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Research Article

THE PARADOX OF ENVIRONMENTALISM: WHEN ENVIRONMENTALIST CONSUMPTION BECOMES A STATUS SYMBOL

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this review article is to provide a critical analysis of some of the environmentalist practices developed during the tackle ecological degradation, as well as to evaluate the petty-bourgeois character of these practices. Initially, the article explains that capitalist production-consumption relations are primarily responsible for the observed climate changes in our era. After that, the character of the petty bourgeois, the consumer individual of late capitalism, is discussed in the context of Bourdieusian theory. To empirically explore the social dimensions of petty bourgeois environmentalism, this paper analyzes data from a targeted field research project conducted with residents of two distinct socioeconomic categories within Ankara. The research data employed within the article constitutes a limited subset derived from the broader data repository established by Feyza Korkmaz Saglam during her field research in 2021 July, conducted as part of her doctoral study. The findings, acquired through the application of Bourdieu's Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) technique, reveal the utilization of environmentalist consumerism as a class differentiator, contributing to the perpetuation of capitalist production-consumption relations rather than challenging them.

Keywords: Class distinction, Climate change, Consumption patterns, Environmentalism, Petty bourgeois.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, the lands and waters that have served as a home for human civilization and millions of species have undergone a great deal of destruction. Due to the malign emotions of the human population, the negative effects of increasing consumption and energy demand, expanding urban settlements, and aggressive agriculture are becoming more apparent every year. The floods, overflows, and fires we are witnessing together are raging. In addition to decreasing water resources, rising temperatures are causing droughts and rising sea levels. A decrease in agricultural productivity is accompanied by an increase in ocean acidity. This poses a threat to the future of both other ecosystems and the human species. Marine species are disappearing twice as fast as land-based species as a result of climate change and global warming. The sixth mass extinction event in our planet's history is imminent, but it is the first mass extinction caused by human economic activity. Today, the rate of extinction is 1000 times faster than it was before the Industrial Revolution (Hickel, 2021: 17).

The average temperature in the Northern Hemisphere increased by 1.8 degrees Celsius after the 1900s as a result of anthropogenic activities such as urbanization, industrialization, and the widespread use of motor vehicles (Baer, 2012: 13-14). Due to human-induced production and consumption relations that occur with capitalism, climate events experienced have recently caused scenes that may appear as if they were part of an apocalyptic movie. Nearly, 70,000 people lost their lives due to the heat wave that hit Europe in 2003. It is common to see hurricanes in the USA once every generation, but in 2017-2018, several hurricanes devastated the country. Millions of living creatures were killed by forest fires that ravaged Portugal in 2017 and Australia in 2020. A temperature increases of more than 2 degrees Celsius is likely to cause a permanent famine, according to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (Hickel, 2021: 18-20).

Climate change has also had significant social impacts. As natural resources diminish, conflicts over natural resources escalate and intensify between regional and global governments. Climate change catastrophes have led to migration, which, in turn, increased populist nationalism (Cizreli and Ustun, 2023: 77-78). Although the climate crisis has many concrete examples, there are those who argue that this threat is imaginary in order to legitimize capitalist relations of production and consumption. In their view, economists and demographers who advocate a free-market approach have stated that humanity is presently in an era of abundance, and capitalism will likely be successful in finding solutions to some environmental problems (Garrard, 2004: 16-17). Despite these individuals, who have the goal of protecting the ideology of capitalist growth and progress, efforts to hide the consequences of the climate crisis or justify capitalism with greenwashing techniques, increasing threats and concerns do not eliminate environmental problems from the agenda. Unlike these conspiratorial circles, whose intentions are transparent, liberal environmentalists who appear to care about environmental issues but do not compromise their personal lifestyles present a greater danger. If environmentalism were recycling, preferring organic food, and participating in nature protection activities, a significant part of the population in industrialized countries would be considered "environmentalists" (Garrard, 2004: 19-20).

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It is impossible to combat climate change without addressing the capitalist ideology of growth and the anthropocentric dominance of nature. There is a liberal understanding of environmentalism that is limited to activities such as hiking, camping, and wildlife-watching, which lacks a deep understanding of ecology, and it has been described in this article as petty bourgeoisie. In this research article, we examine some of the environmentalist practices developed during the fight against climate change and evaluate their petty-bourgeois character. As a starting point, Pierre Bourdieu's theory is used to explain the term "petty bourgeoisie". After describing the practices of this petty-bourgeois environmentalism, we attempt to determine how it distracts the fight against climate change from its main objective.

This article draws upon empirical data obtained through a targeted field research project conducted within Ankara, Turkey, to critically examine the social dimensions of petty bourgeois environmentalism. The research specifically focused on residents belonging to two distinct socioeconomic categories. The data utilized in this analysis constitutes a curated subset of a larger data repository established by Feyza Korkmaz Saglam in July 2021 as part of her doctoral research. By employing Bourdieu's Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) technique, this study sheds light on the intriguing phenomenon of environmentalist consumerism being utilized as a tool for class distinction within petty bourgeois circles. This finding presents a critical re-evaluation of the potential for certain environmental practices to truly challenge the existing capitalist production-consumption relations, instead revealing their potential to contribute to their perpetuation.

BASIC QUALITIES OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

"Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste" is a research by Pierre Bourdieu that examines the petty-bourgeois class in depth. In order to comprehend the analysis of the petty bourgeoisie in this work, it is important to remember that Pierre Bourdieu approaches the concept of class from a relational perspective. He proposes a relational perspective on the social world in order to combat the tendency to view it in an essentialist manner. Bourdieu does not conduct research based on definitions of class hierarchy that can be categorized into pyramids and reduced to economic capital. According to him, class should be defined in terms of the fields so as to comprehend the more complicated and multidimensional cultural hierarchy. To accomplish this, he conducted field research on the characteristics that create class distinctions. According to Bourdieu (1984: 318-321), class distinctions are based on cultural practices and tastes, and the ruling classes establish cultural power by determining the legitimate culture.

"The whole relationship of the petite bourgeoisie to culture can in a sense be deduced from the considerable gap between knowledge and recognition, the source of the cultural goodwill which takes different forms depending on the degree of familiarity with legitimate culture, that is, on social origin and the associated mode of cultural acquisition. The rising petite bourgeoisie invests its good intentions in the minor forms of the legitimate cultural goods and practice just as it deploys prodigious energy and ingenuity in 'living beyond its means' (Bourdieu, 1984: 319-321)*."*

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The petty bourgeoisie admires the ruling classes, who innately possess certain forms of cultural capital. The petty bourgeoisie has succeeded in separating themselves from the proletariat and from their own history, but they must accumulate the necessary capital to become members of the ruling class. The petty bourgeois lives a small life with his or her petty concerns and needs. Declining petty bourgeoises are more ascetic as opposed to entrepreneurial petty bourgeoises. On the rise, the petty-bourgeois convey their ambitions to their children. The new petty bourgeoisie places a high value on presentation and representation, which is why personal development professions (fashion, decoration, dietician, diction courses, sexologist) have developed in this direction. Those in the petty bourgeoisie place a high value on their appearance. In addition to the clothes and bodies they wear, they give importance to their habits and moral behaviour, as if they were on stage. The new bourgeoisie tends to have the most legitimate judgments (Bourdieu, 1984: 366-371). The petty bourgeois reveals itself through its interests: pets, flowers, hunting, gastronomy, the environment, horseback riding, gardening, fishing, and oenology.

PETTY BOURGEOIS ENVIRONMENTALISM

The environmental destruction caused by neo-liberal economic policies was becoming more evident during the 1980s and 1990s, while at the same time, environmental awareness was increasing. The potential for environmental awareness to evolve into an anti-capitalist social opposition existed. Global corporations, particularly oil companies, sought to appear more sensitive to environmental concerns as a part of public relations. Due to the favourable response to this type of advertising from the masses, green marketing has become almost dominant across the entire market (Bowen, 2014: 15-26). In these years (1980s), environmentalist Jay Westervelt introduced the concept of greenwashing (Jeff, 2023).

Generally, greenwashing refers to the practice of large companies making misleading statements, deceptive images, and ambiguous language to minimize the pressure on the environment while increasing demand for their products, even though they are not actually environmentally sensitive (Jeff, 2023). Although a critical and controlling opposition to greenwashing has emerged, the advertising and promotional activities of capitalist firms have helped shape a legitimate environmental culture. There is a significant impact of mass culture on the petty bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1993: 127).

"The very broad range of people who are concerned about environmental issues such as global warming and pollution, but who wish to maintain or improve their standard of living as conventionally defined, and who would not welcome radical social change, will be described hereinafter as 'environmentalists' (Garrard, 2004: 18)*."*

The relationship of the (in Bourdieu's terms) petty bourgeoisie of the neo-liberal era who shape their daily attitudes and habits according to the legitimate (dominant) culture but do not compromise their living standards, with environmental problems overlaps with Garrard's definition of "environmentalists." It has been demonstrated in a recent study conducted in Ankara that the petty bourgeoisie uses "ecological awareness" as a means of class differentiation (Korkmaz

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Saglam, 2023: 61-66). According to this research, awareness of recycling, separating waste oil and using organic detergent are considered indicators of differentiation from the poorer classes. However, Korkmaz Saglam's thesis focuses on urban practices. Accordingly, the researcher did not fully utilize the ecological findings in the data set in her dissertation. In the unpublished data, there are findings that reveal the petty bourgeois nature of environmentalist sensitivity. A description of the data collection process and data analysis technique will be provided in the following sections, followed by the findings of the research.

By engaging with critical urban theory, one scholar is able to reveal neoliberal tendencies in climate change mitigation policies which contain forms of carbon trading, and ecological modernization associated with climate change mitigation (Whitehead, 2013: 1349). By critically analysing urban practices, this research reveals the petty bourgeois character of environmentalism and thus gains a unique character. The fact that practices in the struggle against climate change are generally influenced by this petty bourgeois class makes the responsibilities of capitalist production-consumption relations invisible and reduces the issue to a lifestyle choice. This article gains importance by emphasizing the main aspects of petty-bourgeois environmentalism and identifying distractible practices.

RESEARCH DATA SOURCE AND DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE

This article examines the concept of urbanity through the lens of relational sociology, using data from Feyza Korkmaz Saglam's (2023) research. Saglam analyzes the experiences of two groups in Ankara: individuals who have undergone urban transformation and urbanized individuals. Relational sociology rejects categorical analyses and dichotomies as insufficient to capture the nuanced nature of social reality. Instead, it draws on Bourdieu's concept of capital and habitus to understand how individuals navigate the social world. The research specifically focuses on five key urban actions, exploring how these actions generate distinction and overlap among individuals within the urban space, both within and across the two groups. Ethical approval for the study questionnaire was obtained from the Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University Ethics Committee on June 14, 2021 (decision number 86).

The research employed a targeted sampling approach with two distinct populations. The first, representing the "urban transformation experience," comprised 200 individuals residing in Aktas Neighbourhood who previously lived in a shantytown and became residents of a housing estate after participating in urban transformation projects conducted by TOKİ. The second population, representing the "urbanite experience," also consisted of 200 individuals, residing in various neighbourhoods within Cankaya District for at least 20 years and not originating from a shantytown background. While haphazard sampling guided the overall selection process, specific criteria were applied at certain stages. For example, within Aktas, only individuals who lived in the previous shantytown were included, while in Cankaya, the requirement of long-term residency and non-shantytown origins was enforced. This stratified approach ensured both balanced representation and capture of distinct experiences within each population.

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Data collection for this research took place between June 6 and June 30, 2021. In the first stage, pilot research was conducted, and the actual field research was completed after the approval of the ethics committee. Fieldwork was conducted in two geographic regions: Aktas Neighbourhood and Cankaya District. To gain insights into urban experiences, participants completed a questionnaire spanning five key areas: Ecological Consciousness, Consumption Habits, Access to Socio-cultural Amenities, City Management Actions, and Political Participation and Information Acquisition. The questionnaire focused on the presence or absence of specific urban experiences, employing a combination of closed-ended questions for factual data and open-ended questions to delve deeper into motivations and rationale behind participant actions. While not all data collected in the "Ecological Consciousness" and "Consumption Habits" sections were utilized in the initial research, this article revisits and analyzes these specific datasets.

Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) served as the primary analytical tool for this study. MCA, a dimension reduction technique, excels in the analysis of categorical variables. It positions variable values, categorized by feature presence or absence, within a social geometric space, enabling interpretation based on their proximity and distance. By treating data values as qualitative distinctions reflecting feature presence or absence, MCA analyzes the co-occurrence of categorical categories within each variable. Each category signifies either the presence of a feature or a feature that diverges from others. Through this process, MCA elucidates relationships between variable categories and represents data within a lower-dimensional space (Greenacre, 2007; Ozturk, 2020). To facilitate MCA, the demographic variables, experience questions, and open-ended responses were coded and transformed into numerical data. The researcher established specific categories for demographic variables. Experience questions answered with a simple "yes" or "no" were coded accordingly, while other questions were coded based on participant-selected options, with each category assigned a value of 1 or 0. Open-ended responses underwent thematic coding, grouping similar answers together. The subsequent section of article presents findings and themes, accompanied by visual aids.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Categorical features are scrutinized within the context of their positioning on the X and Y coordinate plane within the urban social space. The arrangement of features as points scattered across the coordinate plane is construed as follows: When the angle between the lines drawn from the features to the origin is approximately 90 degrees, or close to it, it indicates the absence of a relationship between the points, denoting categorical variables that are distinct and independent from each other. An angle close to 180 degrees suggests a negative relationship, representing spatial domains that are dissimilar and separate from one another. When all points are situated at the origin, it signifies a configuration denoting no segregation.

The X axis, serving as the primary axis, elucidates variance, i.e., separation; the Y axis, as the secondary axis, portrays relationships that are not as robust as those on the X axis but indicate a connection. The length of the vector extending from the origin to the points signifies the strength of the separation or relation-

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ship; a longer vector indicates a more pronounced distinction. Consequently, it can be inferred that features or groups of features positioned farther from the origin manifest a more pronounced distinction than relatively closer features.

Following a concise elucidation of the interpretative guidelines, we initially scrutinize figures facilitating the interpretation of the class nature of environmental sensitivity within the ambit of data pertaining to ecological sensitivity actions. Subsequently, we present areas of features wherein spatial segregation either diverges or converges concerning consumption habits.

Aktas, one of the two regions in Ankara exhibiting distinct socio-economic characteristics and serving as the focal point of this study, is recognized as a slum neighbourhood. Undergoing urban transformation orchestrated by the Housing Development Administration (TOKI), it has evolved into one of the most notable areas in Ankara, particularly regarding substantial changes in its physical infrastructure. Following the transformation, during which numerous residents lacking property titles were afforded the opportunity to become homeowners through accessible loans and allocated housing within TOKİ sites, a discernible trend emerged. The inhabitants of this region, having incurred debt and experiencing a shift away from the accustomed opportunities and order of their prior lives, were found to possess generally diminished household income and educational attainment.

Conversely, the participants residing in the Cankaya region have maintained long-standing residency, are assimilated into urban life, and generally exhibit a higher socio-economic profile compared to their counterparts in the Aktas region, as indicated by household income and education level. The spatial segregation of these two groups, representative of disparate socio-economic strata, within the social space is explicated in terms of income level, education level, and the urban characteristics intrinsic to their respective regions of residence.

Ecological Awareness Actions

The presented figure illustrates the multiple correspondence analysis graph depicting the sorting of garbage based on recycling categories in relation to neighbourhood, income level[2], and education level characteristics[3]. Observably, affirmative responses (“yes” - eco1geridon.1) and occasional responses (“sometimes” - eco1geridon.2) to the inquiry regarding garbage sorting for recycling purposes appear to be proximately situated to the Cankaya region along the y-axis within the two-dimensional social space. Furthermore, households with middle to above-middle income levels and individuals with university-level ed

2 In 2021, during the execution of the field research, the net minimum wage stood at 2825.90 Turkish Lira ($318). Income level categories were established based on the prevailing economic conditions of this specific timeframe.

3 The interpretation of the data presented in the figure is delineated as follows: neighbourhood.1 corresponds to Aktas neighborhood. 2 corresponds to Cankaya; household income.1 represents lower income, household income.2 denotes lower-middle income, household income.3 signifies middle income, household income.4 designates upper-middle income, and household income.5 indicates upper income. Additionally, education.1 stands for illiterate, education.2 signifies literate, education.3 represents a primary school graduate, education.4 denotes a secondary school graduate, education.5 indicates a high school graduate, education.6 corresponds to a university graduate, and education.7 represents a graduate.

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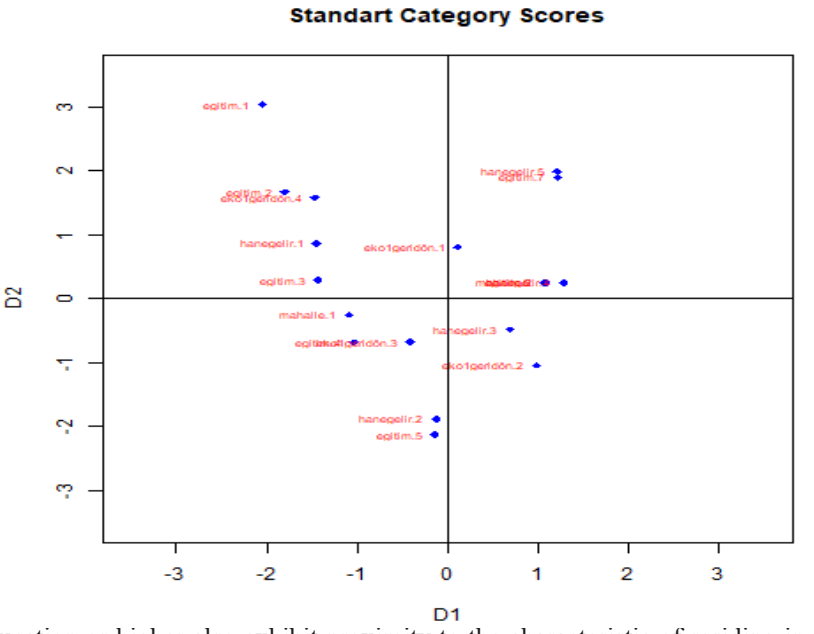
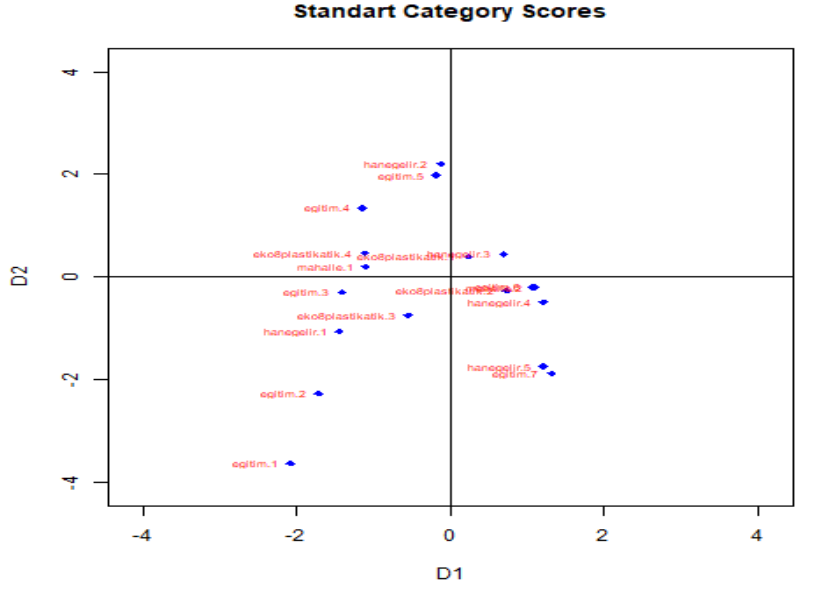
Figure 1. *Recycling of Garbage (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*



ucation or higher also exhibit proximity to the characteristic of residing in the Cankaya region. Conversely, attributes such as having a low level of education, belonging to the lower income group, residing in Aktas, and not engaging in garbage separation (eco1geridon.3) are juxtaposed against the former group, thereby delineating a distinction between the two cohorts. The two groups characterized by the lowest level of education and lacking awareness about recycling (eco1geridon.4) appear distinctly separated, occupying positions relatively distant from the origin.

Figure 2. *Awareness on Reducing the Use of Plastic (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*



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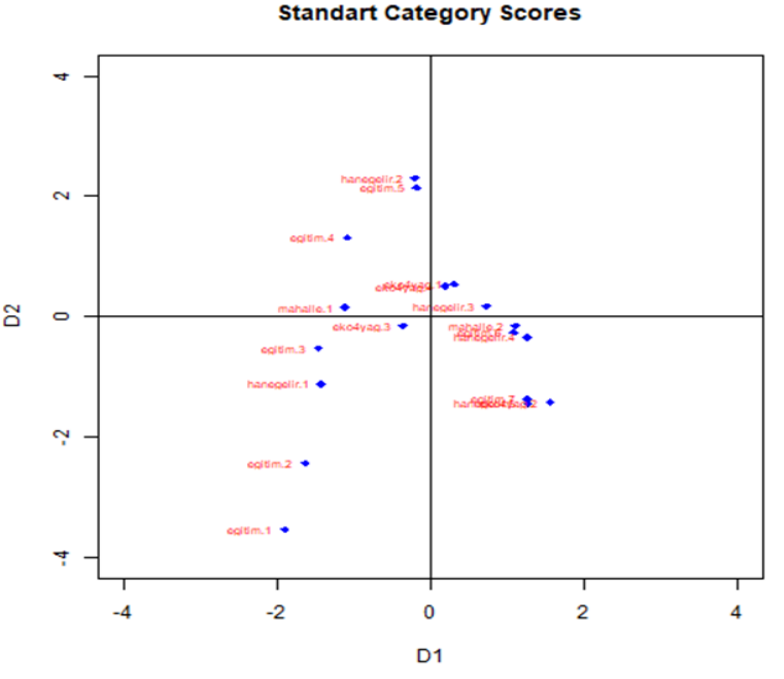
The attribute of possessing a below-average income level (household income.2) in conjunction with a high school diploma aligns relatively closely with the practice of occasional recycling on the y-axis. Conversely, characteristics associated with a high-income bracket and a postgraduate education are positioned in opposition to this group, aligning closely with the recycling attribute. Considering this analysis, it is discerned that the attribute realm of recycling garbage is intricately linked with characteristics indicative of middle to above-middle income levels and a high school education or above.

The presented figure depicts the multiple correspondence analyses concerning the behavioural trait of opting for glass or similar alternatives over plastic as a measure to curtail plastic usage, categorized by neighbourhood, household income, and education level. Examination of the figure reveals a distinct clustering pattern: individuals who actively undertake measures to diminish plastic usage (eco8plastic.1), those who occasionally do so (eco8plastic.2), and characteristic groups associated with residing in Cankaya, possessing middle to upper economic incomes, and having higher education levels are closely aligned around the X-axis. Conversely, individuals belonging to the lower income bracket, holding lower levels of education, and residing in Aktas are closely positioned with the characteristics of not actively reducing plastic usage or expressing no opinion on the matter. This subgroup exhibits a positioning that is diametrically opposite to the former group. The findings from this figure illuminate that the propensity to take action in reducing plastic use and substituting it with glass or more sustainable alternatives correlates with both income and education levels.

Figure 3. *Awareness for Appropriate Disposal of Waste Oils (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*



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While the propensity to properly dispose of waste oil at dedicated collection points (eco4yag.1) and the occasional practice of such disposal (eco4yag.2) appear close to the origin and both regions on the X-axis, they display a relative affinity for individuals residing in Cankaya and belonging to middle or upper-middle income groups. Conversely, the lack of proper waste oil disposal (eco4yag.3), also positioned near the origin and between the two regions, suggests negligible regional divergence on this trait. Interviews conducted in relation to this characteristic revealed that participants from Aktas, likely due to their lower income levels, generate less waste oil while cooking, particularly frying oils. Instead of discarding them, they reuse them for further cooking, demonstrating resourcefulness despite limited means. In contrast, participants from Cankaya, influenced by their higher education levels, engage in proper disposal while simultaneously voicing concerns about the inadequacy of local government oil waste collection, criticizing their perceived lack of diligence.

The reciprocal analysis figure for "increasing public transportation usage to reduce traffic and air pollution" reveals a near-complete clustering of feature points around the origin (see Figure 4). This indicates a remarkable absence of clear distinctions based on neighbourhood, household income, and education levels. Such positioning can be attributed to the timing of the fieldwork, conducted immediately following the COVID-19 lockdown period. During this period, observations in both regions demonstrated a distinct pattern: car owners, driven by pandemic fears, actively avoided public transportation, while those without car access, compelled by economic necessities like work, continued to rely on it. These actions, heavily influenced by the pandemic context, deviate from environmentally motivated choices regarding public transportation usage.

Figure 4. *Utilization of Public Transportation (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*

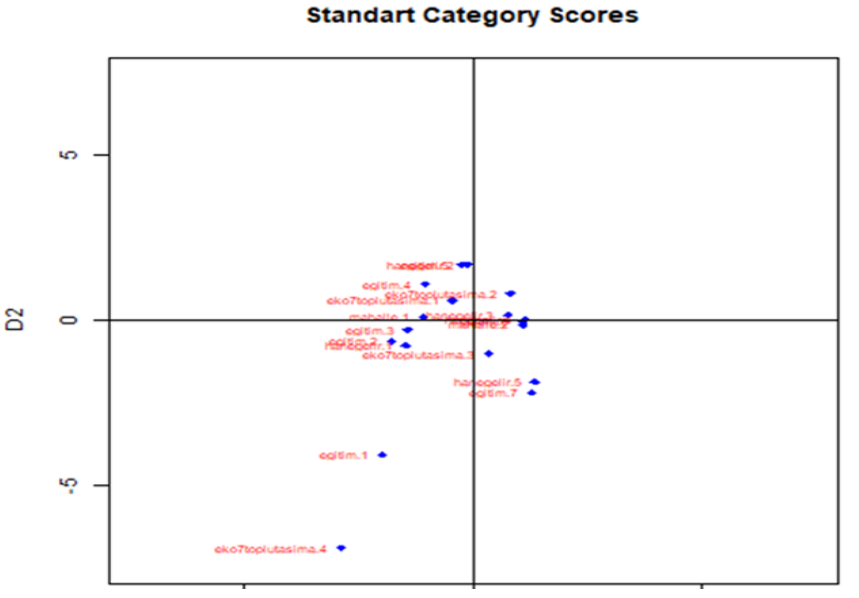

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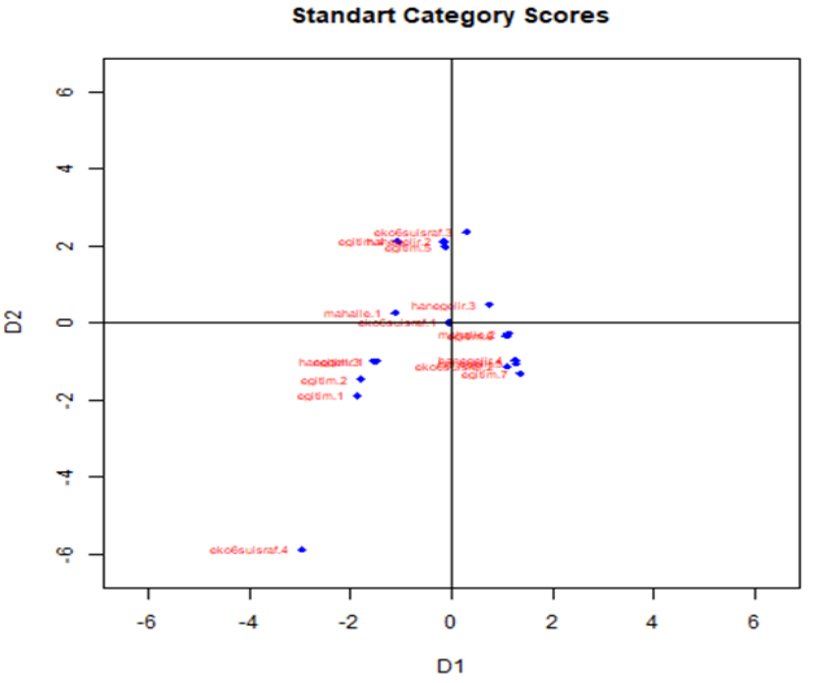
Figure 5. *Awareness on Measures to Prevent Water Waste (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*



While anti-wastefulness discourse surrounding limited water resources has gained prominence in climate crisis and drought discussions, it has not demonstrably translated into decreased water use during the pandemic. As evidenced by the figure, the characteristic of "taking action to prevent water waste" is positioned at the origin, highlighting an absence of regional differentiation on this trait. Conversely, the Y-axis reveals a distinct feature area located far from the origin, representing individuals who oppose "reductions in water use" regardless of their region of residence. Interestingly, this area shares proximity with both "middle and higher education level" and "household income below the middle." This co-location suggests that anxieties around disease and hygiene, potentially heightened by the pandemic's impact on middle and lower-income groups, might contribute to the emergence of this distinct trait area and their resistance to water use reduction.

The multiple correspondence analysis figure for "using ecological detergents with organic ingredients to reduce chemical emissions" reveals a clear association between this action and both household income level and higher education level. Interestingly, residing in Cankaya, characterized by higher levels of both factors, further differentiates postgraduate education and upper-income groups in their access to organic detergents. Fieldwork observations suggested that Aktas residents, despite possessing some knowledge about ecological detergents, faced significant barriers in purchasing them due to their expense and limited availability in their local markets.

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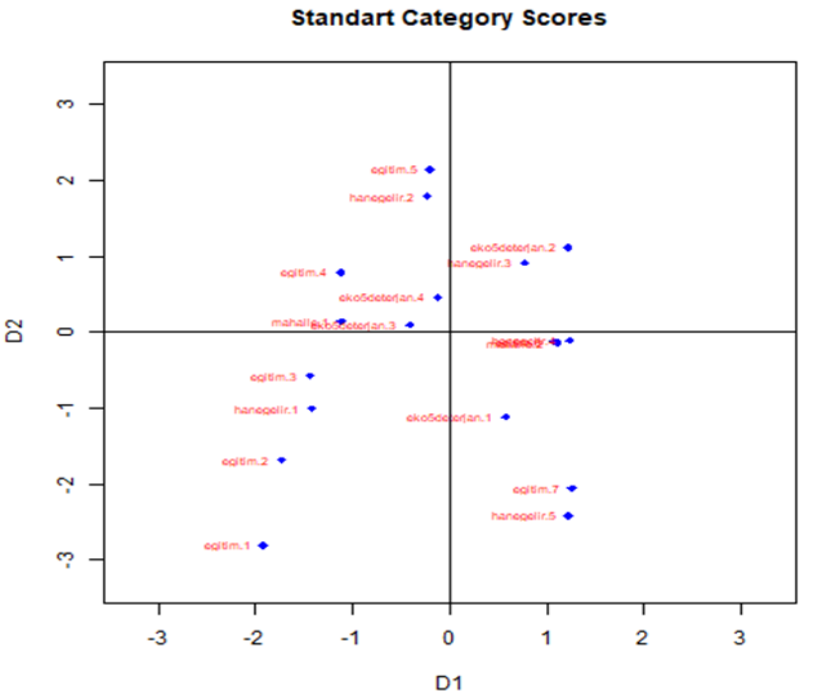
Figure 6. *Use of Ecological Cleaning Detergent (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*



The Class Position of Capitalist Consumption Habits

Among Turkish cities, Ankara boasts one of the highest densities of shopping malls. The figure sheds light on how neighbourhood, income level, and education level relate to shopping mall visitation frequency. Geometric plane distribution reveals clusters of closely positioned traits. On the X-axis, we observe a strong correlation between residing in Cankaya, possessing a university degree, belonging to the middle or upper-middle income bracket, and frequenting malls once or several times a week. The Y-axis, conversely, displays a distinct cluster encompassing lower-middle income, high school education, and monthly mall visits, regardless of neighbourhood. These positional relationships suggest that, within the depicted social space, the educated middle class residing in Cankaya exhibits the highest propensity for frequent mall visits compared to other characteristic areas.

Rural cultural lifestyles often involve the production of certain foodstuffs at home, driven by diverse motivations across socio-economic classes. For lower segments, economic practicality reigns supreme, while in urban spaces dominated by consumer culture, a recent surge in environmentalist and sustainable consumption discourse has ignited home production practices among the middle and upper classes, often marketed as healthy and eco-friendly.

The multiple correspondence analysis figure below dissects home production of specific food items (bread, yogurt, pickles, pasta, vinegar, home-farming, etc.) across neighbourhood, income, and education levels. For each item, "1" denotes

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Figure 7. *Frequency of Going to Shopping Centre (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*

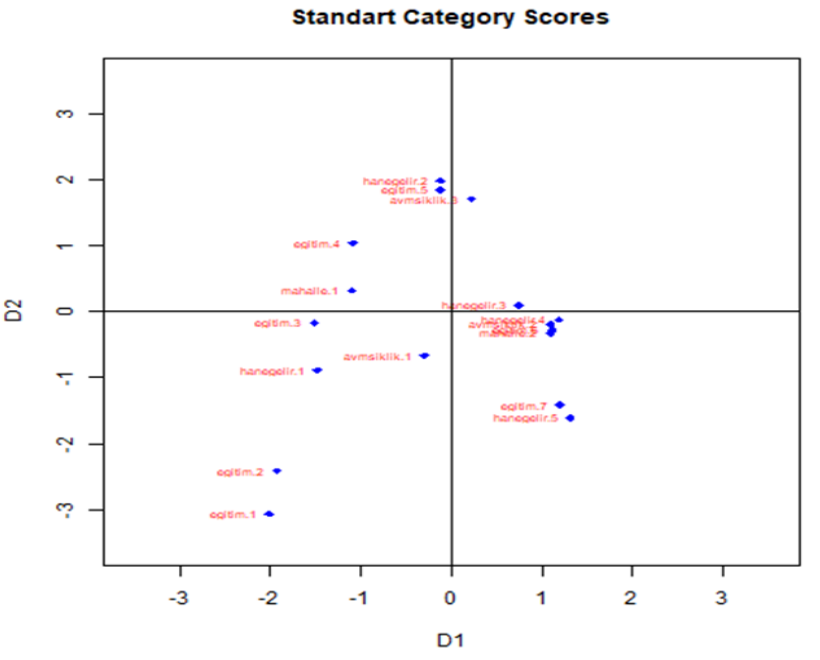
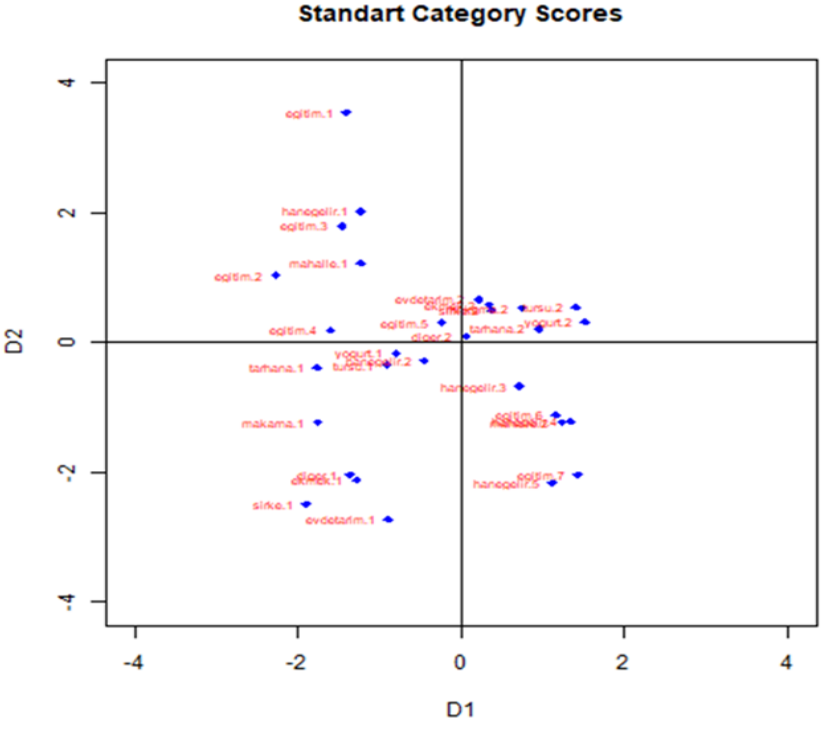


Figure 8. *Production at Home (see the appendix for the equivalents of the expressions in the figure)*



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presence and "2" denotes absence. Notably, residing in Cankaya (urban and affluent) closely associates with not producing foodstuffs at home. Higher education and income levels demonstrate limited alignment with home production traits, suggesting a preference for non-production. Conversely, Aktas residence (lower-middle income), lower-middle income, and secondary education cluster tightly with yogurt, pickle, and tarhana production at home.

Interestingly, home farming, vinegar, and breadmaking, while relatively proximate to upper-income and graduate education groupings on the Y-axis, do not explain significant variance. A curious disconnect emerges between two action types related to consumption habits. The middle and upper-middle class, characterized by high education, Cankaya residence, and purported ecological sensitivity in other analyses, do not exhibit congruent sustainable consumption behaviours. They are, in fact, the most likely group to frequent consumption hubs like shopping malls. This observation highlights a potential dissonance within this social segment. Despite differentiating themselves through ecological sensitivity discourse and emphasizing their cultural capital (education), their consumption habits do not fully reflect comparable sustainability concerns.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our analysis unveils the intricate interplay between environmentalism, consumption patterns, and class dynamics within petty bourgeois circles. The findings suggest that environmental consumerism can be wielded as a tool for class distinction, potentially reinforcing existing capitalist production-consumption relations. Applying Bourdieusian theory to petty bourgeois environmental practices sheds light on the symbolic and status-oriented dimensions of sustainable consumption within this social segment.

Drawing upon nuanced empirical data gleaned from targeted field research in Ankara, the study offers a richer understanding of petty bourgeois environmentalism. This understanding hinges on the complex interplay of cultural and economic capital in shaping ecological consciousness and consumption patterns, thereby shedding light on the intersection of environmental practices with social stratification and urban experiences.

Our research reveals that environmentalist consumption practices can be weaponized for class distinction, potentially reinforcing existing capitalist production-consumption relations. This finding resonates with suspicions that such practices, often embraced by the educated middle class, may ultimately perpetuate unsustainable consumption patterns. Despite espousing actions aligned with ecological sensitivity, bolstered by their cultural capital, this social group exhibits consumption levels comparable to lower classes. Conversely, the engagement of lower cultural classes with sustainable consumption is often driven by limitations in economic capital.

As we confront the burgeoning challenges of climate change and environmental degradation, critical engagement with the socio-economic underpinnings of environmentalism becomes paramount. Scrutinizing the class distinctions and symbolic meanings embedded within sustainable consumption is crucial for fostering more inclusive and equitable environmental action that transcends status-driven motivations.

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In summary, our analysis emphasizes the crucial need to confront petty bourgeois characteristics within environmental practices. This imperative sets the stage for a comprehensive and socially aware strategy in addressing climate change and advocating for sustainable lifestyles. The goal is to establish a more equitable trajectory towards environmental sustainability. Through unveiling the shortcomings of greenwashing, this framework delineates practical measures to enhance transparency and responsibility in environmental commitments. This, in turn, fosters a collaborative and impactful approach to effectively combat climate change.

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APPENDIX

DATA DESCRIPTION

Turkish	Meaning in Turkish	English equavelent
mahalle.1	Aktas	Aktas
mahalle.2	Cankaya	Cankaya
eğitim.1	okuryazar değil	illiterate
eğitim.2	okur yazar	literate
eğitim.3	İlkokul mezunu	Primary school graduate
eğitim.4	Ortaokul mezunu	Middle school graduate
eğitim.5	Lise mezunu	High school graduate
eğitim.6	Üniversite mezunu	University graduate
eğitim.7	Lisansüstü mezunu	Post graduate
hanegelir.1	Alt gelir grubu	Lower income
hanegelir.2	Alt-orta gelir grubu	Lower-middle income
hanegelir.3	Orta gelir grubu	Middle income
hanegelir.4	Üst-orta gelir grubu	Upper-middle income
hanegelir.5	Üst gelir grubu	Upper income
eko1geridön.1	Çöpleri geri dönüştüren	Recycling rubbish
eko1geridön.2	Çöpleri bazen geri dönüştüren	Recycling rubbish sometimes
eko1geridön.3	Çöpleri dönüştürmeyen	Never recycling rubbish
eko1geridön.4	Geri dönüştürme hakkında fikri olmayan	No idea on this tittle
eko8plastik.1	Plastik kullanımını azaltan	Reducing plastic usage
eko8plastik.2	Plastik kullanımını bazen azaltan	Reducing plastic usage sometimes
eko8plastik.3	Plastik kullanımını azaltmayan	Never reducing plastic usage
eko8plastik.4	Plastik azaltılması hakkında fikri olmayan	No idea on this title
eko4yag.1	Atık yağları doğru şekilde tahliye eden	Discharges waste oil correctly
eko4yag.2	Atık yağları bazen doğru tahliye eden	Discharges waste oil sometimes correctly
eko4yag.3	Atık yağları doğru tahliye etmeyen	Never discharges waste oil correctly
eko4yag.4	Bu konuda fikri olmayan	No idea on this title
eko7toplutasima.1	Toplu taşımayı tercih eden	Prefer pubic transport
eko7toplutasima.2	Bazen toplu taşıma tercih eden	Prefer sometimes public transport
eko7toplutasima.3	Toplu taşıma tercih etmeyen	Never prefer pubic transport
eko7toplutasima.4	Bu konuda fikri olmayan	No idea on this title
eko6suisraf.1	Suyu tasarruflu kullanan	Water-saving use
eko6suisraf.2	Suyu bazen tasarruflu kullanan	Sometimes water-saving use
eko6suisraf.3	Suyu tasarruflu kullanmayan	Never save water
eko6suisraf.4	Bu konuda fikri olmayan	No idea on this title
eko5deterjan.1	Ekolojik deterjan kullanan	Using ecologic detergent
eko5deterjan.2	Bazen ekolojik deterjan kullanan	Using sometimes ecologic detergent
eko5deterjan.3	Ekolojik deterjan kullanmayan	Never using ecologic detergent
eko5deterjan.4	Bu konuda fikri olmayan	No idea on this title
avmsiklik.1	AVM'ye hiç gitmeyen ya da nadiren giden	Never or rarely go to shopping centres

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avmsiklik.2	AVM'ye hafta bir ya da birkaç kez giden	Go to shopping centers once or a few times a week
avmsiklik.3	AVM'ye ayda bir ya da birkaç kez giden	Go to shopping centers once or a few times a month
ekmek.1	Evde ekmek yapan	Cooking bread at home
ekmek.2	Evde ekmek yapmayan	Not cooking bread at home
yogurt.1	Evde yoğurt yapan	Making yoghurt at home
yogurt.2	Evde yoğurt yapmayan	Not making yoghurt at home
turşu.1	Evde turşu yapan	Pickling at home
turşu.2	Evde turşu yapmayan	Not pickling at home
makarna.1	Evde makarna yapan	Making pasta at home
makarna.2	Evde makarna yapmayan	Not making pasta at home
tarhana.1	Evde tarhana yapan	Making tarhana at home
tarhana.2	Evde tarhana yapmayan	Not making tarhana at home
sirke.1	Evde sirke yapan	Making vinegar at home
sirke.2	Evde sirke yamayan	Not making vinegar at home
evdetarım.1	Evde tarımla uğraşan	Engaged in home farming
evdetarım.2	Evde tarımla uğraşmayan	Not engaged in home farming
diğer.1 / 2		Others / Not others