THE SPECTACLE OF QUARANTINE DAYS IN TURKEY: A CONTENT ANALYSIS ON TURKISH CONSUMERS[1]

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Abstract

Changing the balances of the world, the novel Corona virus outbreak is investigated from various aspects. The outbreak started in China and quickly spread throughout the world. Within this scope, preventative measures focus on voluntary or enforced implementations of quarantines. Consequently, the discussion of changes in consumption habits of postmodern societies become quite common as well. This is because individuals, who were confined to the walls of their homes had to change their daily habits substantially. Working from home, instead of going to workplaces, cooking at home, instead of dining out or shopping online, instead of going to shopping malls, which are deemed to be the heart and soul of consumption, become widely mentioned topics. In this context, the need to socialize also drove individuals to share more posts on social media platforms, which were already highly used. The question of how such disruption change consumer societies, where consumption determines conditions and becomes a culture itself, represents the foundation of this study. To that end, Instagram is the selected social media platform for the research purposes. A total of four hashtags concerning Corona virus is selected and a total of 1,540 Instagram posts are subjected to a content analysis. In order to determine how the changing consumption habits are reflected, concepts of consumer society and the society of the spectacle are covered in the literature review. As a result, the descriptive characteristics of consumer society and society of the spectacle appear to preserve their validities, even during a challenging time such as the corona virus outbreak and relevant quarantine.

Keywords: Corona virus, consumer society, consumer culture, society of the spectacle.

TÜRKİYE'DE KARANTİNA GÜNLERİ GÖSTERİSİ: TÜRK TÜKETİCİLER ÜZERİNE BİR İÇERİK ANALİZİ

Özet

Dünyanın dengelerini değiştiren yeni tip Corona virüs salgını pek çok açıdan incelenmeye başlamıştır. Çin'de başlayan salgın kısa bir süre içerisinde dünyanın hemen hemen her yerini etkisi altına almıştır. Bu kapsamda alınan önlemler gönüllü veya zorunlu karantina uygulamalarına odaklanmıştır. Bu odaklanmanın sonucunda, post modern toplumların tüketim odağında bazı değişmeler olduğu fikri sıklıkla konuşulur hale gelmiştir. Öyle ki eve kapanan bireyler günlük alışkanlıklarını büyük ölçüde değiştirmek zorunda kalmıştır. İşe gitmek yerine evden çalışmak, dışarıda

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yemek yerine evde yemek yapmak veya tüketimin kalbi olarak görülen alışveriş merkezlerine gitmek yerine çevrimiçi alışverişe mecbur kalmak sıklıkla konuşulan konular haline gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda, sosyalleşme ihtiyacı da bireyleri zaten çok kullanılan sosyal medya platformları üzerinden daha çok paylaşıma itmiştir. Tüketimin şartlarını belirlediği ve kültür haline geldiği toplumlarda böylesi bir kesintinin tüketim toplumlarını nasıl değiştirdiği sorusu da bu çalışmanın temelini oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın araştırma kısmı için seçilen platform Instagram olup karantina dönemi ve Corona virüse ilişkin dört tane hashtag seçilerek toplam 1.540 Instagram gönderisi içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur. İncelemenin değişen tüketim alışkanlıklarının nasıl yansıtıldığını belirlemesi için çalışmanın literatür taraması kısmında tüketim toplumu ve gösteri toplumu kavramları üzerinde durulmuştur. İncelemenin sonucunda gösteri toplumu ve tüketim toplumu kavramları için tanımlayıcı nitelikte olan özelliklerin karantina döneminde de geçerliliğini koruduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar sözcükler: Corona virüs, tüketim toplumu, tüketim kültürü, gösteri toplumu.

Introduction

As means for consumption vary, consumption in daily life becomes more and more visible. Still, when we talk about consumption today, we do not only refer to the monetary exchange of purchasing good and services and the exhaustion of them. Consumption is an experience in the heads of consumers than a process of simple satisfaction of biological needs (Bocock, 1993, p. 51). There is symbolic value, search for prestige, social status and many more to be considered in this context. As consumption penetrates the lives of consumers in postmodern societies, the wish to consume becomes the aim of consumption itself. Moreover, consumption becomes more appealing and convenient with the help of various media. Media does not only advertise consumption to members of a society, it also shapes their selection by way of fashion. Especially with the rise of social media, individuals easily share and display their consumption habits and check if they are actually following the fashion in each category.

There is a plethora of studies regarding the consumption habits of various societies. However, the current circumstances concerning novel Corona virus outbreak and the changes it brought along also have to be considered in this sense. Studies with reference to changing social and economic circumstances help shed light on the social lives of individuals in a given society.

Declared to be a global outbreak in early March by the World Health Organization, novel Corona virus brought along various measures such as social distancing, mandatory wearing of surgical masks, hygienic rearrangements and regulations and lockdowns – be it enforced or voluntary. Naturally, these items changed individuals' perceptions of fashion, socialization and consumption. Lekakis (2015) mentions three types of reactions in times of crises; using consumption to put a stop to market applications that are triggered by recession; consumption patterns, followed by national purchases to support local economies and creatively reorganized markets for resilience (Koos et al., 2017). So, consumption plays even more

varied roles under different circumstances. This is hardly surprising. In capitalist societies, when the economy blooms, consumers are encouraged to consume more and when there is a recession in question, consumers are promised better times and more consumption in future (Bocock, 1993). Within the scope of this study, novel Corona virus pandemic is also considered to be a time of crisis. In this context, this study aims to investigate whether characteristics of consumer society can be observed in the time of the Corona virus outbreak in Turkey with the help of Instagram as the selected social media platform for the investigation.

Theoretical framework

This study aims to investigate the consumption habits of Turkish consumers on Instagram, a social media platform, from the perspective of consumer society. To that end, Guy Debord's seminal work, The Society of the Spectacle is also used to shed light on how consumption habits of individuals are displayed on said social media platform. Thus, consumption and the role it plays in postmodern societies, as well as the key concepts of the society of the spectacle are covered in the literature review.

Consumption and consumer culture

The word consumption refer to a sort of exhaustion of various resources, while the word culture connotes a way of life. In the postmodern world, consumption did become a way of life, which caused the concept of consumer culture to arise. This is because production and consumption processes are not simple ones, which begin on an assembly line and end as soon as they are put on a shelf to be displayed (Sadakaoğlu, 2018, p. 54). As of the 18th century, societies started to be deeply influenced by myriad economic, political and cultural changes with the dominating capitalist production manners, which brought along a new era, where individuals participate in the consumption processes more actively (Acar, 2018, p. 92). At this point, mere definitions of what consumption is would not suffice, for consumption does not only spread and become more generic, it also creates its own culture (Topay & Erdem, 2019, p. 164). According to Bauman (2010, pp. 64-85), the question of whether we consume to survive or survive to consume and the discussion of whether or not there is life that can be separated from consumption are similar to the puzzling reflections of philosophers, poets and professors of ethics.

Within the scope of consumer culture, the amount of what individuals possess or the satisfaction of their needs do not suffice to describe the concept per se; Baudrillard claims that the symbolic dimension of consumption cannot be overlooked (Baudrillard, 2010, p. 241). As a form of systematically manipulating symbols, consumption molds cultures and the points of view of individuals in a society. Surrounded by the consumer culture, individuals are happier as they consume more and more (Ilgaz, 2000, p. 329). In the most traditional sense, consumption does possess an economic aspect. However, the psychological and sociological aspects cannot be overlooked within the scope of consumer culture. In this sense, Featherstone suggests three perspectives to analyze consumption culture; the enhancement of the capitalist production form, which causes accumulation of consumption

goods, shopping areas and consumption areas; consumption goods and services, creating links and distinctions in the social field from a sociological perspective and the field of emotional pleasure, dreams and desires, which have important places in the lives of consumers, creating direct physical arousal and aesthetic pleasure (Acar, 2018, pp. 95-96). Combining the psychological, sociological and physical aspects, it can be said that consumption helps individuals satisfy their tangible and intangible needs, such as validation, status and being accepted, in addition to fundamental ones. Consumer culture places importance on the fulfillment of symbolic desires, rather than biological ones (Şan & Hira, 2004, p. 16). Baudrillard (2010, p. 242) exemplifies the concept of marriage in this sense; the aim of marriage used to include a relationship, whereas it is now aimed at consumption of objects, including symbolic ones that only refer to said relationship.

Consumer culture manipulates consumers through false needs, inviting them to consume more with each and every day as such. Marcuse (1991, p. 7) defines false needs as those that are superimposed by social interests that perpetuate misery and must be met to sustain the cycle, such as the need to relax after hard work, only to have to work again. Such needs have a societal content, being produced by societies that dominantly wish to sustain the repression of individuals. True needs, on the other hand, include more fundamental ones, such as nourishment, clothing and lodging (Marcuse, 1991, p. 8). Thus, even the needs are not simply linear or have to do with fundamental and biological needs. Considering the role society plays on such needs, Bocock (1993, pp. 17-18) underlines that individual choices in consumption are also related to living in overwhelmingly cosmopolitan settings, where members of a society feel the need to simultaneously blend in with the society and stand differently. These changes and needs are often relayed to societies through mass media, which play key roles in shaping individuals' consumption activities. Thus, it can be said that media culture, arising from mass media, drives consumption patterns in such cultures (Dikici, 2017).

The consumer society

Happiness is the indispensable part of consumer society (Baudrillard, 2013) and individuals constantly pursue happiness by consuming with the belief that the more they consume, the happier they will be. They may purchase an object or an experience, but in such societies, they would actually be purchasing the symbolic values with them – happiness, belonging, fulfillment of their desires and so on.

Bauman (2010, p. 84) states that ours is the consumer society, just as much as what our ancestors formed was a production society, in terms of depth and foundations. He also underlines the differentiation in the term consumption itself over time, for consuming has always been there, but not in the sense it is approached in capitalist systems or in the postmodern era. On the other hand, Baudrillard (2013, p.15) notes that consumers in a consumer society do not don this identity, because they merely desire for an object; they are so because they desire the desiring itself. Thus, consumer societies exceed actions of eating more, reading more, buying more and

possessing more. Thus, individuals spend money according to the current circumstances consumer culture offers and not according to what they actually need in consumer societies (Kaya & Büyükbaykal, 2019, p. 689), because needs carry different values. In this context, consumption does not only refer to the monetary exchange or shopping, but also to things that are considered to be in fashion to keep up with the necessities of consumer society, where symbols are displayed to the consumers. Consumption itself becomes a negation of reality all over (Baudrillard, 2013, p. 27).

Attention is drawn to diverse goods, services and images, which must be desired by consumers; but once they are desired, others to fulfill the same duties must be deployed to keep the attention, desire and attraction alive (Bauman, 2010, p. 83). This description brings to mind the concept of fashion and how it affects the consumption habits of individuals.

The concept of consumer society refers to a structure, organized around consumption and leisure activities than production (Acar, 2018, p. 96). Consumption can be observed in various forms and can be easily identified, due to the exchange it intrinsically brings along. However, leisure activities also make up an important part of consumer societies. They are also related to the aforementioned statement related to what is in fashion. The physical possession or ownership may not be observed, but leisure activities still possess the traces of the need to keep up. For example; individuals work out under the sun by force and become obsessed with suntans in naked form, which are indicators of their dedication to misery and duty, showing that individuals in a consumer society carry out their leisure activities by force (Baudrillard, 2013, pp. 190-191).

Baudrillard (2013, p. 113) also notes that keeping up with what is in fashion is a duty for consumers in a consumer society; otherwise, they fail to be a part of it. While fashion does not necessarily contribute to the qualities of a person, it imposes oppression due to dictating whether or not the individual, who does not follow fashion, will be accepted in the society. Thus, many continue their desire to keep being purchasers and consumers of something, even when they cannot afford to do so (Bocock, 1993, p. 76) as a result of what they are exposed to in media and social media to speak in more contemporary terms.

Much like the aspects of consumer culture, today's consumer societies place importance on prestige, difference, status, belonging to a group, identity and image – symbolic values as they are. Various media show these symbolic values to consumers with the claims that if consumers do, in fact, utilize the advertised commodities, they will climb up the social ladder, have positive changes in their lives, belong to a particular group of their choice or simply be different than everybody else (Dikici, 2017, p. 61). While this used to be observed more commonly in traditional media, in the form of television commercials or radio and newspaper advertising, social media today fulfills multiple roles in this sense. Especially with the developing e-commerce platforms and social media applications today, consumption surpasses spatial and temporal boundaries (Ahmadov, 2019, p. 33). Individuals post and share what they eat, what they drink, what they wear, where they go to and many more details to keep up with what is in fashion, follow the social trends, be more socially acceptable and more popular (Kellner, 1991, p. 83). To

understand this constant show of what is consumed and what is in fashion, one must turn the looks to the concept of the society of the spectacle.

The society of the spectacle

Guy Debord introduced the concept of spectacle in his 1967 book, *The Society of the Spectacle* about consumption and commodity fetishism, where he claims that the spectacle is an image-mediated social relation between people, rather than a collection of images (Debord, 1992, p. 10). Accordingly, everything is a representation and the only thing that matters is the image. What Debord means by image, at this point, is a visual reflection of the dominant economic order. In terms of both content and form, the spectacle surpasses what has been done already in the field of consumption, for it serves to the justification of the existing system. It does so by speaking the language of the dominant production system. Thus, reality is produced within the spectacle and the spectacle itself is real (Debord, 1992, p. 11). There is no questioning whether this reality is, in fact, real, for what is good is seen and what is good is visible (Debord, 1992, p. 12). The paradise that was once promised via different images to individuals becomes the life itself. The mundane world is the paradise, filled with images and illusions. In such a society, specialization becomes a significant concept. What is said by the specialized power holder must be abided by; hence what is in fashion or trendy must be followed too, which is the specialization of power for Debord, underlying the society of the spectacle (Senemoğlu, 2017, p. 81).

In societies of spectacle, being turns into having and human fulfilment becomes dependent on what one possesses and accumulates in line with his or her economic power. Having derives its prestige and ultimate goal from appearance (Debord, 1992, p. 13). On the other hand, possession of commodities are still praised in advertisements and mass communication messages, making up the display of constant spectacles (Baudrillard, 2013, pp. 15-16).

Debord (1992) notes that consumers acquire one particular commodity and are happy until they are not and it is time for the next commodity to be acquired for one's happiness. Thus, commodity fetishism becomes apparent, thanks to the images that represent themselves as reality with such illusions. Keeping these images alive, the economic system is a vicious cycle of isolation in and of itself (Debord, 1992, p. 16), supporting the loneliness of the crowds with technologies that help keep these isolating systems alive. In such systems, individuals are isolated, so that they can be excluded from the existing system altogether, if such a need arises. The isolation brings along the concept of banalization in the society of the spectacle, even when commodity consumption differs in form and its advance forms diversify roles as well (Debord, 1992, p. 24). The spectacle separates the self and the world by demolishing the self in this world, filled with images. It also demolishes the boundaries between true and false. In a way, this is similar to the description of true and false needs in consumer societies. On another note, individuals in a society of spectacle must be attentive of their appearances, which brings us back to the concept of false needs; only this time, it has to do with surveillance; individuals in the society of spectacle monitor others and are aware of being monitored by others themselves, which is why they always opt

for the better looking or aesthetically pleasing (Featherstone, 2005, p. 181; cited by Senemoğlu, 2017, p. 73). The surveillance aspect of the society of the spectacle can be related to the concept of what is in fashion too. Individuals feel like they have to keep up with what is trendy, for they know they are observed in such societies. Thinking about this in more contemporary terms, the constant imitation of what individuals see on social media platforms, arising from the need to reproduce what is seen, can be linked to individuals' needs for acceptance, belonging and submission to surveillance. The technological content of the society of the spectacle is determined by the society itself as well. Serving the purposes of the society of the spectacle, a technological apparatus cannot be objective, for it would support the internal dynamics of the system. If the management of the society and all contact among its members depend on such instantaneous methods of communication and the social needs of the time can be met only with such mediations, it is because this type of communication is unilateral (Debord, 1992, p. 14).

Research study

Various definitions of consumption from different perspectives underline its consistency, as well as the weakening relationship between consumption and monetary power. In this sense, Lodziak (2003, p. 60; cited by Senemoğlu, 2017, p. 78) defines two types of fundamental needs; survival and a satisfactory life. This definition can be observed in the period that swept the nations in early 2020, when the whole globe, because of the global outbreak of the novel corona virus, went into various forms of lockdowns. Individuals had to fulfill their basic needs as they used to, but there were drastic and sudden changes to the lifestyles of people around the world and inevitably so. As individuals started to spend more time by themselves, confined in their homes, the lack of consumers in the physical sense paved the way for new discussions about the future of consumer societies. Thus, this study aims to approach this unique time of a global outbreak from a consumption-oriented perspective.

The purpose and scope of the research study

The purpose of this study is to investigate whether characteristics of consumer society can be observed in the time of the Corona virus outbreak in Turkey. During this time, individuals had to be confined in their homes to prevent the spread of the disease. The lack of visitors in shopping malls and stores started discussions about the end of a consumer society. It is hypothesized, within the scope of this study that consumption during this time persisted as it was. To that end, Guy Debord's postulates from his seminal work, The Society of the Spectacle, are used to determine how consumption habits of individuals are reflected. This is because social media platforms became the only tools for those, who wish to continue the cycle of surveillance by displaying pieces of their lives. In this context, Instagram posts with 4 different hashtags are subjected to a content analysis. The method is selected to be content analysis from amongst quantitative analysis methods, for it is an objective, systematic and descriptive method (Bal, 2016, p. 259). Within the scope of the content analysis, the hashtags in question

are karantinagünleri (quarantine days), evindekaltürkiye (stay home Turkey), karantinagünlükleri (quarantine diaries) and koronagünleri (corona days). Hashtags were selected for they are thought to be related to individuals' time spent at home during the time of quarantine in Turkey as of March 11th, 2020, until June 1st, 2020, with recommended measurements still in place. Furthermore, hashtags are selected in Turkish, for the study aims to examine Turkish Instagram users. Instagram is the choice of platform for social media due to offering both text and images.

Sample size and method of the research study

As of late 2019, there are 38 million Instagram users in Turkey, according to social media user research studies (Türkiye'nin sosyal medya karnesi belli oldu, 2020). This is assumed to be the population for the study. Accordingly, Raosoft's sample size calculator was used (Raosoft, 2020) and sample size was determined to be 385 with 5% margin of error and 95% confidence level. Thus, 385 posts with each of the selected hashtags were analyzed. The hashtags were analyzed between the dates of May 25th, 2020 and May 29th, 2020. For the analysis, both post captions and visual content of the posts were examined. The selected hashtags were karantinagünleri (quarantine days), evindekatürkiye (stay home Turkey), karantinagünlükleri (quarantine diaries) and koronagünleri (corona days). Hashtags are selected in Turkish, for the study is attempted to observe Turkish Instagram users. Furthermore, posts that include direct sales, advertisements and corporation accounts are excluded. Content from the same account are not included to ensure diversity. For the same purpose, corporate campaigns had to eliminated, which is why only personal accounts that reveal personal posts without any sales intentions are included. Instagram's offer to view the most popular posts also made sure that the investigated content offered the ones with highest engagement rates. This also means that the investigated posts are seen by a larger number of people than others posted on the same dates.

Limitations of the study

The research study only included Turkish Instagram users, thus in addition to the limitation of the dates of May 25th – 29th, 2020, there was a limitation of location. Another limitation of the study relates to the privacy settings of the accounts; only public accounts were examined within the scope of the study, since private accounts are not listed in hashtag search. Moreover, investigated posts are limited to times of the corona virus outbreak and the accompanying quarantine. Since Instagram does not offer the option to observe hashtags, posted in a particular time period, further quantitative data cannot be collected for the time being.

Findings

The content analysis of four hashtags, #karantinagünleri, #evindekaltürkiye, #karantinagünlükleri and #koronagünleri revealed the following categories: beauty, books, coffee, education, family, fashion, food, hand crafts, horoscopes, jewelry, love and partnership, medical information, movies, music, national pride, nature, traveling, parenting, personal development, pets, religion, sports, sports cars and weight loss. Jewelry is the

only category that was found in one hashtag out of four; in the remaining three categories, there were no such themes in the examined posts. The total distribution of all categories by hashtags can be seen in Table 1.

The hashtag #karantinagünleri (quarantine days) showed posts with content related to food (68), nature (42), traveling (42), parenting (37), hand crafts (33), family (33), fashion (31), weight loss (30), beauty (23), books (19), coffee (16), personal development (13), religious content (9), sports (7), love and partnership (7), national pride (4), horoscopes (4), pets (3), education (2), movies (2), sports car (1), music (1) and medical information (1). The hashtag #evindekaltürkiye (stay home Turkey) showed posts with content related to hand crafts (68), traveling (64), nature (54), food (38), family (21), religious content (21), personal development (21), national pride (18), parenting (18), medical information (17), sports (15), education (14), beauty (12), coffee (12), weight loss (11), sports cars (11), jewelry (9), fashion (6), books (2) and love and partnership (1). The hashtag #karantinagünlükleri (quarantine diaries) showed posts with content related to family (55), nature (46), food (41), parenting (37), fashion (38), books (29), personal development (27), beauty (25), traveling (24), coffee (15), hand crafts (14), weight loss (13), love and partnership (8), pets (8), movies (7), sports (7), religious content (6), education (6), music (4), medical information (4), horoscopes (2), sports cars (2), jewelry (1) and national pride (1). Finally, the hashtag #koronagünleri (corona days) showed posts with content related to nature (75), parenting (56), traveling (45), hand crafts (37), food (33), family (32), fashion (24), beauty (19), personal development (17), medical information (16), books (14), education (13), sports (10), weight loss (8), pets (8), religious content (7), love and partnership (7), national pride (6), music (5), coffee (4) and sports cars (1).

Table 1. Total distribution of all categories by hashtags

Content categories/hashtags	#karantinagünleri (quarantine days)	#evindekaltürkiye (stay home Turkey)	#karantinagünlükleri (quarantine diaries)	#koronagünleri (corona days)
Beauty	23	12	25	19
Books	19	2	29	14
Coffee	16	12	15	4
Education	2	14	6	13
Family	33	21	55	32
Fashion	31	6	38	24
Food	68	38	41	33
Hand crafts	33	68	14	37
Horoscopes	4	0	2	0
Jewelry		9	1	0
Love & partnership	7	1	8	7
Medical info.	1	17	4	16
Movies	2	0	7	0
Music	1	0	4	5
National pride	4	18	1	6
Nature	42	54	46	75
Travelling	42	64	24	45
Parenting	37	18	37	56
Personal development	13	21	27	17
Pets	3	0	8	8
Religion	9	21	6	7
Sports	7	15	7	10
Sports cars	1	11	2	1
Weight loss	30	11	13	8

Discussion of the findings

In order to understand how each category, found as a result of the content analysis, relates to the concept of consumption, their underlying themes and how they are selected must be explained.

Posts collected under the category, beauty, include tips for better skin, hair, nails or other cosmetic purposes. It also includes home remedies and home-made tips for the same group and posts, where the viewer is advised to take good cosmetic care of his or her self, for when the quarantine days are over and the outbreak is not a threat anymore, they can display the beauty of their skin. This category also include make-up tips. It is observed that some users resort to wearing make-up for psychological support during the time they spent at home. Posts collected under the category of books, include user suggestions, such as the books they read during the time they spent at home, recommendations of other books, shares of poems and various quotes from literary authors. Posts collected under the category of coffee, on the other hand, include recipes for coffee that are similar to what users drank before the lockdown, tips for presentation of coffee to look more professional and missing the days, where individuals were free to drink coffee outside at coffee shops. Posts collected under the category, education, include tips and trainings for skill development at home, professional trainings and webinars and recommendations concerning educational activities at home for children. Since formal education during the lockdown was also converted into remote education, many of the posts in this category underline additional educational activities to sustain the success of children or the self. Posts in the category of family are the ones that display and highlight users' time spent at home during the quarantine with other family members or missing family members due to the same reason. Posts in the category of fashion include images from past outings with showy clothes, as well as fashion tips, shopping recommendations for readymade clothing, dressing up at home and tips to mix and match clothes at home. In this sense, being restricted with the walls of one's home does not appear to have changed the fashion understanding. Tips for online shopping are most commonly observed in this category. Posts that fall under the category of food include home-made food and baking recipes, recipes that are recommended for healthy living, especially considering the circumstances of the outbreak and home-made meal presentations. At this point, it is important to note that much like the category of coffee, the category of food also places importance on preparing dishes that would normally be served to the user in a restaurant. Quite high in numbers, the category of hand crafts include the display of manual skills of the user, regarding products that are made at home via knitting, sewing and crocheting. The products in question are bracelets, totes, slippers, socks, masks, earrings, dolls, tablecloths, macramé key chains, bikinis and even tops. The sole purpose of displaying these works is to show others that the individual possesses the skill and since the shopping experiences are not common for the time being due to the quarantine, they are displayed as significant earnings of the time spent at home. For the sake of the research study, those who wish to sell their handiwork are excluded from the content analysis. Posts that fall under the category of horoscopes include information and daily posts about zodiac signs, astrology and fortune telling bits. Posts

that fall under the category of jewelry, on the other hand, include pieces of jewelry that were purchased before the quarantine and others that are worn at home to feel like the old days, before the quarantine started. Posts that fall under the category of love and partnership include posts about the user's significant other, prior photographs from weddings and quotes and aphorisms about love, without any designated authors. Posts that fall under the category of medical information include tips about home remedies for the well-being of others, the importance of wearing masks when one is outside, praise for medical personnel, doctors and nurses, who work non-stop for infected patients and medical personnel themselves, who share tips as the professionals they are, as well as pride for the work they do. Posts that fall under the category of movies include both scenes and photographs from the account holder's favorite movies, as well as movie tips for others to see. Posts that fall under the category of music include the account holder singing, recommendations for music and songs and music platforms. While direct advertisements were excluded from the content analysis, it can be said that users still advertise the platforms or karaoke applications they use to share how they sing. Posts that fall under the category of national pride include posts that praise how the government, public hospitals and national agencies are managing the crisis that is corona virus, as well as posts that display the nationalist views of the user. Posts that fall under the category of nature, which have highest numbers, include images of green sceneries, woods, beaches, which are said to be missed by the account holders, gardens, yards or pot plants of the users and home grown vegetables and fruits, underlining the importance of nature and being in nature. Posts that fall under the category of travelling include posts of the user from past vacations, visited destinations, missing traveling and travel plans for after the quarantine. Despite the fact that the quarantine limited individuals to homes, when many different areas of work had to be carried out online and remotely, individuals still display their need to travel and go on holidays. Posts that fall under the category of parenting include user images from quality time they spend with their children during the quarantine and how happy and content they are about it, tips about activities other parents can carry out with their children and what parents do for their younger children with the extra time they spend at home; in other words, these posts also include the pride parents take in because they spend more time with their children. Posts that fall under the category of personal development include encouraging quotes and tips for the mental well-being of the viewers, mostly about being mindful, patient and loving as an individual. Posts that fall under the category of pets include user images of their pets and photographs they have taken of their pets. Posts that fall under the category of religion include religious quotes and daily Islamic celebrations. Posts that fall under the category of sports include user images before and after they work out at home or on the street near their homes, as well as workout tips for others to see, so they would keep being fit during the time of the quarantine. Posts that fall under the category of sports cars display users' sports car or dream cars they would like to have in future. Finally, posts that fall under the category of weight loss include tips to stay healthy and fit at home, since the quarantine does not allow individuals to go to gyms or have access to takeout services, so they have to cook at home. This category

is separated from the food category, based on the explanations in the captions about how they recommend the viewers to help lose weight and not only cook for the sake of sustenance.

While the hashtags are naturally limited to a particular date, time and space, the lack of self-care in these posts is clearly seen. The investigated posts reveal that users are more concerned about physical properties and showing it for everyone to see. For example, putting on make-up at home and posting photographs for others to see, preparing for the time when the quarantine is over by eating health and working out for the sake of keeping up appearances and not for the sake of being healthy. Symbolic values in this context are highlighted with, for instance, having better skin, drinking coffee that looks more beautiful, dressing up fashionably and revealing the type of parenthood one assumes with positive connotations. Posts about books are underlined by the need to look more sophisticated, posts about beauty by the need to be liked in aesthetic terms and appreciated, posts about coffee, hand crafts and clothes and accessories by the need to be envied by others to see. In this context, the spectacle that mediates social relations is intact. By displaying their following of what is in fashion, individuals seek belonging. Furthermore, the majority of the analyzed posts consist of leisure activities, which is an important component of the consumer society. More importantly, the display of individuals' observed love for nature and yearning for traveling is evident of Baudrillard's example of fashion in consumer societies; even though the quarantine days ensured that the majority of the individuals remained home to work remotely, posts still underline the need for time off from work, traveling and vacation. Desire for the sake of desiring in consumer societies can be observed at this point. Although Instagram, by its nature, is of supporting quality for the characteristics Guy Debord lists, the contemporary circumstances apparently do not change in such times of crisis. Individuals still seek prestige and social status by following what is trendy, even though its form has changed, while their realities become spectacles per se. These spectacles both ensure that the capitalist system controls the consumption patterns of individuals and simultaneously manipulates their tastes and habits.

Conclusion

Aimed at investigating the consumption habits of Turkish consumers during a critical time such as novel Corona virus outbreak, this study uses characteristics of consumer society and the society of spectacle to scrutinize the content, displayed by Turkish consumers on Instagram. To that end, four hashtags are selected and a total of 385 for each hashtag are analyzed. The themes, found in consequence of the coding process of the content analysis, are tabulated and interpreted, revealing that even drastic measures of voluntary and enforced measures of quarantine do not really change the foundations of the consumer society, despite the fact that it may change form. All in all, it is hoped that this study will represent a basis for further studies concerning the consumption habits of Turkish study during such crisis times. While this study adopts a quantitative method, for it investigates the data with content analysis method, qualitative methods can be added to shed more

light on identification of the characteristics of Turkish society and other social media platforms can be analyzed with similar endeavors.

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