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CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN SERIES AS LEISURE TIME ACTIVITY IN THE
NEW MIDDLE CLASS

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Consumption of Foreign Series As a Leisure Time Activity In The New Middle Class

Yeni Orta Sınıfta Boş Zaman Aktivitesi Olarak Yabancı Dizi Tüketimi

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Önsöz

Tüm bu süreçte ve her zaman benden desteklerini esirgemeyen ve ne yaptıysam arkamda duran sevgili aileme sonsuz teşekkür ederim.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the consumption of foreign series as a leisure time activity of the new middle class in today's Turkey. In-depth interviews on foreign series consumption practices were conducted with middle class people working in different sectors. As a cultural leisure consumption object, it tries to show how foreign series affect taste and social relations and how they contribute to the class framework as a lifestyle, taking into consideration the image of the city. Turning its direction towards the neoliberal approach after 1980, Turkey rapidly urbanized and a new middle class emerged in this direction, playing an important role in shaping consumption patterns in parallel with its political and cultural understanding. Unlike the 90s, it has been observed that this class has differentiated consumption habits as a result of changing technologies, and thanks to the internet, where access has become massive, they create new forms of cultural disjunction over the consumption of foreign series and thus have a new leisure time consumption.

Keywords: Consumption, New Middle Class, Leisure Time, Taste, Foreign Series

Özet

Bu tez, günümüz kent yaşamında yeni orta sınıfın bir boş zaman değerlendirmesi olarak dizi izleme tüketimlerini incelemektedir. Farklı sektörlerde çalışan orta sınıfa mensup kişilerle yabancı dizi tüketim pratikleri üzerine yapılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bir kültürel boş zaman tüketim nesnesi olarak yabancı dizilerin beğeni ve sosyal ilişkileri ne yönde etkilediğini ve bir yaşam tarzı olarak sınıf çerçevesine nasıl katkıda bulunduğunu kent imgesini de gözeterik göstermeye çalışmaktadır. 1980 sonrası, yönünü neoliberal anlayışa yönelten Türkiye, hızlıca kentleşmiş ve bu doğrultuda politik ve kültürel anlayışına paralel tüketim örüntülerinin şekillenmesinde önemli bir rol oynayan yeni bir orta sınıf türemiştir. Bu sınıfların 90'lardan farklı olarak, değişen teknolojiler sonucunda tüketim alışkanlıkları da farklılaşmış olup erişimin kiteselleştiği internet sayesinde de yabancı dizi tüketimi üzerinden yeni kültürel ayırışım formları oluşturdukları ve bu sayede de yeni bir boş zaman tüketimi gerçekleştirdikleri gözlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tüketim, Yeni Orta Sınıf, Boş Zaman, Beğeni, Yabancı Dizi

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of class, one of the basic concepts of sociology, is affected by new communication technologies as never before in the post-industrial age we are in and is constantly transforming and reshaping. As a result, cultural preferences and consumption also change. Social and technological developments experienced all over the world are entering every field of daily life, especially in urban life, this effect is seen even more. Turkey has undergone many changes, especially in the post 1980 period, and its statist structure has undergone a change with the free market economy practices. This change should not be seen only as an economic policy change. With the liberalization of the markets, the society is also going through a social and cultural change that it has desired since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey but could not fully realize. As a result of this change, the class that we define as the new middle class consists of people working in advertising, design, communication as well as finance and service sectors, which are among the increasing occupational groups after the 1980s.

Leisure time in capitalist society is a necessary space of life and time for the reproduction of the working field. The distinction between leisure time and work hours is now clear. This leisure time and with it cultural consumption have become very important factors that determine the social identity of the new middle class. In my thesis, I have examined the leisure time use of the new middle classes and watching series as a product of cultural consumption in order to determine the social position I have stated.

Neoliberal policies, which showed their effects in the post-1980 period in Turkey, had social and cultural effects as well as economic. The role of Istanbul, which is the center of these policies, in the formation of new classes as a global city was examined in the first chapter.

In the second part, the conceptual framework and rise of this new middle class is discussed. Based on this, Bourdieu's concepts of social capital and social distinction, which form the basis of the thesis, are mentioned. The relationship that

people establish with the world through preferences and cultural consumption is discussed.

In the third chapter, the place and importance of the concept of leisure time in modern society and the effect of the Culture Industry in this area are examined.

Finally, it has been shown that the history of the foreign TV series watching habits in Turkey and what streaming platforms that are becoming widespread today mean in the new middle class. In this context, in addition to the literature review, in-depth interviews were made with 20 people from different sectors, and the TV series watching and leisure practices of these people were examined. The role of taste and cultural consumption preferences of the new middle class in the construction of identity has been examined.

This thesis uses a qualitative research technique. In-depth interviews were conducted with people living in Istanbul in sectors such as service, finance, and media, which have an important place in the consumption of TV series. Interviews were held with twenty people between the ages of 29-35 living in Istanbul, in sessions ranging from 30 to 60 minutes, both face-to-face and via the internet.

Table 1

Study Informants

| Name | Gender | Age | Occupation | Digital access technology | Frequency of watching TV series | Time of day |
|-------|--------|-----|----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Yazın | Female | 30 | Music Producer | Laptop | Everyday | Evening, at night |
| İpek | Female | 29 | Psychologist | Smart TV | Almost everyday | Evening |
| Erdem | Male | 32 | Sales Manager | Smart TV, Laptop | Almost everyday | Evening |

| | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|----|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Serden | Male | 32 | Automation Engineer | Smart TV | Everyday | Evening, late at night |
| Ceren | Female | 30 | Architect | Laptop | 4 times a week | Evening |
| Elif | Female | 31 | Producer | Laptop | | Evening |
| Erhan | Male | 34 | Financier | Smart TV | Everyday | Evening |
| Selin | Female | 31 | Brand Manager | Smart TV | 3 times a week | Evening |
| Can | Male | 34 | IT Specialist | Laptop | | Evening |
| Hasan | Male | 32 | Financier | Smart TV | Almost every day | Evening |
| Zeynep | Female | 32 | Marketing Manager | Smart TV | Everyday | Evening |
| Alişah | Male | 32 | Purchasing and Supply Chain Manager | Smart TV | Everyday | Evening, |
| Işıl | Female | 29 | Psychologist | Laptop | 3 - 4 times a week | Evening |
| Nuri | Male | 38 | Banker | Laptop | Almost everyday | Evening |
| İrem | Female | 34 | Event Manager | Smart TV | Everyday | Evening |
| Oğuz | Male | 32 | Journalist | Laptop | Almost everyday | Evening |
| Yusuf | Male | 32 | Film Director | Laptop, Smart Phone | Everyday | Daytime, evening |

| | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|----|---------------------|----------|----------------|---------------------|
| Füsün | Female | 20 | Photographer | Laptop | 4 times a week | Late night, evening |
| Alican | Male | 32 | Event Manager | Smart TV | | Daytime |
| Burcu | Male | 34 | Advertising Manager | Laptop | Everyday | Daytime, evening |

1. NEOLIBERALISM IN TURKEY

1.1 NEOLIBERALISM

Neoliberalism is a contemporary social and political phenomenon and regularly used in popular debate around the world to define the last 40 years. According to David Harvey, neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices that proposes that the best way to advance human well-being is to liberate individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The state's role is to establish and maintain an institutional framework conducive to such practices. (Harvey, 2005)

Neoliberalism has risen in opposition to the Keynesian economy, which has dominated capitalist countries since World War II and seeks to provide jobs for everyone while increasing economic activity through government spending. The identified policies were attempted to be justified by claiming that state intervention through public ownership and market regulation harms the economy, causes uncontrollable inflation, and causes a variety of social problems. A market-based solution that lowers government spending is envisaged for this reason. (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

1.1.1 Neoliberalism in Turkey after 1980

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Turkish economy was marked by import-substituting industrialization, protectionism, and nationalist policies, but by the end of the decade, it had fallen into a severe economic slump. In order to resolve the economic crisis, a new economic initiative known as the January 24 Decisions was initiated on January 24, 1980. In Turkey's economic and social background, the January 24 Decisions marked a new era in the country's transition to a market-based economy. This transition was followed by a military coup on September 12, 1980.

The statist structure has turned into a neoliberal economic and social line. Korkut Boratav describes the decade after 1980 as “the counter attack of the capital”. (Boratav, 2016)

This change should not be seen only as an economic policy change. With the liberalization of the markets, the society is also experiencing a social and cultural change.

Companies and their field of activity, the business world, were now at the center of social life as the leading actors in the markets. Thanks to the influence of large capital owners on television and radio, social transformation has resulted in the institutionalization of bourgeois ideology.

These changes manifest the whole country, but most of all in Istanbul, which has turned into a giant metropolis. Although there are many important dimensions of change, social class change, urbanization and global technological developments are very important for understanding change.

1.1.2 Global City: Istanbul

The neoliberal policies I have mentioned after 1980 cannot be separated from the globalization in the world. One part of this neoliberal program is the global city project. This project caused social, cultural, economic and spatial changes in the city. The global city discourse has been developed around the world city hypothesis by Sassen and a number of other academics. According to this discourse, the emergence of global cities is a result of the new global economy. The decentralization of the industry, especially from the developed countries to the

developing countries, enabled the financial activities and the service sector to expand on a global scale. The dominant discourse says that parallel to the expansion of production and financial markets, the need for control and management creates global cities. These cities are the cities where capital is concentrated. Sassen defines world cities not only as control and management centers, but also as cities where the production of trade and service sectors and financial innovations take place. (Sassen, 1991)

At the top of this system were cities such as New York, London, Tokyo and Frankfurt, connected by communication networks, where the financial sector was expanding, and where high business centers were located. After 1980, Istanbul would move to a position just like these cities. Istanbul was on the way of autonomy and specialization in services. According to Çağlar Keyder, cities have been places where services, commerce, administration and religious hierarchy have been gathered since their birth. In the last two centuries, cities have become places where production is also gathered. Now, cities are putting the production to periphery and putting the service sector at the center. Cities are returning to their old positions. (Keyder, 2000)

It is possible to say that Istanbul is going through a similar process. There is a global urban plan based on urban re-planning, emerging markets and finance, which took place under the administration of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan in the 1980s. Especially since the 90s, the Maslak- Levent line will be an important part of this transformation. In this period, for the first time an industrial zone such as Çerkezköy is established outside the city. Factories are opened in Gebze and there is a population transfer to that region. Urban center was entrusted to the services sector, foreign banks, and luxury restaurants. The neoliberal urban transformation will also increase the class segregation in the city. The policies that regulated Istanbul after 1990 developed on a very economic basis with their global and neoliberal characteristics. The real estate market was creating new spaces for the service sector that was growing as part of the capitalist order. It is precisely in these years that a new gentrification policy emerges within the urban policies.

In terms of Western societies, it is an urban restructuring, traces of which

were seen in the late 1960s as a policy following deindustrialization (Glass, 1964; as cited in Uzun, 2001). This phenomenon is a new process for Turkey. Gentrification can be summarized as the rediscovery of the old city centers, especially by the new middle class, and the displacement of the working class and other urban poor living in the city center. The global movement of capital and the search for new profits have moved globally to reassess the "underdeveloped" areas of cities in order to prevent devaluation of capital in the center by following the transformations in the world. The displacement of production styles and centers and the resulting identity separations, the growth in the service sector have begun to reveal a new consumer society.

Although there are many different trends in the literature on gentrification, Neil Smith's views in this direction provide an important framework.

According to this:

- a. Suburbanization and emergence of rent difference;
- b. Deindustrialization and the growth of white-collar employment in the advanced capitalist countries;
- c. The centralization of space as well as the decentralization of capital.
- d. The fall of profit rates and the cyclical movement of capital.
- e. Changes in consumption patterns and demographic changes are the reasons and the consequences. (Smith, 1996)

Cities and regions influenced by neoliberal policies began negotiating by selling themselves to international banks and corporations. Cities were previously defined by their location in material flow systems. Cities served as manufacturing hubs. They have evolved into information-processing hubs. According to Urry, the loss of industry out of the city and the movement of the service sector to the city center bring new social structures with it. He calls this disorganized capitalism. (Urry, 1995). This change will also usher in new urban formations and changes in urban space. Capital mobility in the production and reproduction processes leads to the creation of new spaces and the decline of other spaces at the expense of increasing profits; increasing capital fluidity accelerates urban segregation and, as a result, uneven development in urban space (Şengül, 2004). New capitalist

relations have resulted in flexible specialization and new working relations, as well as the closure of large enterprises or a shift from the center to the periphery, the creation of diversity in consumption by Post-Fordist production and the emergence of new consumption patterns, and the deindustrialization process within the city.

Some changes occurred in residential areas and the use of houses in Istanbul during this transformation process, and with the construction of the second Bosphorus bridge and ring roads, financial centers and high-rise office buildings were built along these axes (Ergün, 2006). The process of deindustrialization in the urban space also manifested itself rapidly, until the 1950s, the axis of the Central Business Areas shifted from the Karaköy-Galata region to the Şişli Mecidiyeköy axis, then further away from the city center to the Levent-Maslak line. (Şen, 2005). Parallel to these developments, the number of employees and professionals in the service sector grew, and the middle classes, who tended to flee the city's problems, continued to settle in "special sites" on the city's outskirts. Foreign trade volumes and foreign capital inflows both increased significantly. Within the context of the process, it can be seen that "new middle classes" from Turkey, which I will discuss further in the following section, have begun to emerge. In this liberal political-economic environment of the 1980s, when Western values and consumer goods freely entered the country, Istanbulites acquired new cultural consumption habits similar to those in central countries; Numerous shopping centers appealing to new lifestyles in the city. Giant hypermarkets, fast food chains, foreign restaurants, bars, nightclubs have opened. In line with the requirements of this new segment. Istanbul has slowly transformed into a culture and entertainment city. (Şen, 2005)

Choosing the city center and areas close to the city center in order to pursue new lifestyles is an important factor also in the initiation of the gentrification process. This new class, which has relatively high purchasing power, chooses to settle in districts where cultural and social activities are intense, and houses with historical texture and architectural characteristics are located. Tolga Islam, within the theoretical framework of his work on Galata, states that the first gentrifiers were 'under the age of 35, highly educated, small and childless families or couples or

individuals living alone, working in the arts and design community or in the advanced services sector (Uysal, 2008).

It is possible to speak of a new consumption-oriented middle class that played a significant role in the relationship between globalization and gentrification in the post-1980 new capitalism, where the city's social and cultural change was experienced.

2. NEW MIDDLE CLASS

2.1. NEW MIDDLE CLASS IN TURKEY

The social positions of newly emerged social groups who work in higher occupational positions, earn higher income, and have higher social status are mostly described as the new middle class. This concept is most commonly used to refer to occupations defined by being white collar, a member of the new petty bourgeoisie, and the existing contradictory class positions of newly emerged social groups under new capitalism. In other words, the new middle class refers to new middle groups in new social systems.

2.1.1. Historical Background

According to analysis of Cizre and Yeldan, the economic strategy focus in the second phase was on transnational capital mobility and global production networks. Both phases of neoliberalism laid the economic and social groundwork for the new middle classes emergence, with new structural adjustments such as state redistribution, financialization, and privatization resulting in alignments and polarization. (Cizre & Yeldan, 2005)

Following the 1980s, the market in Turkey saw an increase in demand for educated white collar workers. According to Öncü the new middle classes has emerged as a result of the transformation of middle classes. (Öncü, 1997)

The growing urban, professional, and highly educated global middle class has emerged as the beneficiaries of neoliberalism and global capitalism. This small

portion of the population benefited from integration into the global economy. (Keyder, 2000)

According to Ali Şimşek, the new middle class consists of white collar workers with middle and lower middle-class family backgrounds. The main characteristics of the new middle class, also known as "yuppies" (young urban professionals), are receiving a qualified education, knowing a foreign language, focusing on career development, and working in the service sector (Şimşek, 2020). Milton Berman, on the other hand, based on the term yuppie, defines those who fall into this category as ambitious, competitive, confident, class prospective professionals aged 25-39. These yuppies usually live in metropolises, and they prefer to live close to their workplaces because they spend a lot of time at work. They prefer to consume "branded" products (Berman, 2008). According to Ayata, the NMC identity is built on "civilized manners, high levels of education, a secular worldview, and a proclivity to consume Western high cultural elements.". For the new middle class, Ayata emphasizes the importance of order, individual autonomy, secularity, predictability, open-mindedness, rationality, environmental sensitivity, being able to control emotions, and knowing how to behave in public (Ayata, 2002).

The new professional middle class differs from the other classes in several respects. For example, children of the rich upper classes and the poor lower classes are born as natural members of their class but education determines the position of the professional middle class, their children do not inherit their class position from their families. Only in the context of providing the necessary education opportunities for them to achieve the same status all over the world, they receive great support from their families, mostly to the degree of sacrifice. This class distinguishes wealthy classes from having to work to earn a living (Kozanoğlu, 1993). Social mobility plays a crucial role. The new middle class constantly escapes from the lower classes and chases the upper classes. They believe they have a developed taste and hobby (Kozanoğlu, 1993). In addition to their diligence, entrepreneurship and practicality, they exhibit a more flexible cultural surface than traditional right-wing movements on issues such as male and female relations, foreign culture, homosexuality, and religion (Şimşek, 2020).

The new middle class represents a new urban culture. As we mentioned before, the concept of "global city", which was created in the nineties with the intense support of the banks and the financial sector, is in a sense a "city of culture". Festivals, biennials, international exhibitions and jazz music have become the cultural consumption practices of the city. In these years, which we can describe as a "new age", it is seen that a new person is also shaped beyond the eye-catching changes in the showcase. The characteristics of this new person, in which new power strategies invest, are defined through the market and institutions. The new human ideal is not only a social goal, but also a norm that is individualized by mobilizing people's fears. (Ahiska & Yenal, 2006)

2.1.2. Life-style

The concept of lifestyle is a modern status that emerged with the industrial society (Chaney, 1996). Today, the most important feature that distinguishes individuals from each other is their lifestyle. Individuals' lifestyle, on the other hand, depends on the model of the car they use, their choice of clothing, and the artistic style they prefer and sports activities. For the concept of life style, it can be called the way individuals express their different aspects. In this context, as defined by Richard Johnson, lifestyle consists of the cultural characteristics consisting of the meanings of the practices of life that must be maintained, identity forms and psycho-social processes, and their combination in a meaningful world (Johnson, 2002).

According to Anthony Giddens, lifestyle consists of organized behaviors and habits. In this formation, role models and group pressures as well as socioeconomic conditions have an effect. (Giddens, 1991)

According to Featherstone, lifestyle individuality, self-expression and stylistic reflects a self-consciousness. A person's body, clothes, speech, leisure time, food and beverage preferences, home, car, vacation choices, etc. The consumer's sense of taste, appreciation and style are seen as signs of their individuality and ideas. Life style in general is the way he prefers and uses the item, place and time.

In other words, they are ways of using and consuming things rather than producing them (Featherstone, 2005)

It is possible to observe life style representations in Turkey from the 1980s to the present. In his book titled “Tarz-ı Hayat’tan Life Style’a”, Rıfat Bali discussed the efforts of the new elites to open up to the world starting from the Özal period, their direct connection with the finance and service sector, their fondness for imported goods and branded consumption, and their ideologies based on individualism and competition with various examples. The recent expansion observed in the new urban middle class in Turkey is the result of the growth of the economy and globalization (Ayata, 2002).

Therefore, it is possible to talk about an economy-based cultural change in this period. According to Bali, lifestyle is a way of life that has been adopted with great enthusiasm by the elite and those who want to be promoted to this class since the mid-eighties. This lifestyle indicates a luxurious lifestyle. In general terms, it is a whole of refined tastes such as eating in quality restaurants, taking care of clothing, drinking the best cigars, understanding wine, spending your free time collecting paintings, rare books, antiques, fountain pens, classic cars (Bali, 2002)

Based on this, it can be said that the concept is an understanding of consumption related to tastes. Although the concept is related to the concepts of class and status, it has started to have a much more ambiguous feature since the 80s. According to Ahıska and Yenal, this is because the concept of class is anonymized and hidden in culture. Their lifestyles were modeled and introduced to the market like a commodity. Life style models designed on a global scale meet the locals, especially through mass media such as the internet, magazines, newspapers, television, and cinema. The most important output of this process is the integration of culture with market and consumption. Since consumption is defined by culture and culture by consumption in this integration, cultural indicators also turn into tools of hierarchies in society (Ahıska & Yenal, 2006).

While defining the consumption patterns of goods and services, the social environment and culture of the consumer should not be ignored. Arguing that there is a relationship between social class and lifestyle, Bourdieu (Bourdieu P. ,

Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, 1984) claims that this lifestyle is distinguished, common, unqualified and imitation. Everyone involved in social life, regardless of their social status, has the opportunity to express themselves and have a mindset. While doing this, it feeds on the environment in which it grows up. The way of self-expression emerges with the consumption and consumption habits of the individual who finds himself in the urban culture and has a postmodern mindset. Goods and services consumed in this culture are generally symbols. The labor or benefit on the good or service is pushed to the second plan, making difference and valuing the symbol are at the forefront. The lifestyle offered by the urban culture and the postmodern mindset conforming to this style symbolizes the consumption ideology and makes the people living in the same class in the same city uniform contrary to what is believed. The individual is in a mess of identity strategy instead of identity.

Baudrillard asserts that consumed objects and services loaded with symbols go beyond usage and exchange values, and he conceptualizes this as indicator / value logic. Now, the market parameter of consumption of a good or service is the indicator value that is loaded on that good or service, rather than the price determined over the social labor hour. As a result, the act of consuming is also a process of meaning production. Because the subject's primary goal is not to consume. If there is something that drives people to consume, it is social life, which functions as a meaning-making system, producing values specific to codes and different statuses in order to differentiate and attribute meanings (Baudrillard, Gösterge Ekonomi Politiği Hakkında Bir Eleştiri, 2009)

Rıfat Bali explains exactly at this point, how Turkey transformed after the 80's.

According to a study conducted by DAP Pazarlama Araştırmaları A.Ş. in 1989, young people were highly influenced by the television advertisements they watched and by the television series and movies showing the lifestyle in the West. As a result, a young generation was growing up who longed for a life similar to the lifestyle seen in movies. According to this research, the press and television started to show the middle class Turkish people how a modern middle class lives in Western countries. Young generation members, middle-level

managers, salespeople, and tourism sector employees were influenced by this lifestyle they watched on their screens and started to take their Western peers as a model for them. The ads always contained messages emphasizing exclusivity. Journalists applaud all the steps taken towards "becoming a consumer". (Bali, 2002)

In other words, this new class, which emerged after the 80s, was shaped through advertisements and lifestyles were formed through consumption and taste habits. The new middle classes are attempting to differentiate themselves from the core middle classes and the working classes, primarily in terms of their tastes and lifestyle.

2.1.3. Taste

In Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, the concept of "taste" refers not to a pure aesthetic predisposition, but to behavioral tendencies that reflect a lifestyle practice that people pursue as a requirement of their class position. According to Bourdieu's basic point of view in his work (Bourdieu P. , *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 1984), taste patterns such as eating style, musical taste, newspapers read or sportive tastes are the reasons why individuals differentiate themselves from other individuals in the same class, both according to their class position and within the same class. Thus emerge as a criterion. Bourdieu considers taste from a sociological perspective, not as a pure aesthetic predisposition of the individual and emphasizes the idea of everyday life that includes the temporality of incarnation in a particular space. The understanding of taste includes a certain position and differentiating activities within that position. Bourdieu's judgment of taste is associated with evaluations that contain the insidious and envious consequences of social classification (Warde, 2007). Tastes also play a role in social differentiation and distinction. In a way, making a judgment of taste constitutes an expression of symbolic violence (Ritzer, 2013). Aesthetic taste and judgment regarding it, conflict, struggle or competition between social groups also play an important role. On the other hand, the concept of taste unites those with similar

preferences and separates them from those with different tastes (Bourdieu P. , Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, 1984).

Bourdieu defines the distinguished taste that characterizes and identifies with the upper classes and states that the composition of different lifestyles within these classes creates different tastes (Arun, İnce Zevkler-Olağan Beğeniler: Çağdaş Türkiye’de Kültürel Eşitsizliğin Yansımaları, 2014). For example, the taste of a university professor who has more cultural capital than the average individual but has a relatively lower economic capital differs from the taste of a businessman with more economic capital than the average individual but with a relatively lower cultural capital. Although the individual in both positions is a member of the upper class, the type and volume of capital they have set them apart. Thus, taste acts as a guide to distinction actors struggling for status practice their consumption with the help of this guide (Arun, İnce Zevkler-Olağan Beğeniler: Çağdaş Türkiye’de Kültürel Eşitsizliğin Yansımaları, 2014). Although taste is often regarded as a natural predisposition, the influence of social classes on taste can be seen. Cultural consumption and the form of this consumption is a domain of class and status. Unlike Marxist theory, Bourdieu's main emphasis is that class analysis cannot only be reduced to the analysis of economic relations, but must also include analysis of symbolic relations. Bourdieu's argument is therefore based on the notion that economic inequalities are reinforced by cultural inequalities, and that culture itself (thoughts, symbols, living conditions) plays an important role in reproducing class inequalities. As social actors, individuals and groups compete with each other in different fields with different strategies in order to have or control scarce resources.

2.2. BOURDIEU: FORMS OF CAPITAL

Pierre Bourdieu was interested in how the organization of culture and the social world around us could affect our individual view of the world, how we didn't just pick the culture we liked, but how culture chose us, making us more or less likely to act in certain ways. for The world could be measured, collected, and recorded, but we also absorbed it instinctively from a young age. They became subjective ID into our own behavior. He was interested in how these cultural and social

phenomena connect us to the larger world. Our tastes, accents, styles of speaking, mannerisms, and values can all be the result of our social environment.

Bourdieu suggests that social class is made up of three contributing factors: economic capital, social capital and cultural capital:

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu P. , 1986)

While explaining the types of capitals, he frequently uses the expressions "accumulation and "convertible". According to Bourdieu, although the listed types of capital are conceptualized separately, they are ultimately linked to each other. All of these types of capital can be both accumulative and convertible into each other.

2.2.1. Cultural Capital

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is a cultural knowledge that functions as a social resource with the same value in acquiring and retaining social advantage as economic and social capital. Cultural capital is generally a reflection of a person's class position, and it is recreated and distributed through the family and other organizations such as education. Cultural capital, on the other hand, is extracted from patterns of cultural consumption in leisure.

This shows that cultural consumption is no longer just a reflection of cultural capital and class, but also shapes and influences class. When Bourdieu writes about cultural capital in his work *Distinction*, first and foremost, high-level cultural highbrows such as going to museums or playing golf, as forms of cultural capital, give upper and middle class people the opportunity to maintain

or increase their class position (Bourdieu P. , *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 1984).

He contended that knowledge and acknowledgement of highbrow culture resulted in higher levels of cultural capital, which led to those individuals being viewed more favorably by those around them. People with highbrow cultural tastes, in general, would be viewed favorably by those who have the authority and power to give them a "huge advantage" or be beneficial to them, such as employers, judges, and teachers.

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the forms of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematic, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as well as seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu P. , 1986).

It is critical to consider Bourdieu's contribution in the sense that his theoretical perspective is extremely significant in explaining the differences between class segments. Furthermore, in an age when the emphasis on consumption outweighs the emphasis on production in class analysis, Bourdieu generates us with the sufficient concepts and tools to understand contemporary class construction and associating processes by differentiating between different forms of capital.

2.2.2. Social Capital

Social capital is a concept introduced by Bourdieu in order to explain the individual's ability to act within structures such as a society, community, group etc. Group relations and the positions in which individuals are positioned in these relationships, in order to explain the benefits to these individuals. Individual achievements, according to Bourdieu, are underpinned by the ability to act with good strategies within institutionalized structures (Bourdieu P. , 1986).

Bourdieu states that social capital consists of the sum of real and potential resources. Mutual recognition and acquaintance means being a member of a group. Bourdieu states that groups provide each member support for collective belonging, and that these relationships can only occur in material and symbolic exchange, in practical situations.

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. Acknowledging that capital can take a variety of forms is indispensable to explain the structure and dynamics of differentiated societies (Bourdieu & Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 1992)

According to Bourdieu, these relationships are socially established with all corporate action orders using common names such as the name of a family, class, school, or party. Bourdieu states that these relations cannot be reduced to objective relations of proximity in physical, economic and social sphere, albeit partially. Earning as a member of a group arises from the group's foundation of solidarity.

2.2.3. Habitus

The concept of habitus forms the basis of Bourdieu's thought. Bourdieu describes habitus as a set of acquired patterns of thought, behavior, and taste. Bourdieu uses this term to constitute the link between social structures and social practice (or social action). It is a product of early childhood experience, and in particular socialization within the family; however, it is continually restructured by individuals' encounters with the outside world (Maggio, 1979)

His concept of habitus allowed for a focus on the 'embodiment' of cultural representations in human habits and routines, and it provided a possible foundation for a cultural approach to structural inequality. Habitus can both produce objectively classifiable decisions and classify practices. The relationships between these two capacities define habitus. The representation of the social world and the space of lifestyles [social space] are determined by the relationships [that generate the habitus] between the productive capacity of classifiable practices and studies

and the capacity that differentiates and values practices. It is defined as follows by Bourdieu:

The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification [...] of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of lifestyles, is constituted.

The relationship that is actually established between the pertinent characteristics of economic and social condition (capital volume and composition, in both synchronic and diachronic aspects) and the distinctive features associated with the corresponding position in the universe of life-styles only becomes intelligible when the habitus is constructed as the generative formula which makes it possible to account both for the classifiable practices and products and for the judgment's, themselves classified, which make these practices and works into a system of distinctive signs. When one speaks of the aristocratic asceticism of teachers or the pretension of the petite bourgeoisie, one is not only describing these groups by one, or even the most important, of their properties, but also endeavoring to name the principle which generates all their properties and all their judgments of their, or other people's, properties. The habitus is necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application-beyond the limits of what has been directly learnt-of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions. That is why an agent's whole set of practices (or those of a whole set of agents produced by similar conditions) are both systematic, inasmuch as they are the product of the application of identical (or interchangeable) schemes, and systematically distinct from the practices constituting another life-style (Bourdieu P. , *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 1984).

According to Bourdieu, habitus is the whole of a lifestyle that encompasses the inherent and correlative features of a position. In other words, it is a life-giving and unifying origin that expresses a series of preferences that include people, places and practices completely.

3. LEISURE TIME

Leisure time activities are a concept to express activities performed outside of the time that people devote to meeting their basic physiological needs and working. Although their forms are different in every society from past to present, it is possible to come across leisure time activities. Humankind has to consume in order to live and produce in order to consume. People who have to work have tried to meet their entertainment and rest needs with various activities in their time remaining from their work.

However, leisure time activities have become much more important with the consequences of industrialization in the capitalist Western society. In the words of Marx, Western people, who had to work very hard and for a long time in the factories established with industrialization, began to alienate first from their labor and then from themselves. The capitalist system has encouraged and institutionalized leisure time activities as a solution to the social problems created by these alienations.

3.1.1 HISTORY OF LEISURE TIME

Outside the essential needs such as food, drink and accommodation; Leisure time is a time in which one defines the individual and can critically question oneself and social reality. Leisure time as a social institution in the modern sense; It is a tool for a full and happy life independent of work, valuable in itself, meeting many important needs of the person. In modern life, people have an intense working tempo. The remaining part of this time, which is out of work, for needs such as

sleeping and eating, is also evaluated with leisure time activities. Leisure activities, which take place in the form of sometimes reading a book, sometimes taking a walk, sometimes being in an environment where people can socialize, interact with the people they love and are interested in, fulfill many functions that can be counted as satisfaction, learning, enjoyment, self-expression, and socialization. brings. People are perhaps unaware of these functions most of the time when they are engaged in leisure activities. According to Lefebvre modern industrial civilization, together with fragmented work, creates a general need for free time, and on the other hand, it creates differentiated concrete needs within the framework of this need. This civilization is radio, television, etc., which respond to these new needs, yet still have a "non-technical" meaning and character. produces "free time machines". (Lefebvre, 2012). At the end of a fatigue or a tension, at the end of worry, anxiety and preoccupations, modern man first expects free time. It demands what is commonly termed today among broad segments as "reluctance". Modern man hopes to find in leisure what his work and his family or "private" life provide. Where is happiness according to him? He doesn't know much about it and doesn't even ask himself. Thus, it tends to create "leisure time", which is pure artificiality close to ideal, completely outside of everyday life (Lefebvre, 2012).

In ancient Greece, free time was understood as thinking about the superior values of the world such as goodness, truth and knowledge. According to this opinion; Free time was not a time of nothing being done, but a time of exclusivity, contemplation, aesthetic pleasures, and appreciation. In a way, it meant purification of the soul and reflection. So free time was far from being associated with work. According to Aristotle, leisure is a free time that contributes to the development of society and culture (Aydoğan, 2000).

In contrast to the leisure time in ancient Greece, leisure time in the Roman period was not a class right and therefore did not represent a social status or a lifestyle. The Romans created off-work time for fun leisure activities. Free time was a time outside of productive activities and was necessary for the continuation of production.

Mass leisure time types (games, sports, gladiator fights, etc.) emerged in

this period and this leisure time view, which is seen as complementary to work, has parallels with the understanding in modern times (Junia, 2000).

Leisure time in the Middle Ages was not only a time for rest and activity, it was also a social representation area for the upper social strata. Contrary to popular belief, leisure time meant the freedom to choose which activity to participate in. Unlike the slave working order, leisure time began to turn into luxury, pleasure, and waste in the late Middle Ages, and its use has come to our modern times as a source of nobility, artificial wealth, prestige, and power (Aytaç, 2005).

3.1.1 Leisure Time in Modern Era

Thornstein Veblen was the first to refer to the concept of "leisure" in the modern sense. Veblen's study focused more on groups, who are using "leisure time" in his study. He argues that consumption is an indicator of social status beyond just the satisfaction of biological needs. With the effect of the period, he considered the class that does not work physically, but consumes the returns of production (Kıray, 2005). According to Veblen, the habits of the wealthy/idle class turn into imperative laws for the rest of society. The idle class, with its moral standards, retards social development. The idle class is domineering, domineering and to that extent excludes life outside itself. Veblen uses the concept of "conservatism" to describe the leisure class. According to that; The idle class is a conservative class. However, this conservatism is such a distinctive feature that it is accepted as a sign of dignity. While conservatism is seen as an upper class characteristic, authority, prestige, elegance and innovation; Being vulgar and vulgar is understood as a subclass trait. According to that; the upper class, the life and habits it has, the jealous reactions of other classes. (Veblen, 2007).

Many principles on working have emerged with the modern period. In the industrial society where more work is required to make more production, especially the Puritan Ethics and Taylorist principles consider non-working life as an unnecessary life for people to work more. In the Protestant morality, work and leisure are evaluated in a religious dimension as follows: The apparent wish of God to increase his glory is served not by leisure and pleasure, but only by work.

Wasting time is the first and, in principle, the heaviest of all sins (Kurtuluş, 2005).

Karl Marx; In the mid-19th century, he argued that work is the fundamental act of human life, while at the same time evaluating that leisure is essential for humans.

According to Marx; "It is no longer a question of reducing the labor-time necessary to create surplus-labour, but of reducing the necessary labor of society to a certain minimum. The indirect consequence of this reduction is that all members of society, thanks to the leisure and opportunities afforded to all, are able to take advantage of art, science, etc. to improve their education in the fields (Aytaç, 2005)

Paul Lafargue defends the "right of leisure" in his work "*The Right To Be Lazy*". According to Paul Lafargue, Laborers work 14-16 hours a day, under very difficult conditions, losing all their human, moral and artistic creativity. This situation leads to the erosion of their existential consciousness and the institutionalization of the control over power holders. In his work, he opposes the insanity of working and advocates for limiting working hours to no more than three hours per day. The remaining time should be set aside for people to engage in creative activities.

According to Lafargue, as a result of the effective use of machines, working hours will decrease and in this case "radical changes in social hierarchy, distribution and organization" will occur. Lafargue's main concern is that people use physical and mental potential of the individual not for someone else, but for the individual himself and to eliminate the control over the power holders. This is how Lafargue explains the control/labor paradigm:

The capitalist moral, pitiful parody of Christian moral casts a curse on the worker's flesh: his ideal is to reduce the producer's needs to a minimum, suppress his joys and passions and condemn him to the role of a machine that works without a rest (Lafargue, 1999)

Similarly, Bertrand Russell criticizes the concept of modern work in his "In Praise of Idleness". In this work, Russell emphasizes that in response to the labor-intensive capitalist working order, idleness is not at all detrimental, but rather in favor of life and the humanoid. In this context, Russell argues that working hours

should be reduced, that work should no longer be the sole determinant of one's destiny and life, and that increasing leisure time is a human right. According to Russell, increasing leisure time will serve cultural development (Russell, 1990).

According to Russell; Compulsory work should only be to the extent that it makes free time enjoyable. Fatigue should not be to the extent that it causes fatigue. In this case, since people will not be tired of working, they will not be content with insipid entertainment in their free time. Leisure time will be evaluated as participating in voluntary public interest activities, which will feed the non-obligatory and non-binding libertarian tendencies. Women and men will have the opportunity to live happier and love, self-sacrifice, tolerance, etc. virtues will dominate social life. Leisure time should be spent in idleness that opens the door to human development, in order to replace what machine-like work takes away from the individual.

3.1.2 Impact of Culture Industry on Leisure Time

According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the "Cultural Industry" allows people to serve the system in their free time. "Industry" means the standardization, rationalization of the subject. As a social control mechanism, Culture Industries is a tool to "generate consent". The masses are not primary, they are secondary, they are calculated; are extensions of the mechanism. "The culture industry in all its branches is a promise of escape." (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2014)

Despite this, he cannot deliver on any of his promises. According to Adorno, the boundaries of our work life are extremely permeable. Our work practices are inseparable from leisure: In late capitalism, entertainment is the prolongation, the continuation of work. People who want to gather strength to cope with the same mechanical work processes seek this power in entertainment (Mussel, 2013)

The objective of leisure activities is to refill our energy levels so that we can resume our functional position in the workplace. Any transient moment of enjoyment in spare time is interpreted as proof that hard labor isn't all awful.

Because, in accordance with the predominant work ethic, time free of work should be utilized for the recreation of expended labor power, then work-

less time, precisely because it is a mere appendage of work, is severed from the latter with puritanical zeal . On the one hand one should pay attention at work and not be distracted or lark about; wage labor is predicated on this assumption and its laws have been internalized. On the other hand free time must not resemble work in any way whatsoever, in order, presumably, that one can work all the more effectively afterwards. Hence the inanity of many leisure activities. (Adorno T. , 1991)

According to Adorno, in the modern era, leisure is a serving source of consumption that maintains the culture industry. The culture industry has taken leisure time from the control of the individual. The individual has also lost the power of imagination necessary for his existence. The individual is an employee or a customer of the culture industry. It has been absorbed to act in accordance with the demands of the industry. In an unprecedented way, social cohesion has embraced the individual. It must function collectively, and as a result, it must not give the direction of awareness a voice (Davies, 1989).

While autonomy has not lost any of its appeal, it is routinely thwarted by the cultural industry's interference with leisure. The freedom promised by the idea of leisure remains an impossibility by its absolute subordination to work: 'thinking in leisure is not allowed, otherwise it may leap into the everyday world and set it in motion. Cultural consumption and tastes began to standardize.

3.2. LEISURE AS A CONSUMPTION

According to Baudrillard, modern society is a "consumption society". In this society, everything is commodified and circulates with commodity value. Leisure also has a "commodity value" for the capitalist market. According to him, leisure is functional as it is a moment of status/identity production for the individual. Leisure, as a material of exchange, is a field of "signification" and "indication" of the individual. The desire of the individual is to attain the "freedom of self-actualization" in leisure time. The individual wants to prove the excess of leisure time by displaying it as conspicuous capital/consumption and wealth. (Baudrillard, 1997). In this sense, it is similar to Veblen's theory. The main issue in leisure

activities and consumption is not to survive economically, but to realize social representation and existence. Leisure provides the individual with freedom in consumption as a sign of freedom and thus consumption becomes institutionalized (Baudrillard, *Tüketim Toplumu*, 1997).

It is not possible for the modern individual to escape the pressure of the pleasure brought by consumption. Passivity in consumerism invites unhappiness. For this reason, consuming more and producing happiness in this way is imposed on the individual as a duty.

Leisure is time spent for consumerist attractions, and in this society, leisure is not a space open to individuality, but a space/time of realization of a commodity fetishism ritual spent in the shadow of devices conditioned to consume. Leisure, pleasure, pleasure, consumerist hedonism is a moment of living exaggerated (Baudrillard, *Tüketim Toplumu*, 1997). Capitalism is “at the point of demanding free time for its own economic interests; however, this does not imply that it will free up leisure time.” Now, one of the most important goals of the capitalist system is to 'occupy' any free time, whether created through social struggles or directly through technological advances. Capitalism, which markets everything, is now marketing its own crisis by 'commoditizing' it. In other words, while capitalism produces depressions, it also offers temporary solutions to them (Argın, 1992). Moreover, it now has technological devices in its hands for this.

3.2.1 Leisure Time in the Postmodern Era

Postmodernism, as a new social, political and cultural society project in which the presuppositions of modernity are excluded, points to a mobile social structure in which global upheavals are reflected. It is observed that the postmodern break in the removal of the boundaries between space and time. Developments in information, internet, satellite broadcasting and telecommunication lead to transformations in the concepts of time and space. It is clear that clock time no longer represents time in modern society, and the instantaneous image of time has become decisive. The self is TV oriented. The “TV self” is an electronic commodity fueled by media simulation. Market identity is defined by consumerism in the

society of spectacle (Kellner, 1992)

In this context, watching television as a leisure activity is at the center of postmodern culture. Postmodern theories are concerned with form, particularly the dismantling of “representative realism”. Images dominated the narrative, and TV Shows and commercials were freed. Aesthetics is in the foreground and the viewer is seduced by the free play of image excess. Fixed tendencies, cultural tastes, and lifestyles conceived as leisure activities are dissolving in the context of postmodern culture. Temporary experiences and superficial aesthetic formations take precedence over class or neighborhood-based sociability.

3.2.2 Digital Leisure Time

Developing technologies, the widespread use of the internet, and the penetration of mobile phones into all of life have led to the complete digitalization of leisure experiences.

Leisure has become more important than ever, and it has become one of the fundamental values of today due to the increase in digital production. Leisure time left over from working hours has become more and more valuable for individuals. Individuals now work not to survive, but to enjoy their leisure time (Blanco, 2014)

The 21st century is being led by digital leisure time. The concept of time has been lost in the network society, and spaces have become fluid. As a result, the forms of leisure time are changing. Your experience has been recorded digitally. Digital leisure experiences, which provide an opportunity to disconnect and escape from the stresses of daily life, have evolved into forms of positive time that people can enjoy while also developing their own self-esteem. (Blanco, 2014). In digital leisure time; acceleration, succinct enjoyment of things, transience, the weakness of human boundaries, and uninterrupted uncertainty. People's individual access to leisure has been transformed by technology, as has their leisure behavior and experience. On the one hand, computers, smartphones, and tablets, as well as other technological devices, have evolved into ideal representations of the leisure environment. Leisure is now shaped by the dominance of the internet. Digital leisure time on the Internet is not regarded as being connected as opposed to not

being connected. A state of being connected to a digitally structured social world is referred to as digital leisure. It is not a battle of virtual versus real free time, but rather the creation of a new space in order to follow social relations (Blanco, 2014).

In short, the individual performs his free time and daily activities using the digital environment. New media, with its digital feature, is constantly used by individuals and keeps the individual online constantly. In a nutshell, the individual uses the digital environment to conduct his leisure and daily activities. Individuals use new media on a daily basis because of its digital feature, which keeps them online at all times.

4. CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN SERIES

4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the previous chapters, we emphasized the changes Turkey went through after the 80's and the existence of a new class that emerged as a result of these changes. It is observed that western-oriented lifestyles have become widespread as a result of neoliberal policies, technological developments, and the increasing population in big cities. Undoubtedly, the role of mass media in the formation of this style is very important. Through advertisements, it is aimed to bring a new cultural identity to the society. Rifat Bali quotes Celal Pir as follows:

The majority of advertising companies have been merged with or acquired by American companies since the mid-eighties. The purpose of these partnerships was to try to adapt the taste of the Western people to the Turkish people, from the screen to the newspaper pages, based on the technical knowledge and experience of American advertising companies (Bali, 2002).

One of the most basic features of the post-Özal period is the establishment of the consumer consciousness. The most important supporters of this awareness were popular columnists of the period. Writers such as Mehmet Barlas, Ertuğrul Özkök and Serdar Turgut defended the American style of life. They emphasized that Istanbul has turned into a city similar to New York and that Turkish people

should live in better conditions (Bali, 2002). The consciousness of being a consumer was injected into the society.

4.1.1. Cnbc-e

This consumption was not only limited to luxury goods. The American style of consumption mentality was also showing itself in the field of television broadcasting. After 90s, new private channels were opened more and more in the country. CNBC-e was founded on October 16, 2000 under the partnership of Doğuş Broadcasting Group and NBC Universal to broadcast in Turkey. Providing real-time access to economic and market information, CNB-e was targeting professionals and individual investors who shape the world of economy as viewers in the daytime, while turning into an entertainment channel in the evening. Collaborating with many foreign organizations, he was broadcasting award-winning TV series and films of world-famous directors, sometimes in their original language and often with Turkish subtitles. One interviewee explains:

Oh how much I was watching Cnbc-e... Ally Mcbeal, Dawson's Creek, The Buffy The Vampire Slayer... I even filmed the last episode of Buffy. I remember crying again when I watched it later. I was crazy about Cnbc-e. I can say that those series raised me a little. Cnbc-e has a great influence on my high school years as well as many of my friends. (Yazın, 30, Music Producer)

Another interviewee stated:

My first experience of watching foreign series was during the Cnbc-e period. I was following very closely. The Guardian, South Park, The Simpsons, Cheers, Two& Half Man, Buffy The Vampire Slayer, Dawson's Creek, The O.C... They all opened me another world. (Erdem, 32, Sales Manager)

According to another participant:

Cnbc-e coincides with my high school years. I was watching The O.C and Dawson's Creek. I remember being jealous of the town there and the lives of the young people. (Ceren, 30, Architect).

In the 2000s, with the effect of the demand of domestic TV series in the domestic and foreign markets, mostly American TV series have gradually left their place in the broadcasting belt of the mainstream channels to domestic TV series. In particular, the main-broadcast generation of the mainstream channels is completely devoted to domestic TV series. According to Uğur and Kara, American TV series and domestic TV series coexist in a certain competition in Turkey and this situation brings about the segmentation of the audience. Especially in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, they found that watching American TV series instead of domestic TV series turned into an expression of exclusivity (Uğur Tanrıöver & Kara., 2015). Marshall draws attention to the fact that the Internet is used especially by young people belonging to the relatively upper socio-economic class, and that the computer screen replaces the television screen for these viewers. He states that the watching practices of these viewers are not directly dependent on television networks, but that certain television producers and networks are still influential in their choices about what to watch. Drawing attention to the prevalence of the torrent culture, he defines it as one of the nodes at the intersection between television and internet users (Marshall, 2009).

In the early 2000s, the Internet was not as widespread as it is today in Turkey. On the other hand, the Internet speed, was too slow to watch a video, even to open a large picture. After 2005, Internet usage in Turkey has increased exponentially. It is possible to say that the rush of downloading TV series and movies started with Torrent in the same period. While the TV series could not find a place in the media that was previously determined by DVD, the habit of watching foreign series increased with the widespread use of torrents. While the TV series could not find a place in the media that was previously determined by DVD, the habit of watching foreign series increased with the widespread use of torrents. The most iconic TV series in 2007-2008 were *Lost* and *Prison Break*. As the new episode came out, those who started to download it via torrent still could not make up the majority among the viewers of these series. Many people who can't deal with torrenting and find it difficult either end up at CD-DVD vendors or wait for a "friend" to download it (www.evrensel.net, 2019). In the following years, pirated

online series platforms that offer content to users without paying royalties have become widespread. Viewers, who were able to find all the episodes of the foreign TV series they liked in these media, also had the opportunity to watch these contents one after the other.

I guess my first TV show on pirated sites starts with the Lost series. Everyone was saying Jack or Sawyer, the show was very popular. After that period, my relationship with television gradually decreased. In the following years, I watched many TV series from these pirated broadcasting sites, it was a great luxury to find almost all American TV series with Turkish subtitles on a platform. I still watch HBO broadcasts from sites like this. I recently watched Chernobyl. (İpek 29, Psychologist).

4.1.2. Streaming

Streaming means continuous and fluent. It is the process of receiving the content submitted by a media provider by the end user. Streaming as a technological process finds its place in daily use as multimedia distributed to the user. Streaming offers an alternative to the torrent system we mentioned earlier. It highlights the process by which the user gets from watching the content. The end user starts playing digital video or audio in their media player before the entire file has yet been downloaded. Streaming has been embraced by people especially with the expansion of Internet band in the early 2000s. Streaming, as a technological innovation, has become a cultural practice that restructures both the audience and the industry. According to Cisco, by 2022, online videos will account for more than 82% of all consumer internet traffic, a figure that is 15 times higher than it was in 2017 (whatsnnewpublishing.com, 2021)

Streaming is classified into two types: Live streaming and Video-on-demand (VOD) streaming. The transmission of live content over the Internet is known as Live-streaming. By connecting to it via the Internet, it is possible to broadcast in real time with audio, video, or both, from anywhere at any time. It is broadly seen in the multimedia world (live on Twitch, Facebook/Instagram) for things like sports/events, video games, and social media. Live streaming does not

serve the same purpose as Video on Demand. People can watch content from any internet-connected device from their own time. This isn't limited to movies or TV shows. Video on demand libraries can include tutorials, educational content, inspirational messages, and other forms of media. One of the main tools of the video-on-demand system today is Internet TV. Internet-based video-on-demand systems provide users with access to a collection of video content rather than individual movies, series, or programs. The most common of these systems (Netflix, Disney, Hulu, Amazon, Blue TV, etc.) use a subscription model that requires users to pay a monthly fee for access to series, movies, television shows and original content. With video-on-demand technology, people can watch movies and TV shows from the comfort of their homes for much cheaper. With the change of internet technologies in Turkey, especially after 2010, platforms based on monthly subscription system that offer better quality broadcasts instead of torrent and pirate broadcasting sites have started to change the consumer's watching habits of TV series.

Tivibu, a “cable TV” broadcast, was established in 2010, Turkcell TV+ in 2012, BluTV affiliated with D-Smart and Puhutv affiliated with Doğu Holding in 2016. The real big event of 2016, which we can see almost as a breaking point, is the arrival of Netflix, which started internet broadcasting nine years ago and ravaged the world, to Turkey. According to Statista, 8.7 million users in Turkey use subscription video-on-demand services. This number is expected to reach 10 million in 2021. The age group that uses these services the most is the 25-34 age group, and 63.3% of the users are men (www.evrensel.net, 2019).

4.1.3. Netflix Era

Reed Hastings and Marc Randolph founded Netflix in 1997. Netflix.com began as a DVD rental service in 1998, competing online with the then-dominant Blockbuster Video. The DVD format, which was introduced in the United States in 1997, was critical to the firm's business strategy, offering a format that was small and portable enough to work in a mail order context. Netflix introduced the streaming service around at the beginning of the century, moving away from single

DVD rentals. Netflix entered the internet video-on-demand market in 2007. They offer entertainment services such as commercial-free movies and TV shows with limitless displaying across the internet worldwide (www.businessofapps.com, 2021). They offered a revolutionary new way to watch television. Instead of watching episodes weekly, viewers could watch an entire season in one sitting, a practice known as "binge watching."

In January 2016, Amazon released in Turkey. Turkey was one of 130 countries introduced to Netflix's operation list at the same time on top of the company's massive growth. Netflix did not enter into any special agreements with internet providers and provided a very restricted collection, particularly in terms of local content. In a quite unoccupied video-on-demand market where its main rival was piracy rather than a local player, Netflix appeared to target a niche audience of subscribers, metropolitan elites living in big cities who were already familiar with foreign series and the brand itself (Vitrinel & Ildır, global-internet-tv.com, 2021). According to Vitrinel, Netflix and similar platforms entered the Turkish market late. He cited piracy as the main reason for this. He defined pirate sites as the main enemy of platforms serving with subscription system (Vitrinel, The Introduction of Netflix in Turkey: How to Fit (or is it possible to fit) an Audio-visual Landscape marked by Piracy and Local Taste?, 2018).

I haven't watched anything other than Netflix for the last 3 years. I like to watch the TV series whenever I want. Of course, I used to watch TV series on pirate sites before. It is no longer needed. I was just watching Game of Thrones on pirate sites. For 25-30 liras per month, you get rid of advertisements, poorly translated subtitles and low-quality cinematography (Nuri 38, Banker).

When Netflix first came to Turkey, it did not create the expected excitement, as it offered less content than what it released in other countries. However, the broadcasting monopolies in Turkey established local platforms such as BluTV and puhutv with the thought of not leaving the market empty. A race was entered with

Netflix in terms of not only taking and publishing the copyrights of the movies and TV series produced, but also revealing their own productions. Today, one third of BluTV and Puhutv users are also Netflix subscribers. This preference is largely due to Netflix's original productions. Currently, Netflix has 3 million subscribers in Turkey. All the interviewees I interviewed are also Netflix subscribers. All the interviewees that I interviewed were also Netflix subscribers.

I was using Blu TV when it first came out, I think it was 9 TL per month. Now I don't need another platform when there is Netflix. I also thought of Amazon, but Netflix's content satisfies me for now (Elif, 31, Producer).

Vitrinel claims that Netflix did not enter the Turkish market with a special strategy, but localized its marketing instruments. Voicing examples such as the passing of a tanker carrying a "Love from Colombia" banner while the Narcos series is on the air, the La Casa De Papel characters drinking tea on the streets of Istanbul, and the use of Saadettin Teksoy for the Stranger Things series, According to Vitrinel Netflix's target audience in Turkey is middle-aged, white. he says he is a collared, urban upper class. For example, a 15-20 year old young man will not know Saadettin Teksoy (Vitrinel, The Introduction of Netflix in Turkey: How to Fit (or is it possible to fit) an Audio-visual Landscape marked by Piracy and Local Taste?, 2018). According to a Netflix survey conducted in 2018, 47 percent of Netflix users in Turkey say it is more important for them to “watch films and TV series than have a conversation,” with respondents from 22 countries. This was the highest percentage of any country surveyed (hurriyetdailynews.com, 2018).

4.2. BINGE WATCHING

Television fosters a cultural consensus on the nature of reality. Individuals become part of social hegemony by default when they are incorporated into the dominant system of values. This has a impact on individual identity, status, and roles by redefining role expectations and reformulating daily life behaviors. sion companies must produce media products in order to survive. Television shows draw attention at this time. People in the United States can now watch an increasing number of digital broadcasts. People now prefer to watch television broadcasts on

the internet, where they can access all of them at once. Individuals can have control over when, where, and what they watch thanks to changing viewing habits in television shows. In addition to websites that provide easy access, such as Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon Instant Video, tools such as Apple TV and Amazon Fire TV allow series and movies to be watched sequentially, resulting in a shift in viewing habits. Bing viewing is defined as watching a video or television show in a single sitting (Deniz Yengin, 2017). Binge watching is a media marathoning, which places emotional and cognitive demands on the viewers (Perks, 2014)

Video-on-demand service providers such as Netflix package television text into streaming archives. Thus, the audience has become able to watch the series one after the other without a break. According to Tryon, this process, which occurs with the packaging of the television text, brings two viewing modes: The first is the archival mode, the watching of previously missed content. The second is an instant viewing mode created by platforms that broadcast original and licensed series such as Netflix by uploading all season episodes of the series to the platform. Netflix supports this mode with participation, prestige, personalization. These features make the consumption of serials over the internet widespread (Ateşalp & Başlar, 2020). The concept of binge watching supports the fact that sharing accelerates with the internet. Watching series episodes back to back has become increasingly common with the new media. What makes overwatching popular is that the decision is entirely in the hands of the viewer. One of the interviewees explains:

It makes me happy to be in control while watching a show. I watch 4-5 episodes of a series back to back. In this way, you can better understand the subject of the series. It also gives me a chance to escape from everyday life after working all day. (Hasan, 32, Financier)

Binge watching in Turkey started with the widespread consumption of pirated CDs and DVDs, downloading TV series via torrent, and the emergence of illegal online TV series sites before internet television entered the market (Ateşalp & Başlar, 2020).

Watching a TV series is very addictive. Actually, I want to devote more time to other things... And a great escape from everyday life. You completely

forget what happened during the day. There is also the matter of getting into the character. It is obviously a relief to continue on the road with a character you know (Oğuz, 32, Journalist).

In 2017, Netflix themselves released a surprising statistic that more than 8.4 million of their subscribers have 'binge-watched', which is where they watch an entire season of a show within 24 hours of its release (netflix.com, 2017). Due to the negative health effects of binge watching in the media, the company has been trying not to use the word since 2018 (www.investopedia.com, 2020). Regardless of how Netflix defines the term, binge watching television shows is a cultural practice that viewers incorporate into their daily lives and adapt to their individual circumstances. Although technology has changed and cultural practices were becoming more expansive, consumers are still attempting to integrate and adjust the use of television series into their everyday lives.

4.3. THE POSITION OF WATCHING TV SERIES

The phenomenon of the 'unknown' in cities has increased, and escaping from the unknown has combined with a growing understanding of private life to spatially distance middle and upper income groups. Although the groups that encounter in city centers, on buses, or on subways are physically close, there is a spiritual distance between them. According to Simmel, people become distrustful of the elements of metropolitan life that come and go with brief contact. Discontent creates a mutual sense of alienation and disgust at this distance (Simmel, 2019). Population density, which Wirth identified as one of the distinguishing criteria of urban society, paradoxically combined with physical contact. It also increases social distance. People in urban areas live next to each other and touch each other, but the nature of the relationship increases social distances. This situation opens up a space for many different lives to stand together in the urban space. Wirth stated the fluidity and dynamism of urban social life in order to define heterogeneity specific to urban life. The highly mobile individual is exposed to stimuli from a wide variety of other individuals and subjects and this places him in different

statuses within the different social groups that make up the social structure of the city. This factual situation, which brings with it the acceptance of instability and insecurity as a norm, helps us to take into account the complexity and cosmopolitanism of the inhabitants of the city (Özdemir, 2010). On the other hand, it provides the opportunity to reach other worlds here. The person who is alienated from his work and society wants to spend his free time at home. Undoubtedly, the fact that public life is not as productive as before. Home has become a place where one relaxes physically and mentally. The individual, who carries different personas in the public sphere, provides control and autonomy at home. Mobile personality finds the comfort at home that it cannot provide in the city center and at work. On the other hand, it provides the opportunity to reach other worlds. The individual distracts himself with TV shows at home with the contribution of technology. A participant says:

I'm pretty tired when I come home. I usually watch TV series after I eat something. I watch about 20 hours a week, including weekends (Selin, Brand Manager, 31).

Another participant explains:

I don't go out after work on weekdays, what are you going to do anyway? I come home around 19:30. My wife comes home later than me. I watch daily an average of 2-3 hours on TV, except when there are no football matches (Can, IT Specialist, 34).

Netflix admitted in 2019 that the average user watched around two hours per day, but with everybody already sat at home, that trend has continued. According to Nielson, users are watching video for 61 percent longer, which means that Americans are now watching 3.2 hours of video per day while quarantined (pcmag.com, 2020). I come home at around 7:00 pm. I order food, I start at dinner, I usually watch TV series. So television means Netflix now. I'm already watching a few different series in a period. It also makes you want to consume it quickly.

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in a period. It also makes you want to consume it quickly (Burcu, 34, Advertising Sales Manager).

4.3.1 The Role of Series in the Socialization

As a socialization agent, the media has a significant impact on our lives, particularly in how we interact with one another and learn social and cultural behaviors from others. The thing that all participants spend the most time in their leisure time after work is the habit of watching TV series. This is, of course, a method of socialization.

Netflix series is something we talk about all the time in the office. You are making a comment. For example, we are 3 people watching Peaky Blinders. Others leave us in such situations. (Elif, 31, Producer).

At work, we talk about series all the time. It is also talked about in agency groups. During Game Of Thrones, a friend left the Whatsapp group to avoid spoilers (Zeynep, 32, Marketing Manager).

A friend of mine and I were just calling each other Game Of Thrones last year. Actually, he's not someone I go with outside. but you find a common ground (Alican, 32, Event Manager).

Watching a series is a little different from a movie. For example, the chances of the last movie we both watched are very, very low. At work, we were constantly talking about the last season of GOT. We were making our own comments. It's like talking about the GS-FB match on the morning of the derby. It's very socializing. (Oğuz, 32, Journalist)

4.3.2. The Role of Taste

According to Arun, tastes, refined and educated preferences are the practical affirmation of an inevitable and helpless difference. Taste is conceptualized in its crudest form as an act of exclusion (Arun, 2013). When individuals have to justify their own likes, they tend to assert themselves by negating other tastes. According to Bourdieu, our cultural consumptions constitute the distinction (Bourdieu P. , 1984). Nowadays, we can see a similar situation when it comes to TV series consumption.

What keeps a conversation going with people after a while. You mainly chat in the evening. 9 out of 10 people watch TV series without exception. In fact, 1-2 of them asked if the series they watched on Netflix were sold out and if I could give me advice. I also see this as a filtering when choosing their dates. If I suggested the Ertuğrul series, it might be blocked, but I recommend Ladybird. I went on a date with a woman. 37 years old, powerful, smart, educated in London. For example, this chick said she liked Atiye very much. All of a sudden, lightning flashed in my head. Watching is something else but what is it to “love too much”. If she could not see it, what I could see in “Atiye”, that would cause discomfort in other areas as well. People now find each other in such very specific places. Everyone wears sneakers, everyone dresses well, everyone has tattoos, everyone is cool if you look from the outside. But in such cases, people give themselves away. Frankly, it's a filtering method for me. Besides, I see that Netflix has started to show television reflexes. For example, the feature of the top 10 shows watched in Turkey this week. They may mean that; Look, these will be discussed, like, do you want to join the party? I don't buy it. (Yusuf, 32, Film Director).

The participants stated that the tastes of the TV series gave important information about a person.

It matters what a person likes. If he is watching a cheesy series, I have a prejudice in my mind. If he is constantly watching Turkish series, I don't

know, if he watches mafia movies all the time, I create an opinion about those people. There is another situation. This is an activity that you dedicate 6-10 hours a week to. I believe people should be more refined in their choices (Selin, 31, Brand Manager).

A person watching “Kurtlar Vadisi” certainly gives an indication of the level of intellectuality. Now there is the internet, there are alternatives everywhere. He has to improve himself a little bit. Platforms now offer countless options. We're talking about an abundance of content. There is a saying in Turkish, tell me your friend so I can tell you who you are. So I say, tell me what you're watching and I'll tell you who you are. (Fusun, 32, Photographer).

You realize something when you talk to guys who are not highly educated. My brother, don't watch the series that has no action for 3 hours. I also recommend foreign series to my colleagues, because there is such a platform, there are such series. Don't watch “Çukur” anymore. For example, we are 4 people in the office, 2 people are watching now Netflix series thanks to my praise. I think that a person at the basic education level will change their television watching practices after watching a series on Netflix. (Alişah, 33, Purchasing and Supply Chain Manager).

Individuals create their own lifestyles based on consumption patterns, independent of their social status. They also have the authority to select and purchase specific products from the options available. Consumption of the products they choose in various ways is more than just a trend; it is driven by the need to construct one's own identity (Arun, 2013).

The choices people make are important. It gives people perspective on life. For example, I would appreciate someone watching Black Mirror. This shows that he has a vision. (İpek, 29, Psychologist)

In fact, what someone watches explains a little bit about that person's position in life. It somewhat determines the social segmentation. For example, someone who watches Turkish TV series has not made peace with technology, whose English is not good, their life views are more conservative. It seems to me to say closer to the Eastern culture than to the West. It is difficult to find common ground with such people. (Zeynep, 32 Marketing Manager)

“What he watches is important in determining the person you will include in your social environment. It definitely gives an idea of the person. In the past, I used to look at things like where he goes, what he reads, what he does in his leisure time, but now what he watches has become very important (İrem, 34, Event Manager).

CONCLUSION

This study focuses on people who work in the private sector, speak a foreign language, are well-educated, and work in sectors such as service, finance, media, in the case of Istanbul.

In the first chapter of the study focuses on Turkey, which adopted neoliberal policies after 1980 in parallel with the developments in the world, and how the country's most populous and favorite city Istanbul played a role in this economic and cultural change.

In the second part, we talked about the emergence of a new middle class that follows the trends and adapts to the Western culture as a result of the changing Istanbul. Then we tried to show that this class produces a new life for itself through its cultural consumptions. As previously stated, cultural capital is perhaps the most important concept to comprehend in the modern era. It manifests itself as tastes and consumption practices, particularly lifestyle consumption, and plays an important role in within-class differentiations.

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In the third part, we focused on the concept of leisure where this cultural consumption takes place. The influence of cultural industries on leisure and how this concept was shaped in the modern period were examined.

In the final section, I looked at how the concept of TV series evolved in Turkey and how it is used today. I attempted to demonstrate the impact of this cultural consumption on today's perceptions of taste and socialization by including the comments of new middle-class participants.

As Adorno stated it, cultural industries have standardized people's consumption habits. Our limited research showed that a very important part of the participants' leisure time includes the practice of watching TV series. Especially after 2000, the technological developments that appeared all over the world also affected the consumption habits.

The urban working class, which follows the technological developments, also differentiates itself over the consumption of TV series. As Bourdieu points out, common pleasures like going to museums, seeing exhibitions, and playing tennis are changing as a result of city life's chaos, shrinking public space, and economic difficulties. Consumption of specific products in various ways is more than just a fad; it is driven by the need to construct one's own identity.

Having set a theoretical ground, the findings of the qualitative study have been provided. Talking about TV shows has become an extremely popular phenomenon in social gatherings and at work, and the middle class, whose cultural capital is dwindling, tends to assign a status to itself through taste. The desire to watch foreign series has become a point of differentiation for the new middle class. In Turkey, there is a cultural consumption practice, different tastes, that separates individuals, their classes, and thus creates inequality.

Finally, the concept of taste will never be a class connotation, especially in an era where digital and visual content has increased so much. However, now it seems to be more about tastes than money. Tastes are the new markers for distinction, and consumer goods like TV series are one of the easiest and most convenient ways to show it in this digital age.

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