Formation and Transitions of Consumption Culture: A Study Within a Veiled Youth Population

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Abstract

In This article answered how the existing consumption practices are shaped among the newly formed consumers. In this direction, veiled youths, who are a large consumer group in Turkey, were selected as a sample. The face-to-face interviews with young people were conducted, and semiotic analysis of the Instagram accounts that interviewers were influenced were analysed. As results revealed, consumption trends of this group, which is growing both as market and consumer size, can be gathered under four headings. These are the interpretation of popular cultures through consumption, transforming consumption practices and their symbols, seeking to acquire authenticity and status, conspicuous consumption tendencies and interpretation of popular culture through. These findings present a substantial discussion regarding the transformation of consumer classes.

Key words: Consumption culture; veiled youth; symbolic meanings, popular culture

JEL Code: M10, M30, M31

1. Introduction

The logic of consumption, the foundations of which were laid in the 16th century, began to evolve into its present meaning in 1880s, and became deepened and settled. For example, fashion started to attract the attention of more social groups in this period, not only clothes were used to indicate status, but also furniture or ceramic plates and glasses became status tools. The distinctive feature of the 19th century was the self-creation of the consumer revolution as a structural feature of social life. In the 19th century, "consumption" and "society" were inextricably linked. In this period, opening big stores where many things are sold is seen as one of the most important developments. These stores have contributed to changing tastes and preferences, a new kind of relationship between buyers and sellers, and new marketing techniques (McCracken, 1988, 11-26). These shifts changed

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consumerism and formed the basis for it to become a unique lifestyle. Not only the increase in product range and production, but also the creation of new consumption spaces for purchasing and consumption experiences played a very important role in these changes (Featherstone, 1982, 4). The common point of different views is that people communicate with the society through the act of purchasing, and therefore this consumption function, which can be accepted as positive one, is seen as providing participation in social life. Besides the positive sides, the negative aspects should also be considered. First of all, since the individual becomes impoverished in order to identifies himself/herself, consumption cannot be utilized as a meaningful communication and universal language. Moreover, such a consumption practice contributes to the reproduction of the obsession with "discrimination and hierarchy" (Buğra, 2003, 47). Considering the historical process, it is understood that the consumption motives of individuals were not that strong before. Today's consumption patterns have developed because of a process that has the effects of economic, socio-cultural, historical, and social transformations. It is obvious that the process has not been completed and that it is a phenomenon which will continue even if it changes form.

2. The Formation of Consumption Culture in Turkey

The transformations in the world have echoed in many areas in Turkey as well. Political and economic disruptions have left their mark on different periods in Turkey as well as in the history of most countries. In the years following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, it was not a favourable period for consumption, because Turkey has just come out of the new war, had insufficient production, and was immediately affected by the famine created by the World War II. In the following period, the years between 1950 and 1980 are referred to as the "massification" period (Başfırıncı, 2011, 117). In this period, the economic growth policy became widespread, and the process of industrialization began to be experienced (Görün and Kara, 2010, 152). While ideological and political identities played a vital role in social life in Turkey before 1980, these identities began to disappear and replaced by a structure shaped by monetary relations, and income. Consumption power began to have a voice in social relations. Consumption, which is the most valuable ideology for capitalism, has replaced all the old ideologies (Orçan, 2014, 221). The desire of consumption to reach to every single person has also found its way in the conservative segment, who are more sensitive to change. Experiences such as "green capital" and "green pop" have started to take place in the lives of this segment (Orçan, 2014, 222). In Turkey, with the adoption of the economic system that continued to spread rapidly all over the world in the 1980s, the impact of the mass media on the society has increased and the developing technology affected the country in many ways. Popular culture, which owes its rapid and effective spread to mass media, has become a dominant culture in Turkey with many of its features (Şahin, 2005, 159). On the other hand, Turkey's real acquaintance with the global market economy has been realized since 1980. The 1970s are remembered as the years when there was a shortage of foreign currency, an exit permit was granted only once every three years, and people felt the economic

distress most deeply. After the 1980 coup, the most radical economic policy decisions up to that time were taken. After Turgut Özal was elected prime minister, a new era started in the country with new regulations such as buying and selling foreign exchange, keeping foreign currency accounts in banks, and changes in the import-export regime (Bali, 2015, 27). When these movements are combined with the effects of transformation throughout the world, globalization is named as the most important characteristic element of the transformation process. For this period, Keyman (2008) use the term "history of globalization" of Turkey. After 1980, it became easier to import agricultural products, thus, agricultural support programs started to become widespread. These developments accelerated the migration from rural to urban. In the field of international trade, barriers to free trade, such as customs duties, have been removed and thus the way for foreign capital to invest in the country has been opened. Although liberalization was the main determinant of this period economically, government intervention continued to be a part of economic life (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2015, 90-91). The widespread use of credit cards, which were used only by the elite class, and the increase in instalment opportunities in shopping were important developments that created the awareness of "being a consumer". Thus, products that were previously seen as difficult to reach and luxury have become available to the middle class as well. The increasing consumption of the society has also led to the rapid spread of shopping centers, especially in the 1990s. As income rises, and factors facilitating purchasing emerge, the tastes and demands of consumers have begun to diversify. Increased number of women in business life have started to make their presence as new mass consumers. Meanwhile, young people living apart from their families become the new consumer classes (Bali, 2015, 351). In line with these developments in the economy, a change has also started in the field of consumption. Entertainment culture and consumption have become increasingly popular practices (Keyman, 2008). Another important move of the time was the privatization of the media. During Özal's rule, TRT was no longer a monopoly in television and radio broadcasting, and private broadcasting organizations were paved the way. However, this step, which is considered as a democratic development, enabled the power of the capitalists to be strengthened enough to form public opinion. Large conglomerates that own newspapers, radio stations or magazines have had the power to direct the public. In line with this development, various lifestyles began to be presented on the screens (Kongar, 1999, 624). According to research conducted by a marketing research firm in 1989, young people wanted to have lifestyle they saw on the commercials, TV series and movies. Television channels were broadcasting series showing how western modern life was (Bali, 2015, 32). On the other hand, Islamic capital also started to implement media organs that offered suitable content for their own ideologies. Since the 1990s, a new bourgeois class has emerged in line with neoliberal policies. Islamic values and practices have become very common in the public and their visibility has increased (Akşit et al., 2012, 54).

In the 1950s, Anatolia began to be rapidly involved in Turkey's social and political life. Undoubtedly, the reason for this was the migration from the provinces to the big cities. All segments of the city, including the conservative elite, were

concerned about this trend. Those who came brought with them the understanding of Islam and their actions in the village. They were building reinforced concrete mosques, the lower part of which they used as shops, and they were challenged with minarets, one higher than the other. Intellectuals who were influential and loved in both cultures could recreate this new culture, but most of these names, such as Yahya Kemal and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, had died in the early 1960s. Conservatism inevitably went through a process of introversion over time (Çiğdem, 2004, 530). Throughout its history, Turkey, like other nations, has gone through various processes of social change and breaking. It would not be wrong to say that the changes experienced in the 1980s, when he met liberalism in real terms, played a very effective role in shaping today's consumption culture in the country. In addition, the 1980s was a period in which Islamic encounters began to be experienced in many areas in the country, starting with the political field. The most important factor in rapidly experiencing cultural changes was the permission to establish private television and radio channels as of the beginning of the 1990s. When television and radio channels started to run for profit, they started to prepare the programs they broadcast in a way that could be followed by more people, rather than the quality of their content, to increase their advertising revenue. In the same years, the Islamic sector started to open television and radio channels that focused on Islamic content. In the beginning, the expenses of these radio channels were covered by the groups they belonged to. However, after a while, these channels, which turned to earning income with advertising revenues, thus began to be commercialized. While the weight of religious programs decreased, entertainment programs began to be included (Demirezen, 2015, 66, 68).

Consumption culture in Turkey is based on the lifestyles of people interacting with each other and having complex norms. Sections in the society create different cultural forms according to their social and economic bases (Özbolat, 2015, 95). For the conservative segment, modern patterns of consumption and Islamic identity have begun to transform in a way that harmonizes with each other. Another important reason for the change observed in the consumption patterns of the Islamic segment is that this situation is seen to participate in the public sphere and to respond to the search for legitimacy in this field. In fact, Islamic identity both transforms and creates opportunities for its continuity in this way (Göle, 2013, 217). Islamic consumption is an extension of the new public visibility of Islam. In short, clothing, vacation, entertainment, etc. Religious values were tried to be preserved in various fields of consumption, but they were modernized and integrated into consumption culture (Yaniklar, 2006, 74). This is a phenomenon that is being discussed around the world. Featherstone (2013, 198) argues that today's consumption culture, which is dominated by the philosophy of "live now, pay later" and causes hedonistic selfishness, has destructive values in terms of religion, as opposed to the diligence and thrift that religion teaches in general. With the 1980s in Turkey, it has been observed that young, urban and middle-class women, who are more active in social life, use new forms of covering. Political Islam has been a rising phenomenon not only in Turkey but also in the world, and the tendency towards Islamic dress has increased and new styles have

become visible. This situation should be seen as a symbol of commitment to a new global social movement rather than a representation of religious sensitivity (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2010, 18). The economic development of the conservative segment has also been rapid, as it has taken its place as important players in the consumer society. It is also referred to as forming a unique lifestyle by shaping consumption values in line with religious values and forming a hybrid culture (Demirezen, 2016, 549).

Based on this information, this study aims to contribute to the literature by understanding how the consumer culture, that dramatically shaped after the transition to a liberal economy in Turkey, has shaped within the framework of popular culture and subcultures' values. The goal is to examine how culture-specific values have influenced this transformation.

3. Methodology

Research Pattern

This study is important in that it deals with the subject from the point of view of the dominant consumption culture, not from the Islamic consumption window, and tries to explain the changing consumption trends of current consumers. As a research design, phenomenology, which focuses on phenomena that are aware of but do not have in-depth knowledge, was used. Due to the nature of the research subject, this analysis method, which focuses on the meaning of consumers' experiences for themselves, was chosen (Ger, 2009, 15).

Participants

In studies where qualitative data development techniques are used, the sample selection process is quite flexible. The researcher uses purposeful sampling by choosing a sample in the universe where s/he will find an answer to the research question. While determining new interviewees, previous interviewees can be decisive, as in this study, and future participants can be reached with their references. As the interviews are conducted, the sample can be constantly renewed, taking into account the opportunity it provides to develop the subject studied (Kuzel, 1992; Güler, et al., 2013). While determining the sample of the study, attention was paid to the selection of people who are thought to play an active role as "consumers" among veiled youth. In this direction, young people who dress as modern veiling, were included in the sample. The most important factor behind the choice of young people is their involvement as the main actor in the formation and maintenance of consumption practices. The change in the understanding of wearing hijab and the higher ability of young people to represent the style of wearing hijab are the main factors in choosing this group for interviews. The number of people to be interviewed in qualitative research is determined by the opinion of the researcher that the research has arrived at sufficient saturation. The field research is completed at the point where the obtained and interpreted data meet the main objectives of the

research and each new interview returns to the repetition of the obtained data (Kvale, 1996). In this direction, in-depth interviews were conducted with 19 people. Before the interviews, the participants were contacted and preliminary information about the research was given. The participants were contacted without difficulty since they were contacted because of the reference of a friend who had participated in the research before. Prior to the interview, the participants were given preliminary information about the research, and those who abstained from participating were not insisted on in any way, and the sample was formed on the basis of volunteerism. Here, the following note can be made about the questions posed to the sample; it is seen that there are different forms of closure among veiled youth. While questioning the reason for this is beyond the intention and content of the paper, the confidentiality of matters related to people's beliefs was treated sensitively throughout the interviews.

Another important source of data for the study is visual data. The images were obtained from the Instagram social media platform. Semiotic analysis was conducted on the posts from accounts that the participants follow or mentioned during the interviews. Semiotic analysis provides a rich set of data and, when combined with interview data, strengthens the reliability of the research.

Data collection and analysis

In this study, qualitative research methods were used. By starting with a flexible research plan due to the nature of the chosen method and research question, a continuous cycle was ensured between theory and data, thus creating the opportunity to add questions that come to mind while answering the research question. After the research questions were determined, the main themes were prepared. In line with these themes, in-depth interviews were conducted with young, veiled consumers. Before the field study, a preliminary study was conducted to obtain information about the general preferences and fashion trends of the consumers in this group, especially about clothing. These pilot interviews were also helpful in understanding whether the questionnaire to be used was appropriate to obtain sufficiently rich data. The questionnaire was updated in line with these interviews. One of the data development tools used is observation. The data obtained because of the observation, the notes taken, and the audio recordings made by the researcher to make a note for herself were recorded immediately after the observation.

The data set was analysed by following the steps of reading and compiling the data - detailed reading - coding - interpretation, which are widely used in qualitative research methods (Kümbetoğlu, 2005, 152). In this context, the researcher first arranged the interview notes and deciphered the audio recordings. Then, possible categories for the codes were developed and a draft code scheme was obtained. The coding process is completed in two steps. In the first round of coding, the researcher names the sections that he thinks are relevant to the research. In the second round, themes consisting of similar codes are created by working on

the codes obtained in the first round (Saldana, 2013, 3). While determining the codes, the researcher can pre-determine the codes with a deductive approach, but Miles et al. (2014) state that an inductive analysis can also be performed on this subject. Accordingly, the codes that emerge from the dataset will be a reliable way to discover unpredictable dimensions. In this study, the inductive approach was adopted, and the codes obtained by the analysis of the interview texts and visuals were grouped under categories and themes according to their similarities.

Semiotic analysis was used for the analysis of the visuals used in the research. Semiology, which is both descriptive and explanatory and an interdisciplinary science, differs from linguistics in that it goes beyond sentences in written texts (Kıran, 2009, 2). In this study, semiotic analysis is discussed within the framework of semiotic analysis presented by Barthes. Roland Barthes is seen as one of the pioneers of the structuralist approach, which emphasizes that cultural systems have self-sustaining and self-supporting features (Smith, 2007, 149).

4. Findings

For the semiotic analysis, a selection was made from the photos of the Instagram accounts, which were reached based on the interviewers' statements, and presented in Table 1 (This information is gathered from the account holders own Instagram pages at the time the article was being written):

Table 1. Basic Demographics of the Social Media Accounts

Instagram Account (names are hidden instead nicknames are given by author)	Information about account holders as they mention originally in their account	Number of followers
@account1	Digital content producer, Vlogger | makeup, fashion, lifestyle	502K
@account2	Fashion designer, Marmara University	894K
@account3	Digital content producer	953K
@account4	Fashion, styling	280K
@account5	Designer, SDU Faculty of Fine Arts	63K

Source: Author's own elaboration

It should be noted here that the headscarf is considered as a strong indicator of conservatism in this study due to the belief that the headscarf is a command in the religion of Islam and that veiled youth are to fulfil this order. In this direction, only veiled youth were interviewed to form the sample from conservative youth. In the following five titles, the findings of the study are classified and presented as original titles. Also, the headscarf is considered as a strong indicator of conservatism in this study due to the belief that the headscarf is a command in the religion of Islam and that veiled youth are to fulfil this order. In this direction, only veiled youth were interviewed to form the sample from conservative youth. In the

following five titles, the findings of the study are classified and presented as original titles.

Consumption in the Ambiguous Boundaries of Modern Veiling

The modern veiling is emerging as a concept that is difficult to define and is still in formation. From a historical perspective, it is stated that at the end of the 19th century, excesses were exhibited, emulating the West, especially in women's clothing. In fact, changes such as the fact that women started to wear colourful and flowered scarf on their heads, that collarless abayas began to be replaced by collars known as navy collars, that these collars grew in length over time, that abayas were sewn from remarkable silks such as pink, blue, and purple, and that women's clothing became prominent in the palace. It has become such an important issue that with a series of orders, women are forbidden to wear collared abayas and thin yams (Tezcan, 2013, 97). These changes blowing from the west has begun to influence the whole world with the end of wars on earth and headed the rapid spread of popular culture.

Image 1. @account1 Photo-1

Source: Author's own elaboration

The first address that the participants apply to get advice on choosing clothes is their Instagram account. It is seen that the accounts accessed through the guidance of the participants are open to access even without being a member of Instagram, and they combine social media with their work or mostly use them for business purposes by making brand collaborations from time to time.

Two photos taken from an account that the participants said they liked and followed are shown in Image1. The owner of this page, who also has a YouTube channel; she publishes videos about make-up videos, shawl tying techniques and sections from her own life.

Denotation: When this photograph is analysed semiotically, it is seen that a neatly dressed young girl is walking on the street for work or leisure.

Connotation: The clothes on the young person in the photograph also present some connotations. The feathered sandals seen above resemble the feathered slippers of the Gucci brand, which is one of the luxury brands in Turkey (This slipper is on the right of the image). Connotationally, the emphasis is on the stylish young woman who brings together expensive pieces and goes beyond the traditional profile of a young woman with a headscarf, wears jeans that expose her ankles, does not hesitate to carry attention-grabbing pieces, and is a part of social life.

The subject of leaving the ankle open is reflected in the interviews as an unreconciled issue among the participants. Ceyda, who stated that such a style of dressing is a situation that a veiled young person should avoid, with the sentence "Now, tight trousers at the ankle are very common or they wear capri sleeves, but this is a style of clothing that I do not prefer", Ceyda also shared her Instagram page @account1 where she dresses well and has a good attitude. She states that she follows it because she has a style.

Image 2. @account5 Photo-1

Source: Author's own elaboration

However, apart from the fact that this account draws more attention with its make-up, the glasses, skirt length, etc., in terms of details, it has been observed that it is not much different from other pages that are liked and followed (Image 4.3).

Denotation: The image in question can be seen as a woman's Sunday chic.

Connotation: In connotation, a well-groomed woman is seen who is not confined to the house and takes time for herself and her social life on Sundays. As a result of the semiotic analysis of the photograph, it is clearly seen that the style suggested by the photo of this account, which is referred to as the "example not suitable" in the interviews, and the styles of the people who are admired and followed are almost equally far from traditional veiling. Ceyda emphasized the importance of owning style with the following words: "... it is a little difficult to

draw attention indoors. It is more difficult to be neat and beautiful. In fact, it is a little difficult to be veiled and be stylish. Dressing is okay, but I think it's a privilege to be stylish. I mean, some of them really stand out in their costumes, I like them."

While young people emphasize the importance of creating style, they cannot distinguish having style with sharp lines. Having a style goes beyond dressing well and creating a new lifestyle, and many consumption practices are transformed in this process.

Transforming Consumption Practices and Their Symbols

With the concept of symbolic consumption, which emphasizes the dominance of commodities over people in the literature, people buy them by looking at the differences they will obtain from residual products (Demirezen, 2015, 46), especially the activities in different consumption areas such as food and clothing have become highly symbolic today. Products are used as a tool to transmit messages between individuals and groups (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995, 247). Consumers use the items of the objects they own to strengthen and expand their selves. While doing this, they often get help from brands because brands are powerful sources of meaning to reproduce and realize these identities (Binay, 2010, 22, 24). The culture industry is built on these meanings and thus plays a role in the formation of new consumption spaces, products, or practices. It is observed that it is important to catch the fashion within the researched consumer group. As McCracken (1988) stated, this finding exemplifies the fact that culturally formed values are embedded in products that consumers will buy through advertising and fashion. When the meanings consumed through fashion are observed, it is seen that conservative youth, who create a new consumption style for themselves, also use popular culture elements that dominate the world. For example, in Image 3, a photo of one of the Instagram accounts that inspired the participants is seen. This account has approximately 276 thousand followers and some brand collaborations.

Image 3. @account4 Photograph-1   **Image 4.** @account1 Photograph-2

Source: Author's own elaboration

Denotation: In the literal sense of the image, it is seen that two people who love each other meet, drink their coffee outside, and spend time (Image 4).

Connotation: The underlying meaning expresses much more. Although the brand name is not read on the coffee cups, it is understood that Starbucks produced cardboard coffee cups specially for Christmas is appearing in it. As Elliot (2001, 371) emphasizes, coffee is now a fixture of western consumer society and a sign of (Western) identity. The pose given while consuming Starbucks coffee, which is one of the important popular culture icons, also conveys the message "I also take part in this culture". It is seen that one of the important symbolic products coming out of this connotation is to consume this brand of coffee.

In the profiles of other Instagram accounts used in the analysis, poses with Starbucks coffee cups are frequently encountered. In image 4, the account owner named @account1 is seen walking down the street with a Starbucks glass in her hand and her stylish outfit. Although posing with this world-famous coffee brand seems like a detail, it affects the whole meaning of the photo. The connotation of coffee (Kozinets, 2002, 67), which is mentioned in the literature as one of the most important elements in consumer culture, in this image can be interpreted as follows:

Connotation: Disposable paper cups, which emerged in the early 1900s due to the spread of some epidemics, enabled Americans to drink coffee while walking, with the invention of the tear-off lid in 1967. After that, a foam cup also emerged, but it was not as permanent as a paper cup. The most important reason for this is Starbucks. With this preference of Starbucks, which decided to expand in 1987 and to use paper cups and lids suitable for the shape of the coffee to use in its stores, paper coffee cups have become a part of daily life (Park, 2014).

In this image, it is explained that the meanings of the symbols conveyed by popular culture are also consumed. Coffee consumed in a cardboard cup is interpreted as a symbol that accompanies and reflects the fast life of the modern woman, who works, runs in big cities, and has economic freedom.

Symbolic interactionism particularly emphasizes that; people live in a second-hand world. Between human consciousness and material existence, there are communication and designs, patterns, and possessions (Batchelor and Krister, 2012, 3). These patterns also exist as symbols used by consumers. The symbols used by the owners of these Instagram accounts, which are almost exemplary figures for their veiled peers, are not different from the symbols used by their non-veiled peers. The most important reason for this is the popular culture in which we live.

While talking about the impact of fashion, Gül says, "I think everyone is integrated with fashion now. Women older than my mother also wear trousers. In the past, women of that age did not even wear shawls, but now they all wear shawls, almost sleeping more than we do." Rabia also explains that she uses social media while following fashion; "Instagram pages give an idea, especially in terms of

outfits. What people wear, what they put on what they wear, or when I buy something, it's on my mind, it's like I've seen it before."

Another activity where the symbols used during consumption are most frequently encountered is birthday celebrations. When examining the photos, it was seen that there were people celebrating birthdays in similar ways on different Instagram accounts, and they were evaluated separately. Celebrations have become quite extensive consumption activities in recent years. "Baby shower" parties prepared before the babies are born, birthday celebrations where everything is designed in harmony by choosing certain themes, even the mawlids or circumcision ceremonies that are taught when babies are born have moved away from traditional forms of celebration and left their place to completely different celebrations.

In Image 5, there are squares from the birthday celebrations of the account owner, @account2, who has more than 890 thousand followers and her own brand.

Image 5. @account2 Photo-1

Source: Author's own elaboration

Denotation: In the photo on the left, there is a young woman celebrating her birthday with her loved ones and a flamboyant and colorful birthday table decorated with flowers around it. Drinks served in jugs reminiscent of Ottoman period motifs are on the table, and there is a wet cake with a sewing machine figure, referring to the account holder's dealings with design work. In the photo on the right, a similar celebration is held with a smaller group (Image 5).

Connotation: The birthday table, which is quite flamboyant in the photo on the left, appears as a status indicator. On the right, the crown worn by the birthday person refers to the most precious state of being human, as explained above. It has become an important symbol describing being (or the desire to be) at a certain level. In Gibson's (2013, 183) book "How to Read Symbols" it is stated that such crowns are called "The Crown refers to the divine queen status of Mary. The starry crown or halo commemorates Mary as a woman crowned with twelve stars, or the Immaculate Virgin, as mentioned in the book of Revelation (12:1). She is also Stella

Maris aka "Star of the Sea". The crown, which is one of the sacred symbols of Christianity, has been transformed through popular culture and entered daily life. Now, without reference to their religious content, t-shirts, baby clothes, bags, etc. It is used by many cultures as a familiar figure on it. Individuals import a significant part of the symbols they use while appraising themselves by consuming them from Western culture. Undoubtedly, the most basic reason for this is the spread of popular culture from the West. However, when the history of birthday celebrations is examined in Turkish history, it is seen that they started to be celebrated socially for the first time because of the Westernization movement with the Tanzimat in the 19th century. At that time, for the first time, the birthday ceremonies of the Sultan were celebrated by reading various prayers, lighting government offices, and hanging flags (Demirel, 2001, 67).

Image 6. @account5 Photo-2

Source: Author's own elaboration

In Image 6, there is one of the photos taken by the account owner named @account5 at her birthday celebration. Other photos show the account holder's four girlfriends who attended the celebration. These people, like the birthday owner, pose together in white clothes and headscarves around the table set in a country.

Denotation: The account owner @account5 is celebrating his birthday with his four girlfriends in a place far from the city center (Image 6).

Connotation: A very flamboyant birthday event was organized with all its details. All five people participating in this event, organized by an organization company, wear white clothes, creating the impression of gathered around a dinner table in the desert. Moreover, the details of the white clothes are also quite striking. Although it is not fully visible in this photo, the style created by the birthday owner's jewellery and watch together with his outfit is quite magnificent. This visual, which almost resembles a catalogue shoot, is a celebration that stands out with the atmosphere and details created. As can be seen in the examples above, celebrating a birthday has ceased to be a ritual where one meets the new age, but has become a symbol

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that requires complying with certain consumption patterns and offers the opportunity to show the current economic situation and social environment.

Seeking to Achieve Status with Authenticity

As O'Cass and McEwen (2004) mentioned in their work, interpersonal relationships are important, and status is a form of power that includes other people's feelings of respect, attention, and enmity. Individuals tend to buy products that show status and success to achieve both recognition and difference. The definition of status consumption made by Heaney et al. (2005, 85) is as follows; "It is a motivational process by which individuals seek to improve their social status by consuming distinctive consumer products that can define and symbolize the status of those around them". As a result of the research, it has been determined that the effort to achieve status is often made with the search for originality. Another remarkable finding in this study is that the participants have concerns about the status of the group as well as seeking to differentiate themselves within the group. There is an emphasis on both individual and group status.

For example, the following words of Işıl during the interview draw attention to the fact that she emphasized the necessity of striving to establish the status of all veiled people in Turkey; "... It bothers me that a closed person is a clown rather than an open person... Because there are people who judge closed ones. If a closed person does something bad, people will talk about it because they are both closed and doing it. Likewise, the headscarf It's like going abroad and representing Turkey. That's why it's necessary to dress well and to dress as neatly and neatly as possible, even though not everyone's financial strength is the same."

Similarly, Kadriye emphasizes that it is important to preserve the status of the group; "She needs to wear what suits her. She shouldn't look ridiculous. There are people who dress in very different ways, especially with veiled ones. There are those who wear ripped trousers. I wouldn't say they are beautiful. I think the hijab has a style that can be worn. I don't find exaggerated make-up right either for people in hijab. It looks nice on other people, but it is noticeable on people in hijab. For example, I have open friends and their reactions are surprising. I also face reactions saying that I don't want to be closed if we are going to be one of those veiled peope."

This sensitivity towards not harming the group status can be interpreted as belonging to the group and seeing oneself as responsible for the representation of this group. There is also a desire to clarify the status of veiled women in society. As veiled women have started to take part in social life more actively in recent years, their interaction with today's popular culture values has increased. This brought with it veiled groups that adopted new styles. Young people wearing headscarves who want to protect their group or ensure its correct positioning emphasize the status of the class here. Finally, Fatma's words can be given as an example to this subject; "I don't like that all Turks wear the same model overcoat…

We also confuse being stylish with being smart. You won't be chubby, but you will be stylish."

On the other hand, it is seen that the participants seek to be original and different while creating their individual status. It has been determined that it is reflected in the interviews as a status that is desired to be original or to be different from others. İlknur explains her clothing purchasing behaviour as follows:

"... I especially buy pieces and have them sewn. Sometimes I find fabric for 15 liras, when you buy it and have it sewn, you will have an outfit that no one else has... I like when they say that you are different, and you dress well."

While Ceyda mentions that she is trying to differentiate herself, she also criticizes the situation across the Turkey with the following words: "... The hijab fashion designers in our country are a little different. They are not original. They have too many standards and they cannot exceed them. Therefore, I follow the pages created by Arabs on Instagram more."

Conspicuous Consumption Trends

Individuals try to reflect and show their assets to the society in order to increase their prestige in the society. This situation, which is examined under the name of conspicuous consumption, sometimes finds a place in the expenditures made to raise the ego of the person (Babaoğul and Buğday, 2012, 79). The tendency of individuals to conspicuous consumption products is largely shaped by social networks. (O'Cass and McEwen, 2004, 28).

There are findings of conspicuous consumption among the interviewed youth. These findings generally show a tendency to use branded products and to be happy with it. For example, Hümeyra explains that she follows certain brands and stores when she buys clothes; "There are brands and stores that I follow. I also follow boutiques on the internet.... If I look carefully, I can understand the brands. Generally, imitation products are understood."

Işıl, on the other hand, says the following on the subject with a guilty facial expression for following the brand; "I know what I'm doing is wrong, but yes, I follow certain brands... I buy products of the brands I know online... That's why I follow certain brands".

The participants state that they try to act more economically because they are students, so Ilknur states that she cannot always use a brand, and it is deduced that she always wants to wear branded clothes if she has the opportunity; "I like the brand, but I can't wear it all the time. Instead, I like quality-looking goods and quality goods."

Oylum, who is almost proud of using branded products, explains as follows; "I don't go to cheap places or small places. I go to places with brands. The fabric of

the goods is very important to me... My scarves are very important to me. I take care not to wear them without a brand." Oylum, who seems to be more sensitive about the brand, especially when buying scarves, was asked why. It seems that the element that makes Oylum stand out the most is that it wants to be branded; "Even if your tunic is not beautiful, it can be beautified with the brand of the scarf, it adds value to the tunic, even when the tunic is a cheap brand, I make it quality with my scarf." She explains that while buying her watches, she pays attention to branding like her other clothes; "It's not very high-end brands, but I don't buy cheap ones either. I buy like Casio etc. It would be nice if it was branded, but sometimes it's expensive. For example, there is Daniel Klein, but the price is very high."

The use of the Casio brand watch, which Oylum prefers due to its affordable price and good prestige, is also seen on the @account1 Instagram page, which is suitable for conspicuous consumption.

Image 7. @account1 Photo-3

Source: Author's own elobration

The photograph in image 4.12 consists entirely of conspicuous consumption objects. Brands are also tagged on the photo.

Connotation: Iphone phone, a casio watch, lip gloss, jeans and Koton brand sunglasses are presented exactly like a branded display set that Oylum can also access. In this frame, which is perceived as the basic elements of the style of the owner of this photo, the items that are proud and happy to use are seen.

Image 7. @account1 Photo-3

Source: Author's own elobration

Two separate photos shared on the Instagram account @account2 are presented together above. The first photo was shared with the description "my shopping cart". It shows expensive cosmetics such as Chanel and Darphin. In the second photo, there are Gucci brand children's shoes, which are shared with a caption saying "of course, I didn't like it as much as the tip of my finger" with allusive language. In both photographs, the meanings created by expensive brands speak.

Connotation: These two photos, which show luxury brands, emphasize that a woman who uses expensive brands such as Chanel for her personal care, likes Gucci shoes for her child, and that using them is encouraging and happy. This is clear from the messages of the photographs. However, in this society, it has always been a teaching that it is not nice to emphasize showing off and materiality with proverbs like "Get property like the sea but be a ship on it" (Mevlana), "Being arrogant against a man who is arrogant with his property is considered modesty for Almighty Allah." (Yahya bin Muaz). However, social values also have difficulties in resisting the culture that dominates the world.

The posts of the account named @account5, which clearly reflects conspicuous consumption through the cars she drive, are given below.

Image 9. @account5 Photo-3

Source: Author's own elaboration

Denotation: In this photo, @account5 is posing in an open-top sports car like someone about to hit the road.

Connotation: Gloves, glasses, watch accessories are posed to attract attention. In the description of the photo, there is a Good Friday tag (hayırlı cumalar in Turkish, and the expression is used to wish religiously good day to a Muslims on Friday because Friday is believed to be a holy day). The post also says, "The cure is in Ferrari, you can't find it".

When the connotation analysis is made, it is seen that the symbol on the steering wheel of the car is the logo of the "Ferrari" brand and completely changes the expression of the photograph. The thing that gives strength to the person in this photo is the brand of the car. The fact that he touched on spirituality by wishing a "Good Friday" contrasted with the materialist emphasis in this photo.

Image 10. @account5 Photo-4

Source: Author's own elaboration

Connotation: In the photo above, where two different posts of @account5 are presented together, two different car brands are in the foreground. The photo on the right, with the watch whose car brand and design belongs to Diesel, consists of showing only the brands used and expressing the pride (or victory) of this with the victory sign. This situation, which is attributed to tangible assets, fully describes materialism. On the other hand, the sign that is thought to mean the victory sign by the photographer is used instead of a bad word in the Western language. When read in this sense, the photograph gains an emphasis that belittles the other with its material assets. Although it is thought that the person does not use the hand sign in this sense, it should be noted when talking about the signs.

It is understood from the findings that conspicuous consumption becomes one of the important factors underlying purchasing behaviour, albeit in different ways and at different levels. The messages given by those who inspire young

consumers about clothing and style only say, "don't just be a style, be a different but branded style".

Interpretation of Popular Culture through Consumption

Popular culture, which is the dominant culture in all industrialized or industrializing societies today, also creates similar lifestyles and consumption patterns. It is a very natural change that popular culture, which has similar forms in almost all of them despite its spread to so many different cultures, is adopted and adapted among conservative youth. Under the mask of popular culture, capitalism swallows everything just like in the pac-man* game and compares it to each other in its own body.

There are two remarkable issues regarding this situation in the findings of this study. The first of these is that young people begin to interpret the marginal aspects of the popular culture movement, and the second is that they create new interpretations within popular culture that conservative youth can follow.

Image 11. @account1 Photo-4

Source: Author's own elaboration

Denotation: The photo taken from @account1 in image 11 was taken in front of a graffiti and looks like a cut from the young person's daily life.

Connotation: Graffiti that emerged with the hip hop culture of the United States is seen by some as vandalism. Graffiti, which has not yet become widespread in Turkey and is not accepted by large segments, is seen as an action belonging to a marginalized group. Another remarkable aspect of this graffiti is that it resembles the American musician, Marilyn Manson. Marilyn Manson is one of the most marginal popular culture figures who has become world-famous but has always been kept at a distance by a large group with his songs, clips and his own image.

Popular culture is a place where the differences between the marginal and the traditional meet. This account owner is not the only person posing with these

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graffiti. There is also a photo of @account3, one of the examined Instagram accounts, in the same place).

Image 12. @account3 Photo-1

Source: Author's own elaboration

Connotation: The interpretative aspect of posing in front of this graffiti is that the traditional and the marginal are in harmony in the same frame. Popular culture is based on experiences, satisfaction, traditions, and memories (Hall, 1993: 107). Here, although neither the person in the photograph nor the graffiti art is a part of the popular culture formed in this society, it exemplifies that the popular culture spreading from America to the world is also being adopted by the society. Analysis of the comments made under the photo was not included in this study, but there are people who see this pose as a contradiction in the comments, but they are few. Although marginal and traditional trends differ from each other, they both converge on an important common point, in popular culture.

It is seen that the interviewees closely follow popular trends such as wearing make-up and following fashion. For example, Işıl tells that she loves to do make-up, although she cannot do it often in daily life: "I love to do makeup. I think I have more makeup than an open person. I watch makeup videos regularly... I do professional makeup now."
Pınar also uses the following sentences while describing her love for make-up: "Sometimes I have to put on a lot of make-up, I feel very bad without make-up."
Many of the participants are also closely related to fashion and are eager to do something about it or to be involved in fashion trends. While describing this, Merve says: "There was a model a few years ago, I started by following her. Her name was Sümeyye... She is a Turk living in Germany. She developed herself and opened a boutique. I also want to open a boutique. I don't have any goals right now. I liked it and had my tailor sew it.

Being eager to follow fashion, or even to develop the current fashion, emphasizes the enthusiasm to be a guide or shaper rather than just having the role

of a spectator in popular culture. However, it is an undeniably striking fact that popular culture determines the limits of all forms and innovations.

5. Conclusions

In this study, while examining the relationship of veiled youth with consumption culture, the consumer trends that transform and resemble under popular culture are examined, it is tried to understand how they are included in consumption culture as a consumer group and what they desire as consumers.

Through consumption, the people in Turkey who are distant from Westernization have become a part of the consumer society, and in fact, they have already become Westernized with the new social order. Although religious values and criteria are preserved in consumption for the conservative segment, these criteria are modernized and added to the consumption culture (Orçan, 2014, 222).

Of course, this transformation is not only seen in the conservative segment of Turkey, thus of the world. As Orçan (2014, 223) stated, many people who had a place in society with their left-wing political identity before 1980 took their place in this change: "Former Marxists made great fortunes by working as journalists and advertisers in companies founded by the capitalists they criticized." The reason why especially conservative young people were chosen in the study is that the market for veiled youth is still growing, and it has transitioned to an innovative structure like it has never been before.

When the findings are evaluated, the effort of conservative young people to stay away from the religious teachings they are trying to implement, and the effort to establish a link between the values of popular culture are involuntarily articulated. In fact, this situation arises from the power of popular culture, which is the shadow of the capitalist system in the cultural world, to melt the differences in the same pot. Even if the differences do not disappear, they are condemned to resemble and transform into each other. It is understood from the interviews, made with the officials of the stores operating in the market, most of which sell luxury goods, that conservative women have become a consumer group that is reaching the power to determine the product variety in the market. This is a very important and remarkable result, especially for brands.

While trying to define their own status, veiled youth mostly focus on "being different and unique". Adopting one of the clothing styles that emerged under the title of modern veiling also means the young person's self-expression. For this reason, the most important issue when creating their own styles is to be original. While emphasizing status, their desire to see themselves as representatives of veiled women and behave appropriately indicates that they tend to protect the group, as well as being sensitive about their individual positions.

Among the findings of the research, perhaps the most important dimension is the concept of modern veiling. The main reason why the concept is so important

is that it is the dimension which is most reflected in the consumption behaviour of the conservative parts in their efforts to position themselves in the society.

The data obtained from the field study show that the concept of hijab has other depths besides expressing a clothing practice for the conservative segment and devotion to Islamic values. The hijab is perceived as an extension of the self and personality among youth, but also as a representation of the values and norms of the group they belong to. For this reason, it is possible to say that young people experience complex emotions from time to time in drawing the boundaries of hijab and they are stuck between the place where they want to position themselves in society as the new generation and the borders created by the values that come from their roots. It seems that young people respond to this complex social structure in which they live by creating hybrid clothing styles that will both symbolize the change and emphasize their roots. This generation, which coincided with the period when the class change experienced by the conservative segment was perhaps the fastest, also implicitly, perhaps reluctantly, but necessarily, undertook the task of establishing the boundaries of the new generation modern veiling around some common rules they created. Although the ambiguity of the borders is sometimes perceived as an obstacle for young people to meet at common points, the fact that they are transitive and open to interpretation allows individuals to be positioned as they wish, both in front of the society and within the conservative segment. For this reason, the boundaries of the modern veiling that young people draw for themselves show not only the tendency towards consumption practices, but also how they define conservatism and their thoughts on how it should be defined during their struggle to show their presence in society. The boundaries of modern veiling not only determine the area in clothing, but also show the new generation conservative young people who they are, sometimes on behalf of themselves and the new generation conservatives, sometimes rebelling, sometimes showing the importance of values and norms in their lives and their insistence on this issue. It may be possible to describe the limits of modern veiling as the boundaries drawn by the new generation of young people against the society. For this reason, as in every social change process, the change process of modern veiling has a complex structure.

The tendency to blend popular culture with veiling and living, and its adoption in closed cultures, has increased the socialization opportunities of veiled women. As different styles began to emerge in hijab clothing, women began to deal more with fashion and design. In particular, the results of the semiotic analysis showed that the women working in this field are followed with admiration. In fact, everyone who adds innovation and difference to hijab clothing is greeted with enthusiasm by consumers. It is thought that women wearing headscarves around the world experience similar transformations. As the roles of women in social life diversify, their demands and needs also increase.

As Torlak (2016, 177) states, in the capitalist consumption culture, people can crush not only social common values, but also religion, morality and even legal

principles. To get rid of this corruption that is reflected in every part of the society, the author's suggestion is to be meticulous about keeping the social common values valid. Although this suggestion is quite reasonable and plausible, the fact that individuals are exposed to message bombardment from a wide variety of channels makes it difficult to implement this proposal.

The use of photos accessed via Instagram in the study is also the strength of the findings because social media users have become a very important audience in terms of marketing. It is no longer possible for marketing applications to be successful without keeping the pulse of social media and following the developments in this medium (Torlak, 2016, 119). Veiled or not, one of the most important issues in the lives of young people is the issue of style. The reasons such as the fashion programs broadcast on television, the intense interaction of young people with each other, and with their peers around the world on social media keep the importance of this subject alive. While the young people interviewed emphasize the importance of creating style, they cannot distinguish being stylish with sharp lines. What they refer to by having style goes as far as creating a lifestyle, and many consumption practices are transformed in this process. The life you want to reach is a synthetic life that requires more and more. Consuming and emulating more to achieve this is something that is applauded by this system.

It is also an area worth investigating that real consumers on social media are more influential than advertisements. Berger (2013, 142) explain the aims of advertisements as; "... it is to stimulate the feeling of being somewhat dissatisfied with the life he is in. The audience should feel a deficiency in his private life, not in the life of the society. The advertisement tells the audience that life will be better when it receives the object presented; offers him a better life than the one he is in. " In the results obtained from the interviews, especially the young people who want to have style, are in search of originality with this motive. The people they follow on social media create the intended effect of the advertisements on them.

The five titles describing the patterns observed in the consumption trends of veiled youth, obtained from the study findings, are the original contribution of the paper. Further research can be expanded in line with the symbolic interactionism discussions, which provides a theoretical framework and sociology perspective on how society is created and protected through repeated interactions between individuals.

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