also districts that participants from ETV mostly live. One of our participants from K lt rpark says that; *“I prefer to live at Alsancak even somebody gave me free villa at Narlıdere”*. Additionally, Narlıdere is a newly constructed neighborhood compare to Alsancak. It consists of gated communities that require high levels of economic capital. However as we have seen it does not appeal to our participants who live in Alsancak because of different preferences they have. On the other hand, there are also participants from ETV who say that they never want to live in Alsancak because of the traffic and trade center’s crowd.

As we have mentioned above, we consider sheltering preferences as basic needs and we locate these under the space of consumption, which also the space of life-styles clustered within. Although, sheltering is a basic need, it is also consumed within the space of lifestyles like every good. Considerable amount of our participants from ETV live at the district named Bal ova, which ETV is also located. As mentioned above, Bal ova is a district that is relatively more affordable than Alsancak. We can say that people from middle classes are likely to live in Bal ova rather than Alsancak. Some of our participants from ETV live in Narlıdere, which is composed of newly constructed luxurious gated communities. One of our participants from Narlıdere say that *‘even if they give me the best house of Alsancak, I will never move on there from Narlıdere. They can give me the worst house of Narlıdere but I would prefer Narlıdere’s worst house to Alsancak’s best house, because my social environment is also in Narlıdere, my job is in Narlıdere, I was born and raised in Narlıdere.’* We see different class fractions may have different choices in sheltering. Nevertheless, as we mentioned above about that tastes of necessity lead people to feel some kind of pleasure about what they already have in their hands. Eventually, these words of the participant from ETV can be seen as the feeling of satisfaction with what he already has in hands. What’s more, according to our data, there are more people who want to live in Alsancak from both clubs, which indicates that Alsancak’s geographical and hierarchical position in society make it a more attractive district to live.

Secondly, we observe our participants from both clubs differentiate themselves from the working class's living conditions, which is surely expectable. Most of our participants from Kültürpark say that they never want to live in districts like Buca and the other similar suburbs. Buca is located close to the city-center but it is far from the seaside. It is a very big district composed of old detached houses, workers' houses, closed prison, suburbs, and shanty houses. In addition, in the first years of Republic, Levantines lived at Buca but in time (after 1980s) Buca received large flows of immigrants from Anatolia and some Kurdish villages. Hence it lost its prestigious feature because of 'trickle-down effect'²⁵ and Levantines generally left the district and moved on to districts like Alsancak and Sahilevleri. Subsequently our participants from Alsancak 'no longer' want to live in Buca. However the 'expressed' reason behind the unwillingness of the participants from Kültürpark to live in a district like Buca comes mostly from the fact that the district is disorganized, chaotic, have air pollution, far from the sea and the city center, and have traffic jam. Quoting Selim from Kültürpark, *'Buca, because it is far away from the city center, besides I do not like the place, it does not feel warm to me. I like Alsancak district.'* Moreover, Nehir from Kültürpark says that *'I suppose, I cannot live at a district like Buca. Especially Buca seems to me very disorganized. Besides, I do not prefer living in places that are far from the sea because I have always lived at the districts that are close to the sea.'* Similarly, Gizem from Kültürpark also says, *'I don't know. The district is very disordered. It seems to me that it has a chaotic structure, such as traffic and so on.'* Likewise, Burcu also from Kültürpark says *'these districts seem very disorganized to me. Besides they do not have scenery of the sea. I don't want to live there.'* Closely, Cansu also says *'in these districts there is air pollution in winter, besides there is traffic jam'*. As we have seen most of the participants from Kültürpark give us very similar reasons about why they do not want to stay in that district. The comments about the reason why they are unwilling are crucial to understand distinction process.

Describing district as cosmopolite, unsecured, unorganized, have traffic jam also shows us what they want from their neighborhood; they want security, organized

²⁵ We clarified what is trickle down effect in the second chapter.

buildings, feel comfortable and resembling neighbors. Besides, they have the means for this desire, because they live at the districts, which are 'more organized'. Additionally, the ones from Kùltürpark give reasons mostly about the structure and the location about the district. Namely they do not mention about the residents' profile, at least they do not 'express' their thoughts about the residents, but they focus on structural reasons. Hence they emphasize on their unwillingness through structural problems. We think this point has gained more significance when comparing the comments of the participants from Kùltürpark and ETV.

Although the ones from ETV generally mention that they do not want to stay at districts as Buca likewise the ones from Kùltürpark, their 'expressed' reasons are not similar to the ones from Kùltürpark. Their reasons are in their words *'people who live in Buca have different lifestyles and cultures, housing is dense and illegal, it is cosmopolite, there are people from very different cultures, people do not behave warm and we are scared of them, there are dirty and ugly people there and so on.'* Additionally from ETV Kenan says, *'I never want to live in Buca, because the district does not fit my lifestyle. I pay attention to quality of my life. I pay attention to the quality of the residents'*. Umut from ETV says that *'Buca. Buca is a district that I find very repellent. We never prefer these kinds of districts not only for housing but also as a workplace...Buca as the residential area, how should I say... For example, we should be able to go to the tennis club without getting too much tired at night when we get bored, we should be able to go out with our friends. However, I don't think that I can do these social activities at the districts like Buca. Namely there are too many restrictions in these districts. For instance, people who live in these districts have different kind of life-styles compared to us. We are abstracted from them. That is to say, even in Buca the culture of coffee houses are very different as compared to here. We can go to a coffee house with a lady here but in Buca it is impossible. In Buca the atmosphere is much more judging. Actually we don't like the district. More precisely I don't feel comfortable at that district.'* Similarly, Nil from ETV says that *'I don't know why but Buca does not seem pretty to me. I suppose it is because it is disorganized. Namely the streets seem very disordered to me. It seems like the mood and attitudes of the people that live in Buca are different. How can I*

say, namely I feel like if I ask anybody a question at the street they will automatically jump on me (laughing). I had that kind of impression about Buca.’ Likewise Hayal from ETV says that ‘I loathe places like Buca. And the university that I graduated was located in Buca. Buca is (laughs) very crowded. It is very crowded for me. Hmm I don’t like the district. At first there is nothing in Buca but only bullies²⁶. Buca developed through the university. Maybe that’s because I have antipathy. Actually, there are dirty, bindle stiff and minger people in Buca.’

Consequently, while explaining why participants from ETV do not want to live in Buca the participants from ETV unlikely the ones from Kültürpark mention about they are intensely annoyed by the residents. Participants from ETV emphasize that they dislike the district not only because it is crowded or disorganized but also because of the type of the residents of it. Participants from ETV feel distant to the residents of Buca; even they mention that they feel scared of the residents of Buca. Additionally people from ETV also mention that their lifestyle preferences do not fit the ones that live in Buca. In these words; we will see they obviously differentiate themselves from lower classes through differences about their life-styles. We are familiar with the notion that upper classes presuppose lower classes as rude, dirty and scary (Erdoğan, 2000)²⁷. And our participants’ comments about the district and the people who are living at those districts are parallel to those. During the description of what they do not want and why, we see what they want and why. The district had ‘trickle-down effect’ and we see the reasons of differentiation from lower classes. Additionally, they differentiate themselves from the ones who live in Buca. Saying that ‘the quality of residents are low’ means they are positioning themselves in the upper position as compared to them. They classify the residents with a criterion of ‘quality’ and they undervalue the residents that are from Buca. Furthermore, although the participants from both clubs do not want to live in Buca, it is crucial that the two different tennis clubs give different reasons of their unwillingness. Due to the fact that the ones from ETV are much more close to lose position on stratified order, their fear has become more concrete. This happened

²⁶ ‘kabadayı’.

²⁷ Birikim Dergisi, <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/>. Date of acces: 06.06.2016.

because of the possibility of getting in touch with the people who are the residents of Buca. Hence Hayal says that she went university there and she expresses her heaviest statement about people by saying that they are dirty, binger and bully. As we emphasized at the beginning (Bourdieu, 2015, p.174) the agents always want to gain positions from upper level, and they have fear from falling down and due to the fact that the middle classes have the most ambiguous position they have the fear of falling down much more compared to the upper levels. Hence we think the reason why these comments vary with regards to two tennis clubs is this fact.

Thirdly, although we could not observe the same tendency in ETV four of the participants from K lt rpark say that they do not want to express the district they never want to live. The reason of their response is the hypothetical possibility that they may have to live in these districts one day. For instance Baha says, *'I do not want to answer this question, do you know why? Maybe one day I have to live in that place. I like to be adapted what I am obliged to...'* Through his sentences we see the fear of falling down from social hierarchy of middle classes. So, four of the participants from K lt rpark reject to mention and classify the district they would not want to live because of the risk and the fear of falling down one day. However, although people from ETV more like to fall down on social structure we do not see this kind of comments our participants from ETV. Hence we may predict that they have also this fear because they mention how they dislike the people living in Buca. This may be because they do not want to recall this risk and they do not want to express it to the researcher. Additionally we again want to mention that these differences in comments we obtained from two different tennis clubs can be related to the differences of their class fractions.

Fourthly, when it comes to talking about their dream home, most of our participants from K lt rpark say that they want to live in a detached house with a garden, near to seaside. Even one of our participants defines his dream-home at California Malibu beach, which shows us participants' tastes of luxury. The rest mostly say that they have already been living in their dream home, which is a flat in Alsancak. Saying that they have already been living at the house of their dream is important to notice.

It means they are already satisfied with their own possessions and living conditions and they feel at the top of their hierarchy of needs. Or in a way they have the taste of necessity and the place they live meets all their needs. Hence we may remind Bourdieu's emphasize on not desiring things which are already impossible to have (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 16). However, there are more participants from ETV having said that they have been already living in their dream home. This rate is lower at Kùltürpark. We think that because of the taste of necessity, in order to protect themselves from the symbolic power of legitimate taste and because, perhaps they cannot afford to stay in upper level homes or at districts they have already mention that they are happy with what they had. Consequently, we think that these differences are important to remind the differences in the class fractions within two tennis clubs. Just as one participant say that he likes adapting easily, stating the fact that that they are happy with what they have already in their hands can be seen as an adaptation tactic of the ones who are at the risk of falling down.

3.3.4.2. Nutrition

In this part, we discuss our participant's nutrition habits. We asked questions to learn what their essential nutriments are. Is there any food that they would never prefer eating and why? Moreover, we asked where they did their food shopping and we asked where they would never do it? The reasons why we asked these questions have a meaning in itself. Asking what they prefer and do not prefer eating and where they buy food and where they do not gives us clues about their lifestyles. We want to recall briefly that from choices of clothing to choices of nutrition every kind of practices of symbolic distinction embodies a basic logic of inclusion and exclusion (Swartz, 2015, p. 257). In other words, all symbols and cultural practices such as nutrition habits and clothing choices function as reinforcement of social distinctions (Swartz, 2015, p. 18). We made our analysis following this premise.

Firstly, there are tendencies to create differences from lower classes to differentiate themselves by using the 'culture of kebab' in Kùltürpark, which is the upper fraction of middle class of the sample. Secondly, there is a general tendency within both clubs, and both fractions about eating healthy, avoiding fast food, eating protein

based.

From Kültürpark most of our participants especially mention that food with protein such as meat, fish, and yoghurt are indispensable for them. Due to their location on class structure we did not expect that their indispensable food would be food with carbohydrates that is cheaper and ‘unhealthy’. Furthermore even one participant says that she does not consume bread etc. because it is unhealthy. Furthermore a deliberate number of the participants from Kültürpark say that they have never eaten any food like fast food because of health concerns. Paying attention to eat ‘healthy’ foods has become a fashion among the ones who have the opportunity to be choosy eater, which can be regarded as taste of luxury. What’s more, just like Kültürpark, a deliberate amount of our participants from ETV do not eat fast food because it is unhealthy. Food with protein is indispensable for most of them. Additionally, if we recall Bourdieu²⁸ (2015) because of the usage of body middle and upper classes would like to eat healthy, and fat free products.

Four of the participants from Kültürpark say that they never have desire to eat ‘kebab’ which is traditional food of ‘eastern villages’. We want to briefly mention why they do not like to eat kebab. We argue that the notion of distinction becomes visible by means of differentiating from lower classes in these following comments by the participants. Mentioning especially about ‘culture of kebab’ shows us what they exclude from their own ‘culture’. They exclude kebab from their own culture by saying *‘I don’t have the culture of kebab’*. Thus, they separate people who like to eat kebab, in other words who have ‘the culture of kebab’ from their own cultures. When we ask the reason behind this separation, they make naturalized suggestions such as *‘maybe because we are from Aegean’* or *‘kebab lies heavy on my stomach’*. As we know, kebab comes from the east; kebab is the food of black Turks, hence Kurdish people. They use the culture of kebab as a pejorative thing and through this they differentiate themselves from other classes, or class fractions, which have a tendency to be about the culture of east. The following reference from one of the participants, Arman, will help to elaborate on what we mean. He defines the culture of lahmacun

²⁸ We mentioned detailed theoretical background about these consumption habits in the second chapter.

as follows; “...*The Anatolia brought Istanbul the culture of lahmacun. When I was living in Istanbul, no body had eaten Lahmacun*²⁹. *They ate ‘pide*³⁰. *They started to eat lahmacun afterwards. Beautiful culture of Istanbul has gone. Now there is arabesk culture. The people who love eating lahmacun and the people who can cook lahmacun have this culture. Istanbul received a large flow of immigrants from Anatolia who have culture of lahmacun. I know these because I am also from Anatolia. The money and that culture came from Anatolia to Istanbul, because people who came from ‘east’ have lots of money. You cannot separate lahmacun culture and the capital. They say I am ‘kiro*³¹ *but I have money. Who do you think you are? Who are you? ...*” We see some of our participants from Kültürpark (four of them) differentiate themselves from the ones who own the lahmacun culture. In the example of Arman, although he mentions that he is also from Anatolia he differentiates himself from ‘the people of lahmacun’. He emphasizes on intellectual capital he has and excludes others by saying they have only economic capital. Thus, he differentiates himself and sees himself above in the classification structure compared to them. He is different because he has a graduate diploma from the faculty of engineering, according to him the ones came from Anatolia do not have any cultural capital. Subsequently, there are four people in Kültürpark, which share this attitude.

Unlikely, there are participants from ETV who mention that they would like to eat Kebab. For example, Ramiz from ETV says that *‘I am a kind of gourmand and piggish. I eat kokoreç*³², *kebab at streets. I enjoy eating this kind of food because it exists in our food culture. Especially in Narlıdere there is this kind of culture. For that reason I can’t say I am a picky kind.’* We argue that this distinction within two tennis clubs is about the fact that they have the people who are located in different positions in class fractions. We should say that, although there are different

²⁹ Traditional food originated from ‘east villages’.

³⁰ Traditional ‘Anatolian’ food.

³¹ Kiro is a Kurdish word, which means ‘boy’. Arman uses the word ‘kiro’ pejorative way.

³² Kokoreç is a traditional food of Greece and Anatolia which is made up of grilled sheep’s intestines

approaches to style of eating meat, such as steak or kebab, people from the two tennis clubs have a general tendency about eating meat. However, most of them from each clubs also mention that they would like to eat fish.

Most of our participants from both clubs say that they do their food shopping from Migros, a supermarket chain. Even one of our participants says that *'even if I know I will be overcharged at Migros, I will shop from there. Because I feel satisfied at Migros since the shelves are well organized...'*. Thus we see that, the principle of consumption is not only about needs, it is also about tastes. And middle classes, as we have mentioned above, care for stylization. Furthermore most of them say that they never shop from markets such as A101 and BİM only because of political reasons. From both clubs participants say Islamic capital market owns these markets and they do not want to help them add money to Islamic capital. Berk from Kùltürpark says that, *'I don't buy from Bim, I don't but from A101, namely because these brands' reputation in society comes with 'United Islamic Markets' and so on. Plus, they are not like a market; they don't have any appeal any charm. For example, there aren't any market shelves, the products are underfoot'*. Similarly with Kùltürpark most of our participants from ETV do shopping from Migros. And some of them say that they do not do shopping from A101 and BİM because of 'political reasons'. Emine from ETV says, *'I don't prefer Bim and A101, because, I hear that Bim's income goes to Islamic parts, and A101's income goes to PKK, I don't know whether these rumors are true or not but I don't want to be a side and party of these politics hence I don't buy from these markets.'* We knew from Bourdieu that classes are not rigid categories and factors such as the political viewpoint, the age, the geographical district are also important elements to generate ones class position. We argue that for the participants from both clubs this emphasis about 'the politic market chains' is significant by means of creation of a class. Additionally, A101 and BİM are markets with the mission to provide accessibly priced food to lower classes that do not have the luxury of choice, therefore lower class people frequently do shopping from these markets. And the choice of not preferring these markets is general in both clubs that consist of middle classes who can afford to have taste of luxury.

In sum, when we make an overview we see that, there is a general tendency about shopping from the similar markets and not shopping from another group of similar markets. They generally choose to eat or not to eat the same things. This is again an indicator of they all in the same class. Unfortunately distinction strategies cannot be seen probably because of researcher's inexperience. Or this may be caused by the fact that nutrition is the very basic need and represents class' choices as a whole.

3.3.4.3. Clothing

In this section, we discuss clothing preferences of our participants: First, the thought about clothing styles, and second, buying preferences of them. In order to understand these we asked the questions such as, "If you have a clothing style what is it?" "What kinds of clothing style do you like or dislike?" "Do you prefer specific brands; why and why not?" When we analyzed the answers we observed specific tendencies between and within the tennis clubs.

Most of our participants from Kùltürpark and ETV mention that they have a style of clothing and it can be named 'sportive'. We want to note that this factor is related to Bourdieu's argument similar class fractions have similar tastes (Bourdieu, 2015). Some of them emphasize that their style is actually 'sportive chic'. *'I like to wear sportive, namely I always wear sportive. For example, the thing I mostly like is leggings, if I will go to bar at night I will put on a pair of boots and a leather jacket then I am ready.'* The majority of our participants from Kùltürpark have the same clothing style that is sportive. Hence for Bourdieu mentions that in today's world one does not have to talk about fashion but rather free, sportive and cool (clothing)(Bourdieu, 2016c, p. 232). Hence the ones self-differentiates themselves by means of not caring fashion like 'others' but wearing (and being) causal and cool.

Furthermore, when we ask the participants from both clubs what kind of clothing they dislike, we see that most of them share a *bête-noire* style: 'extravagant, fancy clothing, showily-dressed'. Like Burcu from Kùltürpark says, *'My clothing style is sportive and modern. Namely I do not like heavy make up, chic jewelry, lots of accessories or always having cool hair. I do not have this kind of styling. However, I*

definitely have a unique style, which is not a striking one. I like sportive, modern, minimalistic things. I definitely do not like sparkling jewelry. I definitely do not wear fancy, sparkling, things, because they do not look natural. I like having a natural appearance. I do not want to judge these people who are trying to be always chic and fashionable through sparkling things but I think they like showing off. And they are wearing these not only for showing off but also for expressing themselves. They express themselves through showing off. I do not have that kind of style.' Likewise, Hazal from Kültürpark says the similar things *'I do not like fancy things it does not look classy. It looks cheap; people wear this kind of fancy clothes to come to forefront, to draw attention.'* Similarly, Emine from ETV mentions that, *'the clothes that have much décolleté, are extravagant, such as with patterns of leopard fur (laughing) are very distant to me. I think it is a kind of display. I think people should attract notice not because of their clothes but rather their manners, attitude and style'*. It can be said that people who prefer extravagant outfits are criticized by the people from both clubs. Consequently, we think why the people from both clubs dislike that kind of clothing is essential for understanding 'distinction' process. We are able to see what they differentiate themselves from and whom, and what kind of people. The participants from both clubs classify the people as the ones who use appearance to be attractive and they name this kind of attitude as cheap or conspicuous. Thus, their taste is different and there is a classification struggle happening via the judgement of taste. Hence the fact that they mostly do not like the same clothing items is an indicator of their class position's similarity. And we may add that, because these kind of flashy clothing shows the desire of distinction apparently and without 'taste, because others understood this 'craving' they humiliate the ones who has clothing style like that.

Additionally, two of our participants from Kültürpark who work as trainers at similar ages say that *'I do not do what everybody does and so I do not wear what everybody wears.'* This kind of answers makes us think that these two differentiate themselves from everyone. Selim and Baha differentiate themselves from not only the other classes but also from with people that locate in their class fractions. For instance, Selim from Kültürpark says that *'I am not a fashion victim. How can I tell, I am*

different. You know that everyone does the same thing but I am not this kind of a person. I wear what I want, I do not care about fashion or something.' Similarly, Baha from Kùltürpark says that *'there is Under Armour madness in everybody. I never buy anything from this brand. Impossible. I do not buy the things, which are already in everybody's hands. It seems to me, 'he wears it so we should also wear it'. No brother, no. I think you should not follow everyone just because it's fashionable. You should wear what you want, what suits you.'* We see from these comments, there are people who are definitely against to wear what is fashionable in that time. Selim and Baha as trainers classify the people (including the members of the tennis club) who are keeping up with the fashion of that time and be a victim of it. Even Baha gives advice to the ones generally who are 'fashion victims' by saying 'No brother, no. Wear whatever you want'. We think it is important that these two are trainers within Kùltürpark, and they (Baha and Selim) differentiate themselves from the men who wear 'absurd' things just to be 'fashionable'. In addition, it is understood that they criticize the ones who are also the members of the tennis club. Accordingly, we observe that they differentiate themselves from the other members of the tennis club by using their judgement of taste. Thereby we would like remind Bourdieu's notion about "taste as a classifier"(Bourdieu, 2016b, p.191).

Quality emphasis is another characteristics of our participants in general. Most of our participants give importance to quality of clothing. Several people from Kùltürpark and most of the people from ETV mention that the price of clothes is not important for them. Even some of them say that *'I am not rich enough to buy poor quality products'*. While some of them argue that quality is not important I can buy whatever I like. Differently from ETV, in Kùltürpark nine of the participants say that they look at the price of the thing they are going to buy and if it is expensive they will not buy it. For example Beril from Kùltürpark says that, *'I do not have brand obsession, such as Vakko and Beymen, I even do not enter the shops of these brands because they are very expensive'*. However, in ETV nobody says this. Our participants from Kùltürpark can be said to be located in the higher positions of class structure. However some of them do not refrain from mentioning they do not buy what they find expensive. Although, our participants from ETV are closer to lower classes

nobody says anything about not buying goods if they find it expensive. Although the participants from K lt rpark look comfortable while talking about the absence of money, or mentioning that there are things that they find expensive, no one from ETV says such things. As we have mentioned above, people from the lower classes try to put themselves on an upper level. And this tendency in ETV can be seen as a result of this struggle. Because they idealize the shopping habits of upper classes, for them buying what they want is an indicator of feeling upper class. Hence they generally make this emphasis and never mention on overpriced goods. In conclusion, the participants from both clubs originate distinctions both from themselves, and both from the other classes.

3.3.5. Leisure Time Practices

In this section, we analyze the participants' preferences of leisure time activities. As Bourdieu argues, preferences about the sports or activities to be done, goods to be consumed so on, generate a life style besides depending on one. In order to understand the participants' life-styles, the things that they like or dislike and the way they keep away from the latter things are important features. For Bourdieu:

There are as many fields of preferences as there are fields of stylistic possibilities. Each of these worlds-drinks (mineral waters, wines and aperitifs) or automobiles, newspapers or holiday resorts, design or furnishing of house or garden, not to mention political programs-provides the small number of distinctive features which, functioning as a system of differences, differential deviations, allow the most fundamental social differences to be expressed almost as completely as through the most complex and refined expressive systems available in the legitimate arts; and it can be seen that the total field of these fields offers well-nigh inexhaustible possibilities for the pursuit of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984, p.226).

Thereby, every act and every thing one consumes or does is related with distinction mechanism. Consequently, what agents choose to do in their leisure time is also a crucial point of this process. In order to achieve the answers to our basic questions

we asked several more questions about the way they spend their holidays, weekends, the reason why they play tennis and the way they use the social media app Instagram. Through asking these questions we basically want to investigate two important questions: from what they differentiate themselves in general? And how do they differentiate themselves from each other?

3.3.5.1. Distinction on Holidays

According to Bourdieu, having free time to go on a holiday is an indicator in itself about one's class position. The preferences about what to do on a holiday and what to absolutely avoid - also give us clues about one's class position because it indicates one's life-style choices. In order to understand the distinction mechanisms in the sample we asked three questions. They can be found as follows: "What do you do on your holidays?" "What are they if there are things you never want to do on your holidays" "What is your dream holiday?" Through asking these questions we want to learn what kind of practices they do, what kind of practices they aspire, and what kind of holiday practices they differentiate from themselves. When we look at the answers we got from the sample we can say that there are three general tendencies about going on a holiday in the two tennis clubs. These are as follows: The first one is going on a ski holiday in winter. The second one is travelling abroad for touristic purposes and the third one is going on summer vacation for swimming. However, although the tendencies are similar in both clubs, namely class fractions, there are differences inside the fractions and we believe that these differences come into existence because of the differences of fraction within a class. Below, we analyzed holiday practices that shaped life-styles, and the distinctions about this.

3.3.5.1.1. Ski Holiday

In K lt rpark, there are three tendencies about doing ski. Firstly, four of our participants are doing ski since their childhood. Learning how to do ski in one's childhood is an indicator of the level of inherited cultural capital. Starting to do ski at six means that the family has the economic capital to supply a ski vacation. Besides, learning to do any sports in childhood affects one's success in that sport. In K lt rpark some of participants have been doing ski for years or since their

childhood. This practice is an indicator of their lifestyle and their position in the class struggle because, it means they are born 'advantageous'.

Secondly, two of them from Kültürpark are going on a ski holiday although they do not like doing ski as a sport. The fact that they mention about going to a ski resort for holiday but not about doing ski is important to note. It's because the atmosphere of the resort and the social environment it presents. In ski resort's people are not only there to do ski. The resorts serve not only ski runs and infrastructure for skiing (ski rental, organized ski run and lifts) but also luxurious spas, cool cafés near ski run, night fire parties, nightclubs, game rooms, which means resorts serve all-inclusive holiday package for entertainment. Hence, one does not have to do ski in order to go on a ski resort for holiday and there are participants as such at Kültürpark.

Thirdly and lastly, three of the participants from Kültürpark mention that they reject to see ski holiday as a fetish. We want to write down the participant Didem's comment: *'I like to do ski as a sport but there are masses that see ski as a cliché, they are going on a ski holiday perfunctorily, to show off. Such people say 'in any case we go on a ski holiday every mid-semester break. It's our indispensable'. Why? They go on a ski holiday because of its 'name', its 'brand', and because it sounds cool. I certainly do not like this. People who do ski 'only' as a sport and who have that kind of sporting 'habit' for years already go and ski without mentioning it in everywhere, they do not display it as the others.'* Didem differentiates herself from the people who go on ski holiday for conspicuous leisure. She intentionally or unintentionally classifies her environment as 'people like us' and 'the others'. We see she differentiates herself and people just like herself compared to the ones who like showing off. Her cultural capital is relatively high from the ones who do not do ski as a sport but go on a ski holiday. She has degree from arts and she works at the arts business. Her husband is a musician. Maybe because of these indicators about her intellectual capital she makes this kind of classification and differentiation. Bourdieu's notion about distinction becomes visible here. Yet, in Kültürpark there are such people as Didem who differentiate themselves. To exemplify, Beril mentions that, *'Although I don't like to do ski, I go on a ski holiday every winter. I*

like to go for gambling to the casinos at Cyprus. I love it. It is amazing. It gives me peace. If you handle your budget the atmosphere is very peaceful. Namely, the people who come to casinos do not have many problems. You get good service and there is sparkling atmosphere in casinos. Think about it, the only thing you have to do is to control your budget. That's it. Hence, I like going casinos. Yes I go also on ski holidays but definitely I don't like doing ski.' Consequently, Beril is a kind of person that Didem does not approve. During mentioning that she does not like the ones that see ski as a traditional fetishes vacation but not a sport, she criticizes 'Beril's kind' of people. Thereby she makes a classification over tastes and the reasons of the preferences and put she and the ones as her self in an upper level. These examples show the inner hierarchies within a fraction.

When it comes to ETV, there is also a tendency to go on a ski holiday as we mentioned before. Nearly half of the participants from ETV mention that they do ski for years. However in ETV, there is only one person who knows ski since his childhood(as an inherited cultural capital), and differently from Kültürpark, there are few people who say their *dream holiday* is going on a ski vacation. Although they do not know how to ski it does not matter for them. Just to smell the atmosphere in a café with scenery of the snowy mountain and watching skiers while drinking wine is their 'daydream'³³. This desire to be with upper classes, feeling like one of them, living the atmosphere, the thought of pleasure and enjoyment can be seen as one of the main struggles to climb the social ladder in classificatory process. The legitimate taste of dominant classes is always hegemonic in cultural arena. Additionally, we observe the desire of having the legitimate taste and lifestyle. Ozan says, '*...in a ski resort in Switzerland while everybody is skiing – of course I cannot ski but- I would like to drink wine and watch them.*' We want to note that Ozan says this sentence in our focus group. Meanwhile, there is Demir in this focus group that is doing ski for years. When Ozan gave this example we asked him 'What does it make you feel?' While Ozan says '*yes, this is what I dream*' Demir burst into laugh and begin to speak during laughing and saying: '*What will it make you feel? You will see the*

luxurious cars Porches, Ferraris, etc. You will feel like a loser when you see that much wealth.’ Then Ozan replies, *‘What do you want, you want something like that.’* In this sentence Ozan wants to say he wants something like that but the grammar structure of his sentence has definitely changed. Although in the previous sentence he talks with the first singular subject pronoun, after Demir enters with a laugh Ozan changed this with second singular subject pronoun: *‘This is what I dream... what do you want, you want something like that...’* This conversation between the members of ETV shows us the cultural and economic differences of different class fractions. For Bourdieu, culture reproduces power and in this process the people who are ‘blessed’ with legitimate order have the power to use symbolic violence on others. In this conversation process we see that Demir uses symbolic violence through kidding about Ozan’s³⁴ dream and later mentioning he is skiing for years, and therefore he has the legitimate life-style. However, we can sense from Demir’s comment that since he has not enough economic capital compared to dominant classes, or a Porche, a Ferrari when he goes on that kind of a holiday he feels like a ‘loser’ compared to dominant class, but he differentiates himself from Ozan, as well. Thus, just as Bourdieu mentions on *Distinction*, class relations are also relational and show itself in daily life as classificatory relations.

3.3.5.1.2. Travel & Tourism

The legitimate habitus within one class shapes its all choices, and the choices of lifestyles; yet tourism is not an exception. Travelling for touristic purposes is another general tendency of two clubs. However there are differences within them. When we asked the question ‘What do you do on your holidays?’ nearly everybody from both clubs say that they are travelling abroad to mostly Europe. Additionally again most of the participants from each tennis club say that their dream holiday is also travelling abroad.

However unlikely K lt rpark only in ETV some of our participants said that they have never travelled abroad for any reason so their dream is *travelling abroad*. For

³⁴ Demir goes to tennis tournaments abroad, he says he realize for years all of Ozan’s dreams such as: skiing, going to USA etc.

example, Ela who is a member of ETV said that *'I have never gone abroad in my life, it can be Greece or Greece Islands, but I would like to go, I feel a deficiency about this'*. Thinking of never having been to abroad as a shortcoming is also speaking the language of the legitimate cultural order. In order to adopt adequate lifestyle she should have been travel abroad, she knows this, she feels this from the conversations about the atmosphere and this symbolic power makes her feel lack. Moreover, Hayal from ETV says that her dream is going to America because her friends from tennis club praise America to the skies and because of the American movies she watched on television. Thus feeling the power of the legitimate culture and lifestyle shapes her dreams. Furthermore, again there is important dialogue exchanged between Ozan and Demir in our focus group. Ozan answers *'my dream holiday... What was it Florida? Well, was it Florida Beaches? As always shown in American movies and series. Ah no Miami. I want to be within the crowds and want to swim in that sea with people in Miami. They are jumping and running to the sea in films. There are many men and women running around you freely. I want to be with them and feel the freedom, together with them. We see it in TV like that and I want to live it in this way.'* Demir replies with laughing, *'I have been to these places. In reality there is not such a thing. TV shows it that way, do not believe it.'* Demir mentioned that he lived Ozan's dream before, and *'it is not a such thing'*. He makes a display and we feel that he classifies himself in an upper position. Thus, in symbolic arena there are classification struggles between Demir and Ozan. They are the members of the same club, their economic capitals are relatively equal to each other but their cultural capitals are different on behalf of Demir. Due to the fact that we make focus group different kind of classifications become visible such as inner classifications within a fraction as we have seen the example above.

Furthermore, as we mentioned before creating differentiation between 'others' is one's power in social other, one of our participants say about travelling abroad as, *'everyone goes to cliché locations such as Paris, Milano, I do not prefer this kind of places, I prefer fantastic places which is unpopular. For example I traveled to Cinque Terra, it was gorgeous, ah I did go to Paris but not anymore'*. This discourse is familiar from the other parts. And Serdar makes distinction and creating separation

between everybody.

Additionally, we see that several people from both tennis clubs mention that they conjoin vacation and tennis with each other, such as going to Paris to watch Roland Garros Tennis Tournament. Sevim from Kültürpark says *‘err.., honestly, I like eating and drinking, going abroad. We have a friend group from Kültürpark; we love both travelling and watching tennis matches on good tournaments. That’s why we organize our plans by considering the ATP tournaments. We choose the country we will travel only if there is a good tournament in there on that time. I love these kinds of holidays. Namely, I went for Roland Garros to France twice, I watched US Open in United States, I went to Rome to watch an ATP. We like this kind of holidays.’* Consequently, although we cannot claim that going holidays to watch international tennis tournaments is a general tendency because there is one participant from Kültürpark and one from ETV who mention that they prefer this kinds of holidays. Therefore it is not a clear and common an lifestyle indicator of the tennis clubs members.

3.3.5.1.3. Sun and Sea Tourism

Sea and sun tourism for summer is another tendency we observed with both tennis clubs. Whether this sea holiday will be on a boat or in luxurious all-inclusive hotel or in antique seaside town varies within the participants

In Kültürpark, there are two tendencies. First one is to spend all the time in all-inclusive luxurious resorts and do not leave the hotel, sunbath all day, get five-stared service. The participants with relatively higher economic capital compared to their cultural capital are generally have a tendency to go on this kind of a holiday. Another tendency is going to an antique seaside town, staying in a boutique hotel both touring around the historical places and also enjoying the sea. The participants who choose this kind of a holiday have relatively higher cultural capital, which leads us to observe inner fraction hierarchies. Furthermore, some of the participants that choose antique seaside town type holiday mention that they never want to go luxurious hotels as ‘some others’, because time is very precious and laying down all day means killing time, they want to ‘discover’ new places. In addition they differentiate

themselves from the ones who lie down and kill the time in their holidays. Such as Didem says that, *'In my holidays I want to go to sea but also want to visit archeological sites and museums, because culture and history is so important, maybe I am thinking like that because the education I had.'* Thus, we see she differentiates herself from the others through her educational capital. In KTP, there are people who would like to conjoin their holidays with artistic activities such as going to museums, however it is not the case in ETV.

In ETV, there are also similar tendencies about not preferring luxurious hotels, there are people who says that they are going all inclusive hotels, but there are people that saying *'It is not even the last choice for me to make the hotel holidays which is the first choice for the everyone.'* Thus, again we see the distinction process realized in the participant's comments.

In ETV unlikely from Kültürpark, there are few people who mention that they have boat trip on their holidays. Furthermore, there are people saying that their dream holiday is yachting. Beril who is worker with lycee degree says that, *'my dream is sunbathing on a yacht...yes in summer.'* Beril's dream is shaped through legitimate culture; maybe the 'charming' dominant image of people that are sunbathing and enjoying on a yacht is her desire, feeling free from the taste of necessity. Moreover, Hayal says that *'Once we had a yacht but we sold it for some reasons, but its joy is different, once you live in marina. For instance: level of people is very high in marina. The level is higher than compared to tennis. We loved it, I want to go Greece Islands on boat again.'* Although we understood from Hayal's words her family had a economic fall over, she uses her lived experience to gain symbolic power.

To sum up, about holiday practices, there are general tendencies in both participant groups as going on ski holiday, travel and sea tourism. However, the form of the realization of these practices differs in respect to creating differentiation and classification among others.

3.3.5.2 Distinction on Leisure Time Practices

In this part, we analyze the participants' preferences about weekends and their leisure time. There are several tendencies that strengthen our argument about their class position but there are also differences about the meanings of these practices which give us clues about class fractions of participants. We asked questions in order to understand what their preferences are and in order to see if and how differentiate themselves. The questions are as follows: "What do you do in your free time and at the weekends?" "What do you never want to do in your free time and at the weekends?" We detected three similar tendencies within both participant groups, which were spending time on artistic activities, going to Çeşme in summer, avoiding spending time in crowded places. However, there are differences and distinction mechanisms at work as well.

3.3.5.2.1. Artistic Activities

Firstly, the participants mentioned doing artistic activities in leisure time. In Kültürpark three times more people mentioned about their desire to do artistic activities in their leisure time as compared to ETV. These practices are, reading books, watching films, and going to concerts and visiting museums and art galleries. As we mentioned in chapter two Bourdieu in *The Love of Art* researches different classes different interests and understanding about works of art and in our research we also observed that the ones from upper fraction of the middle classes have much more interest on artistic activities as compared to the ones from the middle fraction. There are people from both tennis clubs that mentioned that they would read books and they would like to read many more books if they had time. Different struggles of classification occur in this process. For example, although one participant from Kültürpark classifies himself in an upper scale by saying he does not read what become bestseller, because he does not want to buy something that becomes popular and his tastes are not shaped by the popular culture, another participant from ETV classifies herself by saying that she reads too much because she has the capacity to be able to read and understand very fast. Going to cinema or watching movies at home are other activities, which is applied to both of the clubs. There are several participants from both clubs that say that they would like to watch box office movies

of similar genres such as romantic comedy, fantastic, and history. On the other hand, this rate is higher in ETV although Ela says that *'I especially like foreign movies. I don't like Turkish films. I am keen on American movies, for example I don't like festival films. I like action, adventure, detective and mystery films. I don't like festival movies because I find them 'heavy'. Scenes progress very slowly and there are too many stable scenes, the scenery is not mainly based on talk but it consists of very slow visual things. I get bored of them. Due to the fact that I like active films that kind of movies don't interest me.'* Subsequently, Ela gives the reasons of why she does not like art movies. Furthermore, there are not anybody in ETV says that he or she is interested in art films. However, in Kültürpark both the ones that are interested in art are higher for three times, and also there are people who say that they are interested in 'heavy' movies. For example, Gizem says that *'Just as I like books that are powerful by means of literature, I like 'heavy' movies to watch. I like art movies.'* Subsequently, although two of the clubs some participants say that they would like to watch movies, there are differences of their tastes. And tastes are crucial by means of classifying the others. Hence we see that the two clubs' judgement of taste of movies are different. Although there are people who say that they would like to watch art movies in Kültürpark, in ETV this is not the case and so there is a participant who says that she would never like to watch art films.

Furthermore, unlike ETV, in Kültürpark there are both self-titled and professional artists such as painters and sculptors. In addition, only the members of Kültürpark utter that they would like to go to the concerts, theatres, and see artistic exhibitions. These observations strengthen our assumptions about the members of Kültürpark who locate themselves (and they economically are) in an upper position in class structure by means of cultural capital.

3.3.5.2.2. Sun and Sea

Secondly, going to Çeşme that is İzmir's most luxurious seaside town at the weekends is a general tendency among the members of both clubs. We would like to offer some information about Çeşme. There are both private beaches and public beaches in this town. And three different tendencies towards swimming preferences

present themselves: first one is to choose private beaches for entertaining and ‘security’. Every private beach requires an entrance fee which costs at least 50TL approximately 15USD. Furthermore, the beaches offer parties with a DJ. In addition, one cannot enter the beach club without giving reference of an acquaintance, there are bodyguards at the entrance and they are able to not to permit potential customers. The seating prices range hierarchically; for example one have to order some sort of an alcoholic beverage which costs at least 1000 TL app. 250 USD in order to sit at a lodge. Second tendency is not to choose private beaches because of avoiding show-off and hence choosing calmer but secured beaches. These are generally private parts of public beaches, which offer only sunbed and umbrella with a more modest fee like 30tl. Thirdly and lastly, there are public beaches that are free and this leads these places to be the most crowded beaches, and people from the clubs are going to public beaches for just swimming and they quickly leave.

In Kültürpark nearly every participant (eleven in fifteen) has a summerhouse in Çeşme, which is an indicator of wealth. Hence they say that they generally go to the calm beaches, which are close to their house. In addition, some of the participants from Kültürpark say that they never want to go to the private beach clubs because these places serve as money trap. Due to the fact that economic capital of participants from Kültürpark is higher compared to the ones from ETV, it seems that they are much more comfortable to mention about what they find expensive and avoid to consume. For instance Arman from Kültürpark says that, *‘I never go to beach clubs, because they are money trap, very crowded, noisy and the sea is not clean. Especially the sea of Ayayorgi is no longer clean’*. In ETV there are not any people saying that they would like to go to beach clubs but at least they did not mention about the beach clubs saying that they ‘function like money trap’ as several participants from Kültürpark said.

The rate of owning a summerhouse is lower among the participants from ETV. In ETV only three of the participants (three in sixteen) have summerhouse in Çeşme, two of them mentioned that they had once but they sold it out, which leads us to think that they may have ‘fall down’ in the social strata. Consequently, This

information serves as an enriching fact about their economical capital as compared to the ones from Kltrpark; as we mentioned that economic capital of the participants from ETV is lower than the ones from Kltrpark, which can be given as one of the most important proofs of the difference in their class fraction. Thus, the participants from ETV mention that they go to Çeşme for one day at the weekends. Additionally, in ETV there are people who mentioned that once they had had a summerhouse in Çeşme but they had sold it for some reasons, which might be an indicator of losing wealth.

The general tendency among the members of both of the clubs is not going to public beach, which is they find crowded and unsafe. It is said to be unsafe because the people in the public beach are from lower classes and we know that these participants would classify the people from lower classes as dangerous and dirty. The shelter conditions of these lower class people play a part in this classification, obviously. To give an example, Hayal from ETV says that *'we went to Ilica Beach – which is a free public beach- for once, and we are harassed by men in there. Thus, we have never gone there again, we get used to clean and secure atmosphere in private beach clubs in Ayayorgi'*. And she adds *'once we had a summerhouse in Çeşme Ayayorgi district³⁵; and Babylon Beach Club³⁶ is free for us because Babylon uses our gated community's patch. We hang out in Babylon all summer, we all met and hang out with the artists that came to the Babylon, hence our summers were going great'*. We see that she classifies herself in an upper position because of her acquaintanceship of artists; which is her social capital. She is proud of her social capital, which is accumulated because of her family's wealth –the potential to own a summerhouse in Ayayorgi-. Consequently, Hayal from ETV says that they sold out their summerhouse and their yacht, but any way she is proud of 'her past life's conformity and she differentiates herself from the ones in ETV by mentioning her 'knowledge about rules of etiquette'. (However this approach of Hayal is not the dominant one in ETV).

³⁵ Which is nearly the most expensive district in Çeşme.

³⁶ Babylon Beach Club is located in Ayayorgi district. On night the club become night club and become concert hall. The entrance fee is approximately 70TL for a day.

Due to the fact that the private beach clubs' conspicuous atmosphere unlike Hayal from ETV some (four by number) participants from ETV mentioned that they would never want to go to this kind of places but they would rather choose more silent and calm places. They criticize the ones whom are going the private beach clubs such as Babylon, for example Aydan says that *'these kind of private beach clubs seem to me as a showcase, the people who go to these places are there to show off. I do not like the things they like'*. Hence, there are people in ETV creating differentiation about not marketing themselves in popular places; they choose more quiet beaches just for relaxing and swimming and they classify the ones who go to the clubs as Babylon for showing off. This attitude is familiar from K lt rpark. In K lt rpark due to the fact that participants mostly have a summerhouse in  eŐme, they say that they generally swim in the sea, which is most close to their home, clear and tranquil. For example Burcu from K lt rpark said that *'Due to the fact that we have summerhouse in  eŐme, we are generally there. I love the Sea of Boyalık³⁷, we live in Boyalık and so I go to the sea of Boyalık on foot. I don't like clubbing; I can only go tranquil beach clubs such as 'Kum Beach'*.

Third tendency is avoiding spending time in crowded places. This tendency is general without exception in each tennis club. Everybody mentions that they never want to go shopping malls at the weekends especially because of the crowd. When they are going to eat outside with relatives they mention that they avoid crowded cafes but rather choose to enjoy themselves in calm cafes with beautiful scenery. Generally in each club, members emphasize that the prices should be moderate without neglecting hygienic standards. For example, Sevim from K lt rpark says that, *'I mean the space doesn't have to be very luxurious for me. It is enough for me if the food I eat is delicious, the atmosphere of the sphere is clean and tranquil.'* However unlike the participants from K lt rpark, there are people (six by number) who mention that they definitely choose luxurious places in order to get good service in ETV. Which can be an indicator about their desire to feel like the upper class people. In conclusion, in this part we analyzed the preferences of leisure practices

³⁷ Which is one of the oldest districts in  eŐme.

especially about weekends. For example, Ela from ETV says that *'I prefer dining in the places that are chic, elegant and beautiful. I never prefer shabby places'*. In addition, Hayal from ETV says, *'I cannot eat anywhere. If my friends take me to shabby and sloppy places, I cannot eat anything. I mean, all the friends eat but I don't, I would rather being starved to eat in that shabby place. Namely, I will get the queasy feeling in that situation. Generally, I prefer eating at better places. I mean, we generally go places that are known as luxurious'*.

About criticizing lower classes leisure habits and creating distinction among them there is emphasis two of the participants from ETV. Fatma from ETV says that *'For instance I feel sorry about the youngsters that continuously smoke water pipe on Kordon. I mean there are better things to do. To have healthy life they can have a walk on the 'Kent Orman'. Its okay when smoking water pipe is occasional but there are people whom continuously do only this. Maybe they don't have any other options and opportunities to do better things. Maybe because of their financial restrictions...'* Similarly, Nil from ETV says, *'I don't prefer places like 'Nargile Café'³⁸. It is both unhealthy and the people who go to these cafes do this (smoking water pipe) continuously. They sit at the café and pipe all day. And it does not add any thing to them. I mean these people are not the same compared to the ones who listen to music and go to theater. Namely, for them the life is... Maybe they have narrow viewpoint. I don't know if it is bias or not but I think they are wasting their time, and I don't think that they taste any pleasure in their life. Their only aim is to kill their time... it may be because of their financial restrictions. Financial situation is also important. Going to the cinema is higher priced compared to smoking water-pipe...'* This talk happened on a focus group interview.

The similar tendency can be seen in Kültürpark, Handan from Kültürpark give example about the ones who go to Mount Yamanlar and do barbecue there. She says that she does not understand these people, what they are doing at Mount Yamanlar at the weekends. However, it was a focus group and another participant say that, *'I think you shouldn't say such thing or criticize these people, it's because they don't*

³⁸ Water-pipe cafe.

have enough money to do different things'. We think it is important that there is such talking in both clubs during a focus group interview hence, the difference is although the one from Kültürpark warn her friends about judging lower class choices in ETV this is not the case.

In conclusion, although there are similar tendencies such as both clubs' members say that they go to Çeşme, and both clubs members say that they would like to do artistic activities such as reading book or going to the cinema, how they do these activities show differences that indicate inner class hierarchies and fractions. Additionally, although they give similar examples their tastes are different. That indicates their cultural capital. Subsequently, several people from ETV and Kültürpark give example from lower class people's leisure activities and differentiate themselves from these.

3.3.5.2.3. Tennis

In this section, we analyzed what playing tennis meant to the participants and how the participants differentiated themselves through their feature of being tennis players from other classes and within their class. In order to understand these important notions we asked several questions such as, "What does playing tennis mean to you?" "Why do you prefer to play tennis in this club, or are there any other clubs do you want to be a member of?" "What are the differences between tennis and the other sports?" "Are there any people or applications you feel disturbed in this club?" When we look at the data we collected, we can see that there are several similar tendencies as well as important differences within each club. We will firstly look at similar tendencies that lead us to say that they have homogenous dispositions. Later on, we will look at the differentiations creating symbolic meanings, which indicates classificatory struggles within a class.

Firstly, tennis is not only a sport for them but is also a very crucial tool for accumulating their social capital. As we mentioned before, for Bourdieu social capital can be accumulated and sometimes it can even play a powerful role, even bigger than the economic capital, plays in classificatory struggles. Hence, the

participants consciously or unconsciously know the advantages of accumulating their social capital. For example, both of the tennis clubs' management demands reference from a member for an outsider to be accepted as a member. Furthermore if the management decides that the member behaves improperly they can cancel the membership. Participants say that they became members upon the recommendation of their references. A significant notion of the tennis club is the claim that through tennis their social environment expanded. Everyone from both clubs mentions that they made so many friends through tennis; tennis became a tool for increasing the number of their friends. Even some of them mentioned that they live through their social milieu occurred via tennis, and so tennis milieu become their life.

The members of different tennis clubs interpret pros and cons about the tennis milieu's effect on social capital in different ways. In ETV, some people said that becoming member of tennis club had them meet the people whom they would not meet otherwise. With Umut's words, *'I always prefer the system of membership in tennis clubs. Namely, I don't prefer going any open court and playing tennis. I always say this to my friends, come and be a member of a club. Because, within the club you will be more social, besides I met with lots of qualified people that I couldn't met any time. I mean, you met lots of people that you won't normally meet outside of the club.'* Thus, being a member of ETV leads them to meet people with higher status and this makes them feel satisfied about their milieu. However, we did not come across with such an emphasis in Kültürpark rather we saw an emphasis about community life. Arman from Kültürpark states that, *'this is a cosmopolite community. It has both pros and cons...Pros are, there are people in every single profession and there is every type of people. There are lots of people to consult in case of a problem about anything. The number of people you know is increasing. In today's Turkey, it is even hard to find people like-minded, but within this community you can communicate with the people...'* Hence as we understand from Arman's word, the community life of Kültürpark is good because one can meet with the people from every profession and in the case of a problem they provide a human source. Thus, this aspect of Arman is different from saying *'it is impossible for me to meet with these kind of people in my normal life'* such as Umut from ETV said.

Hence these clubs generate social capital but the interests of the people from this community may differ in order to position the people. For some it is a tool for climbing the social ladder while for some it is a tool for only increasing social network and also this feature tend to indicate the class fractions within a class. And this changes from class fraction to fraction.

Secondly, the participants from all clubs generally mention that cultural, educational and economic levels of tennis players are relatively higher compared to other sports and tennis is a sport of elites. The reasons of this can be given as follows: Firstly; tennis requires a kind of gentlemanliness and, it has not only written orders but also it has unwritten orders such as congratulating competitor and referees at the end of the match no matter what has happened during the match, and apologizing from competitor if any player gets the point because of the ball hit the net. Additionally, using slangs and behaving aggressively for any time and any reason are not allowed in the court, so it has a very different culture as compared to other sports such as football. Moreover, Ozan from ETV says *'unlike football the competitor is very distant to player and there is the net between two players, so you can only get closer to the competitor at most approximately one meter. The distance factor makes tennis very different compared to football. Because in football, players get in touch with each other, they draggle with each other's body fluids -such as sweat- they can push one another. However in tennis it is impossible and that's why it has a different culture. It is the sports of the rich.'* We see from Ozan's comment lower classes have a predisposition about touching each other comfortably however to an elite in upper classes this is unseemly. Third, according to the participants in general, playing tennis requires high levels of economic capital because one needs to buy rackets, balls, clothes and shoes that are produced only for tennis, which is not the same thing as playing football on the streets with only a ball. Such as Beril from Kùltürpark says *'Tennis is a luxury for me, because we make very big expenditure for tennis such as rackets, clothes, we do not regret and do shopping for tennis. For example I like to go to tournaments it is a luxury for me'*. Hence, it demands a membership of a tennis club, which requires variable amount of fee. Forth, the game has rules to be followed not only by the players, but also by the audience such as: providing an adequate

amount of silence during the match, applauding every player when they make score whether or not they like or dislike the player and never using slang any time for any reason. Hence, the participants compare tennis audience to football audience spontaneously and mention that the cultural level of the tennis audience is different from football audience. As Didem From Kültürpark says *'the level of audience is higher than football audience.'* In the same way, Aydan from ETV says *'even once the audience of tennis is different, audience has to be silent, I do not think that football audience can also be tennis audience in an appropriate way.'* Hence nearly all participants from different clubs classify themselves in an upper level as compared to football audience, so they gain higher positions in classification struggle by comparing football and tennis. Accordingly, from ETV some of our participants also make comparison with tennis and golf and they mention how golf is a very expensive sport with expensive clothes; and how impossible for them to be interested in golf. This shows the trickle down effect of tennis. Hence not only upper classes but also people from middle classes are able to play tennis in today's world.

We also asked if there were any other tennis clubs they want to be a member of and nearly everybody from ETV said that they would like to be a member of Kültürpark, which we regard as an important indicator of Kültürpark's higher position. They say the reason of their desire comes from the fact that Kültürpark is the longest-established club in İzmir. As Bourdieu notes, agents always want to locate themselves in upper positions in a class structure, and being a member of Kültürpark, joining in that community make them reach more elite network. Hayal is a case in point: *'The people from Kültürpark are different from us; even feeling the need to say that is peculiar because Kültürpark is the first club of İzmir, the people are more...well... I have so many friends from Kültürpark whom I know from Çeşme where we had a summerhouse...'* Hence Hayal differentiates between profiles of people from both clubs but she does not want to stand away from the Kültürpark's prestigious environment. She emphasized on her possessed summerhouse she had once upon a time. Through this house she met with the Kültürpark milieu because people from Kültürpark generally spend time in Çeşme in summers. Although she says that they are different from them she also adds she is not different since she is

also in the Kùltürpark milieu because of her wealth she hold once upon a time.

When we asked the same question the people from Kùltürpark, contrary to the people from ETV nobody said that they would like be members of ETV. However, they generally (thirteen in fifteen) say that they want to be members of Alliance Petty Tennis Club. Alliance Petty Tennis Club is İzmir's most expensive tennis club. In addition, getting accepted at this club is very difficult. In order to be accepted one has to donate high amounts of money to the club's association and board decides whether the applicant is suitable or not for the club. The member from Kùltürpark, Gizem, says that *'if I had a lot of money, I would like be a member of Alliance Clup'*. But they all give the reason of their desire is because of Alliance Clup located in Alsancak and it has clay court which is healthier than hard courts that are in Kùltürpark. In sum participants of both ETV and Kùltürpark want to be members of an higher rated tennis club but they do not want to be members of a 'lower rated' one. We think that this desire comes from being with the upper ones and hence increasing social capital and climbing the social ladder faster.

Here are distinction strategies observed within both Kùltürpark and ETV. Although in ETV, people with cultural capital create differentiation between them and others depending on their educational level, in Kùltürpark members create differentiation between the people who try to gain reputation through their money, and the ones who do not have the culture of sport and especially culture of tennis. Hence education becomes the notion of distinction process in ETV. For example Hayal from ETV says that *'people who play tennis are generally educated like us, we have similar aspects, and also the people who are uneducated come to this place. However, thanks to us they learn and they are rubbed by us, we educate them.'* This comment seems like a positive one but it shows the distinction strategies of the members within the same club through their educational capital. The ones with educational capital use this as a symbolic force and classify themselves in an upper level as compared to the ones lacking of educational capital. Therefore, the comment of Demir, who is a member of ETV, about the same topic, obviously contains his disturbance against uneducated people. When I asked the question 'Are there any

kind of people and applications in this club that you dislike?’ he answered me by making a wry face saying ‘*They are illiterate, uneducated and redneck people in this club, I am annoyed by them*’. We see that he differentiates himself and put himself in an upper level compared to the uneducated members. However in Kültürpark this process works with a different emphasis. Arman from Kültürpark thoughts as follows: ‘*Some people, who are not elite, try to behave like elite people by relying on some features of themselves like having money in this club. First, some of them rely on their good tennis. Some people who are good at playing tennis use this feature for gaining reputation amongst others. Second, they rely on money they have. Through relying on the money they try to gain prestige in this club. These kinds of people do not have any ethics of sport. Unfortunately, they do not have culture of sport, they were not born into this culture, they join late and they try to use tennis for gaining reputation. There are unfortunately these kinds of people in this club.*’ Thus, in Kültürpark, participants differentiate themselves from the ones who do not have culture of sports and culture of tennis, and who are unintellectual but only loaded. Thus, in Kültürpark the discourse of ‘money talks’ is not allowed and criticized by some people. Additionally, Arman classifies himself at a higher position compared to these kinds of people because he is experienced in this sport and he has culture of sport.

In conclusion, although participants from both tennis clubs mention that they all like the social milieu of tennis clubs, there are different approaches compared to the clubs. In ETV the participants mention that they intentionally like the milieu of tennis because tennis makes them meet with the people from upper levels and this will increase their social capital in a better way. On the other hand, there is not this kind of emphasis in participants from Kültürpark. Moreover, which is important for us to note that although people from Kültürpark wants to join Alliance Petty Club, people from ETV wants to join Kültürpark. Furthermore, in ETV participants criticize each other within the club such as because some of them are ‘uneducated’ in Kültürpark the participants’ criticize each other within the club such as because of they are ill mannered.

3.3.5.2.4. Instagram

In this section, we analyze the participants' interest in Instagram which is a social media application based on smart phones only. Because we have mentioned about Instagram and its features in the previous section, we are not going to repeat them again³⁹. In order to understand how and why the participants use Instagram and the notion of 'distinction' processes on Instagram by means of social classes we asked our participants several questions during semi-structured interview. These questions are: "Why do you use Instagram?" "What kind of uploaded photos do you like and what kind of photos do you dislike?" "Which ones are your favorite photos and why?"

We argue that this part is the most important part of the thesis. It is because of the reflection of the notion of distinction on social media. Due to the fact that we mentioned that within the social media applications the users show themselves with the most ideal form and shape. Additionally, Instagram is the most 'spectacle based' social media application because it is only based on photographs and very short videos. Furthermore, due to the fact that our participants share their 'idealized self' and 'idealized life' on Instagram, we can see middle fractions and upper fractions of middle classes idealized self and life through checking their Instagram. Moreover, just because we asked questions such as "Which photos you upload to your profile are the most meaningful and beautiful for you?" we have become able to reach their idealized idealized selves. Hence, we are qualified enough to compare the fractions' idealized self, which will support and supported by the other parts of the thesis.

Another important point about the importance of this part is given as follows: Due to the fact that the participants mostly say that they generally follow their peers, we can borrow from Bourdieu and say that that one's social capital is very related to ones social position on the social space. Therefore we can easily say that people from middle classes, which covers our participants, follow mostly people with whom share the same class. This fact also contributes to the importance of analysis by

³⁹ Ethical considerations are important on social media analysis. Even so we are not going to reveal any kind of image that indicates the participants personal data or identity.

means of distinction process within class, and makes it possible to see what these hierarchies, functioning inside the fractions. Furthermore, in this point we want to remind that Instagram is based on showing one's ways of seeing, and the ways in which he or she lives their life. Thus, when we asked these questions such as 'What type of questions do you dislike seeing on Instagram?' people criticize others with whom they generally share the same class, by means of their life, and lifestyle. This is also what Bourdieu mostly mentions about distinction, which is the differences and hierarchies of lifestyles as an indicator of the classes' ways of seeing in modern social space.

In ETV all of the participants have been using Instagram. Their reasons are mostly following their friends' activities and sharing the beautiful things they have encountered in life. Although we did not ask them to compare social media applications with each other such as Facebook versus Instagram, all of the participants automatically compared Instagram to Facebook and clarified why they liked Instagram most. Keeping Pew Internet View data⁴⁰ in mind, we knew that middle and upper classes are more likely to use Instagram as compared to Facebook and this data proved in our research as well. Hence, everybody as if they were speaking with a single tone mentioned that they took a dislike to Facebook because they got bored from 'the nonsense talk and unnecessary mentions' on Facebook. For instance, Hayal says, *'On Facebook there are too many people that write nonsense, I do not like to answer these people, I get bored from Facebook. However, on Instagram there is not such irritating things'*. Similarly Eda says, *'I like sharing the things that I see and like. It can be nature, sea, and woods. It is the reason why I drifted apart from Facebook and started spending time on Instagram, because on Facebook people only take their own photos during having fun with their friends. However Instagram is not like that, even my account is not private. Instagram is a place that I share beautiful things, beautiful places.'*

⁴⁰ http://www.pewinternet.org/files/2015/01/PI_SocialMediaUpdate20144.pdf date of access: 15.07.2017.

Another reason that they offer about using Instagram is following their social environment, and also being affected by them. Like Umut utters *'I use Instagram because of my peers. Namely you can see your friends and what they are doing. Sometimes you want to share on Instagram what you are doing. It is good for sharing memories, checking when you get bored. I like using Instagram. For instance, I am not using Facebook, it's been a long time that I have deactivated my Facebook account, because Instagram is more practical. I do not prefer Facebook anymore.'* The participants generally say that they check Instagram when they get bored and they do that every day. Hence minority of our participants say that they explore new things such as new places to go, new things to do, following fashion icons and get inspired from what they have seen. Nil says, *'I love Instagram; for once it exploring feature is beautiful I explore new artists or fashion styles there. Hence sometimes looking for your friends is a good thing, it makes one socialize.'*

Most of the participants from both tennis clubs mention that they generally follow their friends on Instagram. The purpose of this act is to sustain contact with their social environment. Some of them say that especially following fenomen⁴¹ pages and celebrities does not interest them and they only follow their friends. For ex: Serdar says *'As for me, Demet Akalin does not have any specialties.'* However, less of them say that they follow "fenomen"s such as fashion icons, make up artists, travel guides and documentary profiles such as national geographic. Their reasons are learning interesting things from these profiles, sharing good memoires with their loved ones, seeing their friends' good memoires and also sympathizing with their friend's happiness. Additionally, some participants who run their own business say that they use Instagram for publicity of their works and also get inspired from international sector about their working arenas.

In ETV all the participants say that they generally like to see photos of nature and natural beauties like beautiful sceneries such as sunset, seaside, and forest views, and pet animals such as dogs and cats. Hence, Eda says, *'I am interested in photos of*

⁴¹ Fenomen is a Turkish word, it's english is 'phenomenon'. However this word does not give what does it mean in Turkish. People with lots of followers mentioned as fenomen.

nature such as, the natural things like images of Northern Lights and tornados. Namely I particularly like photos of nature. And of course, I like images of pet animals, I am also a cat owner.' Similarly Salim says that he uses Instagram to make his followers see the natural beauties that he sees in his life. In a similar vein, when we asked them what they liked most within the photos they shared, some of them especially say that their favorite photos are the photos which show natural beauties. We want to recall that according to Bourdieu (2015), unlike people from upper classes, the people from lower and middle fractions of middle classes like the images from nature and the fact that participants from ETV like these kinds of images serves as another proof for our argument.

We want to focus on what participants from ETV dislike seeing on Instagram because the kind of images they dislike is very crucial for several reasons. Firstly, they say that they mostly follow their friends and acquaintances. We may presume that their social milieu is composed of people who stand near the same class position. Hence we think that looking at what they dislike on Instagram will give us the answers of the distinction mechanism that mostly processes *within* a class not as compared to other classes such as working class. Thus especially in ETV the distinction process within a class will become more visible because nearly all of them say that they only follow their acquaintances. So, when we asked what kinds of photos they dislike, they talk in the same tone saying that people who post everyday, who post too many selfies, and people who post photos whatever they do, eat and drink and post photos from wherever they go. We argue that, how they classify people that post these kinds of images is important for distinction mechanism.

About criticizing people who post themselves everywhere Hayal from ETV says; *'...For example, I get bored with the images while drinking coffee with a 'cool' presentation of coffee visual, but anyway if my close friends share these kind of posts I 'like' the post as matter of courtesy... Afterwards, I am not doing foolish things, I am not sharing nonsense and foolish images such as, at hospital for saying like the others; 'Look. I get sick'. Then for example, people post photos wherever they go*

and while whatever they do. 'Look I am at the beach, look I am at tennis club and so on' Namely, I certainly do not like excessive sharing of life, I think it is like over-displaying oneself.' Hence in these sentences we see she differentiates herself from people who share 'nonsense' photos. Even Hayal classifies the people as 'foolish' who share posts, which display themselves the way she tells. However, she says that also her friends share these kinds of images and she likes also these posts 'as a matter of courtesy' so although she thinks that they are doing foolish and nonsense things, although she sees them as a fool, and she mentions that she is different from them. She is so different, so kind and polite that she likes the foolish and nonsense posts 'as a matter of courtesy'. Similarly, Aydan from ETV says, *'I also share images but I clearly do not post everything I eat and drink at dinner table. I also share photos from where I go on holidays but I am not making a great show of this vacation like the ones who make like that way, clear? I do not like this kind of posts'*. Thus, we see that Aydan does not like the ones who are posting for show-off and classifies herself as more modest compared to them. Thus the distinction mechanism processes through modestness as etiquette and knowing the manner. The participants from ETV generally judge their fellows' attitudes' by means of lacking of manner and modesty. This shows us that within the fraction there are also differences and in ETV this process in terms knowing the 'manners'.

The participants also make comments concerning on 'the kiss selfie' which is commonly known as "duck face". Serdar says, *'I don't like people when they are having fun at bar or disco and giving pose with the kiss selfies, I always skip these kind of images.'* Similarly, Ramiz says *'I do not like young women giving pose while drinking alcohol with the kiss face selfies'*. Hence we see that they classify the ones as they misbehave on social media. Just as the comments above, they judge the others about whether they have good manners or not. Subsequently, having good manners functions as a strategy of distinction. People look at their fellows shared photos and they judge the photos by means of having good manners or not. Additionally, we may say that the male participants are disturbed by the sexuality of women and want to dominate their body and the acts of women, which is also a tool for power and domination. Hence body is a social product and masculine charisma is

a charisma of power (Bourdieu 2015c, p.103), we may say that these male participants talked through masculinities by deciding the orders for women.

Another tendency from ETV is criticizing people who are continuously sharing photo of themselves on Instagram. As social media is a convenient place for narcissistic sharings some of the participants emphasize about these ‘selfish’ photos they perpetually share. Nil says *‘for example, I don’t like the ones who continuously take photo of themselves. It seems unnatural and unnecessary. I don’t want to judge people but they took of themselves perpetually and it irritates me. Namely, why do they share of their pictures everyday? It is like being megalomaniac.’* Similarly Salim from ETV says, *‘I don’t like it when people show themselves in the forefront. Namely it can happen once or twice but people show themselves in every photo they share. For instance, I have some peers; they go abroad for vacation and share selfies that on the background there is a touristic place like palace but on the forefront there is his or her face. It is ok. You can present your face but not in every photo you share. I don’t like it. As for me they should show us interesting places not their face every time.’* Kenan from ETV also says that he does not like ‘selfish photos’. Consequently, participants from ETV criticize and judge who always display themselves to the forefront.

To sum up, participants from ETV mention that they generally only follow their peers. However, some of them say that they follow profiles such as National Geographic in order to learn and see some beautiful things. They choose the photos with the concept of natural beauties, and with the loved ones as their favorite photos. Hence they generally judge their peers for being selfish and behaving unmannerly. Most importantly they classify themselves in an upper position because they have good manners and courtesy compared to the others. Hence in ETV the distinction process on Instagram works as being modest and not behaving as parvenu and they classify themselves with their cultural capital as compared the ones that are judged by them.

When it comes to Kültürpark there are different tendencies about using Instagram as compared to ETV. Unlike ETV, the participants say that their reason for using Instagram is not only following their peers but also following artists and world-famous tennis players and athletes. According to Cansu from Kültürpark, *'the private life of people, whether they go to dinner or drink does not interest me. There are too many materials about these on Facebook. What interests me more for instance is, what kind photos that an artist, a writer, a philosopher share which I would like, these things interest me. That's because I use Instagram. I also follow my peers but only as a matter of courtesy, compulsorily.'* However, in ETV we saw that people say they only follow their peers and they are not interested in following famous people, which is not the case in Kültürpark. Furthermore, in Kültürpark users of Instagram say that they use their Instagram profile as a digital album for stocking their good memories, which is also not the case in ETV. People say that they are not using Instagram in order to learn the peers' activities but consider Instagram profile as a photo album. For example painter Berivan says that, *'Unlike my friends in this club I am not using Instagram in order to learn 'who does what, with whom, and where'. I think and see Instagram as an album. I share the work of arts I did such as painting, sculptures. I see Instagram as a stocking of memories. I am using it for this purpose.'* In addition, Nehir, who is interested in photography, also says that she only uses Instagram just for publishing her artistic photography.

Participants from Kültürpark say that they generally like to see photos from their loved ones, artists, athletes and tennis players. Unlike ETV there is not such an emphasis on natural beauties but rather there is an emphasis about artistic sharings, which is not the case in ETV. In our opinion, their interest in art in their real life affects their usage of Instagram. We may say people from Kültürpark give more importance in intellectual capital and that's because they want to improve themselves by means of art. In this context when we look at their own profile and ask which ones are their favorite photos, they show us their photos with the loved ones and work of arts, which they made.

Most of the participants from Kültürpark dislike some kinds of images that their peers share. These are such as sharing ‘duck faces and they say that they do not like posts that are unnatural and artificial. Berk says about the duck faces that, *‘I hate nonsense selfies. Especially kiss selfies that women share, they share only their lips, while they are singing in the car, I disgust them. I hate it because it seems unnatural, artificial, theatrical and irritative. Namely I like simplicity and naturality and these kinds of posts are out of my character.’* Thus, we see that Berk judges his woman peers for being unnatural and thus his dislike even triggers the feelings such as hatred and disgust. He classifies natural and simple people like himself on an upper level of hierarchical social order compared to people who make the duck face. Similarly Burcu also says that she likes natural and sympathetic photos of people, she says that she does not post her face.

Most of the participants from Kültürpark also dislike people who are sharing pictures excessively about whatever they do and wherever they go and people who are sharing photos of themselves continuously and at least everyday. Baha says that, *‘I want to say about what I dislike right away. For example, I don’t like poses that are shared during dinner at dinner table, or at the beach while sunbathing they share their legs and they have ruined that beautiful scenery of sea cost. Namely you will say ‘what a beautiful sea cost’ but there are hairy legs you see. Bro. Go away, I don’t want to see your hairy legs, let us to see that beautiful scenery, not your hairy legs. I don’t like this kind of posts. ‘I am there, I am here, we are having fun’ Bro. If you are having fun, go and have fun, why are you sharing it and publicize it online. I don’t love it.’* So, we see that Baha differentiates himself from others who ‘live’ their joy on social media. Hence not only Baha but also some other participants mention that they dislike people who share what they eat, what they drink every time because it is sharing private life excessively.

In conclusion, in Kültürpark there are different aims for using Instagram as compared to ETV such as following artists and getting inspired by them, and in ETV participants generally follow natural beauty pages. In addition, what they like and like to share is also different. Although in ETV participants emphasize on natural

beauties, in K lt rpark participants emphasize on inspiring sports players and works of art. We think that this difference emerges because of the differences in their intellectual capital and the way they define what creates distinction. We think that mentioning these interests to researcher is also an act for gaining position on behalf of researcher in distinction process. And what they say to gain higher position has changed from club-to-club, which can also be referred as from class fraction to fraction. Hence people from ETV make this difference through emphasizing on their respect to nature although people from K lt rpark emphasize on their respect to art and we think that this is an indicator about their tastes and thus their differences within a class.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, after a brief introduction, we mentioned about the sample and the method of the research. We made semi-structured in depth interviews with thirty-one participants. We mentioned about the features of tennis clubs that were under analysis and the general profile of participants. The participants from KTP are located in upper fraction of these middle class people and participants from ETV are located in middle fraction. In ‘The Space of Life-Styles’ part, we started to do qualitative content analysis of the data we got from the interviews. We firstly handled the thoughts about education, social classes and conspicuous consumption of the participants. Secondly, we analyzed participants’ thoughts about physical needs; which are sheltering, nutrition and clothing. Thirdly, we handled the leisure time practices. These are holidays (ski holiday, travelling, sun and sea). Then, we stated about their preferences about weekends and free time; which were artistic activities, playing tennis, swimming and the usage of Instagram. We did look at how participants from different class fractions made self-distinction and we discussed it through detecting the tendencies within both tennis clubs. We will make an elaborated conclusion about the data we analyzed in the conclusion chapter.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The major concern behind our study was to see how ‘the mechanism of distinction’⁴² functions between members of the different fractions of middle class in contemporary Turkey?”. Additionally, our study has a sub question: “How do the mechanisms of distinction and classificatory struggles function on Instagram based on images uploaded by users that are members of the fractions of the middle class?” Due to the fact that, class hierarchies and inequalities are also visible in cultural arena, in order to understand one aspect of culture-class relationship we went to two different tennis clubs in Izmir the members of which come from the different fractions of middle classes; KTP and ETV.

Due to the fact that we proclaimed theoretical background in a detailed way, we will not recall what we have wrote on first two chapters again. The third chapter is the analysis chapter. In this chapter after a brief introduction we deeply proclaim the features of the method and specialties of tennis club’s within the sample part. The method of the study is non-random method, which is non-probability sampling, and we got contacted with the participants with the snowball sampling method with the help of gatekeepers within each club. We made semi-structured interviews with the candidate participants, fifteen in KTP and sixteen in ETV. There are two focus groups handled automatically because of the participant’s preferences about talking in public, one from ETV and one from KTP. Additionally, we analyze the data we got via the analysis method of qualitative content analysis. The semi-structured interview questions helped us to create categories about the data we took during the analysis process.

⁴² Alternatively we may use the term sense of distinction ‘sense of distinction’.

The tennis clubs we took into consideration were KTP and ETV. KTP is located in Alsancak, the upper-class district of İzmir, and the oldest tennis club of İzmir that is founded by notable person of İzmir such as, Nejat Eczacıbaşı and Ali Halim Bayer. The membership fee is relatively high as compared to some other tennis clubs including ETV. On the other hand, ETV is located in Balçova, which is middle-class district of İzmir. It is not as old as KTP and its membership fee is much more reasonable compared to KTP.

In the third chapter afterwards, we analyzed the general profile of our participants. We demonstrate the demographic variables of participants, such as age, gender, education, profession and employment conditions. Fortunately, due to the fact that the researcher's relatives are the gatekeepers, and the researcher and her relatives are the members of ETV tennis club, and they join the tournaments in KTP for many years she is familiar with participants generally. Because of their 'manners', it is a shame to reveal their monthly incomes for middle and upper classes. After getting rejected via the question 'Why do you need this information?' the researcher stopped asking their monthly income. However, the other information we obtained is adequately satisfactory for us to make the research and analysis.

Demographic features are, age, gender, education, profession and employment conditions. The average age rate of both tennis clubs is forty-three which makes the groups comparable. Gender rate is equal in ETV, but it is not similar in KTP, that female participants are pretty high. Education is another important variable; in KTP the graduate education is higher as compared to ETV. Furthermore, there are people who study abroad, or who send their children to study abroad which are important indicators of wealth and it is not the case in ETV. When we look at the profession we see that similar professions exist in both tennis clubs but the employment conditions are different. For example, in KTP there are more people who run their own business, which definitely affects the income and purchasing power. Hence nearly all of the participants from KTP have a summerhouse in Çeşme which is the upper-elite summer district of İzmir and owning a summerhouse there definitely requires high amounts of economic capital, which again is not the case in ETV. Consequently,

when we looked at the concrete and objective data of the research we prove our predetermination of the ones from KTP is in upper fraction when compared the ones from ETV.

After we proclaimed the demographics we made a qualitative content analysis about what the participants from different tennis clubs thought about the importance of education. Not surprisingly, the ones from KTP mostly said that education was important but the education that was received was much more important. This reminds us what Bourdieu says about the inherited cultural capital. Due to the fact that, having an education based diploma has got easier, the ones who already has got it has to use another differentiation strategy in order to make self-distinction. Hence, as the ones from KTP know that everybody already has an undergraduate diploma, they mention that institutionalized state of cultural capital is important but, the inherited cultural capital is even more important, hence in this respect, the manners the kid has learned from his or her relatives and the case that s/he knows how to behave in any condition is assumed to have a much bigger significance for the ones who are the members of KTP. Hence, this is not the case in ETV. In ETV all the participants mentioned that school education was very important and they did not emphasized on early education that is provided by family or hired professionals. Hence even some participants say that education is not only important for ‘science’ but is also important to learn how to talk with a ‘good’ Turkish accent that is in reality not learned in the school but at the family environment instead. Consequently, Bourdieu mentions in the *Reproduction (1997)* education system as a most naturalized tool of inequalities within social classes. Namely, the ones from KTP make their self-distinction via their inherited cultural capital. However, the ones from ETV make their self-distinction through their educational capital that is learned in school.

After that we analyzed the data about what the participants thought about social classes. Most of the participants from KTP say that they do not like to classify people in accordance with their economic capital. Some say people may be classified through education, which also reminds us they give much more importance in

inherited cultural capital and inherited education thus, this again contains inequalities. Most of them do not give answer to our question say that they do not want to categorize their position. However, some say that they are from '*lucky fraction*'. They feel that they are from upper class but they do not prefer to use the term 'upper class' but rather prefer to say 'lucky fraction'. We think that probably because of their 'manners' and etiquette rules they do not use the term. Hence, in ETV people generally answer the question and say that they are from middle class. However, there are people who say and use the term that they are from upper class. In other words, generally in KTP and ETV participants make self-distinction via their cultural capital not economic capital.

In the conspicuous consumption part, we analyzed participants' answers about what they think about luxurious consumption. There is a general tendency about criticizing people who consume conspicuously, for showing off, or act as parvenu. However, participants from different tennis clubs give different answers. Participants from ETV said that they were against people who showed off through using his or her money in order to gain status in society. Hence we see that they severely reprimand the ones who use their money for gaining status in society. Consequently, their 'sense of distinction' comes from behaving with regards to moral values and gaining respect through this feature they have, not via economic capital they hold. On the other hand, minority of the participants from ETV mentioned that they would like to buy goods from luxurious brands, which is not the case in KTP. Furthermore, although the ones from KTP also criticize people who make conspicuous consumption, their anchor point is different. Unlike the participants from ETV, participants from KTP stated that they were able to buy luxury goods in the direction of their tastes. However, they said that they would never choose a product like a Rolex branded watch that it's high price of known by 'everybody', but rather they would buy something which is unknown but also expensive (i.e. as Rolex) just because it appeals to their taste. This means that they make self-distinction not for through their economic capital, they do not want to be seen as parvenu but rather they differentiate themselves via their tastes. In this respect we want to recall what Bourdieu (1990, p.50) mentions about conspicuous consumption. He says that if

consumption's aim for distinction is naively obvious and exhibitionistic and so conspicuous, it is spotted by upper class and stigmatized as 'imitation'. At this point we observe that the ones from KTP prevent others from seeing them as a parvenu and put forward their tastes 'on the front'⁴³. Furthermore, some participants from KTP said that they would like to make luxurious consumption for artistic purposes, i.e. buying a painting or going to concert, but this is not the case in ETV.

Afterwards, we analyzed the preferences of participants such as sheltering, nutrition and clothing which we sort under the umbrella of 'physical needs'. According to Bourdieu, sheltering, namely the preferred kind of a home to live depends on ones composition and total volume of capitals, so it depends on class position, which also generates life-styles and tastes. The participants from both tennis clubs mentioned that they would never like to live in districts as Buca, which is working-class district. Actually, the reasoning of the members of two different tennis clubs is different. Although the ones from KTP mainly emphasized about the disorganized structure of the district, the ones from ETV emphasized about vulgarness of the people that lived in these district and they also said that they would not prefer these districts in order not to communicate with these vulgar people. Our implication for this situation is, due to the fact that the ones from ETV are much closer to downward mobility, the fear they have about falling down and being 'equal' to these people, which they stigmatized as 'vulgar' emerges. However, the participants from KTP do not have this fear and they focused on more concrete facts about the district. Furthermore, participants from KTP live mostly in Alsancak, and happy about it for the reasons of closeness to cultural and artistic centers. Additionally, participants from ETV live mostly in Balçova which is much more affordable as compared to Alsancak. However, when they answer about what their dream home is the ones from ETV mentioned mostly that they have already been living in their dream home, which reminds of the taste of necessity; not desiring the thing already if it is impossible to have.

⁴³ Please see Goffman (2012).

When it comes to their nutrition preferences, the ones from KTP prefer staying distant from the tastes of working class such as fatty foods much more than the ones in ETV do. A deliberate number of people in KTP mention that they would not like to eat foods like kebab because they do not have a ‘kebab culture’. Hence they never long for eating kebab and similar foods. However, this is not the case in ETV. Except from this feature, the ones from ETV and KTP have similar tendencies towards preferring protein based, light foods, such as fish. It is a thing that Bourdieu (1984) also mentions and we proclaim in the second chapter, nutrition part. Hence the participants from all clubs mentioned that they would not choose to buy from super market chains which had close relations to Islamic capital, which reminds us Izmir’s secular feature as a city and class is not generated only by economic or cultural features but other features are also important in homogenous predispositions.

Their clothing preferences are in general ‘sportive’ which also Bourdieu notes that (2016c) ‘high’ fashion has changed especially for women that their choices seem effortlessly simple. Hence, the most of the participants from KTP and ETV mentioned that they would like to wear casual and basic clothes. Furthermore, they also dislike the fancy clothing, which they say that they find it ‘cheap’. Hence there are also people that differentiate themselves from every kind of fashion style by saying they are avoiding being a fashion victim. Hence they make self-distinction by means of being cool and casual. Additionally, they criticize the taste of the ones who wear extravagant outfits for show-off and but look ‘cheap’. Differently, the ones from KTP mention that they do not prefer expensive brands such as Vakko and Beymen because of the price of it. Although the ones from KTP have relatively high economic capital compared to the ones in ETV, we do not see such thing in the participants from the latter one who say that they prefer whatever they would like wear and do not care about the price. In sum for us, it is because their desire to be and look like in upper level. Namely, the ones from KTP make self-distinction via wearing casual clothing and not wearing flashy. Additionally, they wear according to their income level. On the other hand, the ones from ETV also mention that they prefer to wear sportive clothing and reject to wear ‘cheap’ and flashy clothing. In

addition they buy what they want whether or not its price is high or low. After clarifying these 'physical needs' we afterwards mentioned leisure time practices.

Questions about leisure time practices were asked also to the participants, which the life-styles can be observed within the choices of leisure time. We categorized these as, holidays, playing tennis, artistic activities and Instagram usage via photography. Firstly, we divide choices of holidays into three; these are ski holiday, travel and tourism, sun and sea tourism. The participants from both tennis clubs mentioned about going to ski as a vacation. Hence in the KTP there are much more people who have been doing skiing since their childhood, which enriches their inherited cultural capital. Furthermore, in KTP there are people who go on ski holidays although they do not like skiing. Additionally, there are people who criticize people that take ski holiday as a fetish and instead of taking ski as a sport. Hence the ones that go to do skiing as sports activity differentiate themselves from the others through criticizing them as behaving like a parvenu. However, we do not see this kind of difference in ETV but we see that, there are people whose *dream holiday* is going on a ski holiday, which shows the differences within their fractions. The same thing is observed about travelling abroad, although in KTP and ETV participants say that they like to go an abroad vacation, in ETV there are also people who say that their dream is going abroad for vacation. Hence, there are people in KTP who unite their holiday with artistic activities such as going to museums, exhibitions or art galleries. Furthermore, going to seaside for swimming is another activity that they would like to do. There are people who make a holiday on yacht in both clubs hence only in ETV a participant said that '*my dream is sunbathing on a yacht*'.

After learning what their preferences to do in their holidays we also ask what they choose to do on their free times, and weekends. The ones from KTP mention that they would like to go theater, concerts, art exhibitions, read books and watch films as an artistic and cultural activities. Some say they would like to watch art films, and heavy literature novels. On the other hand, the ones from ETV also give examples from reading books or watching films but they say they generally prefer bestseller or Hollywood movies that show us their tastes are different. Furthermore, going to

Çeşme at the weekends is very common among the participants from in both clubs. However, most of the participants have a summerhouse in Çeşme and this make their beach preferences differ. Furthermore we see a distance to lower class people's weekend activities such as barbecuing on timberlands or 'killing time' in coffeehouses, and Nargile-Cafes.

Playing tennis and being members of tennis clubs is more than a sportive activity but also a socializing space for making friends as form them in general. In KTP the participants make self-distinction through criticizing some members as they try to gain status via their economic power or their good tennis skills. However, in ETV participants say that there are some other members who are uneducated, but they show how educated they are with their knowledge of manners. Hence there are different self-distinction processes is functioning in different clubs. In KTP the participants make self distinction through their moral manner rules (inherited cultural capital from family), in ETV the participants make self distinction because they are educated; have a bachelor's degree; and that's why they know how to behave in society.

The usage of Instagram and photography is another free time activity of the participants from both clubs. Hence the tastes about photography differ. The participants from KTP mention that they would like to follow artistic pages and share artistic photos and see Instagram as a gallery, although the ones from ETV would like to share images from nature, and would like to follow pages as Natural Geographic to see world beauties. This difference shows their tastes are also different. We know from Bourdieu (1984) that middle classes are more curious about nature but when someone moves upwards in the social stratification, the interest on nature give its place to art. Furthermore, the participants from both clubs dislike the selfish sharings of their peers and the users who upload photos in everywhere such as what they do and what they eat. They find this kind of sharings unethical and unpleasant. Namely generally the participants from both clubs make self-distinction through their knowledge about etiquette rules. Another important point is the participants from all clubs said that they generally follow their social milieu, which

can be considered as they follow the people who share the similar social class locations with them. This makes their self-distinction made among ‘others’ but within the ‘same’ class and that’s why analyzing Instagram is important.

In conclusion, we saw that, middle class fractions differ within each other by means of tastes and cultural preferences. Hence their reasonings are likely to differ as compared to each other, and they use different distinction strategies between each other according to what type of capital they have most, such as upper fraction of middle classes use their inherited cultural capital in respect to differentiating each other from middle fraction. And people from middle fraction use their educational capital because they have less of inherited one. Furthermore, in comparing with lower classes we see a general tendency about what they dislike but the reasonings of them is again differs. Hence, in this study we observed and analyzed the distinction strategies within a class and compared to lower classes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1- How old are you?
- 2- What is your educational condition?
- 3- What is your job?
- 4- How do you spend your free time?
- 5- Are there any free time practices that you would rather not to do?
- 6- What do you like to do at your holidays?
- 7- What is your dream vacation?
- 8- Are there any holiday practices that you would rather not to do?
- 9- There is something called clothing style. Do you have a style of clothing, if yes, how is it?
- 10- If there are any clothing styles that is distant to you, what is it?
- 11- What are your essential preferences for food?
- 12- Where do you prefer to make your food purchases?
- 13- Where do you prefer not to make your food purchases?
- 14- What are the reasons for choosing the house you are sitting in?
- 15- What is the house of your dreams like?
- 16- Are there any districts you do not want to stay? Why?
- 17- If you want to buy a luxurious product what is it and why?
- 18- If there are any luxurious consumption goods that you never would like to buy, what are they?
- 19- What is the importance of playing tennis for you?
- 20- How did playing tennis contribute to your life?
- 21- What is the difference of tennis between other sports?
- 22- Why are you a member of this tennis club? What are the reasons behind your choice?
- 23- Are there any other tennis clubs that do you want to be a member of? Why?

- 24- Why are you using Instagram?
- 25- Who are you following on Instagram? Why?
- 26- What kinds of images do you like in Instagram? Why?
- 27- What kind of photos do you dislike in Instagram? Why?
- 28- From what perspective do you criticize the sharings of people in Instagram?
- 29- What did you like most about the photos you recently shared?
- 30- How important is education to you in improving oneself?
- 31- If we distinguish socio-economic groups in the society as middle, upper and lower class, which group do you most feel close to?

APPENDIX B

TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

ORTA SINIFLAR ARASINDA AYRIM: İZMİR'DEKİ İKİ TENİS KULÜBÜ ÜYELERİ HAKKINDA BİR NİTELİKSEL ÇALIŞMA

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) sosyolojisinden oldukça etkilenmiş olan bu çalışmada, orta sınıflar arasındaki 'ayrışma mekanizması' incelenmiştir. Araştırmanın sorusu "Günümüz Türkiye'sinde 'ayrışma mekanizması' orta sınıfın farklı fraksiyonları arasında nasıl işlemektedir?" Dir. Araştırmanın örnekleme tesadüfi olmayan örneklemdir ve temsili değildir. Kartopu örnekleme yöntemi kullanılarak otuz bir katılımcı ile yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Elde edilen veriler niteliksel içerik analizi yöntemi aracılığıyla analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda, orta sınıf fraksiyonların kültürel pratikler dolayısıyla kendi aralarında ayrışma amaçlı farklı stratejiler uyguladıkları alt sınıflara karşı ayırma ise benzer yakınlıklar geliştirdikleri gözlemlenmiştir.

Pierre Bourdieu modern toplumlarda kültür ve sınıf arasındaki ilişki hakkında araştırmalar yapmış olan en önemli sosyologlardan biridir. Ona göre, yalnızca ekonomik yapı değil aynı zamanda kültürel yapı da bir iktidar aracı olarak işler ve bireyler arasında eşitsizlikler yaratır. Bourdieu'ya göre, insanlar pasif değil karar verici aktif fail-bireylerdir. Tabakalaşmış toplumsal düzende, bireyler yukarı doğru hareketlilik arzusu içerisindeyken, aşağı düşme korkusu duyarlar. Bourdieu da kültürün yukarı doğru hareketlilik için bir iktidar kazanma aracı olarak nasıl kullanıldığını açıklamıştır (Swartz, 2015, p.17).

Bourdieu'ya göre farklı sınıfların tüketim temelli yaşam tarzları ile ilgili farklı yakınlıkları vardır. Egemen sınıfın yaşam stili meşru hale gelmiştir ve daha aşağı pozisyonlardaki bireyler tarafından arzulanana olagelmıştır. Dahası, ona göre sınıf mücadelesi kültürel alanda kendisini 'sınıflandırıcı mücadeleler' olarak gösterir, ve ayırma amacı bu süreçte temel hale gelir. Tezimizin konusu da orta sınıflar

içerisindeki ayrılaşma sürecidir. Dolayısıyla günümüz Türkiye’inde ‘ayrılaşma mekanizması’ orta sınıfın farklı fraksiyonları arasında nasıl işlemektedir sorusu araştırmamız için temel önem arz etmektedir.

Bahsettiğimiz orta sınıf fraksiyonlarını bulmak adına, İzmir’de bulunan iki farklı tenis kulübüne giderek araştırmamızı bu kulüplerden birinde üye olan kişiler arasında gerçekleştirdik. İlk tenis kulübü Kültürpark Tenis Kulübüdür. İzmir’in ilk tenis kulübü olan bu kulüp 1941 yılında İzmir’in önde gelen sanayicileri ve politikacılarının destekleriyle kurulmuştur. KTP İzmir’in gözde merkezlerinden olan Alsancak semtinde yer almaktadır. Ayrıca KTP’nin üyelik ücreti Alyans Küçük Kulüp olarak geçen kulüp hariç diğer tenis kulüplerine nazaran fazladır. Analizimizin kapsamındaki öteki kulüp ise ETV’dir. ETV İzmir’in daha ulaşılabilir orta-sınıf semti denilebilecek olan Balçova semtinde yer almaktadır. KTP ile kıyaslandığında üyelik ücretleri çok daha uygundur. Dolayısıyla orta sınıflar için ulaşılması daha mümkündür. Bu iki farklı tenis kulübünün kabaca orta sınıfın üst fraksiyonu ve orta fraksiyonunu temsil ettiğini iddia etmekteyiz. Mülakatlarda, farklı kategorilerin altında sorular sorarak araştırma sorumuza cevap bulmaya gayret ettik.

Tezimizin giriş bölümünde tezin ilerleyen kısımlarında yer alan detayları kabaca açıkladıktan sonra ikinci bölümde teorik arka plandan bahsettik. İlk olarak sınıf meselesi ile ilgili Marksist ve Weberci yaklaşımdan kısaca söz ettikten sonra Bourdieu’nun sınıf analizini açıklamaya gayret ettik. Bourdieu’nun tasarladığı sınıf analizinin en önemli işlevi ampirik açılardan kullanışlı olmasıdır. Sınıfı ‘kağıt üzerinde’ açıklamak üzere bir ‘üç boyutlu bir uzam’ tasvir etmiştir. Bu uzamda genişletilmiş sermaye biçimleri sınıfları konumlandırmada önemli rol oynar. Bourdieu’ya göre yalnızca ekonomik sermaye değil aynı zamanda kültürel, sosyal ve sembolik sermayeler de vardır. Bourdieu’nun sermaye nosyonu ve özellikle kültürel sermayeye getirdiği atıf tabakalaşmış toplumlardaki eşitsiz ilişkileri açıklamak için önemli bir role sahiptir. Kültürel sermayeyi üçe ayırır, kültürel sermayenin üç farklı hali vardır; bedenselleşmiş, nesneleşmiş ve kurumsallaşmış hali. Kurumsallaşmış halinin bir boyutu eğitsel sermayedir ki bu da toplumdaki eşitsizlikleri gizlemede en etkili olan sermaye türüdür. Bunların yanı sıra, kültürel sermaye miras bırakılabilir

ve miras alınabilir. Kültürel sermayenin bu özelliği eşitsizlikleri devam ettirir, çünkü birey- faillerin toplumdaki konumu sahip oldukları toplam sermaye miktarına göre belirlenir (Bourdieu, 2015, p.121). Bunun yanı sıra, bireylerin sermayelerinin hacmi onların sınıfını, sermayelerinin bileşimi ise onların içinde buldukları sınıf fraksiyonunu belirler. Bu noktada ayrılaşma ve ayrımın anlamı farklı sermayelere sahip bireylerin sınıf pozisyonuna göre farklı olarak şekillenmektedir. Bourdieu'ya göre sınıflandırıcı mücadelelerin temeli olan sınıflandırıcı beğeni yargısı ayrım hissinin ana hattını açıklar. Bizim analizimizde de beğeni, bireylerin neyi beğenip neyi beğenmediği ve bunun farklı gruplar arasındaki genel dağılımı ve eğilimi önemli yer tutmuştur.

Bu meseleyi açıklamaya çalışırken elbette kültürel tüketim odaklı yaşam stilleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Bunun nedeni farklı yaşam stillerinin bireyler arasındaki kültürel hiyerarşileri görünür kılmalarıdır. Ayrım hissi ve beğeni yargısı aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilen sınıflandırıcı mücadeleleri anlamak adına yaşam stillerini incelemek önemlidir. Kültürel tüketim ve yaşam tarzları denildiğinde, Bourdieu yarattığı teorinin Thorstein Veblen'in *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi*(1915) eserindeki gösterişçi tüketim nosyonu ile hangi açılardan bağdaşmadığını ve farklı olduğunu da vurgular ve biz de bu nosyon üzerinde durmayı kıymetli bulduk. Bourdieu'ya göre bir kültürel tüketimin 'ayrım' amacı ile yapıldığı apaçık ortada ise onun ayrım talebi iş görmez(Bourdieu, 1990, s.50). Bourdieu'nun teorisinin Veblen'inkinden farklı olmasının bir nedeni de budur (Bourdieu, 2015).

Farklı yaşam tarzları boş zamanlarda gerçekleştirilen pratiklerin farklılaşmasına neden olur. Tercih edilen boş zaman pratikleri bireylerin toplumsal sınıflarına göre farklılığa sahiptir. Tenis oynamak, sanatla, fotoğrafçılıkla ilgilenmek, Instagram kullanmak ve tatile çıkmak gibi farklı kategoriler üzerinden katılımcılarımızın yatkınlıklarını analiz ettiğimiz için Bourdieu'nun bu husustaki analizlerinden de yararlandık. Bourdieu'ya göre, bir kişinin hangi sporu yapmayı tercih edeceği o kişinin ait olduğu toplumsal sınıftan bağımsız değildir. Tenis sporu örneğinde tenis ilk olarak bir elit sporu olagelmışken zamanla daha alt sınıflar da tenis oynama imkanlarına ulaşmışlardır. Fakat Bourdieu'ya göre tüm simgesel metalar kullanılarak

özel bir kulüpte oynanan tenis ile herhangi bir kortta oynanan ve hiç bir geleneksel kuralı (kılık kıyafet vs.) uygulamayan tenis basbayağı *farklı* bir tenistir (1978). Bunun yanı sıra bir grubun futbolu mu yoksa tenisi mi oynamayı tercih edeceği de o grubun toplumsal sınıfından bağımsız değildir.

Farklı toplumsal sınıfların sanat ile olan ilişkilerini de incelemiş olan Bourdieu bir ortak çalışma olan *Sanat Sevdası(1991)* adlı eserinde farklı toplumsal sınıfların özellikle müze gezme pratiklerine değinmiştir. Buna göre, ‘ağır sanat’ bir çeşit eğitim gerektirdiğinden her toplumsal sınıfın sanat yapıtından anladığı ve alımladığı şey farklıdır. Örneğin, fotoğraf orta ve alt sınıflar için sanatsal bir pratik olarak algılanırken, üst sınıflar fotoğrafa sanatsal bir rol atfetmezler. İstagram’da fotoğraf temelli bir sosyal medya uygulaması olduğu için orta sınıfa mensup katılımcıların İstagram’daki ayrımlaşma pratikleri de çalışmamızda incelenmiştir.

Analiz kısmında genel olarak tezin metodu ve örneklemeden bahsedildikten sonra katılımcıların demografik özelliklerinden bahsedilmiştir. Analizimizde kullandığımız demografik özellikler, yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim, meslek ve iş durumudur. İki tenis kulübündeki katılımcılarımızın ortalama yaşı kırk üçtür, bu benzerlik grupları kıyaslanabilir yapmıştır. Cinsiyet ortalaması ETV’de aynıdır, (sekiz kadın sekiz de erkek katılımcı vardır), bu durum kartopu örnekleme metodunun doğasından dolayı maalesef KTP’de karşılanamamıştır. KTP’de kadın katılımcılar daha fazladır. KTP’de lisansüstü eğitim diplomasına sahip kişiler ETV’ye göre daha fazladır. Bunun yanı sıra ETV’nin aksine KTP’de eğitimini yurt dışında gerçekleştirmiş kişiler veya çocuklarının yurt dışında okumasına maddi destek vermiş katılımcılar mevcuttur. Yurt dışında eğitim oldukça fazla bir ekonomik sermaye gerektirmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra eğitim diplomalarına ulaşmak kültürel sermayeyi arttıran bir durumdur (Bourdieu, 2015).

Mesleklere baktığımızda iki kulüpteki katılımcılarımızın da benzer meslekleri olduğunu görüyoruz fakat iş durumların birbirlerinden farklılık gösteriyor. Örneğin iki kulüpte de doktorlar, mühendisler, özel sektörde çalışan katılımcılar var fakat KTP’de kendi işini yürüten kişilerin sayısı çok daha fazla. Bu nitelik de kişilerin

gelirlerini ve satın alma güçlerini etkileyen bir özellik olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca KTP'deki katılımcıların neredeyse hepsinin Çeşme'de yazlık evleri bulunmaktadır. Kışlık evleri Alsancak veya Karşıyaka gibi lüks semtlerdedir. Bu durum yoğun bir ekonomik sermaye gerektirmektedir. ETV'de ise katılımcıların çok azının Çeşme'de yazlık evi bulunmaktadır. Somut verilere baktığımızda KTP'nin kabaca orta sınıfların üst fraksiyonunu ETV'nin ise orta sınıfların orta fraksiyonunu temsil ettiğini görmekteyiz.

Demografik verileri sunduktan sonra niteliksel içerik analizi yaptığımız analizimizde ilk olarak katılımcıların eğitim ve dolayısıyla eğitsel sermaye hakkındaki düşüncelerini analiz ettik. “Eğitim sizce kişinin kendisini geliştirmesinde ne kadar etkili?” gibi sorular sorarak katılımcıların eğitsel ve kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye hakkındaki düşüncelerine ulaşmaya çabaladık. KTP'deki katılımcılar yoğunlukla eğitimin önemli olduğunu fakat, aileden gelen eğitimin çok daha önemli olduğunu vurguladılar. Bu da bize Bourdieu'nun miras alınmış kültürel sermaye vurgusunu hatırlatmaktadır. Günümüzde eğitim diplomalarına ulaşmak daha kolay hale geldiği için (Bourdieu, 2015), zaten eğitim diplomalarına maddi durumlarından ötürü senelerdir sahip olan orta sınıfların üst fraksiyonları ve üst sınıflar kendilerini ayırma süreçlerinde ailelerinden öğrendikleri görgüyü ön plana çıkararak eğitim diplomalarına henüz ulaşabilmiş olan alt sınıflar ve orta sınıfların orta ve alt fraksiyonlarından kendilerini bu şekilde ayırmaktadırlar. Dolayısıyla KTP'dekiler eğitimin küçük bir çocukken ailede başladığını, aile görgüsüne sahip olmayan bir kişinin ne kadar eğitilmiş olursa olsun onun o eğitiminin kıymetli olmayacağını vurgulayarak kendilerinin hem diplomalı hem de aileden eğitilmiş oldukları üzerinden kendilerini diğerleri nazarında bir üst konumda ayırmışlardır. ETV'de ise miras alınmış kültürel sermaye ile ilgili bir vurgudan ziyade kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye, yani eğitim sermayesi üzerinden bir ayırma çabası gözlemlenmektedir. ETV'de bütün katılımcılar üniversite diplomasının çok önemli olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Hatta kimilerine göre okul sadece bilimsel eğitim için değil aynı zamanda ‘oturmayı kalkmayı, düzgün konuşmayı’ bilmek için de önemlidir. Yani üst sınıfların aileden öğrendikleri ve bu yolla içselleştirdikleri adabı muaşeret kurallarını kurumdan beklenmiş olması ETV'de

görünürdür. Bourdieu da *Yeniden Üretim* (1997) eserinde bahsettiği üzere, eğitim sistemi aslında toplumsal eşitsizlikleri en çok normalleştiren sistem ola gelmiştir, çünkü sınıfsal yatkınlıkları eğitsel başarı ya da başarısızlıklar olarak gösterir. Böylelikle alt sınıftan insanların 'oturmayı kalkmayı' bilememiş olması onların 'eğitimsizliklerinden' kaynaklandığını düşünülerek bu onların kendi 'başarısızlığı' gibi sunulur. Sonuç olarak eğitim ile ilgili iki kulübün de eğitime önem verdiği fakat KTP'den katılımcıların miras alınmış kültürel sermaye vurgusunun olduğu ve bu yolla bir ayrımlaşma gerçekleştirdikleri, ETV'de ise bu vurgunun olmadığı esas vurgunun kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermayenin önemine vurgu yapıldığı gözlemlenmiştir.

Daha sonra katılımcıların sosyal sınıflar ile ilgili düşünceleri analiz edilmiştir. "İçinde bulunduğumuz tabakalaşmış toplumlarda kabaca üst, alt ve orta sınıf ayrımı ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz ve kendinizi nerede görüyorsunuz?" sorusu sorularak elde edilen bulgular analiz edilmiştir. KTP'deki katılımcıların çoğu insanların ekonomik durumları üzerinden sınıflandırılmalarından rahatsız olduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bazıları insanların eğitilmiş olup olmamaları üzerinden sınıflandırılacaklarını belirtmiştir ki bu da aslında eğitsel sermayenin de ekonomik sermayeden bağımsız biriktirilmediğini hatırladığımızda eğitimin nasıl eşitsizlikleri gizlediği noktasında önemli olur. Bir çoğu ise bu soruya cevap vermemeyi tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bazıları kendilerini 'şanslı kesim' den gördüklerini belirterek üst sınıf sözcüğünü kullanmayı reddetmişlerdir. Bunun nedenin mütevazılığa verdikleri önemden kaynaklandığını düşünüyoruz. Aksine ETV'deki katılımcıların çoğu kendilerini orta sınıf gördüklerini belirtmişler, bazıları ise 'üst sınıf' olduklarını söylemişlerdir. KTP'dekilerin aksine bu sözcüğü kullanmaktan çekinmemişlerdir. Kanımızca, bu durum onların bu şekilde pozisyon kazandıklarını düşündüklerinden dolayı kaynaklanıyor olabilir. Sonuç olarak, KTP'dekiler araştırmacının kategorileştirmesini kabul etmeyerek sosyal sınıfları kendilerine göre yorumlamışlar, eğitsel ve miras alınmış kültürel sermaye üzerinden bir ayırım stratejisi yürütmüşler, ETV'dekiler ise kendilerini araştırmacının kategorisine göre sınıflandırmayı tercih etmişler, çoğunluk orta sınıf bazıları ise üst sınıf olduklarını vurgulamışlardır.

Katılımcılarımızın eğitim ve toplumsal sınıf ile ilgili düşüncelerini analiz ettikten sonra, gösterişçi tüketim ile ilgili sorduğumuz soruların analizini gerçekleştirdik. Genel olarak her iki kulüpten kişiler gösteriş amaçlı, görgüsüzce yapılan tüketim harcamalarından rahatsız olduklarını belirttiler. Bu tarz bir tüketim yapmadıklarını belirttiler. Fakat detaylara indiğimizde farklı kulüplerdeki katılımcıların verdikleri cevaplar bakımından farklılaştığını gözlemledik. ETV'deki katılımcılardaki ana vurgulardan biri insanların maddi durumlarını kullanarak toplumda bir statü elde etme çabalarının ne kadar yanlış olduğu ile ilgiliydi. Yani kendilerini toplumdaki etik ve ahlaki konumu temsil ettikleri üzerinden ayırmıştırmaktaydılar, ekonomik sermaye aracılığı ile statü elde etmeyi etik bulmuyorlardı. Fakat ETV'de az da olsa bazı katılımcılar lüks ürünleri sevdiklerini ve bazıları ise maddi durumları yetse lüks markalardan alışveriş yapmak istediklerini söylediler, KTP'de ise kendi zevkleri doğrultusunda lüks ürün alabileceklerini söyleyenler oldu, fakat asla pahalı olduğu bilinen bir markayı alıp gösteriş yapmak istemeyeceklerini belirttiler. Yani kendilerini beğenileri üzerinden ayırırken görgü kurallarına uymaya özen gösterdiklerini belirttiler. Gene ETV'de rastlanmayan bir başka durum ise KTP'deki bazı katılımcıların konsere gitmek, bir tablo almak gibi sanatsal pratiklere yatırım yapabilecekleri vurgusu oldu. Yani iki farklı tenis kulübündeki yatırım yapılabilecek lüks tüketim ürünleri farklılık göstermekteydi. Bu durumda farklı kulüplerdeki bireylerin sermayelerinin farklılıklarından kaynaklanmakta olduğunu düşünmekteyiz.

Barınma, gıda ve giyim gibi 'fiziksel' ihtiyaçların tüketimi ile ilgili de bir analiz yaptık. İlk olarak barınmadan bahsederseniz, Bourdieu'ya göre barınma, bireyin nasıl bir evde ve nerede oturacağı o kişinin sınıfsal pozisyonu ile doğrudan alakalıdır. Aynı sınıfa mensup kişilerin benzer yaşam tarzı ve tüketim yatkınlıkları vardır. Bu nedenle benzer gruptaki kişiler benzer tercihlerde bulunurlar. Beğenileri benzeştiği kadar beğenmedikleri de benzeşir (Bourdieu, 2015). İki gruptan katılımcılar genel olarak Buca semtinde oturmak istemediklerini belirttiler. Buca semti ilk olarak İzmir'in varlıklı Levanten ailelerinin yaşadığı bir semt iken zaman içerisinde doğu illerinden yoğun göç almış ve 'elit' değerini zamanla kaybetmiştir. ETV'deki katılımcıların Buca'da oturmayı tercih etmeme nedenleri daha çok orada

yaşayan kişiler ile aralarındaki yaşam tarzı farklılıklarıdır. Örneğin, orada ‘pis, tipsiz insanlar var’, ya da ‘oradaki insanlardan korkuyorum, bir şey desem üzerime atlayacak gibiler’ gibi yorumlar yapmışlardır. KTP’da ise orada yaşayan insanların niteliğiyle ilgili bir vurgu yapılmamıştır, aksine semtteki binaların yapısı, semtin alt yapısının sorunlu olması, trafik sorunu gibi bireylerden uzak yapısal sorunlar nedeni ile orada yaşamayı tercih etmeyeceklerini belirtmişlerdir. Örneğin ‘binalar çok sıkışık, önü açık değil o nedenle tercih etmem’ gibi yorumlar yapılmıştır. ETV’dekilerin semt sakinlerinin niteliklerine dair yorum yapması KTP’dekilerin ise semtin yapısal niteliklerine yorum yapması kanımızca önemli bir farklılıktır. Bourdieu’ya göre orta sınıflar toplumsal hiyerarşide en muğlak pozisyondadırlar dolayısıyla aşağı düşme korkusunu içlerinde barındırırlar. ETV’deki katılımcıların semt sakinlerinin negatif niteliklerine yaptıkları vurgu bu korkunun bir sonucu olarak görülebilmektedir.

Gıda tercihleri de iki grup arasında benzerliğe sahiptir. Proteinli gıdalar, sağlıklı gıdalar tüketmeye dair vurgu her iki kulüp üyelerinde de gözlemlenebilir. KTP’de ETV’nin aksine ‘kebab kültürü’ vurgusu bulunmaktadır. KTP’deki kimi katılımcılar kebab yemeyi tercih etmediklerini, öyle bir kültürleri olmadığını vurgulamışlardır. Dolayısıyla kendilerini ‘kebab’ kültürüne sahip insanlardan farklılaştırdıklarını görmekteyiz. Bu durum da kebab kültürüne sahip olan insanları ‘kültürsüz’ görmelerinden veya kebabın ‘Ege’ kültürüne ait olmadığından kaynaklanıyor olabilir. ETV’de ise böyle bir vurgu yoktur aksine bir katılımcı kokoreci sevdiğini kendi kültüründe böyle geleneksel yemeklerin olduğunu başkaları ‘pisboğaz’ olarak nitelese bile damak tadına uyduğunu belirtmiştir.

Giyinme tercihleri ise gene iki kulüpte de benzerlik gösterir. Katılımcılar spor giyinmeyi tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. KTP’dekiler beğendiklerini giydiklerini belirtmişlerdir, Vakko, Beymen gibi pahalı markalardan uzak durduklarını, beğenseler bile o markalardan satın almayı tercih etmediklerini belirtmişlerdir. ETV’dekiler de neyi beğeniyorlarsa aldıklarını söylerken KTP’dekiler gibi bütçelerine pahalı geleni almadıklarına dair bir vurgu yapmamışlardır. Orta sınıfın orta fraksiyonunda olan bu kişilerin bu vurgudan kaçınması kendilerini tanıtırken

idealleştirmeleri ve kendi ideallerinin ‘istediği, beğendiği her şeyi alabilen bir maddi güce sahip olmaları’ olduğundan kaynaklanıyor olabilir. Beğenmedikleri giyim tarzı olarak da aşırı süslü, dikkat çekici, çok gösterişli kıyafetleri giymemeyi tercih ettiklerini belirttiler. Özellikle kadın katılımcılar frapan bir giyim tarzını ‘basit’ bulduklarını belirterek, bir ortamda giydikleri üzerinden dikkat çekmek istemeyeceklerini belirtmişler, kendilerini daha ‘düzgün’ bir giyim tarzına sahip kişiler olarak farklılaştırmışlardır.

Tezimizde katılımcıların fiziksel ihtiyaçlarına değindikten sonra boş zaman pratiklerini analiz ettik. Boş zaman pratiklerini, tatiller, tenis, sanatsal aktiviteler ve Instagram sosyal medya uygulaması olarak kategorize ettik. Tatil pratiklerini katılımcıların verdikleri cevaplar doğrultusunda üçe ayırdık: kayak tatilleri, gezi turizmi ve deniz turizmi. Kayak tatillerinden bahsedecek olursak, her iki tenis kulübünde de kayak yapan insanlar mevcut, fakat çocukluktan itibaren kayak yapmış olan kişiler KTP’de daha çok, Bourdieu’nun da dediği gibi bu tip kültürel imkanlara orta yaşlarında sahip olabilmekle daha çocukluktan sahip olup bu alanda yatkinlik kazanmak sermayelerin hacmi ve kompozisyonundaki farklılığı belirtir (Bourdieu, 2015). Bunun yanı sıra, ETV’de KTP’nin aksine hayalinin bir kayak tatili olduğunu söyleyen kişiler bulunmaktadır. Kayak yapmayı bilmemesine rağmen İsviçre Alplerinde elinde şarap kadehi ile kayak yapanları izlemeyi isteyeceğinden bahseder ETV’deki bir katılımcımız. KTP’de böyle bir örnek yoktur. KTP’de ETV’den farklı olarak, kayak tatilini klişeleştiren, fetişleştiren, kayağı bir spor olarak değil de gösterişli bir şov olarak gören kişilere karşı bir eleştiri mevcuttur, fakat KTP’de aynı zamanda kayağı bir spor olarak sevmeyip gene de kayak tatiline gittiğini belirten insanlar da vardır. Yani Kayak sporu KTP’de orta sınıfın üst fraksiyonun kendi içinde nasıl ayrılaştığına dair bir örnek teşkil etmiştir.

Yurt dışı tatilleri, gezi turizmi de iki kulüp arasında tercih edilen tatil pratiklerinden olmuştur. Katılımcılar Avrupa, Amerika gibi kıtaların yanı sıra Tayland gibi ‘egzotik’ ülkeleri de görmek istediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Fakat KTP’in aksine ETV’de şu zamana kadar hiç yurt dışına çıkmadığını ve bunun büyük bir eksiklik olduğunu, en uygun zamanda yurt dışı tatili yapmak istediklerini söyleyen insanlar olmuştur. Hiç yurt dışına çıkmamış olmayı kişinin bir eksikli olarak görmesi kişinin

yaşadığı sosyal çevre ve o çevrede meşru olan yaşam tarzı pratiklerinden etkilenmesi ile ilgilidir. Gene aynı şekilde ETV’de yaz tatili için hayalinin bir yataın üzerinde güneşlenmek olduğunu söyleyen kişiler olmuştur. Arzulanan bu pratiklerin KTP’dekiler tarafından zaten gerçekleştiriliyor olması, KTP’dekilerin o sosyal çevrenin meşru hayat tarzına daha çok sahip olduğunu kanıtlar niteliktedir.

Çalışmamızda tatil pratiklerinde neler yaptıklarını analiz ettikten sonra genel olarak boş zamanlarını nasıl geçirdiklerinin içerik analizini gerçekleştirdik. KTP’dekiler boş zamanlarında ve hafta sonlarında tiyatroya, konsere, sanat galerindeki sergilere gittiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra kitap okuduklarını ve sinemaya gittiklerini de belirtmişlerdir. Bazıları, film ve edebiyat tercihleri olarak ‘ağır ve güçlü’ yapıtları tercih ettiklerini söylemişlerdir. KTP’dekilerin yaşam tarzlarından ve boş zaman pratiklerinden kültürel sermayeye ve gelişimine önem verdikleri görülmektedir. ETV’de de boş zamanlarında sinema ve kitap okumaktan zevk aldıklarını söyleyen katılımcılarımız çok fazladır, fakat konsere ve tiyatroya gitmeyi sevdiklerini özellikle belirten veya sanat sergilerini takip ettiklerini belirten kimse olmamıştır. Kitap olarak ‘best seller’ kitapları okumayı tercih ettiklerini ve Hollywood sinemasını beğendiklerini söyleyen katılımcılarımız olmuştur. Bu durum onların çok satılan ve çok tutulan meşru beğeniye sahip olma arzularından kaynaklandığını düşünmekteyiz. Çok satılan ve çok izlenen yapıtları tüketmeyi tercih ederek ‘risksiz’ bir kültürel tüketim yapmaları elbette ki orta sınıfın orta fraksiyonlarında içlerinde buldukları konumun muğlaklığına karşı bir pozisyon alma olarak yorumlanabilir. Bunun yanı sıra iki gruptan insanlar da alt sınıfların boş zaman pratikleri olarak kodladıkları nargile kafelerde vakit öldürme ya da uygunsuz yerlerde mangal yakma gibi pratiklere uzak olduklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Tenis oynamak ise iki kulüpten katılımcılar için yalnızca bir spor etkinliği olmanın çok ötesindedir. ‘Tenis çevresinin’ genel olarak kendi sosyal çevrelerini oluşturan temel sosyal ortam olduğunu konuşmalarından anlayabiliyoruz. Bunun yanı sıra kulüplere yalnızca tenis oynamaya değil sosyalleşmeye de gittiklerini görüyoruz. Bu nedenle dışarda herhangi bir kortta tenis oynamaktansa bir tenis kulübünde oynayıp tüm günü orada sosyalleşerek geçirmek onları daha memnun etmektedir. Tabii kulüplerin sosyal ortamının bireylerin sosyal sermayelerini arttırıcı nitelikleri de

önemli olmuştur. İş bağlantıları ya da referans bağlantıları gibi sosyal çıkarlar üzerinden kulüplerdeki arkadaşlıklara önem verildiği görülmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra her iki grup da kendi içlerinde ve genel olarak tenis ortamında bir takım sermayelerini kullanarak ayrımlaşma stratejilerini yürütmektedirler. KTP’de mütevazı olmayan, ya da iyi tenis oynadığı için ‘kendisini elit zanneden’, maddi durumu ile statü elde etmeye çalışan insanlara karşı bir tepki ve o insanlardan farklı olduklarını vurgulama mevcuttur. ETV’de ise buna yakın bir vurgunun yanı sıra, eğitimsiz insanlarla aynı ortamda olmanın yarattığı rahatsızlık vurgusu söz konusudur. Yani ETV’deki katılımcılar eğitilmiş oldukları gerekçesi ile kendilerini içinde buldukları ortamdaki kişilerden ayırır ve bir üst pozisyona yerleştirirken, KTP’deki katılımcılar kendilerini mütevazı ve görgülü oldukları gerekçesi ile ‘görgüsüz’, maddi durumu ile statü elde etmeye çalışan insanlardan ayırdıklarını görmekteyiz.

Instagram kullanımı bir nevi dijital fotoğrafçılık iki kulüpten de katılımcıların bir diğer boş zaman geçirme pratiği olarak analizimize yansımıştır. Bourdieu’nun da dediği gibi neyin fotoğraflanabilir olduğu ve neyin nasıl fotoğraflanacağı sınıfsal bir niteliktir(1990). KTP’dekiler daha çok sanatsal hesapları takip ettiklerini ve Instagram hesaplarını bir dijital galeri olarak gördüklerini söylediler. ETV’deki katılımcılar ise daha çok doğal güzellikleri paylaşan hesapları takip ettiklerini ve kendileri de gittikleri gezdikleri yerlerdeki gün batışı gibi doğal güzellikleri paylaşmayı tercih ettiklerini belirttiler. Bourdieu’da analizinde sınıfsal hiyerarşide üst çıkıldıkça sanata olan ilginin arttığını orta ve aşağı inildikçe ise doğal güzelliklerin tercih edildiğinden bahsetmiştir (2015). İki kulüpten katılımcılar da sıklıkla ‘selfie’ paylaşanlardan, durmaksızın kendilerini, yedikleri ve içtiklerini paylaşanlardan rahatsız olduklarını belirttiler. Bu noktada gene karşımıza adabı muaşeret, görgü bilme veya bilmeme ayrımı çıktı. İki kulüpten insanlar da bu tarz paylaşım yapan kişileri ‘gösterişçi’ olarak nitelediler ve kendilerinin öyle davranmadıklarını vurgulayarak kendilerini ayırttılar.

Sonuç olarak, orta sınıf fraksiyonlarının ayrımlaşma stratejilerini kendi içlerinde de uyguladıklarını görmekteyiz. Kurumsallaşmış kültürel sermaye ve miras alınmış

kültürel sermayenin etkilerinin bu hususta önemli rol oynadığını görmekteyiz. Orta sınıfların alt sınıfların kültürel pratiklerine karşı olan ayrımlarında ise homojen yatkınlıklar geliştirdiklerini, ayrımlaşma stratejilerinin bu anlamda benzeştiğini görmekteyiz.

APPENDIX C

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : UZ

Adı : HANDE

Bölümü : MEDYA VE KÜLTÜREL ÇALIŞMALAR

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: