A COMPARISON STUDY: HOW THE RISE OF SHOPPING MALLS IN ISTANBUL TRANSFORMED YOUNG PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S SELF-IDENTIFICATION, SELF-REPRESENTATION AND SELF-DISCIPLINE UNDER THE GAZE OF OTHERS?

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M.A. in Sociology

29 August 2019

Word count: 21.794

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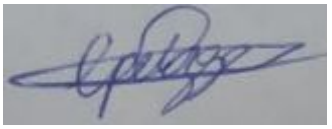
This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of M.A. in Sociology at Lancaster University, I certify that this dissertation is entirely my own work.



29 August 2019

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

Istanbul, the metropolitan of Turkey, contains a huge potential for consumer culture and consuming practices of post-modern urban life. Shopping malls, as being symbolic spaces of consumer society, constitute a major part of urban life in Istanbul in terms of consumption behaviours, leisure time activities and housing. Dated from the last decade of the 20th century, when the very first shopping malls opened their doors to stambouliotes until today, the consumption and leisure time practices have been altered by the services, events and lifestyles were introduced by shopping malls to customers. At that point, this study focuses on firstly, social control functions of horizontal surveillance during identity formation by consumption in consumer society, and argues the position of shopping malls as one of the physical spaces where horizontal surveillance processes between young professional women by the motivation of being accepted by the society, that create the gaze of others as a self-discipline mechanism to shape and ensure the activity of consumption. Secondly, this study aims to explore the differences between how young professional women were living in Istanbul during the '90s and young professional women today living in Istanbul perceive the concepts of consumption, identity construction and representation, and the horizontal surveillance within the shopping malls of Istanbul.

Keywords: Panopticon, biopower, horizontal surveillance, postfeminism, homo-economicus, shopping malls, consumer society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Anne Cronin for the continuous support of my research, for her patience, motivation, interest and useful comments, remarks and engagement through the research and writing process of this master dissertation.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my loved ones, to my parents for providing me with the opportunity of this unique experience, believing in me and being always there for me; to my boyfriend who patiently supported me all through the ups and downs. Finally, I would like to thank my friends. Especially, my beloved friend, Ozge Erceis, who have motivated me throughout the entire process, thank you for reminding me of my goals and encouraging me from miles away.

1. INTRODUCTION

Shopping malls are privately owned public spaces where every aspect of our consumer lifestyles represented and realized by various actions of consumption. As malls are open spaces to all, that feature of them provides a demonstration of consumer lifestyles, tastes and identities in such space through not only subjects' consumption activities such as shopping (van Eeden, 2006), but also through their choice of different leisure time activities, places within the mall complex, transportation to mall, appearances and behaviours. At that point, the gaze of others becomes a system of discipline and self-discipline for individuals, exercised through the consumption of certain identities and lifestyles. Thus, the shopping mall is one of the key spaces of the consumer society, where consumers manifest their identities and participate in social interaction in many different ways. At that point, this study focuses on social control functions of horizontal surveillance during identity formation by consumption in consumer society, and argues the position of shopping malls as one of the physical spaces where horizontal surveillance processes between young professional women by the motivations of being approved, admired and be looked; fuelled by the competition between female peers, that create the gaze of others as a self-discipline mechanism to shape and ensure the activity of consumption.

The example of Turkish society and Istanbul, as the sample, bare a high potential for qualitative research in terms of understanding disciplinary power and horizontal surveillance as a mechanism of self-policing. This potential originates in Turkish

society's complicated process of transformation to consumer society and its position between western and eastern cultures in terms of the status and the roles of women in Istanbul, in the megacity of Turkey. Therefore, this study intends to interrogate how the machine of horizontal surveillance works as a mechanism of discipline and self-policing between young professional women living in Istanbul in shopping malls, as the principal places where consumption is realized as a spectacular daily miraculous activity (Baudrillard, 1998). Secondly, this research aims to compare the narratives of two different generations in order to understand the role of the shopping malls in the process of Turkish society's transformation to the consumer society, as being the arena of the consumer culture. Finally, this study examines and positions"the gaze of others" as a discipline and self-policing mechanism, exercised on and exercised by women as a necessity of the neo-liberal and post-feminist identity.

Because of the explorative aims of the research, the in-depth interview, which is a qualitative method, is performed. To be able to create a theoretical background for the study and to understand, interpret and analyze the findings of the in-depth interviews, the literature review combined of different theories and disciplines is conducted. In the first chapter, to be able to understand the development of the disciplinary Power, the mechanism of surveillance and their functions in the consumer society; first of all Foucault's works (1990, 1991, 2008) on Power relations, disciplinary power, neoliberal subjects, different approaches to surveillance studies (Lyon, 2006, 2007), different forms of panopticon mechanisms (Sarıgül, 2018; Winch, 2012) and their operation within the consumer society (Baudrillard, 1998) are elaborated. Secondly,

the first chapter addresses the issues related to the representation of female identity within the consumer culture, postfeminism and biopower discourse; the association of consumption and shopping malls with female identity and the identification of the surveillance as a feminist issue (Gill, 2019). The second chapter includes the elaboration of the construction process of the consumer society in Turkey by discussing the cultural, political, economic, and social changes and new forms of consumption; moreover social plurality and the polarization of the Turkish society (Sandikci & Ger, 2005), and the fundamental changes that shopping mall created in the big cities of Turkey and the relationship between women and consumption spaces. Finally, the third chapter comprises the thematic analysis of the findings from the conducted in-depth interview with two groups of participants, comparison of the narratives of the two generations and the discussion of the findings in relation with the literature review.

1. 1. Methodology

To be able to answer primary and secondary questions, in-depth interviews were conducted. This method was chosen to be able to acquire detailed data of participants' narratives related to the research topic and to find out hidden (Rubin and Rubin, 2005) or unconscious motives that may be driven from the "*life stories*" (Chase, 2003, p. 274) of interviewees, the way that they see the social world around them (Miller and Glassner, 2004, p. 126) and hence; their shopping behaviours, the impact of the gaze of others, the way they construct and represent their identities to others. In addition, the existing literature provides limited studies and findings in terms of "the impacts of

the transition process to consumer society on secular young professional women in Turkey", "shopping malls as the spaces where the gaze of others' operates as a mechanism of self-control and the role of horizontal surveillance between secular young professional women's identity construction and representation process". Therefore, this study aims to obtain an explorative mission by benefiting the "*mutual discovery, understanding, reflection, and explanation via a path that is organic, adaptive*" (Tracy, 2013, p. 132) opportunities of in-depth interview method. At this point, the adaptive structure of interviews (Tracy, 2013) enabled to reforming questions during interviews, paraphrasing them following interviewee's perspective also led participants to think about the concepts and tell their self-narratives and conduct the interview within the limits of the research scope.

Thus, the fact that the studies on consumer society and culture comprise a wide range of daily activities of consumption and diverse motives, and secondly the extensive scope of the surveillance studies that involve different power dynamics and surveillance mechanisms, several theoretical limitations were determined for this research. Therefore, during interviews and analysis, consumption studied as a way to manifest a socially acceptable identity within the current society by the activity of "shopping" and its relationship with "the gaze of others" or "horizontal surveillance" that operates in physical life is investigated. Despite the fact that the gaze of others is processed as a mechanism of horizontal surveillance within the body of different spaces of urban life (Ergur, 2014), different realms of life such as virtual and physical (Gill, 2019; Marwick, 2012; Sarigul, 2018; Tokunaga, 2011), this study was also

limited by shopping malls as they are the places where the identity construction and exhibition overlap. At the same time, in one sense, their effectiveness throughout the process of transformation to consumer society in Turkey and the fundamental changes they created in social, cultural and economic structure (Erkip, 2005; Louargand, 2011) in Turkey. However, above all, shopping malls are chosen as the limit and the field of this study because of being the space where postmodern consumer identities produced, reproduced and most importantly be observed by and manifested to others in order to be approved.

Secondly, women were identified as the sample of this study since their different representations within consumer culture as "primary shoppers" and the diverse motives those were attributed them for shopping throughout the history. Moreover, being women in Turkey contains different social roles and positions, different backgrounds and different situations to overcome because of the polarity and plurality (Sandikci & Ger, 2005) of social, political and cultural life in Turkey. As women's narratives from Istanbul (as such complicated city in terms of its demographic and economic dynamics) may contain very diverse experiences for different women from different socio-cultural groups, such as success in the workplace, enjoying the freedom and relative gender equality; but also being observed by condemning conservative eyes and domestic violence. Thus, by considering those variables, two different groups of participants were targeted for in-depth interviews; first, women were young professionals during 90s in order to be able to compare the changes, secondly secular young professional women. Both group participants are from middle

and upper-middle-class, living in Istanbul, because of opportunities and the level of adaptation to consumer lifestyle of the metropolis. The participants signed a consent form conforming to the University's ethical standards before the interviews. Interviewees were recruited by snowball sampling strategy and four women for each group of the sample; in total, eight women were interviewed. Interviews took place either in a quiet café or in the offices of interviewees and took approximately 70 minutes. To be able to protect the participants' anonymity, the names of the participants were coded by numbers and letters according to their ages (first group and second group) and their interview order. The data that was acquired by interviews, narratives of the participants interpreted and evaluated according to four initial themes regarding the literature review. According to the data acquired by interviews, themes were defined in terms of women's approach to the shopping activity, their feelings and ideas about shopping malls, their ideas and practices about their appearances, and finally the concept of surveillance as a self-discipline system. Thus, those themes will be studied by their links between interviews conducted and literature. Despite the limited number of samples, the lack of exact theorization of the subject in the literature, and the fact that the results cannot be generalized, certain types of intense and widespread emotions, thoughts, discourses and behaviour patterns were observed from the collected data.

2. CHAPTER 1: DISCIPLINE IN CONSUMER SOCIETY: HORIZONTAL SURVEILLANCE AS A DISCIPLINE MECHANISM

Throughout history, different economic and power dynamics has been necessitated different systems of control to provide the continuity of the system and the authority of the existing power. Foucault's historical scope of power comprises various institutions and apparatuses that function by espousing the same objectives and principles based on different economic systems. Thus, type of Power and the ways it is exercised differ by the economic and political dynamics of the time. Consequently, to better understand the relationship between power relations, economic system and socio-cultural structure of a society, in this chapter the development of the disciplinary power, its practices in the consumer society, and domination of women by the biopower discourses to ensure consumption, will be elaborated and discussed.

At first, Power is exercised on subjects by punishing them: by using sovereign's "right to punish", including torture and execution. Power during that period: *"was essentially a right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself"* (Foucault, 1990, p. 136). Before the 17th century, that power of sovereign on subjects' bodies was also manifested by the ceremonies of punishment. That ceremonial character of the punishment that realized open to public audiences, by torture, branding of various parts of the body and the exhibition of the body after the execution. Foucault construes those ceremonies of punishment as political rituals that the power of the sovereign is manifested to reproduce and empower itself (Foucault,

1991, p. 48). In such a political and economic environment, regardless of victim, all kind of offences accepted as they were committed against the sovereign.

However, Foucault (1990, p. 92-93) does not conceptualize "Power" as an institution or person who governs citizens. Contrary to common definition, he defines power as a complicated strategic situation in a particular society, operates intentionally, omnipresent because of its production and reproduction in every moment and every relation. Its omnipresence also arises from its exercise from "innumerable points", and that is why, power relations cannot be excluded from any realms of relationships in a society like *"economic processes, knowledge relationships, sexual relations"* (Foucault, 1990, p. 94).

After the end of the eighteenth century, brutal and ceremonial punishments tended to decline, the body was no longer subject to punishment: *"punishment has become an economy of suspended rights"* (Foucault, 1991, p. 11). Foucault explained this situation, from the classical period to the present, by the transformations in the mechanisms of power. Thus the primary role of power became to provide, support, reproduce and regulate life, and its field of influence is limited by life and livings. That new function of regulation of Power over life generated two new forms of exercise of power after the seventeenth century. The first form comprised *"the discipline of bodies"* by considering subjects' bodies as machines and focusing on disciplining and increasing the abilities of the bodies in order to support the economic

system: *"anatomo-politics"*. The second form of regulation, shaped during the 18th century, what Foucault called "*biopolitics of the population"* (Foucault, 1990, p. 139) comprised the regulation and control of demographic and biological processes.

Those two new forms of the exercise of power over the life provided the discipline, as a type of Power, on both qualitative and quantitative adequacy of the population, and the qualification of the human body as *"a productive body and a subjected body"* (Foucault, 1991, p. 26) in terms of equipment and talent. This is an effort to sustain the actions that will ensure continuity of the economic system such as production in modern society and consumption in postmodern/consumer society.

Thus, Foucault conceptualized disciplinary power as the dominant style of Power in modern times. "Bio-power" as a disciplinary form (Foucault, 1990, p. 140), embedded in institutions such as the army and schools during the period of transformation from the classical period to the modern period. Moreover, Foucault discussed bio-power in relation to the development of capitalism, as one of the elements which are indispensable for the development and the continuity of capitalism by its functions provide dominance on the body. Thus, in accordance with the capitalist economic system, bio-power disciplined subjects to be productive and work hard for the sake of the economic system. Besides, the discourse of the period that blessed "working" as a moral value was also produced by power and transmitted and surveilled by panoptic institutions like school, church and became norms of the society that every individual should follow to be able to be a part of the society. In this sense, as according to Marx, the indicator of the wealth in capitalist societies is the "*immense accumulation of*

commodities" (Marx, 1918, p. 1), therefore, maximizing profit and producing surplus-value are the main objectives for capitalists. To be able to create that accumulation of commodities, and to discipline and control society, "*work ethic*" had seen as the common moral value of that period. According to Weber, "*the ethic of ascetic Protestantism*" (Weber, 1985) was significant for the development and support of capitalism in terms of the limitation of consumption and luxuries, and blessing of labour for God's will. Thus the combination of restless hard work and at the same time, the restriction of consumption created the accumulation of commodities.

Therefore, capitalism, which developed under the guarantee of bio-power, enabled the Power to develop in a way that ensured the continuity of the economic system, to establish a better mechanism of oppression. The disciplining and transformative effects of bio-power on the human body, demographic variables, and society led to the development of production, and hence, the economic structure in the interest of capitalism and the power.

> *"The adjustment of the accumulation of men to that of capital, the joining of the growth of human groups to the expansion of productive forces and the differential allocation of profit, were made possible in part by the exercise of bio-power in its many forms and modes of application."* (Foucault, 1990, p. 141)

After the modern period, during the postmodern period, the economic system did not depend on production, but rather on consumption. Biopower disciplined and

manipulated subjects through consumption. In that neoliberal economic order, power produced its subjects within the culture of consumption. The accumulation of commodities caused the surrounding of humans by objects and according to Baudrillard that abundance of services and material goods led to the "*fundamental mutation in the ecology of human species*" (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 32). In this context, he identified "*profusion*" and "*piling*" as characteristic features of post-industrial society, which are more than just the accumulation of goods that are produced by humans.

Therefore, in the consumer society, within the daily routine, consumption realizes not as a mundane and ordinary action as the result of a production process practised by humans but as a *miracle*. Baudrillard (1998) refers to this "*primitive*" and collective consumer mentality as "*the miraculous status of consumption*". In consumer mentality, daily life is managed by a magical mentality which also manages consumption, and that mentality is based on "*the belief in the omnipotence of thoughts*". According to that mentality, "affluence" that manifests itself in the accumulation of commodities, is the accumulation of the "*signs of happiness"*. Thus, what Baudrillard defined as the consumer mentality and the miraculous status of consumption because of the attributed magical sings to commodities, also may be elaborated in relationship with "commodity fetishism" of Marx. Marx (1918, p. 1-2-3) defines "commodity" as an object that is produced to satisfy human needs and wants, "use-value" as the utility of a commodity that stems from only its physical features and the "exchange value" implies a quantitative value that is carried by use-value of

that commodity, that equals to a commodity for its exchange. However, commodity fetishism is rooted in the non-physical relationship between commodities and human (Marx, 1918, p . 43). Thus, the relationship between commodities and the process of their production by labour remains obscure since some special powers are attributed to commodities that comprise a capacity to fulfil people's needs and desires as magical objects as Baudrillard described: *"In everyday practice, the blessings of consumption are not experienced as resulting from work or from a production process; they are experienced as a miracle"* (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 37). Baudrillard (1998), indicates consumer society as an order of the manipulation of signs to manipulate individuals to consume because in that new post-industrial, postmodern consumer society individuals' main task is to consume, to sustain the continuity of the economic system. Thus, unlike industrial society, in the consumer society, discipline systems process in many diverse and different ways to provide the maximization and continuity of consumption.

At that point, I introduce two mechanisms within power relations, two types of surveillance that contribute to the disciplining of neoliberal subjects for consumption. First, "synopticon" (Sarigul, 2018) which comprises the surveillance of elements of popular culture on mass media, a surveillance mechanism that let the masses (many) observe and surveil celebrities and people take place on media (few), that perform as the medium that conveys discourses created by disciplinary power. "Discourse" as Foucault defined it, exists in disciplinary power relations as a "living organism" (Gunes, 2013) which is produced, developed and changed over time by the Power in

order to protect, reproduce and extend the power relations. As the transmitters and the reproducers of the discourses of the disciplinary power, the mediums of popular culture present diverse and changing identities, lifestyles and tastes to subjects, thus, discourse produces and shapes the subject. Synopticon transmits those discourses, as a global scale surveillance mechanism compared to Panopticon, in which *"masses watch/purchase/consume a number of products, i.e. books, radio programs, TV shows, movies, music [...] journalists, radio broadcasters, television and film producers, musicians"* (Sarigul, 2018, p. 202). Therefore, synopticon comprises a vital mission in terms of infusing commodity-signs, persistently changing new norms and secure identities of the consumer society into neoliberal subjects. Secondly, "horizontal surveillance" or "peer surveillance" comprise the competition mechanisms between neoliberal subjects, as Foucault conceptualized homo-economicus as an entrepreneur, and the desire of being accepted by others in that rapidly changing world by adjusting themselves correctly by investing in themselves, and the gaze of others is created as a disciplining mechanism. Gill (2019) emphasized that horizontal surveillance was an already existing mechanism of control within society, while Ergur (2014) refers to the subject's voluntarily participation to surveillance as a result of the rapid development in communication technologies that gave individuals the opportunity to become direct users by enabling them to obtain detailed information about others (Ergur, 2014) and also inclined subjects to monitor others in the urban space. Thus, horizontal surveillance is a mechanism of surveillance in which many observe and scrutinize many in physical and virtual realms of life to internalize safe identities and norms within the fluidity of the consumer culture and police themselves according to the current norms of the consumer society.

Therefore, all conceptualizations of surveillance mechanisms were based on Foucault's concept of surveillance constructed on the metaphor of Panopticon. He defined Panopticon as a mechanism of disciplinary Power that produces, reproduces, and shapes its subjects. This is the power of infinite surveillance or the idea and oppression of being surveilled by an unknown eye. While conceptualizing Panopticon as a disciplinary apparatus, Foucault was inspired by Bentham's "plan of the panopticon" that comprised an architectural plan of a circular prison, positions officers to the centre and the cells of prisoners around. Prisoners can never know when, how, and by whom they are observed and that creates the oppression to oblige them to discipline themselves:

> *"A central point would be both the source of light illuminating everything, and a locus of convergence for everything that must be known: a perfect eye that nothing would escape and a centre towards which all gazes would be turned."* (Foucault, 1991, p. 173)

Thus, first, disciplinary power exercised by the institutions like factories, asylums, prisons, workplaces and schools as "*hierarchical observation"*. In modern society, hierarchical surveillance worked like a machine as every subject had a function: students were surveilled by their professors, patients were surveilled by medical stuff, prisoners were surveilled by officers; hierarchical surveillance led subjects to function in accordance with the current system. However, surveillance did not remain limited in a direction towards superior to subordinate. *"The panoptic schema, without disappearing as such or losing any of its properties, was destined to spread*

throughout the social body; its vocation was to become a generalized function." (Foucault, 1991, p. 207)

In other words, every individual became the subject and at the same time object of the surveillance; society itself became an apparatus of disciplinary power.

On the other hand, by the technological progress and the information revolution, surveillance has gained a new dimension as Lyon defined the surveillance as *"the focused, systematic and routine attention to personal details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction"* (2007, p.14). In the post-industrial society, surveillance is practised in diverse ways, also with the contributions of the developing information technologies, by institutions like governments to surveil their citizens for their political purposes and by global companies, customer services surveil the customers or potential customers in order to enhance their sales and market share. Surveillance studies (Lyon, 2006) mostly focuses on mentioned numerous types of surveillance and diverse technologies like CCTV, wearable technologies, social media networks. However, in this dissertation, my focus is horizontal and non-organizational (Marx, 2005), physical life surveillance, and "as a feminist issue" (Gill, 2019) in terms of women's identification and surveillance (both in synopticon and horizontal surveillance) as consumers within the consumer society; and finally shopping malls as the feminized and central places of the consumer society where horizontal surveillance is realized.

However, interpersonal or horizontal surveillance, as the surveillance between ordinary and non-authority individuals, is mostly studied as it happens on social networking sites where people voluntarily share their personal and daily details and is theorized as “interpersonal electronic surveillance” (Tokunaga, 2011), “omniopticon” (Sarigul, 2018), “social surveillance” (Marwick, 2012) and other conceptualizations of cyber-surveillance. Accordingly, surveillance realized between individuals within physical life, in public or semi-public spaces is interpreted as it spread throughout society by “the internalization of surveilled gaze” (Marwick, 2012) and perpetual investigation of others in SNS’s that has generated panoptic-type effects, and shows similarity to omniopticon in terms of its reciprocity and voluntarily choice of the platform or space to monitor or to be monitored. On the other hand, surveillance of others in the form of “the gaze of others” (in the physical life) is akin to the omniopticon in terms of the oppression to show off an acceptable identity that is visible by the appearances of neoliberal subjects and competing with other subjects, based on the voluntary participation of some subjects. Therefore, horizontal surveillance is reciprocal as its two different dimensions are being gazed by others and gazing others. The first one processes as an oppression of the idea of being surveilled like in Foucault’s metaphor of Panopticon and its one of the contemporary version of the surveillance of CCTV. The gaze of the camera comprises the surveillance is realized by an unknown eye and individuals cannot know if they are monitored by someone or by whom (Koskela, 2003) akin to the plan of the Panopticon and its early applications by disciplinary surveillance in modern institutions like schools and factories. However, today in public or semi-public spaces like shopping mall, the mechanism of Panopticon that spread throughout the social body not only because of

extensity of CCTV but also the existence of hierarchic surveillance in every realm of daily life, its proliferation in different levels in private, social, professional and leisure fields of individuals, led subjects to internalize the surveillance not only as the objects of the surveillance but also as the "viewers" (Haggerty, 2006, p.28), and besides being a regulatory process as self-discipline, gazing others also became an enjoyable activity. Thereby, the second dimension of surveillance is the surveilling others, as a part of social judgement and control system that seeks for following norms of the consumer society by monitoring not only peers in terms of a network-type surveillance but also safe identity patterns, because, surveillance is also a way of construction/adoption of the acceptable identities within the society as the individuals also play the role of "voyeur" by monitoring others and images of identities on mass media and new media indicating the most common and acceptable characteristics of identities and adopting them. *"Both watching others and exposing oneself can, at times, be pleasant entertainment activities, and are themselves occasionally part of larger processes of identity formation."* (Haggerty, 2006, p.28) Therefore, the entertainment as a part of the action of surveillance stem from the pleasure that the subjects got from synopticon as a mechanism of global scale surveillance, which "*is a soft power aiming to seduce people into watching*" (Sarigul, 2018, p. 205) and lead the watchers envy a general lifestyle and does not necessitate to be "*under control as they get consistent pleasure and have so much fun while watching others*" (Sarigul, 2018, p. 206). The internalization of surveillance and rapid development of SNS's that generated the omniopticon as a surveillance mechanism where subjects monitor each other and "*being watched*" which was "*a privilege granted to celebrities*" (Sarigul, 2018, p. 210) became a desire for neoliberal subjects in the consumer society.

Thus, "conformity" is one of the key concepts for the surveillance of others in order to ensure social acceptance of others as Los (2006) related "social character" which is *"a socially conditioned individual normative make-up common in a particular place and time"* (Los, 2006, p. 79). The observation of others, finding socially correct implications of fashion, behaviours and habits and then to show off by adopting and applying those acceptable qualities by consuming (as the main activity of the consumer society) in physical and virtual spaces to ensure being accepted by others may be interpreted as a function of disciplinary power in the form of horizontal hierarchy. Accordingly, to be able to conform and to be accepted by the rest of the society, it is safe to interpret horizontal surveillance and self-policing by horizontal surveillance as the ways to construct the identity as the project of the homo-economicus.

2. 1. Identity, Women, and Surveillance in Consumer Society

Foucault emphasised the process of transformation of the individual into a subject by the Power that is realised in the form of intervention in daily life on the pursuit of Power's intentions. That transformation process comprises the categorisation of the individual, determination of his/her own identity and finally, "*attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him*." (Foucault, 1982, p. 781) By using the word "subject", Foucault emphasises two different meanings of it; first, *"subject to someone else by control and dependence"* and second, *"tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge"* (Foucault, 1982, p. 781). Both meanings of the word comprise the

concept of Power and its domination on individuals. However, at that point, also by considering the structure of the consumer society, it should be noted that in modern states, Power does not destroy or forbid the individuality of individuals, but shape them in order to discipline individuals in accordance with its intentions. Secondly, in order to render the Power be able to discipline, individuals should be free (Foucault, 1982) to adopt different identities, attitudes, and tastes as neoliberal subjects are destined for adapting themselves to the changes in such system. Kalan (2014) assessed that adoption as "the camouflage of the neoliberal subjects" to the new biopolitics that resulted from new economic conditions. Foucault names that neoliberal subject *"homo-economicus"*. According to him, homo-economicus was defined as "economical" because of its ability to adjust itself according to the changes in its environment. He referred "homo-economicus" as its own *"entrepreneur"* (Foucault, 2008, p. 226) because homo-economicus is a consumer but at the same time also a producer because she/he produces herself/himself. Thus, Foucault conceptualised the qualifications of "homo-economicus" as "human capitals" that is comprised of innate and acquired elements. Innate elements were seen as the capital of an homo-economicus, and he consumes to acquiring the best-acquired elements. For him, to have the best position in social life, at the workplace, or in private life by acquiring the best and always better-acquired elements is almost like a reason for being.

Thereby, in postmodern society, identity is not defined as a fixed structure, identified by stable qualities of an individual. Giddens (1991) conceptualises "identity" as a project that individuals create, shape, and direct by themselves, as Foucault defines

homo-economicus as an entrepreneur who cultivates his/her human capital. At that point, every activity of consumption is realised as an activity to construct an identity, carry out our self-creation project (Wattanasuwan, 2005). Thus, in consumer society, individuals represent themselves through their consumption habits, brands, their clothes (fashion style or the image of identity that they adopted), the institutions that they bear a sense of belonging (schools, colleges, clubs, societies) and to acquire all of those signs, individuals should interact in any consumption activity. Elliott and Wattanasuwan (1998) defines the creation of consumer identity by the consumption of products, services and media while Knights and Morgan (1993) defines the relationship between identity and consumption by the transformation of individuals into subjects through consumption as they "*secure a meaning, personal significance and a sense of identity through a socially mediated relation with the object or symbol consumed*" (Knights & Morgan, 1993).

As many scholars as Shankar et al. (2009) assert that this environment that postmodern structures created offers freedom to "make up" a competitive and discursive identity and have "*too much agency*" by over individualising consumption because of the abundance of choices and the facility to access them. Baudrillard (1998, p. 79) elaborates that diversity and abundance that consumer society offers to postmodern subjects in terms of the social control function of the consumption. *"Consumer cultures have, therefore, fostered the idea that identities can be more or less freely chosen, and that people are individually responsible for making themselves the people they are."* (Bondi & Davidson, 2005, p. 19)

Baudrillard (1998) acknowledges that the consumption system realises the industrial production of differences. The abundance and the surround of subjects by divers objects create the illusion of personalisation, however, in postindustrial society, the differences that used to characterised people, now are produced and reproduced within models and *"to differentiate oneself is precisely to affiliate to a model, to label oneself by reference to an abstract model, to a combinatorial pattern of fashion, and therefore to relinquish any real difference"* (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 85).

Thus, even though consumer society has consisted of the multiplication of physical and symbolic commodities, it limits neoliberal subjects by its models, let them differentiate by adopting only offered patterns: *"The basic logic is that of differentiation/personalisation, viewed in terms of the code."* (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 89) Therefore, subjects unconsciously conform to one group of subjects while differentiating herself/himself from the other groups.

Those models and meanings of objects, commodities, and symbols are transmitted to neoliberal subjects by numerous messages that contain the symbols of popular culture within the mechanism of synopticon. *"[T]he dominant classes, via media, control norms of affective gratification and control in everyday life"* (Langman, 1992, p. 54), and thus, "*[s]elf-presentations are increasingly intertwined with popular imagery, at times becoming parodies of media images and celebrities*" (Langman, 1992, p. 63). Giddens also addresses the narratives of incentive modes of life and lifestyles are routinely conveyed by mass media that are also continuously shaped and reshaped by mass markets (Giddens, 1991, p. 199). As also Goldman conceptualises advertising as *"a key social and economic institution in producing and reproducing the material and*

ideological supremacy of commodity relations" (Goldman, 1992, p. 2), and as "commodity-signs" which carry the meaning of those commodities and symbols. Neoliberal subjects adopt those meanings, identities, and stereotypes to be able to be in accordance with the biopower discourse in their society. Advertisements convey the discourse of the disciplinary Power of the neoliberal system, as an element of popular culture, to discipline and shape the individuals and lead them to produce and reproduce themselves as neoliberal subjects: homo-economicus. Thus, advertisement, fashion and every element of popular culture present safe identities for homo-economicus within the mechanism of synopticon to adopt and contain biopower discourse that proposes postindustrial subjects proper lifestyles, hobbies, institutions, tastes to produce their identity, within the liquidity of consumer society. That change consists of the production and reproduction of new commodity-signs and meanings and the transfer of those new discourses to postmodern subjects. This situation creates a spiral of consumptions for the postmodern subject to conforming to new models and patterns of identities and trends by consuming. Niinimaki (2010) addresses "fashion" as another apparatus of consumer society that is embedded in popular culture, by defining it as "a dynamic social process" that creates new meanings for commodities or lifestyles. By the reception of new commodity-signs and meanings, the competitive feature and the need for social approval of homo-economicus lead him/her to adjust his/her identity by adopting new preferences of consumption. That situation reveals the reciprocal relationship between surveillance and identity construction and reconstruction. At that point, the mission of consumption that is assigned to women by creation of a discourse that asserts "women's desire for consumption" and postfeminist discourse that situates "*shopping as an empowering activity for women*"

(Gill, 2008) are seen as essential topics to understand the dictated identity features as widespread discourses and why and how a gender is targeted as the biggest and most ambitious group of consumer in order to discipline them to consume.

Women's images, lifestyles, identities, and relationships portrayed as a means of marketing (Winch, 2012) by mass media and within the mechanism of synopticon. Female celebrities have always been the subject of the surveillance, the gaze of masses in terms of their bodies, relationships, lifestyles and consumption practices. Apart from ordinary women's surveillance by patriarchal Power and society in order to be controlled, by the development of omniopticon and horizontal surveillance in postmodern society; surveillance of women and surveillance between women is realised within consumer culture. Gill (2019) defines *surveillance as a feminist issue* in terms of the male gaze on women, surveillance between women and within female friendship, synoptic surveillance of women in media or celebrities and their bodies, social media use and women's self-surveillance/self-policing and body surveillance (Elias & Gill, 2018) in order to fit in biopower discourses that define the image and the identity of perfect woman. Thus, for this study, it is seen indispensable to elaborate women's identification within consumer culture and surveillance from feminist studies' the point of view. Gill (2019) elaborates that current surveillance on women as an "*extraordinarily powerful regulatory gaze*" that stems from the combination of new digital and media cultures and "*postfeminist modalities of subjecthood*" as a "*gendered version of neoliberalism*". She also emphasises the "individualism" that plays a central role in both postfeminism and neoliberalism, besides, the importance of

body and the discourses of popular culture that pressure women. Thus, woman as a neoliberal subject aims to invest her self-entrepreneur project which is her body and appearance that signifies "*her brand and her gateway to freedom and empowerment in a neoliberal market economy*" (Winch, 2015, p. 233) by producing it as its best examples presented in the popular culture. Thus within this neoliberal system, control is ensured by "*market values*" that are internalised by women in the form of "*the regulation of normative femininities*" and the competitive mechanism of a gendered and neoliberal variation panopticon: "*gynaeopticon*" where women "*look to their peers to secure appropriate behaviour and looks*" (Winch, 2015, p. 231) and conform to both popular culture discourse and each other in order to achieve that value.

> *"Governance in the field of the body divides women, as they judge themselves through ever-multiplying frameworks of analysis, calculation, comparison and exclusion. Women are uniting in sisterhood against their own bodies. The body is alienated from the self, commodified and subjected to analysis. Misogyny itself is being rebranded and appropriated by women for women."* (Winch, 2012, p. 30)

The gaze that is surveilling women and their identity may be investigated in three different but interrelated ways in horizontal level: the male gaze, the gaze of other women and the self-surveillance in order to self-discipline. Berger (1972) wrote about the difference between women and men gaze by stating that men look at women and

women watch themselves being looked. He also underlines the importance and appreciation of the male gaze for women:

> *"She has to survey everything she is and everything she does because how she appears to others, and ultimately how she appears to men, is of crucial importance for what normally thought of as the success of her life. Her own sense of being in herself is supplanted by a sense of being appreciated as herself by another." (Berger, 1972, p. 47)*

However according to Gill (2007, p. 151-152), owner and the context of the disciplining gaze has shifted from the objectifying, external male gaze since women internalised it as Winch elaborates this situation by the obfuscation of the male gaze (2012) and patriarchy (2015) within the popular culture "*where neoliberal logics configure the intimate lives of women, and where women are complicit in the regulation of normative femininities*" (Winch, 2015, p. 228). Therefore, women have not been objectified anymore, but they internalise the disciplinary gaze and subjectify themselves within the neoliberal and postfeminist identity and beauty discourses and conform under the pressure of new disciplinary regime *"postfeminist gaze''* (Riley et al., 2016) in the form of the surveillance between women.

Thus, by following the discourse of neoliberal system, women consume in order to construct an acceptable self-project, as a "*continuous work that is put into struggling and consuming towards an ideal*" (Winch, 2015, p. 234). At that point, it is also important how the relationship between women and shopping idealised and

represented in popular culture and how women experience shopping spaces like shopping malls or retail stores where women are both "*the spectator and the object of another's gaze*" (Johnstone & Conroy, 2005, p.243).

2. 2. Identification of Women as Shopper and Shopping Mall as a Female Space of Self Discipline Under the Other's Gaze

As Foucault identified homo-economicus/neoliberal subject as competitive who aims to acquire "best" in social, private and work life; Ergur (2014) elaborates cities of postmodern times in terms of its three different fields (Gated communities, closed offices and shopping malls) where "network-type surveillance" realised by neoliberal subjects as shopping malls are also studied by scholars within the scope of surveillance studies. At that point, shopping malls were seen as one of the institutions of the postmodern society that function to maintain the major economic activity of the time: consumption. Shopping malls, as they started to open during the second half of the 20th century, incorporated all of the features and the function of the consumer society within themselves. As Baudrillard defined consumption as a social and disciplining process, a "*whole system of values*", "*group integration*" and "*social control function*" (Baudrillard, 1998:79), shopping malls as the spaces where mass consumption is realised; are one of the essential spaces of the consumer society. They are not the places where only the activity of consumption is practised; but also the places that contain every values and commodity-signs of the consumer culture are reproduced, conveyed, adopted and manifested to other consumers. Thus, neoliberal subjects create, recreate their identities in shopping malls by realising consumption

activities, and manifest it to others. Every activity in the mall, every store or shop window that they browse, every brand that they prefer, every restaurant or café where they dine in and every different place within the mall that they go in, symbolise a different identity and lifestyle that they desire to represent themselves within. At that point, the shopping mall becomes a space where surveillance is realised by homo-economicus. They surveil each other and are aware that they are surveilled by others. Competitive characteristic of homo-economicus and his/her need for approval in a fluid consumer culture in terms of social acceptance operates the machine of the panopticon.

Shopping malls as the result of the profound changes encapsulated in the process of suburbanisation from the 1950s onwards (van Eeden, 2006, p. 61) differentiated from department stores in terms of the diversity of products, services, and their capacities. As shopping identified as the leisure time activity, shopping malls were positioned not only as of the places that offer numerous range of commodities but also adopted the mission to offer lifestyles to consumers. Malls are "*the main sites of the intentionally produced simulations that constitute a new dream-like order of commercial reality as the promise of wish fulfilment in this new 'hyper-reality' of spectacular images and fantastic gratifications*" (Langman, 1992, p. 48). Malls offer the perfect world, perfect climate, decoration, and aesthetic pleasure to its consumers. Everything is regulated artificially as the season always spring, it is always sunny, and consumers are not the "slaves to the clock" (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 35) as shopping malls contain all the symbols of abundance and happiness. They create "*a utopia of consumption*"

(Langman, 1992) and offer the range of the identities and lifestyles that consumer may adopt. That feature of shopping malls refers to them as an indispensable part of popular culture as they function as the bridge between consumers and consumer culture. Movie theatres, culture centres, bookshops, global brands, department stores, billboards, advertisements, and events take place in shopping malls convey disciplinary power's discourses to neoliberal subjects that discipline them within consumption in its exact space. Judging others in terms of their degree of accordance with disciplinary power's consumerist discourse, obtaining an accurate identity and taste at the same time by self-policing, feeling the gaze of others upon themselves, discipline neoliberal subjects within the shopping mall where the very space of self-identification and all kinds of consumption is realised. On the other hand, purchasing best commodities and services, preferring best restaurants or cultural activities in terms of being fashionable, popular and having and reflecting an acceptable commodity-sign and high cultural value are the ways to show that one could acquire the best in every aspect of his/her life. Thus, the shopping mall is the place where consumption and discipline mechanisms are operated by neoliberal subjects by the scrutiny of themselves and others in the consumer society.

All the identities and lifestyles represented and manifested within the shopping mall mostly characterised in relationship with femininity as shopping also identified with women by consumer culture and popular culture. Within the last decades, popular media identified women in relation to "desire of consumption", especially, women from metropolis were portrayed by their desire for shopping, fashion and sometimes

by their "weakness" because they cannot resist spending money. TV shows, popular romantic comedy films, and advertising campaigns both in conventional and new media presented new lifestyles and identities to women around the world that created a spiral of consumption and adaptation for women to be in accordance with liquid and changing discourse of biopower. However, women's portrayal in the city and (semi) public space dates back to the opening of department stores.

Walter Benjamin identifies "flaneur" to characterise the capitalism of the 19th century by being inspired by Baudelaire's collection of poems "Les Fleurs du Mal" that portray Paris, the capital of the 19th century. The construction of arcades created an architectural structure that leads the watching of commodities as a spectacle. Benjamin (2019) discussed the spectacularization of commodities in terms of the fetishisation from a Marxist point of view. The distinction between public and private sphere tended to blur because of the urbanisation of Paris and the exhibition of clothes on shop windows. Flaneur wanders around in the streets, within the crowd.

However, until the opening of department stores, flaneur was only portrayed as male, because women were identified by "*the spaces of domesticity and barred them from the freedom to wander in the city like the flâneur*" (van Eeden, 2006, p. 71). Department stores because of their more "secure" architectural structure for women that offers a semi-public space where women were identified as only consumers. Advertising that targeted women limited them by the products of domestic and

feminine life until the World Wars (Wolf, 1991). Thus women excluded from the world of work, political and social life that was privileged to only men and, "*industrial capitalism successfully parted work from leisure, whereby leisure was feminised*" (van Eeden, 2006, p. 69). After women entitled to "browse in" the department stores, women were started to be identified as flâneuse, became the subject and the object of the consumption. One of the reasons that the role of the consumer was attributed to women because of the shopping was classified as a part of domestic labour (van Eeden, 2006, p. 75) that identifies women. On the other hand, the working world that men monopolised and patriarchal industrial capitalism targeted women in terms of their division of work in society and the beauty of their body. Shopping had gendered and the only appropriate public space (which is actually semi-public) for women limited with consumption space: department store.

Even women's temporarily participation in work-life during World War I and permanent participation after World War II (Wolf, 1991) did not change their portrayal as consumers. As postmodern capitalism could not target women in terms of their domestic mission, biopower discourse addressed them diverse patterns of beauty to discipline them to consume. Concordantly, shopping malls, after the second half of 20th century, also contributed to that process by offering women another semi-private space that provides safety but at the same time, an enormous place contains numerous and diverse commodities and lifestyles that let them identify themselves within the current biopower discourse. Popular media discourses that convey postfeminist (Gill, 2007) and neoliberal images of women supported the central role of consumption for the new image of empowered, feminine, and heterosexual women. Thus, since shopping was promoted as a liberating and empowering activity for women and the

purchase of commodities signified women's power and independence from men (Gill, 2008), shopping mall became the space where women shop, consume to develop and manifest their identity (Adriaens & Van Bauwel, 2011), as a fun activity.

3. CHAPTER 2: THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONSUMER SOCIETY IN TURKEY

While the transformation of the power relations and the economic system shifted their focus from production to consumption in Western societies, Turkish society witnessed serious politic, economic and social turmoil: military coup d'états in 1960 and 1980. Until the '80s, Turkey did not adopt neoliberal economic policies, embarked on import substitution policy and consumption was restricted. The tragic atmosphere before the neo-liberalization of Turkey was the scene of a series of social traumas: the '70s was the decade when a de facto civil war erupted between left-wing and right-wing that cost numerous people's life. The economic crisis started to show indications through the last years of the decade, and even a range of essential consumption goods became available on the black market (Boratav, 2018, p. 157). *"The crisis was accompanied by recession and also political instability."* (Togan, 1996, p. 6).

In January 1980, the government introduced a neoliberal policy package and also was supported by a new regime after military coup d'etat in September 1980. Until then, the economic policies in Turkey had been focused on "import-submission model": *"The semi-controlled mixed economy consisted of domestically-oriented publicly and privately owned industrial sector and mostly privately owned small agricultural businesses"* (Sandikci & Ger, 2005). In 1983, Turgut Ozal won the elections, and as the new prime minister of Turkey, he followed liberalization and globalization

policies as the economic agenda; the economic growth had acquired between 1981-1993. By those policies, corporate power, foreign capital and brands' investments started to develop in different markets in Turkey. Consequently, those supplies required "new consumer demand" (Erkip, 2005). Therefore, despite the economic crises between 1994-2001, consumption of urban population showed an appreciable increase through the new ways of financial support like credit cards, consumer credit, and instalment options (Sandikci & Ger, 2005). Those new economic policies spread their own political and ideological discourses systematically. The discourse that exalted economic liberty and the import of consumer goods was also conveyed by capitalists and media that was recently privatised.

However, the new economic system began to create its problems as Erkip (2005) pointed out one of the failing points as the disproportionate income distribution in large cities like Istanbul and Ankara that contain both highest and lowest income groups.

> *"Since the 1980s, and especially the 1990s, the Turkish economy has been exposed to the globalization of capital and trade and has been reorganized on the basis of the primacy of the global market over the domestic one."* (Ozbudun & Keyman, 2002, p. 302)

Therefore, global brands, "*shopping malls, five-star hotels, office towers, gated communities, foreign cuisine, and fast-food restaurants became the new landmarks of Istanbul and other big cities*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2005) while the inequality between

higher and lower-income groups increased drastically. People from upper-middle and upper classes determined and experienced consumer culture in global scale by new mobilities, travelling abroad, learning about different lifestyles, "*international coverage on domestic television (including satellite TV)*", consuming global brands *"in shopping malls, as they have seen in Hollywood movies and in foreign countries*" (Erkip, 2005, p. 90).

In this context, the new economic system took the side of capitalists by supporting them with its new policies. However, new neoliberal discourses were also interiorized by workers and low-income groups. Thus, the class consciousness that started to develop before the military coup d'etat in 1980 was interrupted and started the cultural corruption, led to the individualization, becoming religious, the change of the social life and leisure time activities. According to Sandikci and Ger (2005), "*the stories of people becoming excessively rich overnight occupied the public discourse*" and the phenomenon of becoming rich regardless the way people make money is one of the indications of depreciation of moral values and virtue against money; the only important thing was having money and spending it to show off. "*The gap between the haves and have-nots made its mark on the economic, social, and cultural environment, creating a consumptionscape which is characterized by both polarity and plurality.*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2005)

All of those changes in the political and economic atmosphere of Turkey created the massive cultural and social change of Turkish society. The dynamics of abstemious and prudent Turkish society shifted from "prudence society" to "consumption society" after the second half of the 1980s. As Erkip (2005) interpret the adaptation of Turkish society to consumer culture "quick", according to Aydogan (2009), for Turkish society, showing off by consumption became much more important than the act of consumption. Because of inequality of income distribution, and the exaltation of the consumption, the very act of consumption became a privilege. Thus, the structure of the society changed, and the characteristic of members of society shifted from "productive, responsible individuals" to "selfish subjects" (Aydogan, 2009).

3. 1. The Development of Consumer Culture in Turkey

To be able to understand the current socio-cultural atmosphere in Turkey firstly, the constructive cultural and social aims of Turkish Republic that were identified by Ataturk and the change of power relations and the owners of the capital throughout the Turkish Republic's history should be resumed briefly. The modern Turkish Republic was constituted on the fundamental ideas of modernism, secularism, rationalism, progress, and revolutionism by intending to develop a modern civilization as the Western civilization because of the perception of West "*as the very principle of civilization and the modern world*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2002). Thus, modern Turkey aimed to develop her industry, bourgeoisie and modern society by various institutions and reforms for the creation of independent, secular and "*modern Turkish identity*". However, by the introduction of the multi-party politics and the election of 1946, the

victory of a right-wing party and the policies of that new government shifted the direction of Turkey by "*fundamental changes in regard to the place of Islam and traditions in Turkey*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2002).

During the 40s and 50s, by the American aid and the foreign investments (Boratav, 2018, p.110) the industrialization in Turkey fuelled, and that process also stimulated the social and economic changes and migration waves from rural areas to big cities during the 1960s and 1970s. People coming from rural areas of Turkey built illegal houses (Erman, 1997), brought their culture to big cities and "*developed a culture of their own that combined rural traditions with the values of the city*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2005). That cultural complexity transformed the cultural and social structure of cities, and becoming religious was one of the consequences of those migrations from the East part of Turkey. They "*brought the geographically and socially peripheral Islamic revivalism into center, into big cities*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2002) and migrations caused the politicization of Islam in terms of the political interests and its commodification in order to create demand for Islamic consumption.

After the 1980s and 1990, as it is mentioned in the previous section, by government's new economic policies and as the result of liberalization, privatization and globalization, consumer culture fuelled and spread by also the support of new consumption spaces, payment types, media, and social atmosphere. That social atmosphere was formed not only by the creation of economic abundance by legitimate

ways as trade but also by the illegal or "informal economy" as Sandikci and Ger (2002) called it, including money laundering and the drug trade; moreover, both ways created a new social group "*extremely rich in terms of financial resources but lacking significantly in cultural capital*". Thus, conspicuous consumption became widespread as "*the main venue of symbolic expression*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2002), by also the support of the media by propagating the consumer discourse that manipulated individuals to be competitive and selfish, and to consume (Aydogan, 2009).

While elaborating Turkish people's that quick but malfunctioning adaptation to the consumer culture, Aydogan (2009) emphasized the lack of technology that may give birth to the consumer society in Turkey and the complete internalization of the values of industrial society as individualism, productivity, and utilization of time. According to her, the reason for contradictions in the Turkish consumer society is the experience of consumer society without internalizing the values of industrial society but with the feudal values. In such a social atmosphere, the groups within Turkish society who did not internalize modernism and acquired economic capital without having the "appropriate" cultural capital, learnt consumption and consumer culture from media and celebrities. In this context, according to Ozbudun and Keyman (2002), the change that Turkish society experienced through the transition to the consumer society and by globalization cannot be interpreted only at the national level but should also be studied regarding the dynamics of the different socio-cultural groups and their interpretations of those new values. On the other hand, as Ozbudun and Keyman (2002) stressed the importance of globalization as the main factor for the construction of consumer

society in Turkey, Buken (2000) addressed to the Americanization of Turks by the spread of American popular culture. That spread is realized especially among the upper-middle class and affluent that Buken (2000) described as "*threat to the retainment of cultural heritage by the younger generation*" (p. 243) by the blindfolded imitation of images from American popular culture which she distinguished from Turkish modernization. At that point, mass media and Turkish popular culture were interpreted as the transmitter of American consumerist discourse:

> *"Nowadays, American popular culture is lived and consumed most of the time in Turkey, unconsciously and often quite naturally. Its consumption is facilitated by the variety and availability of consumer products, the growth of consumer credit, the accessibility of radio and TV to all corners of the country, the increase in the number and services of advertising agencies, and the rapid spread of communications technology."(Buken, 2000, p. 244)*

However, all socio-cultural groups of Turkish society did not react to the globalization and the Americanization in the same way. As Ozbudun and Keyman accepted the concept of globalization as "*the increasing interconnectedness between societies so that events in one part of the world are increasingly having greater economic, cultural, and political effects on distant peoples and societies*" (Ozbudun & Keyman, 2002, p.300), and politics, economics, and culture come together in order the understand identities. As Ozbudun and Keyman (2002) acknowledged the power of culture in terms of analyzing the change because of its different positionings for different groups of people, in different spheres of social life, the impacts of the

globalization and also Americanization should be studied by considering the cultural differences of the different socio-cultural groups. Therefore, even if cultural globalization means universalization of Western; for the example of Turkey, that situation creates a different reflect, because of the plurality of social groups in Turkey in terms of the different perceptions and experiences of religion and ideologies. Thus globalization in Turkey also contains "*the revitalization of local values and traditions"* in the form of "*the popularization of the discourse of authenticity"* and "*the resurgence of Islam"* (Ozbudun & Keyman, 2002, p.301) besides the acceptance of the western values by secular people. At that point, it should be reminded that this study focuses on the practices and experiences of urban and secular young professional women within this plurality and polarization. Therefore literature review and the discussion mostly encapsulates the secular socio-cultural group and their differences from conservatives.

In this context, as consumption being way through individuals construct and manifest their identities as it is discussed in the first chapter, for the example of Turkey, it is crucial to study different socio-cultural groups in terms of their different practices and habits of consumption in order to construct and manifest their identities to conform to their socio-cultural group. In this regard, Sandikci and Ger (2002) conceptualized four different practices of consumption in Turkey that stem from differences within Turkish society by the reflection of two different reactions of globalization: spectacularist, faithful, nationalist and historical. However, literature review is limited by the focus on spectacularist consumption because of its similarity to the sample

group of the research as Sandikci and Ger (2002) defined spectacularist consumption as it comprises the highly fashion-conscious consumption of upper-middle and wealthy class members who desired to consume what they saw on TV (synopticon) in terms of leisure time activities, nightlife, fashion, and luxury lifestyle. However, as also Sandikci and Ger (2005) assessed that consumption differentiates in Turkey because of the polarization of different socio-economic groups. Thus different, hybrid and fragmented consumption practices that were adopted by Turks was clarified as "*with the spread of globalization old hierarchies are breaking down and many actors are competing for power and legitimacy against ever-increasing internal and external Others. Others are shifting, transforming and interpenetrating, so is the symbolism of consumption practices*" (Sandikci & Ger, 2002).

At that point, all identities that represented by different consumption patterns shared the same objective. The only aim of Turkish consumer was to construct "a modern identity" by consuming within the limits of their interpretation of modern (Sandikci & Ger, 2002; Buken, 2000; Ozbudun & Keyman, 2002). During the first decades of consumer society, two different poles of that social and economic structure were formed by "*the formation of economic life, or the increasing importance of the global market and capital accumulation, and its articulation by both secular and Islamic industrialists"* (Ozbudun & Keyman, 2002, p.301) after 1980. Thus, Turkish consumptionscape's plurality was not only driven by economic class but also by different socio-cultural structures that seek different meanings of "modern" identities. Those individuals consumed to be modern within the identity patterns of modern

secular identities or modern Islamist identities and what fuelled the consumption according to Sandikci and Ger (2005) were the notions of the *"good life"* and *"modernity"*.*"To consume like Westerners or like other modern Turks, and to be accepted by one's social circle are important motivations for consumption"* and to be *"normal"* by *"using the standard mass-produced goods of the world and buying for comfort, pleasure, fun, practicality, and convenience"* (Sandikci & Ger, 2005). Therefore, as *"in the realm of popular culture, cultural globalization is seen as a process that enables coexistence"* (Ozbudun & Keyman, 2002, p. 316) of multiple identities constructed by spectacularist secular consumption and spectacularist Islamic consumption, both, form different "cultural" and "symbolic capital" besides economic capital.

> *"Cultural capital, therefore, has performed a double role: as a factor of differentiation, by giving meaning to the creation and the mobilization of different identities, and as an element of commonality among different identities, in terms of their tendency toward consumerism."* (Ozbudun & Keyman, 2002, p. 316)

Thus, different socio-cultural groups that have different cultural capitals adopt different patterns of consumption with the same objectives and qualities. As spectacular secular consumer shop for high fashion, luxury products; travel abroad, and consume conspicuously, today Islamic consumers also experience fashionable, luxury and conspicuous consumption but also dress according to the Islamic restriction for women (Sandikci & Ger, 2007) as a consequence of the creation of

Islamic bourgeoisie that is defined as *"conservative in values but avant-garde in consumption practices."* (Sandikci & Ger, 2005). Therefore, "neo-Islamist actors" (Madi, 2014) started to be formed after the liberalization and privatization of the economy during the 1980s and the formation of Islamic businesses. Concordantly, Ozbudun, and Keyman (2002) referred to that "Islamic identity" as the "economic citizen", adopted shopping mall culture, consumed global luxury brands, making investments.

Within this economic and cultural atmosphere from 1980s, the abundance of commodities, media discourses the rise of advertisement and the contents that includes the monitorization of celebrities' lives and ordinary people's life by reality shows; blurring between public and private space transformed the private life to a subject of interest (Gurbilek, 1992). By the opening of shopping malls, visiting and watching commodities in the shop window became a lifestyle activity, and as it is previously stated, identities became available to be purchased from shopping malls. Shop window became more than the symbol of abundance but a place where people display their identity as they lived in the shop window. Thus private life, as a commodity, by also the contents of the media, became an industry and in that neoliberal atmosphere, the competition between individuals (Ergur, 2014) by consumption became a way of existing.

At that point, as Erkip (2005) refers to the shopping mall as space that created social and cultural transformations and the reason for the construction of new de-centred Turkish urban lifestyle. To be able to understand the consumer society in Turkey, the opening of shopping malls and their role for the development of consumer culture in Turkey will be elaborated in the next section by the example of Istanbul as the megalopolis of Turkey.

3. 2.The Emergence of Shopping Malls In Istanbul

Shopping spaces reflect a lot about a city, especially, a metropolis like Istanbul that has always been one of the trade centres in the world; including social, political and economic dynamics those effect and are affected by the places of consumption. As being one the identifiers of the urban identity (Ozorhon & Ozorhon, 2014), shopping areas have a reciprocal interaction between the city, shopping places and the consumption habits of the people living in that city. As Erkip (2005) define the opening of shopping malls in big cities of Turkey as an example of "*spatial transformations under the influence of global forces*" (2005, p. 89), the opening of shopping malls fuelled the transformation process to consumer society and globalization in Turkey. Besides, Louargand (2011) argued the shopping malls as the vital element of the modernization of Turkey in terms of urbanization, suburbanization, income increase, female labour force entry, and the globalization.

Therefore, by the opening of the first shopping mall in Istanbul "Galleria" in 1988 (Ozorhon & Ozorhon, 2014), upper-middle and higher-income groups (Erkip, 2003) constituted the group who tries to adapt themselves to the new consumer society and the global culture. As Erkip (2005) interpreted that adaptation of Turkish consumer to shopping malls as "eager", because of the design of the shopping malls, the magical and new experience that they offer to the consumers and the comfortable and practical atmosphere of them was charming for the consumers.

> *"It is designed as an environmental complex, which provides a new experience for postmodern consumer/citizens in Western cultures. This experience changed the nature of shopping, now merged into leisure and entertainment; a development that makes a new definition of urban life possible."* (Erkip, 2005, p. 95)

By the opening of shopping malls, not only the consumption habits of the people changed but also leisure time activities, the signs of the places and what they mean to the people. Shopping mall became the central place of the leisure time activities because of the cinemas, restaurants, and playgrounds for children within the mall complex and by the new position of shopping as a leisure time activity. The feature of the consumer society and the postmodern subject started to be apparent by the stand out of the hedonistic consumption (Cal & Adams, 2014; Birol, 2014) instead of utilitarian and the commodity-signs gained importance instead of the use-value of the commodities. Regardless of the income status or political polarisation within the

society, shopping malls started to offer all consumers a space to make use of the opportunities of the consumer culture and globalization (Erkip, 2003; Turkan, 2014). Thus, the reason for going to the shopping mall was more than only fulfilling needs. People started to go shopping malls to follow mass consumption trends, constructing their identities, being seen, and see others.

> *"In this period, the identity of the metropolitan people has become individualized; the flow of information and variable has created a worried and troubled character. With the changes seen in the core of social life, consumption has increased and turned into a matter of existence and appearance."* (Turkan, 2014)

As Turkan (2014) defined the neoliberal subject living in the urban by the desire of to seeing others and being seen in order to support their identities, shopping malls also became the place to exist and socialize during the transformation process to the consumer society in Turkish metropolitans. Thus, socio-cultural symbols became available in that (semi) public space by the consumption of commodity signs. Therefore, what Sandikci and Ger (2002) defined as spectacularist consumption became prominent as a way to exist within the society and to be accepted by the rest of the social circle. Neoliberal subjects started to fulfil their needs to prove their individualism, identity, and existence within the society by going to the popular space of the society, shopping malls to be able to be normal.

At that point, during that process of the transformation, women's approach to consumption and their activities of shopping also changed as women's labour force participation rate and the structure of the urban changed. Therefore, shopping has been gendered also in Turkey, as the feminization of shopping in Western countries were discussed in the last chapter, and the emergence of shopping places like department stores and especially shopping malls created the feminization of the shopping. Traditional shopping places like bazaars were defined as "masculine world" by Durakbasa and Cindoglu (2002), and also streets seemed insecure for women, while semi-public shopping malls are secure spaces (Erkip, 2005). Firstly, the opening of European retailers during the second half of the nineteenth century like Bon Marché offered new ways of shopping for customers in terms of purchasing goods "*not only for their utility but also to cater for the aesthetic needs of customers*" (Durakbasa & Cindoglu, 2002, p. 76). Therefore, shopping started to become a "leisure time activity" by window shopping during the last decades of the Ottoman, when Muslim women do not have the opportunity to experience shopping as a leisure time activity. Secondly, in the mid-twentieth century, passages (arcades) were built in some districts of Istanbul and department stores "*were the first venues for window shopping for middle- and upper-class women in Istanbul*" (Durakbasa & Cindoglu, 2002, p. 76).

However, during the end of the 20th century, by the increase of the female labour force entry and the opening of shopping malls, women became the primary shopper in Turkey too. At that point, in Turkish example too, the concept of the shopping mall

provides an exceptional environment for women in terms of saving the reputation of women by supplying an indoor place to them and secondly a secure, protected space:

> "*The mall, on the other hand, provides a legitimate use of urban space for women. It is a place in which everything is under the scrutiny of spectators. It is a 'closed open space' in which everything is to be viewed and controlled.*"(Durakbasa & Cindoglu, 2002, p. 82)

Thus in a sense shopping mall gave women a kind of freedom within its limits. Besides, also by considering "shopping" within the consumer culture and the construction of the neoliberal identities; a shopping mall is a place where women construct their identities as their entrepreneurial projects and exist within the social group where the shopping mall is located. Therefore, shopping malls in Istanbul comprise a potential to understand how middle and upper-middle-class women construct their identities, position themselves according to other women within the social competition and how to discipline themselves within the mechanism of horizontal surveillance as everything in shopping realizes under the gaze of other consumers.

4. CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH ON EVOLUTIONS OF CONSUMPTION AND IDENTITY REPRESENTATION OF YOUNG PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN THE SHOPPING MALLS OF ISTANBUL

This chapter includes the thematic analysis of the findings that were collected by the in-depth interviews conducted with two different groups of samples (the first group were composed of women were young professionals during 90s and living in Istanbul, and the second group were composed of young professional women living in Istanbul) and the discussion of findings in the light of literature review conducted.

4. 1. Shopping As A Guilty Pleasure Or A Natural Right

Basfirinci (2011) assessed that Turkish society deeply internalized consumer culture although the failure in the completion of essential transformation in terms of economic, social and physical structures of Turkey to be able to accord to the Western consumer society. Thus, according to Basfirinci (2011), Turkish society started to consume by bypassing the phase of production and ended up facing some compliance issues concerning integration into the system. According to some Turkish scholars (Aydogan, 2009; Basfirinci, 2011), Turkish society could not fully adapt to consumer society because of former values of the society and the condemnation of waste and consumption traditionally. However, to that extent, two groups of participants' answers differ in terms of defining "shopping" as a negative or positive activity.

The first group's approach to shopping is interpreted by its change by time, and all of the participants of the first group stated that they used to love and enjoy shopping during the 90s and the first decade of 2000s. According to their narratives, shopping behaviours of the first group participants featured as "hedonistic shopping" during the 90s and 2000s. As it is elaborated by Cal and Adams (2014), hedonistic shopping realizes as an emotional activity driven by taste and sign-values; directs people to pleasure during shopping (Birol, 2014) and as it is mentioned in the first chapter, consumption was practised as a *"miraculous"* activity, motivated by a *"magical mentality"* (Baudrillard, 1998) that seeks happiness and excitement by consumption. Thus consumption, as a magical daily activity; for first group participants, during the '90s and the '2000s, became the main topic of daily life, the leisure time activity and activity for flaunting as Sandikci and Ger (2002) classified "spectacularist consumption" as a practice of consumption, as it is also stated by participants:

> "*We used to go shopping when we specifically needed something before the 90s. But after, we started to buy some stuff just because we liked them."* (1A, Doctor, 57)

> "*Curiosity, excitement. When those brands came to Turkey, we wanted to have them. But we got more conscious now. At least certain group of people.*" (1C. Dentist, 55)

"*I used to shop when I go to the shopping mall only to spend time. I remember that I used to spend hours shopping. […] During the 90s, I was only browsing stores to see the products. That was new for us. It was a new way of meeting the world.*" (1B, Architect, 55)

"*We used to buy everything we like, during the 90s and 2000s. We were inexperienced after the years of privation. It was a bombardment of abundance for us … Maybe we tried to stock while the products were cheap and abundant. What we buy and the amount of consumption became our main topic for daily conversations.*" (1D, Dentist, 54)

"Possessiveness", "envy" and "preservation", as being the three factors of the four dimensions of the reflection of materialism to consumption were theorized by Ger and Belk (1996) in a cross-cultural level, manifest themselves prominently in the shopping behaviours of the first group participants. However according to their accounts for today, while most of the participants (3 from the first group and 4 from the second group) stated that they like shopping, and just one of the participants from the first group stated that she does not like shopping anymore and she goes for shopping only when she needs something (1B, Architect, 55). However, it is common for participants from the first group to criticize and interrogate their shopping behaviours during the past and today. While all of them feel bad and guilty when they shop and try to reduce shopping, despite everything, two of them still sometimes shop unconsciously even

they make an effort and develop a method to reduce purchase. However, they feel like they won a victory when succeeding in not purchasing:

> "*We used to shop for our needs. But now, we have to buy some stuff that we don't need. Our society's habits have changed. Now, we may buy some clothes when we see them while browsing. We say 'I might need this' and buy…feels good. Sometimes I see something and like it a lot, I say 'this should mine'... but when you think about, logically, it feels terrible. In recent years, while I am deciding to purchase something, I ask myself three times if I really need it. If I answer once no, then I don't buy it [...] I feel better when I don't buy. I feel like ... I succeeded.*" (1A, Doctor, 57)

> "*As a woman, shopping makes me feel good. But sometimes I get angry at myself, why did I buy this? I regret that I buy.*" (1C, Dentist, 55)

As a result of guilt, all of the participants from group one tries to redefine shopping and attempt for changing their consumption habits. They aim to adopt more "reasonable" motives for shopping for today since they acknowledge their extreme and unconscious shopping activities during the 90s and the first half of 2000 and emphasise their reasonable and rational shopping behaviours today. While one of them tries to go back to her former shopping habits by changing the place where she shops because she thinks that shopping malls increased the amount of shopping. All

participants of the first group define themselves as more "conscious" consumers in terms of deciding on a purchase by regarding their needs.

"*We need to reduce shopping.*" (1A, Doctor, 57)

"*I don't like shopping anymore. I am more conscious now. I realized that I used to shop without reason. I buy something now when I need it, and I wait for seasonal discounts.*" (1B, Architect, 55)

"*Shopping is a serious thing. It should be rational. We should purchase according to some strategy [...] It is not a hobby, spending money cannot be a hobby.*" (1D, Dentist, 54)

"*Shopping cannot be a hobby. We should buy something just because we need it*." (1C, Dentist, 55)

However, browsing in the shopping mall and stores without any reason and any need to fulfil is still an activity for most (3 participants) of the participants from the first group. They define "browsing" as a way to follow fashion trends or being ready for possible future needs. Even if they try to reduce shopping and limit their purchases by

their “needs”, they still tend to shop randomly. At that point, as Basfirinci (2011) assessed that because of the cognitive dissonance caused by the clash between the values that they interiorized while growing and the bombardment of consumption, abundance and the new consumer culture they faced, adapted and enjoyed during the 90s, during the first years of their economic independence; first group participants try to legitimize their activities of consumption in two different ways. Firstly, they try to reason their shopping by unexpected needs and as an action to be able to conform to the society:

> “*I have too many unworn clothes in my wardrobe, tags still on. When I need something, I don’t need to go and shop, I can always find something from my wardrobe.*” (1A, Doctor, 57)

> “*I am trying to conform. But without consuming and shopping too much. It is not like it used to be 30 years ago. I have more clothes and shoes now. We have to conform. Sometimes I ask myself ‘Why did I buy this?’ But then I say that I can use it some time.*” (1C, Dentist, 55)

Secondly, as it is also acknowledged by Basfirinci (2011) participants of the first group blames marketing strategies and advertisements to legitimize their shopping activities:

"*...this is driven by global marketing policies…. we consume and provide the continuity of the economy"* (1A, Doctor, 57)

As it can be seen, because of their experiences and cultural background were originated from pre-consumer society, despite their orientation of consumption during the 90s and 2000s, the participant's of the first group tend to have conflicting ideas and practices. On the other hand, for the second group composed of young professional women living in Istanbul, the status of consumption seems to appear clear as it is perceived as an activity and culture where they born into. Since shopping has always been an essential activity in their lives, the second group participants state that they "love" shopping. While one of them (2A, Marketing Intern, 23) defined shopping as her hobby and she thinks that shopping is a skill in terms of the amount of time that women spend for it and also the level of knowledge about their body and style, all of the participants acknowledged that shopping makes them happy. They experience "hedonic shopping" as it is realized not only as an enjoyable activity (Kirci, 2014) but also as a spiral of consumption that requires a constant consumption to acquire short-term pleasure.

"*Shopping is a hobby for me... I used to spend hours shopping, but I don't do it anymore because … I know the stores that I browse… It's about knowing your*

style and appealing brands to your style I know my style, myself, my body. It's kind of skill..." (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)

"*It is kind of a fun activity for me. I feel excited about shopping and trying on my new clothes.*" (2B, Analyst, 25)

"*I feel excited when I buy new clothes.*" (2C, Category specialist, 25)

"*I love shopping. I love everything new. I love buying new clothes. I am insatiable about shopping. When I buy some clothes, I feel like I want to shop more. I love shopping for clothes. But I… don't have a specific style. That is why maybe, I like to purchase every kind… of clothes. Every different style that I try on makes me feel different… I feel better after buying them.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

Despite the short-term happiness and excitement, according to the second group participants, consumption is genuinely taken for granted, daily, and routine activity for them. At that point, the most apparent difference between first and second group participants' insights on consumption is their approach to shopping in terms of the level of their adaptation to enjoying materialistic pleasures. The period from the beginning of the 90s until these days interpreted by first group participants as a period of "unconscious", "excessive" and "irrational" consumption caused by the abundance

achieved after a long-term absence and “the lack of experience”. Therefore, as it is elaborated in the previous chapter, modernist Turkish society quickly adapted to consumer society (Erkip, 2005), however according to the findings of current research, first group participants who introduced to consumer society when they were young adults, still experience the cognitive dissonance in terms of enjoying “material pleasure” and they make partly unsuccessful attempts to go back utilitarian (Kirci, 2014) consumption behaviour.

On the other hand, according to the second group participants, for younger generation the perception of consumption stands as a primary element of daily life as Baudrillard (1998, p. 38) interpreted “the cargo cult” in terms of the heirship of younger generations to interiorize consumer culture as “the natural right to abundance”. Thus they do not need to legitimize their consumption activities on the grounds of their inherited right to consume as a “banal, daily fact” which is still be experienced as a “daily miracle” with the intention of to achieve short-term happiness in a hedonistic way.

4. 2. Love-hate Relationship With Shopping Malls

Shopping malls always have been a central position for the shopping habits and leisure time activities for urban Turkish citizens since their opening in the late 80s and early 90s. Referring back to the previous chapter, with their quick spread around in the big cities of Turkey such as Istanbul, shopping malls revolutionized shopping and leisure

time (Kilic & Aydogan, 2006) for the stambouliotes. According to the first group participants, at first, shopping malls seemed like magical spaces to them. Some of the participants affirmed that they had been “hearing about shopping malls” from their relatives living in the European countries as "epic" places; thus going to the shopping mall was a kind of “observational” activity for them because they were “visiting” shopping malls to meet a new world full of selections, freedom to touch and “watch” commodities, restaurants.

All of the participants of the first group affirmed that they used to like shopping malls. According to their narratives, shopping malls had changed their opinions about shopping and made it enjoyable that they used to describe as a difficult, uncomfortable and tiresome before. Moreover, as it was stated by Ozorhon and Ozorhon, (2014) new shopping areas changed the urban identity and also shopping malls as new environmental complexes gave the opportunity to experience “postmodern consumer/citizens in Western cultures” that also changed the nature of shopping, entertainment (Erkip, 2005) and created new ways to reflect identities beside new urbanized identities:

> “*They make shopping easy, comfortable but they increased shopping.*” (1A, Doctor, 57)

"*During the 90s, shopping malls were our social life. We used to say 'let's go out' to go there.*" 1B, Architect, 55)

" *It used to be a pleasure to go there. We used to go there for dinner.*"(1C, Dentist, 55)

"*I didn't use to like shopping before shopping malls. It was really hard. But shopping malls are easy and comfortable […] It was a different world for us […*]*They increased consumption. We used to have a family budget.*"(1D, Dentist, 54)

However, despite their former feelings about shopping malls, three participants from the first group clearly affirmed that they don't like shopping malls anymore, and they avoid to go there as one of them stated that she tries to go back her former shopping habits and that is why she goes to Kadikoy district to shop from local stores. Also trying to reduce shopping, to adopt utilitarian shopping practices and spending time by activities like reading a book in a park, moreover, the crowd in the shopping mall and the spread of shopping malls by the destruction of green fields within the city are reasons for not liking and not going to shopping malls frequently.

"*When I need to buy something I just go to some specific stores that I like, finish my job and leave the shopping mall immediately […] I don't like going there […] Shopping malls are not making me happy anymore.*" (1B, Architect, 55)

"*I don't like them anymore. Lights make me feel sick. I just do what I need to do and then leave… Shopping malls make me feel uncomfortable now. I don't like the crowd, advertisements and the pressure for shopping [….] We should build parks instead of shopping malls*" (1C, Dentist, 55)

"*I used to like to go there, but it is tiresome now*." (1D, Dentist, 54)

While participants of the first group gave similar answers and had similar feelings about shopping malls, second group participants gave prominently different answers about their feeling about shopping malls. As shopping malls are entirely accustomed spaces, shopping activity realizes as a daily activity. As one of the participants from the second group (2B, Analyst, 25) affirmed that she does not go to shopping mall frequently, during the interview, she realized that she goes to some shopping malls very often. Even all of the second group participants acknowledged that shopping malls make more accessible the activity of shopping and advantageous because of weather and the incorporation of all kind of stores and activities, two of the second group participants stated that they do not like in-door shopping malls even they accept

that they enjoy shopping, while the other two participants mostly perceive the shopping mall concept in terms of hedonistic shopping and they stated that they like shopping malls:

> "*Shopping malls make shopping easy and comfortable. I like some shopping malls which do not make me feel like in the shopping mall.*" (2B, Analyst, 25)

> "*I don't like to go to in-door shopping malls. They are crowded, airless and troublous*." (2C, Category specialist, 25)

> "*I feel good in there because I know I'm going to buy new things.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

Besides being the symbol of the hedonistic consumerism shopping malls "*also become the principal sites of social communion that embody a new type of public space*" (van Eeden, 2006) as shopping mall was and still is the place where women go to socialize, to follow fashion trends, meet friends. Thus, this is how the apparition of shopping malls dramatically changed the neighbourhood culture and put the shopping malls in a position reflects the identity, socio-economic situation of a neighbourhood and the identities of the people living in there or preferring to be seen in there. As much as the neighbourhood the shopping mall is located; also stores, brands, social

activities, restaurants and their customer mass create the identity of the shopping mall (Miller et al., 1998, p. 29). Thus, for both group, the neighborhood of shopping mall, the customers who prefer to going there, and in direct connection with this, the stores, product range, brands, restaurants affect the participants who tend to practise hedonic shopping and go to shopping mall not only with the motivation for meeting their needs but spending time, browsing stores as a leisure time activity and meeting friends.

> "*When I go to Istinye Park, I meet my friends, and sometimes I go to restaurants in there, but in Marmarapark, I just buy what I want to buy and then leave… If I am alone, I prefer to go to Mcdonald's. I love Mcdonald's […] Yes if I am with friends… we always prefer some … you know … more upper … chic restaurants.*" (2A, Marketing Intern 23)

As the atmosphere of shopping mall affects her mood (2A, Marketing Intern 23), she likes to go to Istinye Park, which is an upper-class shopping mall, offering mostly luxury brands and restaurants. Her preferences depend on what she wants to do, and if she is alone or not. This situation may be taken as proof of how shopping malls function as the place where neoliberal subjects define their identities and represent it others. At that point, regardless of income and socio-cultural belonging, there exists a shopping centre in Istanbul for every budget and every segment (Turkan, 2016) and the preference of shopping mall also represents an identity. Therefore, the reason for

going to the shopping mall is not only shopping or meeting a need but also to see and to be seen.

Thus appearances of participants in the shopping mall is another critical factor in terms of representing identity and being a part of the commodity-sign (Johnstone & Conroy, 2005) that is represented by the store, brand and the shopping mall. As all of the participants of the first group stated that they used to get ready to go to a shopping mall just as they used to go out for dinner, for a special event because going to the shopping mall was a unique activity for them as it is mentioned before. However, as during the 90s going to the shopping mall is the main activity for them, today they do not get ready especially.

> "*I don't leave the house just to go to the shopping mall. I go there after work, or not to shop but meet my friends … I don't get ready for going them … I get ready for work and then go there or to meet my friends.*" (1A, Doctor, 57)

> "*I don't get ready to go there (shopping mall) now. I am always attentive about my clothes. But if I am going to try on some clothes, I wear according to that to be fast and practical*." (1D, Dentist, 54)

While for the first group participants shopping malls carry a more practical meaning, for two participants of the second group competition and the gaze of others creates a motivation to getting ready to go to the shopping mall as (2D, Pharmacist, 24) defined shopping mall as a “runway”.

Although most of the participants from both groups stated that they do not like shopping malls currently, it should be noted that they frequently go to shopping malls for shopping, socializing or leisure activities. At that point, the commodity-sign of the shopping mall they prefer in terms of the other people going there and the product range is essential for them to be surrounded people like them. Thus, appearance and concordantly the level of adaptation to the socio-economic and cultural environment of the shopping mall have importance in order to be in a familiar space for first group participants and to be able to compete with their peers for the second group participants.

4. 3. Appearance As A Way To Represent An Identity

Consumption is not limited by the activity of purchasing commodities. By shopping, participants allocate an appearance for themselves and buy commodity signs, both to be able to adapt and represent an acceptable and safe identity. Thus, participant’s ideas and cultural background about the concept of consumption and hence shopping reflect on their ideas of appearance and how should they look conformably. Even though the participants from both groups define appearance as a way to conform, reflect a

conforming identity; their insights and concerns about their appearances and identities differ as it may be interpreted as the values of the system and the ideology that they interiorized are different. Accordingly, the way they perceive the importance of appearance differs in two ways. Participants' purposes regarding their appearance differ as "modernism" for the first group, as it is also discussed by Sandikci and Ger (2002) as the consumption mission for all practices of consumption, and "being trendy", "attracting attention" and "being able to compete with others" for the second group.

As it is discussed in the first subsection, the first group of participants do not seem to wholly interiorize the ideology of the consumer society, as they still defend utilitarian consumption to some extent. Therefore, the reflection of the modernist founding values of the Turkish Republic and the ideal of westernism manifests itself clearly in the narratives of participants from the first group about their appearances and clothing styles as a way to represent their identity. Firstly, all of the first group participants are selective about the quality (in terms of fabrics, stitches and the durability) and the brand (high fashioned and classical chic/sportive chic). They tend to be loyal the brands and give importance to the brand image as they prefer high-quality Turkish brands which represent modern, working and independent Turkish women and Turkish bourgeoisie, as one of the brands which were mostly mentioned by first group interviewees were defined as "*Turkey's first luxury retailer*" (Beymen, 2019) established in 1971.

Thus, in contrast with Sandikci and Ger's (2002) account for the vanishing of the "*The Republic's goal of cultural homogenization and a uniform "modern" identity*" by the bombardment of the consumer culture in Turkey, as all of the participants of the second group define themselves western, modern, free and secular individuals. Their way of representing their identity by appearance also includes the aim of representing a modern identity by following the modern identity goal of the Turkish Republic. The values that they follow as a guide to be able to be a part of the society commonly include the conformity in terms of adjusting their appearance (clothes, makeup, coiffure) according to the place where they are going like a government office, funeral, ball; secondly not looking marginal, absurd and remarkably different; and thirdly, to be clean, tidy, stylish and attentive to represent the respect to other people. Moreover, according to the participants of the first group, their social circle, friends and hobbies affect their style.

> "*People should look tidy, stylish and attentive.*" (1B, Architect, 55)

> "*I was always attentive and chic at work. This is something necessary to show that you're respecting your colleagues and patients. It is important what people wear. It is about taking others seriously. It is also about being modern and western. We are modern people, open-minded. Not traditional. We may try new and beautiful things we see.*" (1D, Dentist, 54)

> "*I make some of my clothes by myself, but I would never make something marginal or really different. I like to be original without being marginal.*" (1D, Dentist, 54)

It is safe to interpret those narratives of the first group participants as their insights on their appearances to stem from the institutions of the Republic, as Foucault (1991) also positioned the institutions of modern society as the places where disciplinary mechanism functions in the form of the hierarchical disciplinary surveillance.

> "*We used to wear more formal in the workplace. More attentive. Long skirts, blouses and dark colours ... That was also ... trending on those days ... I mean ... Those kinds of clothes ... Those were what we could find in stores also ... But we were wearing like that because of the customs, formality, and others ... Everybody was wearing like that. In the government office. The society was like that. It is to be in accordance with the rest of society. But during the weekend, off the office, we used to wear shorts.*" (1B, Architect, 55)

However, besides social norms, fashion is still essential for one of the participants in order to not to look odd or absurd. At that point for all of the participants of the first

group following fashion trends does not stand as a necessity but sometimes as a pattern to conform and not to look "absurd":

> "*I keep some of my old clothes and wear them when they become trendy again. Others would find it odd if I wear them when they are demode. I- I don't want to look absurd.*" (1C, Dentist, 55)

Despite everything, to be liked and appreciated in terms of their appearance and clothing styles is still crucial for the participants of the first group however while one of them clearly stated that she wanted to be noticed, one of the participants of first groups said that she does not want to be looked:

> "*I want to be noticed but not in an absurd style.*" (1A, Doctor, 57)

> "*I don't want to attract attention.*" (1B, Architect, 55)

However, "being liked by others" by their appearances is not one of the main motives for them while representing their identity, to the contrary of the second group of participants. According to the findings of the interviews, it is not possible to define the identities of the first group participants just by modern identity patterns or

postindustrial identities. Their background culture, insights about consumption and practices, as they were criticized in the first theme, overlap controversially as both according to modern and postmodern patterns. Their styles', preferences and tendencies do not aim to change dramatically. Contrary, for the second group, adjusting themselves by the new trends and being up to date is important as they are highly motivated to attract attention and being able to compete with others. As they are children of the consumer society, their postmodern identities tend to conform to the constant changes (Tekin, 2012) in the consumer society to be able to stay in the race with others. According to the participants of second group, people represent their identities and express themselves by their appearances as also identity defined as a self project (Giddens, 1991; Wattanasuwan, 2005) and neoliberal subject; homo-economicus (Foucault, 2008, p. 226) exists as the entrepreneur of her self project within the limits of current system by camouflaging herself to the new biopolitics that resulted from changes of the economic dynamics and the consumer society (Kalan, 2014). Thus, the participants of the second group also internalize the constantly changing discourses that they perceive in the form of fashion, trends and purchase up to date appearances constantly by avoiding to be fixed (Bauman, 1996, p. 89) to be able to adopt an identity (Elliott & Wattanasuwan, 1998). Thus even if they said that they "know their style very well", they always follow brands, some influencers or celebrities who are certainly approved by the majority in the form of "*synopticon*" (Sarigul, 2018) and their peers in the form of "*gynaeopticon*" (Winch, 2015). At that point, brand obsession does not exist as a desire to construct a social class based identity but exists as a way to reflect a style and an identity based on the latest trends that young women follow by "*synopticon*" and "*gynaeopticon*", are

envied by the majority. Thus, their style is essential for them as it represents an exchange value and their identity, as also shopping and being stylish accepted as skills for them even all of the second group participants prefer global and popular brands and fashionable, trendy patterns of appearances.

> "*Appearance is important; at first, we judge people by their appearances.*" (2A, Marketing Intern 23)

> "*We all wearing the same clothes, even Hollywood stars wear from Inditex. The important thing is how women wear them."* (2A, Marketing Intern 23)

> "*People represents their lifestyle in their clothes.*" (2B, Analyst, 25)

> "*Shopping is important because people judge each other according to their appearance firstly […] Clothes reflect people's identity.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

Instagram celebrities, trends in the stores and some "stylish" people around participants from the second group, feature as the secure and guaranteed styles and appearances to adopt when participants feel insecure about new trends. In this context, while some of the participants of the second group state that they "dare to be

different", one of the participants stated that she does not want to look absurd and one interviewee said that she does not have a specific style as she buys everything she likes. Thus, it should be noted that two of the participants are insecure about their appearances as they tend to be affected by other women's style around and as one of the participants (2D, Pharmacist, 24) observes other women constantly.

> "*Sometimes on Instagram, I like some clothes that I didn't like in-store [...] My clothes are really different - I buy completely different clothes. I don't have a style. I buy everything I like [...] I like to wear according to someplace that does not reflect my style. I like that kind of role-playing [...] Once we went to Zara with a friend we saw a skirt there ... it was ... I don't know kind of ... absurd. But then I saw it on Aslı* (a friend of her whom she frequently mentioned about as a stylish girl). *I loved it on her [...] I categorize people according to their style; like this girl is Zara or Mango. I know from where do they buy their clothes because I shop a lot.* " (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

> *"I can say that 70% of my clothes are new. I mostly wear new season. I donate some of my clothes periodically, because ... You know ... They are not trendy anymore ... And ...they are not my style.*" (2A, Marketing Intern 23)

"*I have a style. Instagram also has an impact. But I may browse everything in the shopping mall. I don't specifically search for anything, I browse.*" (2B, Analyst, 25)

Moreover, others' positive reactions about participants' style and appearance may also motivate them to shop more expensive and stylish clothes to be able to construct a more approved identity.

"*Combined clothes and style recommendations in-store affect me to be honest, even if they are not my style; I may purchase them [...] When I buy and wear more expensive and stylish stuff, sometimes people tell me, sometimes I feel that they like it. When this happens, I want to be more attentive and careful about my style; I think I should spend more money and should have more clothes like that.*" (2C, Category specialist, 25)

Thus, all of the statements of the participants of the second group include the self-discipline by self-monitoring (Gill, 2007, p. 63) and at the same time horizontal surveillance of other women as a control and discipline mechanism according to the biopower discourse. However, since the neoliberal subjects feel the ambition for competition in their bones, and as the neoliberal and consumer culture promise them the individualization and the opportunity to differentiate oneself from the others (Baudrillard, 1998, p. 85), being different, attracting attention, and also the desire of

looking beautiful is essential for participants. This also reflects on their shopping behaviour as one of the participants stated that she waits for reduction and then buy some clothes when few people are wearing them.

> "*I want to attract attention. I wear sport-chic, but I also like to be chic, to be 'wow!' with my style and clothes. I feel like I ... don't want to be passed unnoticed. Feels better when I look different and remarkable [...] Yes, looking beautiful is important but women spend hours for it. I can be both fast and beautiful. I think this is a ... kind of talent, knowing yourself.*" (2A, Marketing Intern 23)

> "*I don't like to wear what everybody wears [...] My friend told me that I could wear and combine some clothes that are risky for most women.*" (2B, Analyst, 25)

> "*I don't have a different style. I'd like to be more different and prettier [...] Being different… I don't want to be absurd, but I'd like to dress not like everybody does.*" (2C, Category specialist, 25)

"*I feel sad when I go out without makeup, making my hair and dressing properly. I feel bad if people look beautiful, but I don't*." (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

While those insights of the participants consist of the competition between peers like trying to look better than other women, it is also affected by participants' level of confidence and may reflect as narcissistic behaviours and ideas or jealousy and insecurity. However, both reflections will be elaborated within the context of the last theme.

4. 4. Other Women And Dynamics Of Horizontal Surveillance In The Shopping Mall: "Women Dress For Other Women"

Appearance and, constructing and reflecting an identity is realized mostly in relation to observing others. As it is mentioned in the previous section, participants of the second group affected by the appearances of the other women around them as guaranteed samples and by the opinions of others as motivation. Current theme focuses on the interactions between women in terms of observing each other, presenting their identities by their appearances and choices within the shopping mall as the space where subjects observe acceptable identities, purchase them and show off to others as the "*identity and place bound together*" (Miller et al., 1998, p. 24).

During the interviews, participants indicated the keywords those shaped this theme by expressing their ideas and their approaches to the concept of "the gaze of others": "to attract attention", "to be different", "jealousy", "competition" and "women dress for other women". Both groups emphasized "the gaze of other women" as Winch (2013) also stated that male gaze mostly stays outside of the anxiety of being looked, but only when participants are in some specific shopping malls, those are preferred by people from participants' socio-cultural group. On the other hand, they also acknowledged the abusive and judgemental conservative gaze in shopping malls and at the public transportation that they use to go to the shopping mall. However, while emphasizing female gaze, approaches of two group of participants differ in terms of their participation in the activity of gazing and being looked. For the first group of participants, while the three of them acknowledged that women observe each other in the shopping mall (mostly young women), according to one of the first group participants, mostly lower-class shoppers observe other customers because of their insecurities about their tastes and two of them stated that they definitely do not observe other women.

> "*Lower-class shoppers observe each other. It depends on their socio-cultural level. They don't know themselves, and that's why they ask others or observe others, and that is why they may be affected by the others […] Some people interest in others' clothes etc. I don't do this … I know myself, my style and my criterion. No one can influence my taste.*" (1A, Doctor, 57)

"*People observe each other a lot during shopping. I know this because when I go shopping with my daughter, other girls always observe the clothes that she tries on. They want to try them too. I don't know why they are looking. Maybe they think that if someone like a shirt then it must be chic or maybe because of competition. I only focus on products.*" (1B, Architect, 55)

"*Women dress for women… They definitely observe each other a lot ... They are influenced by each other a lot.*" (1C, Dentist, 55)

However all of the participants of the first group expound the scrutiny of other women with the negative intentions as comparison, jealousy and competition as a new thing that is realized mostly between younger women and defined the activity of looking that people used to realize as a positive activity that contained admiration, positive intentions and cooperation in terms of taking as example:

"*People stare at each other, observe each other now. It is not new, but the way that people look at each other has changed. People used to look at each other with admiration, appreciation and positive feelings.*" (1A, Doctor, 57)

"*Women had always been observing each other. But their intentions have changed. People used to look at each other with sincere admiration. But now, there are ambition and competition.*" (1C, Dentist, 55)

Moreover, they defined the "showing off" and trying to attract attention by demonstrating luxurious and spectacular lifestyles as "problematic behaviours" and also the reasons for going to the some specific luxury shopping malls for some of the women and identified the "new" concept of shopping mall as "showing off" to others.

"*People try to show off now [...] Some women use luxury brands just to be able to attract others' attention.*" (1C, Dentist, 55)

"*Women wants to be looked in branded spaces within the shopping mall [...]They get dressed and go there to show off themselves.*"(1D, Dentist, 54)

While the participants of the first group are critical about women and especially younger generations in terms of observing and competing for each other, second group participants mostly admit that they observe their peers and concern about their position within the competition with others. However, one of the participants of the second group (2A, Marketing Intern, 23) assessed that she does not observe others because she mostly focused on her shopping and herself, besides positioned herself as

a woman who is observed by female peers. As her account infers her narcissistic point of view, by her judgements of her peers and her, the level of expertise that she attributed to herself also reveals that she observe other women to compare them with herself and see if they are observing her or not. Her practice of surveillance includes both the subjectification of herself in terms of self-policing (Riley et al., 2016) and her self-project as a woman who is a winner of the competition with her peers and a friendly example for them to be admired and to be taken as an example:

> "*Women observe each other a lot while shopping. They observe what others are wearing. I don't do it because I focus on the products ... I don't tend to like what others are browsing. I just browse when I like something.*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)

At that point, women's jealousy of each other emphasized by all participants of the second group as they judge this feeling but also acknowledge that they also judge others. Thus, as it is stated by first group participants, second group participants also identified shopping mall as a "runway" where every woman are observed by and observe others, moreover shop according to the preferences of the majority.

> "*Some styles or some specific clothes become trendy just because women see them on each other ... Sometimes women buy some clothes just because they are jealous of another woman [...] Women observe each other. There is a little*

bit shaming. We say 'she shouldn't combine that top with those pants. I don't know why I am looking." (2B, Analyst, 25)

"*Women are jealous of each other.*" (2C, Category specialist, 25)

"(Women observe each other) *mostly in luxury shopping malls… Istinye Park, Zorlu ... Their only job is getting dressed and going to the shopping malls. If I didn't have another job, I would be like them. I would observe too [...] Shopping mall is a kind of runway. The competition to be the chicer women in there […] I don't want to let people say 'inattentive' about me. Because I do. I think this way about people, but I don't know why [...]* (In shopping mall) *Women wants to show off only.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

Focusing on the participants' narratives about the gaze of the other women on them also reveals the reflections of their judgements of other women. While they are motivated to attract attention and to be looked, this reciprocal scrutiny indicates judgement which is consumption-oriented (Riley et al., 2016) in order to see "what is beautiful" or "what is accepted as beautiful". This also may be interpreted as "the beauty surveillance" (Elias & Gill, 2018), to labour constantly in order to be beautiful as Elias et al. (cited in Elias and Gill 2018) defined the aesthetic labour on the body as

a normative necessity, also defined by the limits of the postfeminist and neoliberalist discourses as the dominant discourses of the current contemporary society. Thus, participants are familiar to the discourses of the judgement and the intentions of the other women and commonly define "to make others jealous" and "to be looked at" as positive and desired positions.

> "*I mostly realize that women observe me from their reflection on the mirror. I can even guess what they are thinking about. 'From where did she find this top', 'does it look good on me like that', 'she looks good' or not...*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

> "*It is important for Turkish women to be liked and to look beautiful… In Turkey, women are jealous of each other … Women in our age observe each other a lot, because of the competition and jealousy.*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)

> "*When girls like your style, they stare at you but at the same time because of jealousy they always judge. I feel good when I feel their eyes on me. All women like it, I think, to be looked at.*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)

At that point, participants' motivation to attract attention and to be able to show their existence in the competition, include surveillance as the way it processes, and the consumption of the clothes and styles. The goal is to be approved as beautiful; and thus consumption and surveillance practised as a labour of consumption and aesthetics (Elias & Gill, 2018) in shopping malls as its exact spaces, and in a world where postfeminist culture and neoliberalism defined women as autonomous and entrepreneur subjects (Elias & Gill, 2018) within "*the regulatory and self-disciplining technology of postfeminist feminist sensibility*" (Riley et al., 2016). Concordantly, for participants of the second group, being noticed and being different is vital within their labour of shopping and being beautiful in order to meet the aesthetic labour. Thus, participants of the second group commodify their bodies, in order to circulate in the shopping mall as the most admired and envied women by other women. They create a brand image for themselves as if they are commodities browsing *in a neoliberal market economy* (Winch, 2015) by adopting secure appearances as they are the entrepreneurs of their "self projects" and their value and success are measured by the gaze of other women and their level of jealousy.

Within that competitive market, another participant does not want to be passed unnoticed, and she works for it as she states "*I wear some clothes that others cannot dare to wear*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23). She is motivated to attract others' attention, and according to her, this is the reward of her efforts:

"*If people are looking at me, that means that I am beautiful. When this happens, I feel like it's worth getting ready.*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)

Thus, competition between peers implied by all participants of the second group, but answers of one of them has revealed the competition.

"*Every woman want to be the most beautiful women in the place where they are. I do.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

"*People are too confident in the shopping mall. I know that they want to be looked at. That is why I don't look at them, just not to make them happy.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

"*I liked to be looked at. I can compete with other women for being stylish.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

At that point, the opinions of other women and the way the participants perceive and interpret them to form their opinions about themselves. While some of the participants interpret other women's reactions or compartments within the shopping mall

positively in a narcissistic way, others tend to feel insecure about their appearances and their position within the competition.

> "*During shopping, if someone asks my opinion and doesn't like my taste, I may feel terrible. Because I possibly have those kinds of clothes that she doesn't like.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

> "*Sometimes, I realize that a woman glances at me; then I say 'yes, she liked my style*'." (2B, Analyst, 25)

> "*People do not believe that a stylish woman may wear non-branded clothes. I do.*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)

In this context, for her (2A, Marketing Intern, 23), being stylish and admired by others is a mysterious thing that other women try to figure out by observing each other and she puts her in a position where she judges other women in terms of their shopping choices and appearances immodestly. As two of the second group participants interpret the gaze of others on them as the admirer and jealous looks, also the belief of one of them on her impact on others' purchase preferences and second interviewees judgemental approach to others' "pretentiousness", and effort to show off, they

generated a narcissistic look to themselves and their position in the competition with other women.

> "(Turkish women) *they lose too much time while shopping, I know my style and how to shop*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)
>
> (She isn't interested in the products (clothes) other people browse but) "*It happens to me a lot when I try something on, others always admire it on me and try it on too and even buy. I like this.*" (2A, Marketing Intern, 23)

However, contrary to the first two participants of the second group, other two participants (2C, Category specialist, 25; 2D, Pharmacist, 24) are profoundly affected by other women's appearances, opinions and choices in the shopping mall and during shopping. As they affirmed their insecurities about their choices and appearances before, their answers were interpreted as they seek for the others' gaze differently than the other two participants of the second group. While the first participant of the second group (2A, Marketing Intern, 23) stated that she is not influenced by other women, contrary, she thinks that others imitate her because of the jealousy, one participant of the second group stated that she is inspired by other women; she asks other women about their clothes if she likes them in fitting rooms, the fact that other women are shopping around her increases her motivation for shopping and the clothes that other women browse and try on affect her; other people's choices are vital for her, and she mostly browses the clothes that other women tried on in the fitting room.

"*I especially look and observe which clothes other women liked and tried on. I search and find clothes like that.*" (2C, Category specialist, 25)

(When she is trying on some clothes) "*If someone tells me that it looked good on me, I buy it definitely*." (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

"*When I like some clothes on a girl, I just want to buy them. But if they don't look on me as they look good on her, I blame the clothes [...] When I realize that someone is looking at me, I can just think of if there is something wrong with me. Why did she look at me? Did she like my clothes? Then I just don't care [...] I observe stylish and good looking women in shopping malls. Most of them like the girls I see on Instagram. I wonder how they can be that much beautiful. I want to be like them. I want to others look at me and think that way.*" (2D, Pharmacist, 24)

Beyond being personal problems, according to Riley et al. (2016), those insecurities and the lack of self-confidence are the consequences of the sophisticated beauty-oriented consumer culture, the lack of set standards and also according to Niinimaki (2010) and Tekin (2012) the constant change of trends, identities and consumption patterns of the consumer society and neoliberal subjects' need to adapt

themselves to the fluidity of the system. Therefore, the risk of failing in the labour of consumption and aesthetic, not being able to approved by the peers creates "the postfeminist gaze" (Riley et al., 2016) that processes as a mechanism of self-control in order to create and recreate continuously an acceptable identity and "successful femininity" through the appearance as the self-project of a woman as a neoliberal subject. By this way, women discipline herself and her consumption activities by comparing herself to others and trying to see herself from other women's eyes. At that point, the shopping mall is present as a place where young women feel others' gaze on each other and discipline themselves to consume in a way that they suppose to within the limits of identity, a lifestyle that is approved by mass media discourse and interiorised by society.

4. 5. Discussion

Shopping, and especially shopping for clothes, were classified as an important way of consumption for this study in terms of participants' insights about consumer society, and as a way to exist within society securely. According to all of the participants, "shopping" activity mostly perceived as shopping for clothes, and as it is stated by all of the participants of the first group (young professional women during 90s), shopping for clothes were positioned as the very activity that introduced consumer society to modern and secular Turkish women. On the other hand, as Sandikci and Ger (2005) assessed that consumption differentiate in Turkey because of the polarization of different socio-economic groups, and by Baudrillard (1998) and Sandikci and Ger (2002) as a way to differentiate oneself from others by purchasing different

commodity-signs of different identities and reproduction of lifestyle differences; shopping for clothes is a way to differentiate themselves as modern for the first group and seeking for others' gaze as a way of being socially accepted and to prevail in the competition between women for second group (young professional women). At that point as the control process starts with the shopping of acceptable and secure identities for both groups; first shopping, secondly appearance and the appearance during shopping are substantially relevant to surveillance mechanism in terms of self-discipline and self-policing with explicitly different motivations for two generations. Thus all of the themes were generated by the collected data includes the concept of self-discipline in terms of its construction (shopping), representation (appearance/style) and approval/control (horizontal surveillance and self-policing). Therefore, in terms of the spaces where horizontal surveillance and self-policing are practised in the shopping mall, the neoliberal system offers a whole world that progressively encounters its subjects, it maintains the competition and the need for approval by generating insecure or narcissist identities. As it is discussed in the last theme in relation with former themes, participants of the second group stated their need for others' "jealousy" and "admiration" to be sure about their position in their social circle. As the young professional participants perceive their identities as a part of their appearances, as popular culture discourse positioned the female body as a self-project and self-branding to invest (Winch, 2013), they tend to concern about their styles, being different and attracting the attention of other women. At that point, for both groups of participants, surveillance embodies self-policing; however, in different ways, creates different concerns. For the first group of participants, surveillance exists because they feel the pressure to be normal and to conform even

though they do not point at any surveillant for themselves. Secondly, to attract attention, being noticed and differ from other women from their socio-economic class is not something that they desire commonly. However, for the second group participants, attracting attention, to be admired and envied by other women mean the approval of the society and at the same time the production of the successful femininity (Riley et al., 2016) within a disciplinary power system in which women both the subject and the object of the horizontal surveillance as an obligation of the consumption-oriented postfeminist gaze.

5. CONCLUSION

Today's postmodern world generates and reshapes the consumer society within the biopower discourse that conducts individuals to construct their identities as their own products and entrepreneur self-projects. Therefore, within the dynamics of the neoliberalism, individuals become subjects (Foucault, 1982) in order to construct their identities as their entrepreneur self-projects. Concordantly, homo-economicus/neoliberal subjects commodify themselves by identifying themselves by their consumption and acquire commodity-signs to be "valuable" through their consumption preferences. The competition of the neoliberal system manifests itself also between neoliberal subjects. Therefore, during the postmodern times, panopticon mechanism and discipline by surveillance are interiorized by neoliberal subjects in order to provide the self-discipline and self-policing to be able to succeed in the competition with others. Thus, the surveillance of others and the desire to be the best create the neoliberal forms of surveillance mechanism that also appear as "feminist issue" (Gill, 2019) because of the definition of the postfeminist discourse as the gendered neoliberalism (Gill, 2019).

Thus, this research focused on the horizontal surveillance between young professional women, by arguing shopping malls as one of the central places of the consumer society where the horizontal surveillance practised as an oppression mechanism that governs young professional women to self-police themselves to consume in a way that approved by their peers. Moreover, secondly, it is argued that shopping malls played a

crucial part in the transformation process of Turkish society to the consumer society and the internalization of the horizontal surveillance based on the competition between peers. Concordantly, first of all, how horizontal surveillance machine works within the consumer society in the form of "gaze of others" and as a feminist issue (Gill, 2019) regarding the intricate and reciprocal relationship between biopower discourses, media images, and the mechanism of the synopticon and gynaeopticon was studied in the first chapter. Secondly, in the second chapter, the construction of consumer culture and the spread of shopping malls as the key institute for the construction of consumer society in Turkey were elaborated. Finally, in the last chapter, the findings collected by the in-depth interviews were analyzed and discussed in the light of the literature review, regarding the research questions.

The comparison of the narratives of two generations by interviews reveals the difference between the perception of consumption by the generation introduced to the consumer society instantly and the generation who born into the consumer society. Different degrees of internalization of neoliberalism and the consumer culture by both groups of participants cause the difference of how both generations perceive identity construction and their ideas about appearance and secondly in what level and how they participate to the horizontal surveillance mechanism and compete with their peers. Concordantly, while the older generation practise hedonistic shopping as "a guilty pleasure" that they do not approve and try to reduce; as the fully interiorized neoliberal subjects, for younger generation, the young professional women of today, consumption and shopping is a right as they do not express any guilt because of their

excessive shopping or the pleasure they get by shopping. They interpret shopping as a necessity to express themselves in terms of identity construction and as a hobby and skill as shopping is also a competitive activity in today's society.

In this context, according to this study, for young professional women living in Istanbul, consumption is a competitive activity itself and besides, the way they construct their identities through creating a fashionable, trendy, attention-grabbing, capable of competing with others and enviable appearances, as their own products. Thus they commodify themselves and create a sign-value by obtaining and representing the sign-values of the commodities they consume and circulate within the shopping mall to compete with others and be approved by others' competitive and disciplining surveillance.

Thus, the way both generations consume, reflect their identities and concern about the level of their conformity to the rest of society differ by the ideologies they interiorized and how disciplinary power is exercised upon them. While the concerns of the older generation who are caught between the modern and neoliberal identities, is mostly to look attentive, modern and in accordance with their social circle in order to follow the dress code of a public place; for the younger generation, being trendy/fashionable, to be looked, attract attention, to be envied by their peers are ways to stay in the competition and assure that they are conforming, accepted and estimable within their social group. Thus, as it is argued and expected before the conduction of the research,

according to this research, for the young professional women living in Istanbul shopping mall is the place where horizontal surveillance is practised in the form of "*gynaeopticon*" where they observe peers in order to compare with themselves, to learn acceptable identities and adjust themselves by feeling the pressure of to be surveilled and to be judged by peers. Within this system, according to the research being looked and surveilled by peers is not something that young women beware as it was expected before the interviews, contrary, for the young generation being jealous by peers and being looked, surveilled is the desired position that assures them their success within the competition with others.

In essence, consumption and aesthetic labour stand as the results of the postfeminist discourse for the young professional women as the second group participants trying to exist and invest themselves by shopping and obtaining fashionable identities to show off on the runway of the shopping mall and commodify their bodies by reducing their identities to their appearances and their tastes. By adopting an acceptable appearance that they interiorize by synopticon and gynaeopticon, they discipline themselves within the panoptic structure of the shopping mall. It has been clearly showed that according to the findings of this study, shopping malls in Istanbul are the crucial spaces for the construction of an acceptable identity by the appearance and surveilling other women to self-policing for young professional women. The gaze of their female peers has importance for them in order to assure their position within the competition. However, it needs to be stressed at this point that because of this research limited by the secular women, the concluding thoughts of this research cannot incorporate all

socio-cultural groups of young professional women living in Istanbul. However, by stressing the plurality and the polarization of Turkish consumer and participants concerns about the judgemental conservative gaze, this research addresses the "problem of the conservative gaze" for secular Turkish young professional women as a problematic topic and another restricting and disciplinary dynamic within the Turkish society for further research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Research Participant Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Name of Researcher: Ipek Ozgen, i.ozgen@lancaster.ac.uk

Institutional Affiliation: Dept of Sociology, Lancaster University

Project title: A Comparison Study: How The Rise Of Shopping Malls In Istanbul Transformed Young Professional Women's Self-identification, Self-representation And Self-discipline Under The Gaze Of Others?

Dear participant,

This research project that you are invited as participant is conducted by Ipek Ozgen as a Dissertation project for the MA Sociology program at Lancaster University. The piece of research aims to understand the process of construction of the consumer society in Turkey and how the role of the shopping malls as consumption and leisure activity spaces in self-identification and self-representation of young professional women living in Istanbul has changed over the last three decades. On the other hand, this research project also intends to analyse the influence of the "gaze of others" on young professional women's choices and activities in the shopping mall. Thus, this research project intends to answer the questions comprising young professional women's experiences in the shopping mall, their interactions with others and the reproduction and representation of their identity in shopping malls from their very first opening until today.

This research's participants are working young women between 25-30 years old, living in Istanbul now, and women who were young professionals, living in Istanbul between 1990-1995. You have been invited as participant because you fit mentioned participant criteria. The nature of your participation includes the realisation of an in-depth interview with researcher Ipek Ozgen at your home or in a quiet café. The interview will take approximately 1 hour.

Your interview will be audio recorded and after interviews will be conducted and recorded, all recordings of interviews will be kept in a password protected computer,

which the only researcher of this project Ipek Ozgen will be able to access. You will not be asked to share any data related to your personal information like your address, race, health information, IP address etc. During the transcription of interviews, interviews will be anonymised with a pseudonym, and the recordings will be deleted permanently after transcription has taken place. The anonymised transcripts will be kept in a computer that belongs to the researcher and only accessible by her. Transcripts may be subject to be shared in an anonymised and in a non-identifiable form only with Dr Anne Cronin, as the dissertation supervisor.

You can request a copy of your audio record (before it will be deleted) or the transcription anytime during the research. You have a right to withdraw from the study within 2 weeks after the interview conducted.

You can ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Thank you for reading this information sheet,

Ipek Ozgen

Additional contacts:

MA Dissertation Supervisor: Dr Anne Cronin, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University: a.cronin@lancaster.ac.uk

MA Convenor Sociology and Social Research: Professor Anne-Marie Fortier, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University: a.fortier@lancaster.ac.uk

Head of Department: Prof Chris Grover, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University: c.grover@lancaster.ac.uk

Appendix B: Research Participant Consent Form

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Name of Researcher: Ipek Ozgen

Institutional Affiliation: Dept of Sociology, Lancaster University, UK

Title of Project: A Comparison Study: How The Rise Of Shopping Malls In Istanbul Transformed Young Professional Women's Self-identification, Self-representation And Self-discipline Under The Gaze Of Others?

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during or up to two weeks after this interview, without giving any reason.

3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, publications, or presentations by the researcher.

4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, publications, or presentations.

5. I agree to take part in the study.

Name of Participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

PLEASE KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM AND THE INFORMATION SHEET FOR TWELVE (12) MONTHS AFTER SUBMITTING YOUR DISSERTATION.

Appendix C: Research Participants

Group	Participant	Profession	Age
Group 1	1A	Doctor	57
Group 1	1B	Architect	55
Group 1	1C	Dentist	55
Group 1	1D	Dentist	54
Group 2	2A	Marketing Intern	23
Group 2	2B	Analyst	25
Group 2	2C	Category specialist	25
Group 2	2D	Pharmacist	24