

Araştırma Makalesi | Research Article

Family Accounts on Instagram in the Context of Privacy and Conspicuous Consumption

Mahremiyet ve Gösterişçi Tüketim Bağlamında Instagram'da Aile Hesapları



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Başvuru Tarihi | Date Received: 06.04.2022
Yayına Kabul Tarihi | Date Accepted: 15.06.2022
Yayınlanma Tarihi | Date Published: 22.07.2022
<https://doi.org/10.17680/erciyesiletisim.1099394>

Abstract

Instagram, is used for different purposes such as promoting oneself, establishing an identity, getting likes, increasing the number of followers, being accepted in the society, displaying what is consumed through images such as photos and videos. In such channels, information about daily life related to family life is shared by many users. Private life is disclosed in the posts by will and the posts go beyond their purpose and cause privacy violations. In this study, family accounts that share information about their daily lives have been examined. In the study, family accounts with the highest number of followers were determined, they were selected within the framework of purposeful sampling, and the sample was limited to those who did not state a profession in their profile information. In this respect, four accounts constituted the subject of the study, and their shares were examined with qualitative content analysis. It has been concluded that privacy is violated in the posts, the content for conspicuous consumption and pretentious religiosity is included, and the consumption practices of women wearing hijab are related to fashion in the analyzed accounts.

Keywords: Privacy, Social Media, Family, Conspicuous Consumption, Pretentious Religiosity.

Öz

Instagram, fotoğraf, video gibi görseller aracılığıyla bireylerin kendini tanıtmak, kimlik inşa etmek, beğeni almak, takipçi sayısını artırmak, toplumda kabul görmek, sosyalleşmek, tükettiğini sergileyebilmek, reklam veya farklı ticari eylemler için işbirliği yapmak gibi farklı amaçlar için kullanılmaktadır. Bu tür mecralarda aile, ev, çocuk, düğün, nişan, doğum, çeşitli özel günlerin kutlanması gibi gündelik yaşama dair bilgiler birçok kullanıcı tarafından paylaşılmaktadır. Paylaşımlarda özel hayat gönüllü olarak ifşa edilmekte paylaşımlar amacının ötesine geçerek mahremiyet ihlallerini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu çalışmada gündelik yaşamlarına dair bilgilerini paylaşan aile hesapları incelenmiştir. Çalışmaya uygun olarak örneklem çerçevesinde seçilen sözü edilen paylaşımları yapan, en çok takipçisi olan aile hesapları belirlenmiş, örneklem profil bilgilerinde meslek belirtmeyenlerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda dört hesap çalışmaya konu edilmiş, bu hesaplardan yapılan paylaşımlar niteliksel içerik analizi ile irdelenerek çeşitli sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır. Paylaşımlarda mahremiyetin ihlal edildiği, gösterişçi tüketime yönelik içeriklere yer verildiği ve incelenen hesaplarda tesettürlü kadınların tüketim pratiklerinin moda ile ilişkili olduğu yönünde sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mahremiyet, Sosyal Medya, Aile, Gösterişçi Tüketim, Gösterişçi Dindarlık.



Introduction

Privacy is one of the important particulars being discussed in different contexts all over the world. Almost every country has texts to protect privacy in laws, constitutionally defined rights and judicial decisions, and privacy is considered as a basic right. The concept of privacy has emerged as a controversial concept from past to present in many areas such as law, economy, literature, journalism, sociology, and philosophy. Because while the areas of privacy as a right expand on the one hand, privacy violations are frequently experienced on the other hand, and the boundaries of the public and private are blurred. Due to this reason, efforts to define privacy are getting harder and harder.

Social media applications, which are increasing their effectiveness in each passing day, have changed the perception of privacy in a radical way and made the definition of the concept become even more difficult. Social media has gained the quality of a representation tool besides its use as a means of presenting the individual and the details of his life in a basic way. These environments, that were selected due to the need for socialization, have turned into identity representation in time. In social media, where spatial barriers are overcome, it has become commonplace for the individual to present parts from various periods and actions of his life to people he may never meet in his life. Unlimited sharing is made in social media applications as if a mutual agreement was signed, and the individual ignores the fact that he has disclosed his private life. Because as a result of these shares and interactions, it is one of the most likely situations that someone who lives an ordinary life becomes a phenomenon and gains his life with these shares suddenly. The fact that ordinary users are branded, recognized and cared for with strong identity representations also gives rise to higher presentation standards. Sharing that starts with a simple food photo, turns into unlimited sharing of the house, a newborn baby, wedding and engagement events in time. Family, which is accepted as one of the basic and sacred institutions of the society, turns into an advertising tool and identity representation as a result of the unlimited sharing. Social media platforms are used as a presentation tool in terms of contributing to the identity and the image desired to be created, and personal information is provided to the public. A conspicuous consumption is shown by including the places visited, the food eaten, the clothes worn, the houses owned and even the children included in the social platforms in the context of the presentation of this information. These voluntary disclosures, which cause the inability to make a clear distinction between the private and the intimate and the controversial concept of privacy, are sometimes carried to dimensions that cannot be associated with privacy.

This study aims to examine the posts of young couples who became famous by sharing their families, homes, children, and ordinary actions of daily life, increasing the number of followers day by day, and getting more prosperous due to this situation, and evaluating these posts on the axis of privacy, conspicuous consumption and pretentious religiosity, and to examine the aestheticized understanding of life reflected by these families. Even though many studies were conducted in this area, the study is unique as no research was conducted on family accounts that do not have any professional background or experience and share their ordinary activities in their daily lives.

Concept of Privacy

Privacy is considered as one of the most fundamental human rights in modern societies. The boundaries of privacy, that were affected by different social perspectives and sociological conditions in the historical process, are aimed to be clarified again

today. The concept of privacy needs to be defined on the axis of the concepts of public space and private space, because the main problem with the concept arises from the ambiguity between the private space and the public space. As it is common among social psychologists, “private” is defined as expressing events in relation to a person that cannot be naturally observed by another person, while the concept of “public” is defined as public behavior being open to everyone’s observations (Tedeschi, 1986, s. 2). The public and private spheres were explained in different ways by many thinkers in historical processes. For example, according to (Habermas, 2015, s. 95), “the public sphere is a space of conversation and discussion where citizens can come together and communicate. The private space is the family space, the family is outside the public space”. Mass media such as newspapers, magazines, television and radio are the communication tools of the public sphere. Because of this bond, the relationship between the media and the public sphere is inevitable. The public sphere aims to reach to all segments of society. Individuals form a part of the public sphere by declaring their opinion on every issue that concerns the public (İspir , 2014, s. 12). Arendth, on the other hand, adds the social sphere to the distinction between public and private spheres. Arendth, who defines the private space as an intimate space, expresses the public space as the one that is seen and heard by others. According to him, people should not be trapped between the private and public spaces, but should be visible in the social space (Arendth, 2012, s. 104). Sennett (1996, s. 31), in parallel with other definitions, separates the private space, which he defines as the secret living space, which is limited to one’s family and friends, from the public space. With modernization, the understanding of individualism has come to the fore, and the individual is separated from the traditional and innate structure. Because a secular world has introduced different values and norms from pre-modernism, and has given the individual the right to choose a lifestyle and to determine a lifestyle (Yüksel, 2003, s. 192). Taylor states that there was no need for identity and recognition before modernism and expresses the relationship of these concepts with social position at that time. Taylor points to the state of being monologic and dialogic in identity formation and states that identity is formed with these two concepts. While the monologic side is about self-actualization, the dialogic side comes to life in our relationship with other people to define ourselves. Meaning that identity is shaped on the axis of dialogic relationship (Taylor, 2018, s. 54-55). Identity in its dialogic aspect is the part of the individual that is open to the public sphere. Based on these distinctions, it is understood that the right to privacy is related to the decision whether or not to participate in the public sphere or to the extent of participation (Yüksel, 2003, s. 182).

The concept of privacy varies in relation to the meaning attributed to the concept in different cultures in various sources. In some definitions, family life is considered private, while in some definitions privacy is expressed as the moments when the individual is alone with himself or not sharing his private space (Göregenli, 2018, s. 61). This situation differs between societies in terms of approach to privacy. There are social and cultural differences as to which actions are attacks on the private sphere and which are public (Tedeschi, 1986, s. 2). In general, public behavior requires more attention than private behavior. Because public behavior is almost impossible to reverse and individuals have to build reputation in the public sphere (Schlenker, 1986, s. 27). The right to privacy is tried to be protected by written or unwritten rules such as the laws, social norms, customs and traditions of many countries, and of course, the need for legal regulations is increasing in line with technological developments. Nowadays, the form of communication mediated by technology brings the public sphere, the private sphere, the social sphere, identities

formed by dialogic relations into discussion again and again, and what should be evaluated within the scope of the private sphere and what should be evaluated in the social or public sphere forms the basis of the discussions. Especially social media platforms, where these discussions flared up, are now at the center of many people's lives. In fact, according to İspir, these channels standardized the individual's ways of expressing himself, brought personal experiences to the showcase, the practical side of identity was confined to being online and sharing, and the criterion of social acceptance became equivalent to visibility. The paradox of individualization experienced in the modernization process has been reinforced by the capitalist system. Thus, the media not only created fictional identities but also legitimated them (İspir, 2018, s. 766-767).

Privacy on Social Media, Conspicuous Consumption and Pretentious Religiosity

Kevin Robins defines social media as a world of exhibition and states that social media is far from constructive and productive use (Uyanık, 2013, s. 369). Instead of this purpose, factors such as prominence in social networks, increasing the number of followers, being a phenomenon, being noticed, receiving advertisements, not falling behind others, branding oneself, gaining social approval by gaining likes are some of the reasons for the use of social media platforms. In these environments, identities that can be changed and rebuilt at any time (Utma, 2018, s. 1196), private areas belonging to the person, events, squares from life turn into consumption objects. Journalist Vance Packard (1964, s. 42) in his book "The Naked Society" states that empires have risen in the business world to sell information about people's private lives, and draws attention to the fact that "the idea that privacy is a right to be cherished" has rapidly evaporated from societies. Although everyone states that they care about privacy, individuals routinely disclose their personal information and private details about their lives via the internet. In fact, Gotlieb states that some people do not value privacy and do not care about it when it comes to other interests (Solove, 2008, s. 5). Bauman and Lyon (2013, s. 22) , on the other hand, state that social media has become public by being consumed with "friends and random users" and that people voluntarily eliminate their right to privacy with the internet, and that they consent to the loss of privacy in the face of the wonders offered to them.

Social media tends to encompass all the life limits of the individual with the features it contains (Yurdigül & Elitaş , 2017, s. 139). The use of communication technologies in almost every aspect of life has caused a change in lifestyles, and this change has increased the visibility of concepts such as self, identity, body, perception, thought, culture and family. Bauman and Lyon (2013, s. 129) adapted Descartes' statement "I think therefore I exist" as "I am seen, watched, noticed, recorded, therefore I exist" in line with Hegel's definition of freedom as a "learned and recognized necessity", revealing the main purpose of social media shares. In social media, where sharing is the basic principle, there are actions involving the display, disclosure and revealing of everything that is valuable or worthless. Positive approaches obtained in return for sharing make the sharer happy. The assumption that sharing is directly related to being cared for popularizes and creates a pragmatist and secular culture. Based on this reality, the form of culture and morality produced by social media is flowing on the screens and more than one emotional state takes place in a postmodern flow. Exhibitionism is made with posts resembling the filming of lives in standard frames, and social media, which is accepted as a part of daily life, creates a relatively free space (Can & Ulutaş, 2018, s. 158-165).

Social media consists of abbreviated snapshots of what users post, share, like, and how they want to be seen, a curated form of identity construction. The main difference from

personal archives is that convergent technologies provide a global, interactive and commercial platform (Good, 2012, s. 569). Social media brings ordinary users together around different stories and content, it increases their visibility, and provides popularity and approval to the participants.

“This approval is an important motivation that enables the individual to realize herself, gain respect and feel valuable (Bilginer Erdoğan, 2020, s. 70).” İspir attributes the fact that the content belongs to an account, that is, to a digital identity, not to a bodily identity, to gaining virtual visibility with the identity that is desired or believed to be, and that being active on social media platforms is equated with being accepted by the society. “The individual thinks that by getting rid of social norms and sanctions’ he has made the transition to unlimited freedom (2018, s. 767-768). As individuals present their private life experiences for the sake of being permanent, popular and different on social networks, the exhibition process reinforces its position with its numerous volunteers. Niedzviecki criticizes that the perception of being unique and valuable is associated with the sense of existence in this display process, and that this perception is provided by peeking. Meeting the desire to attract attention and to be noticed, injected by popular culture, causes individuals to feel powerful (Niedzviecki, 2010, s. 38-42). The tendency to present oneself to others is accepted as a process of forming an identity through appearance. Accordingly, people are busy presenting sometimes intentionally, sometimes unintentionally, sometimes honest and sometimes deceptive appearances, and in parallel with this situation, they display presentational behaviors (Arkin & Baumgardner , 1986, s. 75). In line with presentational behaviors, ideal standards are formed in social media, and individuals who exhibit their lives and themselves have to hide their actions that contradict with the standards.

Social media platforms have started to function as surveillance and control mechanisms. The omnipticon process, which is a form of surveillance in which everyone can monitor, spy on and control everyone, dominates social media. Thanks to the surveillance within the framework of the concepts of “volunteering” and “pleasure”, everyone becomes subject and object (Bitirim Okmeydan, 2017, p. 64); (Dedeoğlu, 2016, p. 40). Thus, the identities acquired by the individual through socialization are reconstructed through social media in the omnipticon process (Doğan, 2021, p. 98). Goffman (2014, s. 57), considers highlighting certain facts and hiding some of them as an idealized impression in accordance with the spirit of the presentation. According to him, for a performance to be successful, those who witness it must be able to believe in the sincerity of the actors. As we learn to stage our real-life roles, we inevitably become familiar with the routines of the people to whom we will present our performance. And when we are able to properly manage a real routine, the reason we can do so is partly “expectatory socialization” (Goffman, 2014, s. 71-78). So the performance in the showcase should be in line with social expectations. The social expectation of social media is to push privacy into the background, to present sections from the magnificent life lived, to transform all kinds of stories that start happily and continue happily into presentation performances and create identities that exist or do not exist. Material and spiritual elements such as spouse, lover, child, parent, family, friend, home, car, love, passion, body and culture accompanying the creation process are disclosed voluntarily. The showcase is the visible side of the human being; in the words of Debord (2006, p. 39), “*what is appears is good, what is good appears.*” “The need to be visible, stay on the agenda, exhibit and show is the basis of conspicuous

consumption. This method, which is applied with the concern of status, makes the flow of information about the social segment and identity of the showcase owner continuous.

Capitalist economy proposes to exhibit everything (Han, 2017, s. 28). Commodities are more important than the existence of the individual in societies where the way of expressing social status is based on showing off. Veblen (2005) in his work titled "The Theory of the Idle Class", associates commodities such as clothing, goods, forms of entertainment, decorative objects, and housemaids with the purchase of respect. While describing this class, which tries to distinguish itself from other people through consumption, as the perpetrators of conspicuous consumption, he emphasizes that the focus of such an act of consumption is comparison. Especially in social media posts, presentations aimed at comparing oneself with the lifestyles of others or the elite class reveal the consumption power of the sharer. To consume is to invest in one's social belonging, the point is not to turn into a commodity, but to make oneself a commodity (Bauman & Lyon, 2013, s. 39-40). Digital mass media and social media platforms, which have undeniable effects on consumption actions, change the images of products and lead users to be producers and consumers. As digital mass media lead products to consume symbolic value rather than use-value, lifestyles displayed on social media platforms have come to the fore (Sadakoğlu & Genç, 2022, p. 296). With the expectation that they will be accepted as they consume, the individual turns to digital shopping platforms, so consumption turns into the action of an unconscious process. (Yanıklar, 2006, p. 104).

Whatever the purpose in one's mind, there is an effort to control other people's reactions to him, especially how they will treat him (Goffman, 2014, s. 17-45). In fact, the perfect showcase display, which is reflected by the lifestyle, image and words, then brings the tendency to achieve perfection in the physical image of the body. Concerns such as looking perfect, being beautiful all the time, maintaining the interest and increasing the appreciation make us be confronted with the faces and bodies that become uniform. According to Köse (2011, s. 78), the perfect body and aesthetic perception stems from the orientation of the spiritual emptiness experienced with modernism to the body. This way of thinking, which takes the risk of erasing subjectivities and individual differences, directs individuals to aesthetic operations, and thus, the perfect bodies achieved turn into commodities. Aesthetic applications for the body have gained momentum in recent years, and the body has become a commodity that shows difference and attraction. In other words, the body is now a consumption object packaged to arouse desire and have an impact on the public (Rojek, 2003, s. 112). Social taboos, neighborhood pressure, economic or religious concerns and the distance shown to aesthetic operations have left their place to investing in the perfect body with the effect of mainstream media and social media (Türk & Bayrakçı, 2020).

The fashion, which does not leave any area untouched, has transformed the body into an object of pleasure by taking advantage of the spiritual gaps. In this transformation, religious concerns were left aside and aesthetic operations were also adopted by women wearing hijab. Not only the aesthetic applied to the face, but also the body, which should be covered according to the religion of Islam, has increased its visibility and appeal to the eye with the effect of fashion. Especially, consumption-oriented lifestyles have moved the hijab away from its purpose, and with the influence of fashion, the hijab has turned into an accessory or a style of clothing. According to Göle (2012), this change presented a '*Muslim and modern*' appearance and gave birth to '*new public faces of Islam*'. Hijab means to cover, put on, or dress in Arabic, and it is used as a term to cover certain parts of the body for a

natural, customary, or religious reason (Apaydın, 2001, p. 538). But Barbarosoğlu (1996, p. 117) draws attention to the fact that the hijab moves away from its meaning and creates a new fashion trend with “conformity to social taste”. On the other hand, religiosity means that a person who adopts a religion reflects the requirements of the religion; he believes in his beliefs, deeds, moral principles, feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. However, since it is difficult to fully define the concept of religiosity and draw definite boundaries for it, the concept is evaluated through its reflections on life (Çetin, 2021, p. 84). Okumuş (2006) defined the new formation formed in the axis of veiling, fashion, and religiosity in the concept of pretentious religiosity and stated that pretentious religious people turn everything they own into a means of showing off.

Method

In accordance with the purpose of the research, the content analysis method, which is used as an observation technique in social or sociological research, was used in this study (Aziz, 2015, s. 131). Content analysis is a frequently preferred method for analyzing written and visual data (Özdemir, 2010, s. 335). According to Yıldırım and Şimşek (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2018, s. 242), “the main purpose in content analysis is to reach the concepts and relationships that can explain the collected data, to conceptualize the data and to identify the themes that explain the data.” Purposive sampling was used in accordance with the purpose and method of the study. “In purposeful sampling, it is important to select individuals or objects that can respond appropriately to the purposes of the research” (Aziz, 2008, s. 55). Within the scope of the study, family accounts that share their daily life (self, wife, house, children, vacation, girl request, contract, wedding, engagement, birth) on Instagram from Turkey were examined. The accounts subject to the review are limited to those who do not specify any profession. Among these accounts, a ranking was made starting from those with the most followers, and in this direction, the first four accounts were included in the study. From the posts made between January 1, 2022 and February 28, 2022, the first photo post of each month that does not contain advertisements was selected and the method was applied to these posts. Although the accounts are positioned as public the faces in the photos are blurred in the study and account names are not explicitly given, only the first letters are given. In the context of the study, answers were sought to the following questions:

Is there a privacy violation in the posts made from family accounts on Instagram?

- Are posts about conspicuous consumption and pretentious religiosity included in these accounts?
- Is it possible to obtain information about the family’s lifestyle from the posts?
- In Table 1, the accounts belonging to the Instagram families and the number of followers are given.

Table 1. Instagram Family Profile Accounts and Number of Followers

Instagram Families	Number of followers
o*****	2,3 millions
to*****	2,3 millions
y*****	2,2 millions
tu*****	1,2 millions

Findings

No profession is specified in the profile of the account named “o*****”. Beginning with their acquaintance, they frequently include images of their children, as well as sharing photos and videos of all events such as promises, engagements, weddings, holidays, celebrations. The way the couples reflect themselves in the photographs is in accordance with the structure of Instagram, which is an important exhibition space that makes it possible to be visible. Exhibitionism and voyeurism have become commonplace as a daily life practice (Can & Ulutaş, 2018, s. 164). According to Niedzviecki (2010, s. 8-18), “those who realize the way they exist in social media and their followers create a culture of peeping. Moreover, the culture of peeping exists with the sharing of people we do not know instead of those we know.” The fact that 2.3 million accounts follow people they do not know and give thousands of likes and comments to the shared photos reveals that there is a consent-based interaction between the sharer and the followers. In other words, while followers watch those who voluntarily reveal their lives as they expect and want, those who share do not see any harm in making their privacy public. The privacy concerns felt in real life do not appear with the same intensity in social media.



*Image 1. January sharing of “o*****” account*

Source: (Instagram, 2022a)

The photograph in the image was taken on a historical bridge in Diyarbakır, and the post received 90.9 thousand likes and 750 comments. When the photograph is examined, we come across more than the ordinary husband-wife photograph. Especially clothes and accessories are prominent brands. Already in other posts and in this post, followers ask questions about where the clothes and shoes are bought. Another noteworthy detail in the sharing is that although the woman is wearing a headscarf, her hair is visible and her dressing is not close to the hijab. The concept of hijab has emerged in recent years, with the effect of consumption culture, a hijab fashion that has been disconnected from its real context, and hijab clothing has begun to be considered together with fashion as a different reflection of self-actualization and self-presentation. Okumuş (2006) states that “conspicuous religiosity occurs due to reasons such as image, spectacle, fashion, condemnation, fear, exclusion, social strata and status, and states that this situation manifests itself through various forms of worship and behavior. The pretentious needs the presence of other people in order to show off. This action is manifested by signs such as persistence in pretentious behavior, love of praise, expectation of respect and privilege, and piety based on image and form. These signs also give birth to pretentious social relations.” The fact that the couple, which is the subject of the study, needs the presence

of other people in accordance with the natural structure of social media, suggests that things such as image, form, love of praise are related to pretentious religiosity.



Image 2. February sharing of “o*****” account
Source: (Instagram, 2022b)

In Image 2, a frame from the party organized for the woman’s birthday is seen in the February sharing of the couple “o*****”. A bunch of roses, seen in the woman’s hand in the photograph, which received 86.3 thousand likes and 377 comments, is usually presented to women by men on Valentine’s Day, mother’s day or birthday. The expression of the man’s feelings of love, affection and loyalty towards the woman is identified with the rose. In consumer societies, commodities are at the forefront with their symbolic values, that is, the sign value of commodities is important. Demonstration images are the main object of use of ostentatious individuals in consumption, which social classes tend towards as a form of expression. Consumption of commodities in acts of giving or receiving gifts gains importance in the definition of social class and this act is accepted as one of the motives of consumption culture. In this post, a pretentious birthday celebration is held, and the followers are expected to support this celebration with their likes and comments. The birthday, which can also be celebrated at home, was reflected on social media with a pretentious approach, and the ideal family image presented created integrity with the general posts of this account. Good (2012, s. 569)’s expression of “shortened snapshots for the construction of a kind of identity that has been compiled” for his social media posts finds its counterpart in this post of the above-mentioned account. Again, Veblen (2005) stated that conspicuous consumption actions are important in terms of comparison. The desire to be compared with other women, other men or other phenomena and to hear from the followers that they are the best in sharing the above or similar posts is the driving force in making such shares.

Another account subject to the study is “to*****”, which has 2.3 million followers. The profile of this account does not contain information about the professions of the spouses. However, there is a link in the profile stating that they are open to advertising and cooperation. As in the other account, photos and videos taken inside and outside the home are published on this account, starting from the couple’s meeting, including promises, engagements, weddings, pregnancy, and children.



Image 3. January sharing of “to*****” account
Source: (Instagram, 2022c)

The photograph of the young couple seen in Image 3 received 57.7 thousand likes and 2127 comments. The sentence “I feel peaceful and safe when I am with him” was attached to the photo and a domestic post was made. The home environment, which is considered private in this post and other posts, is offered to 2.3 million people, and the family voluntarily violates their privacy. Habermas (2015, s. 131) defines the family area, which is the core of the private area, as the privacy area. According to Habermas’s definition, when the above sharing is evaluated, the house, which is the family space, has been moved out of the area of privacy. The monologic side, which is related to the self-realization of the individual in identity formation, is the dialogic side of the individual to define himself with other people (Taylor, 2018, s. 54-55) and is made public by social media. In other words, the data on the marriage identity of the husband and wife, which could be seen as monological before modernism, was made public and presented on the axis of dialogic relationship. In the words of the journalist Packard (1964, s. 42) “the cherished right of privacy is rapidly evaporating from societies”.

In the traditional sense, privacy is not only scarce but in danger of extinction. Privacy has been the right to stay out of the picture. Nietzsche’s statement that “no one has the courage to appear as they are, everyone wears a good mask” (Colomina, 2011, s. 9) defines pretentious posts made on social media. Ordinary users present appearances for the sake of increasing their popularity, gaining approval for their lifestyles, sharing their homes, cars, vacations and adding difference to their ordinary visibility, making their private areas suitable for peeping. Family albums, which once consisted of a limited number of photos, have been replaced by photo and video sharing, some of which are professional or filtered shots, and social media archives created without regard for privacy. The sentences of Roland Barthes (2014, s. 98) stating that “*the photographic age coincides with the invasion of the private into the public and the creation of the public of the private,*” offers a perspective on the ambivalence between the private and the public sphere in social media.



Image 4. February sharing of “to*****” account
Source: (Instagram, 2022d)

This photo, shared on February 14, Valentine’s Day, received 74.8 thousand likes and 314 comments. The phrase “every day, not one day” was attached to the photo, and a happy husband and wife profile was presented to their followers with a bouquet of roses. “The spread of special days in society and their transformation into a cultural practice creates an artificial reality. Social behaviors are becoming uniform, especially with social media platforms. Valentine’s Day, which includes emotional reciprocity, is one of the days when gift giving is intense. This behavioral expectation makes Valentine’s Day a worldwide occasion for gift giving. Proving love with products such as gifts and flowers turns love and affection into a commercial tool” (Bakır & Bazarıcı, 2020). This post, which gives the impression of a very good couple to its followers, is one of the must-have posts for this family, which makes its life suitable for peeping. Because in order to reflect the harmony between the spouses and the perfect family profile, the actions taken on the days of holiness such as birthdays, Valentine’s Day, wedding anniversary are important for the followers. Followers view this post and all posts from the “to*****” account as a “perfect, caring family living in their dream marriage”.

The account named “y*****”, which is the subject of the study, has 2.2 million followers. While there is no information about the professions of men and women, the link that can be contacted for advertising and cooperation is in the profile. Shares about meeting, promise, engagement, honeymoon, vacation and similar situations are concentrated in the general shares of the account.



Image 5. January sharing of “y*****” account
Source: (Instagram, 2022e)

This photo taken in Mardin received 109 thousand likes and 1088 comments. In the shared photo, the couple's sneakers, tracksuits, the woman's headscarf and bag brand were frequently asked in the comments. Some commentators even stated that the brand of headscarves and bags is Gucci. It is possible to say that the act of conspicuous consumption and pretentious religiosity are also seen in this account. Like the head-covering model of the woman in the "o*****" account, the hair of the woman in this account is also visible. "The veil, which has become a consumption object of the Islamic commercial and economic market as well as a cultural and political symbol of Islamic identity, is now perceived as an urban and modern commodity" (Meşe, 2015). According to Haenni (2014, s. 53-56), the infiltration of mass culture into the Islamic field secularizes some religious symbols, highlights the symbol rather than religiosity, and this causes the weak religiosity to turn into an Islamic extension in the public sphere.

Since the first photo in the February posts of the "y*****" account is an advertisement post, the other posts are in video format, so they were not included in the study.

The last account subject to the study is "tu*****", which has 1.2 million followers. This account, which is stated to be a personal blog in its profile, has similar shares with the previous three accounts.



Image 6. January sharing of "tu*****" account
Source: (Instagram, 2022f)

This post, which received 55 thousand likes and 217 comments, was shot in the village of Cumalıkızık, which has become a popular place with a series. In the comments made on the photo, the brand of the tracksuits was asked, affirmations were written that they were a good couple, and social approval was given to the couple with applause and emojis. Women's Adidas brand shoes stand out as a symbol of conspicuous consumption. In the sharing made to fill the showcase with quality and image, such images, which are the proof of the places visited and the holidays in luxury hotels, were encountered in all the accounts examined. Ordinary users are trying to become a brand with frequent posts in order to meet the need to exhibit and show. In this form of consumption, which Bauman and Lyon (2013, s. 39-40) interpret as investing in social belonging, individuals transform themselves into commodities. These posts, which are applied with the concern of status, provide information flow to the followers about the social segment and identity of the showcase owner.



*Image 7. February sharing of “tu*****” account
Source: (Instagram, 2022g)*

The couple, who agreed with a brand name to open a beauty center, received 49.9 thousand likes and 252 comments for this post. The person standing between the husband and wife is Nez Demir, a social media phenomenon. Nez Demir opens the branches of her beauty center in different cities of Turkey. Using the “ tu*****” account, the family made an agreement to open a different branch of the center, and announced this on their social media account with the photo above. Trying to express that they are a harmonious couple and a harmonious team in business life, the family documents this situation with a photograph. Not only this family, but also the owners of the two accounts “ o*****” and “ y*****”, except for the couple seen in the “ to*****” account, also operate a beauty center with the Dilan Polat brand. All three of the women in the accounts named “ tu*****, o*****, y*****”, which are the subject of the study, are wearing headscarves and all three of them run beauty centers. When the accounts are carefully examined, it is understood that the women in the three different accounts mentioned had plastic surgery, botox or different procedures on their faces. Apart from these processes, most of their posts also include professional make-up photos.

The modern consumption society has caused changes in various lifestyles and has associated the concept of veiling with fashion in accordance with its own spirit. While covering the body, wearing clothes that do not show the body lines, are the main purpose of hijab in order not to be the target of the gaze of the opposite sex, in recent years, with the influence of consumption culture and fashion, the veil has begun to aim at the gaze. It is understood that the women who are the subject of the study dress in line with the hijab fashion, have make-up and aesthetic operations, that is, they adapt to the hijab fashion. Moreover, these women not only adapt to fashion, but also earn their living as the operators of such centers and take place in social media as the image of a veiled woman. Beauty and aesthetic center businesses can be considered as a reflection of the Islamic life, which has taken a new shape in the axis of consumption culture and fashion. According to Bauman and Lyon, people do their best to increase the market value of the goods they sell. They become the promoters of the goods they encourage to promote and sell, and they even turn into the goods/products they promote (2013, s. 39). The fact that women in the accounts named “ tu*****, o*****, y*****”, who opened a beauty center, have undergone procedures for the sake of beauty reminds us of the promise of Bauman and Lyon (2013) that the product they introduce is themselves. The goods/products in these posts are the images and lifestyles that are tried to be presented and reflected to the followers. It is possible to associate the reality revealed

by sharing with Baudrillard's discourse that the body comes to life in fashion as a means of pleasure and a means of displaying prestige. Discourses such as perfect beauty, youthful appearance, feminine appearance, delicacy, glamorous and full hair, body care make the body an object of salvation and transform it into a cult item. Paying attention to the body, not the soul, is one of the basic duties of those living in a consumer society (Baudrillard, 2012, s. 149-153).

The four Instagram accounts that are the subject of the research also follow each other. The photos and videos shared by these accounts are derivatives of each other. In the examined photographs, the efforts of men and women who try to draw an ideal family image, who are well-groomed, young, who live luxurious lives and who follow fashion, show that uniform individuals emerge in terms of both appearance and lifestyle.

Social media, which promises ordinary users fame and subsequent wealth, encourages micro celebrity applications. In addition to the promises of self-branding and awards in the political culture of neoliberal individualism, Social Media Influencers are attracted by the fact that their success is creating their own brands and depending on micro celebrity applications (Khamis, Ang, & Welling, 2017, s. 4)

Conclusion

Social media platforms are used for various purposes such as socializing, communicating, conveying people's thoughts to each other, sharing their experiences, and presenting their lifestyles. This study was carried out to examine the shares of families who provide various information about their private lives on Instagram. In this direction, four family accounts were examined, and the first posts of January and February were evaluated with the qualitative content analysis method.

According to the data obtained from the research, it was concluded that these families care about sharing and use their profiles as a showcase. In this age where there are almost no technological barriers, the internet, especially social media applications, is an excellent platform for personal branding. It has been determined that the accounts subject to the study provide the most important information about their lives to many people they do not know, even if they do not share periodically. Personal data such as vacation, honeymoon, wedding, engagement, wedding anniversary, birthday have been moved out of the private domain without any privacy concerns. It is known that personal data is not deleted on the internet, it is always recorded somewhere, and that there are even new companies working in this field in the business world. Despite this information, unlimited sharing of families shows that they do not have any concerns about the protection of personal data of family members. Making everything visible in the information that can be made public and making private life public causes the real value of privacy to be lost. The result of Karşlı and Aycan's (2020) study, "Instagram and Privacy: An Example of Sharing by Religious Conservative Women" is similar to this research, with the conclusion that the relations between men and women, which are considered intimate, and the social rituals that symbolize the concept of the family turn into an act based on showing off. Again, (Köktener & Akgün, 2020) reached conclusions that private life was opened to the public as a result of their study on Instagram mothers.

In the global information society, individual privacy is seriously compromised. An increasing amount of personal data is transferred around the world, and the communication data of users can be easily tracked by using new information infrastructures. "In this

age, where all the actions of the individual are perceived as commodities, data is stored, processed and transformed into data. Keeping this fact in mind, the decision to share personal information, in other words, to determine the humanitarian need for which the disclosure is made, should be made first” (İspir , 2014, s. 767).

In the shares of the accounts that are the subject of the study, which are selected for research, and in other posts that are not included in the study, the contents that bear traces of the consumption culture in general attract attention. It is noticed that especially women follow fashion in clothing, use clothes and accessories of famous brands, and highlight this situation in their posts. The study of Karslı and Aycan (2020), in which they determined that women share their religious identities from their profiles, body, and selfie sharing are remarkable, and they are a phenomenon by increasing the number of likes and comments, reveals similar results with this research. Again, the presence of posts about touristic trips and vacations in luxury hotels in these accounts leads to the conclusion that families use Instagram as a presentation tool. The women and men in the accounts, which are examined as the subject of a conspicuous consumption act, also express that they are open to brand collaborations in addition to the purpose of promoting themselves in the social arena. Doğan (2021), in his research on the use of Instagram in the context of gender, has reached conclusions that women both earn economic income and legitimize their consumption culture. In this respect, two studies reached similar findings. By enabling ordinary users to create strong identities, its self-branding makes it accessible. They emphasize self-branding due to their goals of being considered, recognized and maximizing loyalty (Khamis, Ang, & Welling, 2017, s. 4). Doğan’s (2021) study titled “Gender in Social Media in the Omnition Process: The Example of Instagram” revealed that social media, which creates an environment for omnition, makes women visible, and they share their private lives, interests, and likes from this environment. In another study conducted on the shares of Instagram phenomena, it was concluded that clothes, make-up materials and food were presented to followers with conspicuous consumption (Biol & Bakır, 2019).

In three of the four family accounts examined in the study, women wear headscarves, and three women who made this choice opened branches of famous beauty centers. In the words of Good (2012, s. 569), social media, which is an interactive and commercial platform, builds identity with visibility and conspicuous consumption. In three of these accounts, conspicuous consumption shows a parallel appearance with pretentious religiosity, and it is estimated that women wearing hijabs in the analyzed accounts had various aesthetic procedures.

The number of studies on Instagram, which continues to be popular among social media platforms, is increasing day by day. It is understood that with digitalization, the consumption culture, the understanding of privacy, and the concept of religiosity have changed shape and taken on different appearances. It is clear that these concepts will continue to be discussed on similar platforms in the coming years. It is hoped that this study will contribute to scientific research to be conducted for the purposes of social media use.

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Mahremiyet ve Gösterişçi Tüketim Bağlamında Instagram'da Aile Hesapları

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Genişletilmiş Özet

İnternetin Web 2.0'la birlikte interaktif özellik kazanmasından sonra sosyal medya platformları kendini tanıtmak, kimlik inşa etmek, beğeni almak, takipçi sayısını artırmak, toplumda kabul görmek, sosyalleşmek, tükettiğini sergileyebilmek, reklam veya farklı ticari eylemlerde işbirliği yapmak gibi çeşitli amaçlar için geniş katılımcı kitleleri tarafından kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Instagram bu amaçlar doğrultusunda en çok tercih edilen platformlardan biridir. Bu platformlardan paylaşım yapılırken kullanıcılar bilinçsizce veya bilinçli bir şekilde ev, aile, çocuk, kişisel veriler vs. paylaşarak kendilerinin ve aile bireylerinin mahremiyetini ihlal etmektedir. Sosyal ortamlardan bu tür paylaşımların yapılması mahremiyet algısını değişime uğratmakta, toplumun kutsalları arasında kabul edilen aile, bu paylaşımlar neticesinde bir reklam aracına dönüşmektedir. Özellikle kimlik tesis etme, imaj oluşturma gibi amaçlar doğrultusunda gezilen mekânlar, kıyafetler, evler, arabalar, çocuklar vs. gösterişçi bir şekilde sergilenerek mahremiyet göz ardı edilmekte ve korunması gereken kişisel veriler kamuya ifşa edilmektedir. Bir teşhir dünyasına dönüşen Instagram'da öne çıkmaya çalışma, takipçi sayısını artırma, kendini markalaştırma, sosyal onay alma gibi etkenler sıradan kullanıcıları ünlü kullanıcılara dönüştürmektedir. Fenomen olarak bilinen bu kullanıcılar yakaladıkları şöhretin devamlılığını sağlamak için özel hayatlarını bir tüketim nesnesi olarak kullanmaktan çekinmemektedirler (Bauman & Lyon, 2013, s. 22). Can ve Ulutaş (2018, s. 158-165) ise paylaşım karşılığında elde edilen olumlu yaklaşımların, paylaşımcıyı mutlu ettiğini bu durumun pragmatist ve seküler kültürü yaygınlaştırdığını ve yerleştirdiğini dile getirmektedir. Böylece sosyal medyanın ürettiği kültür ve ahlak biçimi, ekranlarda akıp gitmekte birden fazla duygu durumu postmodern bir akışta yer almaktadır. Standart karelerde hayatların filme alınmasını andıran paylaşımlarla teşhircilik yapılmakta, gündelik hayatın bir parçası olarak kabul gören sosyal medya görece özgür bir alan yaratmaktadır. Teşhir sürecinde eşsiz, değerli, en iyi olmak var olmakla eş anlamlı biçimde algılanmakta, böylece kendini güçlü hisseden birey, sunumsal davranışlar sergilemenin dozunu artırmaktadır. Gösterişçi tüketimin temelini oluşturan bu tür davranışlar, vitrin sahibinin toplumsal kesimi ve kimliği hakkında takipçilere bilgi akışı sağlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Instagram'da günlük hayatına dair paylaşım (kendi, eşi, evi, çocukları, tatil, kız isteme, sözlenme, düğün, nişan, doğum gibi ritüeller) yapan Türkiye'den aile hesapları irdelenmiştir. İncelemeye konu olan hesaplar herhangi bir meslek belirtmeyenlerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Bu hesaplar arasından en çok takipçisi olanlardan başlanarak sıralama yapılmış, bu doğrultuda ilk dört hesap çalışmaya dâhil edilmiştir. Araştırmanın amacına uygun olarak içerik çözümleme yöntem ve tekniği kullanılmıştır. 1 Ocak 2022- 28 Şubat 2022 tarihleri aralığında yapılan paylaşımlardan her ayın reklam içermeyen ilk fotoğraf paylaşımı seçilmiş ve yöntem bu paylaşımlara uygulanmıştır. Çalışma bağlamında Instagram'da aile hesaplarından yapılan paylaşımlarda mahremiyet ihlali olup olmadığı, gösterişçi tüketime yönelik paylaşımlara yer verilip verilmediği, ailenin yaşam tarzına dair bilgi olup olmadığı sorularına yanıt aranmıştır.

Çalışma kapsamında incelenen “o****”, “to****”, “y****” ve “tu****” adlı dört hesabın paylaşımlarında söz, nişan, düğün, tatil, balayı, kutlama, doğum gibi tüm etkinliklere ait fotoğraf ve video paylaşımlarına sıklıkla yer verilmiştir. Yapılan araştırma sonucunda eşlerin ve çocukların mahremiyetlerinin ihlal edildiği tespit edilmiş, teşhirciliğin bir gündelik yaşam pratiği olarak sıradanlaştığı görülmüştür. Kamuya açık hesaplarda, her şeyin görünür hale getirilmesi ve özel hayatın alenileştirilmesi, mahremiyetin gerçek değerinin kaybolmasına neden olmaktadır. Çalışmaya konu olan hesaplardan “o****”, “y****” ve “tu****” adlı hesaplardaki kadınlar tesettürlüdür ve üçü de güzellik merkezi işletmektedir. Hesaplardaki paylaşımlar ve çalışmada yer verilen fotoğraflar incelendiğinde üç kadının da yüzlerine estetik operasyon, botoks veya farklı işlemler yaptırdıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Ayrıca, tesettür modası doğrultusunda giyinip kuşandıkları, makyaj ve estetik operasyon yaptırdıkları yani tesettür modasına uyum sağladıkları gözlerden kaçmamaktadır. Aynı kullanıcılar, güzellik merkezlerin işletmecisi olarak hayatlarını kazanmakta ve sosyal medyada tesettürlü kadın imgesi olarak yer almaktadırlar. Güzellik ve estetik merkezi işletmeleri, tüketim kültürü ve moda ekseninde yeni bir şekil alan İslami yaşantının yansıması olarak değerlendirilebilir. Modern tüketim toplumu çeşitli yaşam tarzlarında değişime neden olduğu gibi tesettür kavramını da kendi ruhuna uygun olarak moda ile ilişkilendirmiştir.

Araştırmaya konu olan dört Instagram hesabı aynı zamanda birbirlerini takip etmektedir. Bu hesapların paylaşımlarının genelinde fotoğraf ve videolar birbirlerinin türevi niteliğindedir. Çalışmada incelenen paylaşımlarda genel olarak tüketim kültüründen izler taşıyan içerikler dikkat çekmektedir. Tüketim kültürüyle ilişkilendirilebilecek sevgililer günü, doğum günü gibi özel günler kutlanmakta ve bunları ispatlayan fotoğraflar paylaşılmaktadır. Sıklıkla turistik gezilere, lüks otellerde yapılan tatillere yönelik yapılan paylaşımlar, ailelerin Instagram’ı bir sunum aracı olarak kullandıkları sonucuna vardırılmaktadır. Aileler paylaşım yapmayı önemsemekte profillerini bir vitrin gibi kullanmaktadır.

Gösterişçi bir tüketme eyleminin öznesi olan, hesapları ortak kullanan eşler, kendilerini sosyal alanda tanıtmak amacına ilaveten marka işbirliklerine açık olduklarını da belirtmektedirler. Ticari bir platform olma özelliğini barındıran Instagram böylece birçok kişiye gelir kaynağı olmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mahremiyet, Sosyal Medya, Aile, Tüketim Kültürü, Gösterişçi Tüketim.

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In this study, the rules stated in the “**Higher Education Institutions Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Directive**” were followed.

Araştırma tek bir yazar tarafından yürütülmüştür.

The research was conducted by a single author.

Çalışma kapsamında herhangi bir kurum veya kişi ile **çıkar çatışması** bulunmamaktadır.

There is no **conflict of interest** with any institution or person within the scope of the study.