CAPITAL FORMS IN COMMUNICATING IDENTITY PROJECTS AND MANAGING COMMUNITY CONFLICTS: MODEST FASHION ONLINE CONSUMPTION COMMUNITY

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Capital Forms in Communicating Identity Projects and Managing Community Conflicts: Modest Fashion Online Consumption Community

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Ece Başkol, certify that

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

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ABSTRACT

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Managing Community Conflicts: Modest Fashion Online Consumption Community

This thesis investigates the utilization of capital forms in communicating identity projects and managing community conflicts over a modest fashion online consumption community on Instagram. The literature on dynamics of and conflicts in consumption communities lacks the analysis of communities with moral sensitivities. Similarly in the modest fashion literature, little is known about the heterogeneous views of covered Muslim women on the modesty rules in the digital environment. Drawing from Bourdieu's field theory, this thesis examines how the Instagrammers of the modest fashion online consumption community utilize capital forms to communicate their identity projects and manage community conflicts arising from heterogeneous views on modesty rules. This study examines the communication of the community Instagrammers' identity projects through the narrated experiences in social media narratives. The community dynamics and conflicts are discussed over these identity projects. The seven identity projects are found by the analysis of Instagram data that is obtained through netnography. The analysis revealed that Instagrammers as moderators can manage community tensions by reconciling conflicting identity projects through strategically utilizing capital forms. This study suggests that in the communities that are gathered around morally sensitive consumption ideology, the consumption ideology can be both the reason and a solution to community conflicts.

ÖZET

Kapital Formlarının Kimlik İzdüşümü Sunumunda ve Topluluk Anlaşmazlıklarının Yönetiminde Kullanımı: Çevrimiçi Mütevazı Giyim Tüketim Topluluğu

Bu tez, kapital formlarının kimlik izdüşümlerini sergilemede ve topluluk içindeki çekişmeleri yönetmekteki rolünü Instagram platformundaki bir ölçülü giyim tüketim topluluğu üzerinden araştırmaktadır. Tüketim topluluğu dinamiklerini ve iç tartışmalarını konu alan literatürde ahlaki hassasiyetleri olan toplulukların analizi açısından eksiklik bulunuyor. Benzer şekilde ölçülü giyim modası literatüründe, örtülü Müslüman kadınların dijital platformdaki tevazu kuralları üzerine görüş farklılıkları konusunda çok az bilgi bulunuyor. Bu tez çalışması Bourdieu'nun alan teorisinden yola çıkarak, Instagram'daki bir çevrimiçi ölçülü giyim tüketim topluluğunun fenomenlerinin kimlik izdüşümlerini sunmak ve tevazu kuralları ile ilgili farklı görüşleri barındırmaktan ortaya çıkan iç tartışmaları yönetmek için kapitallerinden nasıl yararlandıklarını tartışıyor. Çalışmada topluluk fenomenlerinin kimlik izdüşümlerinin nasıl aktarıldığı sosyal medya anlatılarındaki deneyimler yoluyla inceleniyor. Topluluğun dinamikleri dinamiklerini ve iç tartışmaları bu kimlik izdüşümleri üzerinden tartışılıyor. Netnografi yöntemi kullanılarak elde edilen Instagram verisi analiz edilerek yedi kimlik izdüşümü bulunuyor. Analiz fenomenlerin topluluk ara bulucusu rolüyle kapitallerden stratejik bir şekilde yararlanarak topluluk içi çekişmeleri yönetebildiklerini ortaya koyuyor. Bu çalışma manevi duyara dayalı tüketim ideolojisi çevresinde oluşan toplulukların tüketim ideolojisinin topluluk iç çatışmalarının hem nedeni hem de çözümü olabileceğini öne sürüyor.

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For my dear grandmother, rest in peace, *Hafize Başkol.*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, consumption habits had been evolved from prioritizing functionality to hyper-consumption (Sirgy, 2001). People have started searching for symbols that provide status and prestige which Veblen (1899) coined as conspicuous consumption. With the changing face of consumption, people have started to engage with consumption as active consumers who search for cultural meanings and experiences (Shankar, Elliot & Fitchett, 2009) that they want to be associated with like femininity or green consumption (Thompson, MacInnis & Arnould, 2018). Consumer culture researchers examine those cultural meanings over consumer identity projects (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Through consumer narratives, marketing scholars study the embedded identities that consumers construct and reconstruct over their consumption experience (Autio, 2004).

With the technological developments and the spread of the Internet, consumers have started to narrate and share their experiences and identity projects on digital platforms (Schau & Gilly, 2003). Thus, social media and online consumer narratives have become valuable resources for marketing researchers to uncover the embedded consumer experiences that communicate different identity projects (Heinonen, 2011; Pace, 2008). These experiences and narratives have been examined also at the collective level in consumption communities (Black & Veloutsou, 2017). The consumption ideology, main brand, or consumption activity construct and form the identity projects of community members (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001).

Consumers and communities narrate their consumption experience drawing from the marketplace resources that they possess (Thompson et al., 2018). The related literature

in marketing has been developed mostly upon the capital model of Bourdieu (1986) which suggests that people mark the differences of their socio-economic status and classes through capital forms that they accumulate. The consumer culture researchers have used this model to examine consumers and consumption communities in different contexts (Arsel &Thompson, 2011; McAlexander, Dufault, Martin, & Schouten, 2014). As consumers have narrated their experience online, marketplace resources have started to be adapted to the digital environment (Belk, 2013). Bourdieu (2005) introduced new forms of capital that engagement with technological innovations requires. Later, the scholars have followed Bourdieu's (2005) attempt in developing the literature of capital forms on the online environment (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017; Julien, 2015; Park, 2017).

Until Thomas, Price, and Schau (2013), the literature on consumer identity projects in consumption communities has focused on the common characteristics and identities in the communities. The literature has ignored the heterogeneities among community members. Their comprehensive analysis of over 100 articles on consumption communities paved the way through emerging literature on conflict management in consumption communities. Before Husemann, Ladstaetter, and Luedicke (2015), conflicts in consumption communities had been regarded as necessary for fostering creativity and collective identity formation (Gebauer, Füller, & Pezzei, 2012; Luedicke, Thompson, & Giesler, 2010; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). Husemann et al. (2015) suggested that community-level conflicts are harmful for communities in which members have close connections. Thus, they need to have conflict cultures to protect their cohesion.

Although the discussion on conflict culture in consumption communities has been developed (de Valck, 2007; Hemetsberger 2006; Husemann et al., 2015), the dynamics and conflict management in communities with moral sensitivities remain understudied. I

claim that there is a research opportunity to discuss community dynamics, conflicts, and conflict management over the communication of identity projects through the utilization of capital forms. In the context of modest fashion online consumption community, this thesis aims to address the following research questions: “How capital forms are utilized to communicate different identity projects" and "how online consumption community conflicts can be managed through capital forms?".

The modest fashion online consumption community is a relevant context to discuss these questions because there is a similar research gap in the modest fashion literature. Most of the modest fashion studies focus on the stigmatization of fashionably covered Muslim women in the secular mindset and how these women challenge their stereotypical representations (Ahmad & Thorpe, 2020; Piela, 2010; Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010). Although Sandıkçı and Ger (2005) suggest that covered Muslim women have some sort of consensus about modesty norms and their presence in public realms, the popularization of digital platforms encourages me to revisit this issue. Addressing this research gap, the present study focuses on the dynamics and conflicts of the consumption community consists of covered Muslim women regarding their engagement with social media. The community is analyzed over the interaction of identity projects and reconciliation of conflicting identities by the utilization of capitals.

The discussion is guided by the social media narratives of sample community Instagrammers. To understand the dynamics, characteristics, and tensions of the community, the sample of 16 Instagrammers from the modest fashion consumption community have been chosen. They actively communicate and engage with their followers on a daily basis. Hence, their profiles are promising to provide a rich and vast amount of consumer narrative data regarding the community dynamics and conflicts.

The multimedia data was collected from the profiles of sample Instagrammers by netnography between November 2020 and May 2021. The multimedia data of Instagram narratives are supported with the field notes that were taken during the research, by being part of the community. Through multimodal thematic analysis (MTA) , how different identity projects exist, interact and circulate together in the community narratives is examined. Moreover, how some identity projects create community conflicts by uncovering the heterogeneities among community members is discussed.

To understand how these identity projects are communicated and reconciled in social media narratives, the utilization of capital forms from different fields was analyzed. The capital model of Bourdieu is chosen for this analysis because social media profiles have become, as Belk (2013) coined, digital extended-self of people (Thompson et al., 2018). Individuals communicate their identities by referring to their possessions which symbolize certain capitals such as a large network of people on social media indicate strong social capital. To derive capital forms from the consumer narratives, the data was re-coded by MTA to reveal the capitals that the informants accumulate and mobilize. Drawing from the systematic inductive approach (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013), the narrated experiences in the multimodal data are aggregated under the frames that lead to capital forms. To present a detailed analysis and protect primary data interaction, identity projects are discussed over narrated experiences in the data. Co-occurrence matrixes enriched the analysis by providing quantitative support.

This research contributes to multiple pieces of literature by settling at their intersection. In the context of modest fashion as a consumption ideology, this study aims to reveal how point of origin can be both the reason and the remedy of conflicts in consumption communities. Also, by combining the capital model of Bourdieu's field

theory with the identity projects in social media consumer narratives, this thesis poses an example for research opportunities in digital platforms. Social media allows researchers to test and critique new models and theories with an interdisciplinary analysis by providing massive and rich data. Thus, the current study is promising to contribute to the theoretical developments in consumer culture studies.

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows: first, a review of identity project literature over consumption communities and consumer narratives is discussed. The literature review continues with the marketplace resources and particularly capital forms on the digital environment that are utilized in the communication and reconciliation of identity projects. The literature review is concluded with the discussion of research gaps. Next is the outline of the research methodologies with the definition of the modest fashion online consumption community as the research context. After the methodology and the context of the study are depicted, the manuscript continues with the discussion of findings under the two sections of the utilization of capital forms in communicating identity projects and managing community conflicts. The study is concluded with the theoretical contributions, suggestions for future studies and limitations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The related pieces of literature will be reviewed under two sections. First, I will review and discuss identity project literature, especially in consumer culture studies. Then, identity projects literature will be narrowed down to identity projects in consumption communities. The common and heterogenous characteristics of consumption communities will be discussed over the identity projects of community members. Hereupon, how identity projects can be deduced from consumer narratives will be addressed. Thus and so, the second part of this chapter will elaborate on how consumers narrate their consumption experience and identity projects drawing from marketplace resources. The capital model coined by Bourdieu and developed in the literature will be discussed. Lastly, I will review how this model has been used and evolved in the digital environment.

2.1 Identity Projects

Identity is a much-discussed and multifaceted concept in a variety of academic disciplines. Identity can be used to define a single person based on individual characteristics (Olson, 2003) or group membership (Tanis & Postmes, 2005). Also, there are community identities that address certain collectives in society (Puddifoot, 2005). Although identity was considered as a fixed and stable concept (Kellner, 1992), this view gave its place to an approach that identity is a project and an active process that can be organized and managed (Giddens, 1991). Now, identity projects are studied as flexible and electable rather than pre-determined and stable concepts (Schau, 2018).

Shankar, Elliot, and Fitchett (2009) suggested that in post-modern culture people actively construct their identities by associating themselves with the symbolic meanings of brands, lifestyles, or possessions. The marketplace is full of symbolic resources that consumers can create and seek different identities (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Thus, consumer culture studies are promising to provide valuable analysis of identity construction and mobilization. In this respect, Consumer Culture Theory scholars have been studying identity projects in a variety of consumption contexts (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Music (Shankar et al., 2009), fashion (Parmentier & Fischer, 2011), blog (Kozinets, de Valck, Wojnicki, & Wilner, 2010) and food consumption (Bardhi, Ostberg, & Bengtsson, 2010) are some of the examples.

Also, there is extended literature focusing on the intersectionality of various identity projects rather than analyzing them as isolated (Collins, 2000; Gopaldas, 2013; Saatçioğlu & Corus, 2014). Intersectionality posits that we are positioned in society at the intersection of our multiple identity projects and social identity structures such as education level, age, gender, race, or religion (Gopaldas & Fischer, 2012). Although some of these intersections can be harmonized, some may have conflicting values or stigmatized in society. For instance, we label an old-timer with mid-life crises when we see him/her using a race motorcycle because society constructs certain expectations from different age groups. Similarly, we prone to find fashionable dressed veiled women odd because the modest dressing is stigmatized as outdated and restrictive (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010).

These conflicts can also be observed in the collective level consumer identity projects. Social entities such as consumption communities, brands, or, firms experience these conflicts, but try to develop strategies to manage them. Brands and firms use

management strategies in online and offline channels to protect their images (Arrigo, 2018; Rosenbaum- Elliott, Percy, & Pervan, 2015). Although brands and firms have corporate level strategies, consumption communities try to build their own conflict culture inside the community (Husemann et al., 2015). The next section will elaborate on the conflicts and conflict management in consumption communities over identity projects.

2.1.1 Identity projects in consumption communities

Consumption communities are a group of consumers who have a shared attachment to a brand (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001), an activity (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995), or a consumption ideology (Kozinets, 2002). The community can be organized by a company or brand, consumers, or related third parties. There are three common characteristics of consumption communities. First, community members feel connected to each other and differentiated from outsiders by sharing a common consciousness of kind (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). Second, communities have shared rituals and traditions that foster the shared history and culture in the community(Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). Black and Veloutsou (2017) give an example of the photo shooting and sharing activity of the Yes brand community after each meeting. Third, community members feel a sense of duty or moral responsibility to other members which motivates them to act collectively in times of crisis (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001).

Although communities share these common characteristics, they also vary regarding certain features (Thomas et al., 2013). In their comprehensive analysis of over 100 articles, Thomas et al. (2013) found nine dimensions of dissimilarities in consumption communities. The role of marketplace orientation, resource structure, and heterogeneity among members were found as the three understudied dimensions. They examined what

roles they play and tensions they create in consumption communities over the distance running community. They exemplified the differences among members by stressing their engagement with the running activity (Thomas et al., 2013, p. 1020). They observed that while some members see running as a competition, some think that participation is enough. They gave various illuminating examples to discuss the reasons for conflicts in consumption communities and pave the way through the literature on conflict management in consumption communities.

The consumption community conflicts had been discussed in the literature before Thomas et al. (2013). The heterogeneous characteristics of community members shaped the general discussions. Thus, the literature indirectly focuses on different identity projects communicated in consumption communities and how they can create conflicts. However, these studies emphasized that conflict is a necessary element in the continuation of communities by suggesting that they foster creativity and collective identity formation (Gebauer et al., 2012; Luedicke et al., 2010; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). Thus, until recently, we have had limited knowledge about conflict management in consumption communities. Nevertheless, the scholars who have noticed this research gap have initiated emerging literature on conflict management in consumption communities.

Husemann et al. (2015) organize the literature on consumption community conflict by separating them under narrow sense and broad sense communities. The members of broad sense communities are less interested in developing and maintaining long-lasting relationships while narrow sense communities value close connections among members. From an identity project approach, I can say that conflicting identity projects of community members have more potential to become a serious matter in narrow sense communities. Husemann et al. (2015) suggest that the articles which suggest conflict is

beneficial for communities studied broad sense consumption communities. So, the conflicts and tensions do not harm already loose ties among members. However, narrow sense communities need to resolve community conflicts to protect their intense relationships. The authors suggested that there are only two articles that directly address narrow sense consumption communities. De Valck's (2007) research on the online food community revealed that members can fight about the legitimacy of a certain behavior, characteristics, or norms. Hemetsberger (2006), similarly, found that F/OSS open source community has disputes about the community's mission and cherished values. As the examples show, the conflicts in narrow sense consumption communities are more intense, sensitive, and potentially detrimental for community relationships. Thus, Husemann et al. (2015) suggested that narrow sense consumption communities need conflict culture to deal with the community conflicts.

They study conflict culture over the online consumption community of Premium Cola consumers (Husemann et al., 2015). They found both formal and informal dimensions of conflict culture in this community based on the consumer narratives from netnographic study. Their study suggests that conflict management in narrow sense consumption communities requires subtle and collective processes initiated and carried out by conflict moderators. Similarly, Dinhopl, Gretzel, and Whelan (2015) discuss how labels are used strategically in the vegetarian online consumption community to preserve group cohesion. Also, Sibai, de Valck, Farrell, and Rudd (2015) conceptualize social control in online consumption communities over moderation practices in market interactions.

As I have discussed, the limited studies that shape conflict management in consumption communities literature were conducted in the online environment. So, the

literature has been built upon the dynamics of online consumption communities. The online consumption community can be defined as a community comprising of consumers of shared consumption interest who connect online without temporal and spatial limitations (Stokburger-Sauer & Wiertz, 2015). As they have no time and place barriers, online consumption communities allow researchers to examine their dynamics with little effort. Consumers reflect and communicate their identity projects in the consumer narratives on blogs or forums and social media narratives on platforms (Narvanen, Kartastenpaa, & Kuusela, 2013). Those narratives provide a vast amount of rich data regarding the heterogeneities, conflicts, and conflict cultures in online consumption communities. The next section will elaborate on the power of online consumer narratives in examining the consumption community dynamics.

2.1.2 Identity projects and consumer narratives

Consumer narratives are important resources for researchers to analyze consumer identity projects (Autio, 2004). These narratives can be observed in the transcripts of personal interviews, discussion in online forums or comments under blog posts, or visual materials on social media platforms (Arsel & Thompson, 2011; Pace, 2008; Shankar et al., 2009). Although the narratives obtained from personal interviews remain limited in the study's scope, online narratives have no spatial and temporal limits. People can create, develop, and share their narratives constantly in digital environments. Especially social media platforms facilitate this process by providing visual, textual, and aural resources and give their control to social media users (Ellison, Vitak, Steinfield, Gray, & Lampe, 2011; Heizmann & Liu, 2020; Page, 2012).

Regarding the consumption field, people can use social media to share their good and bad experiences with products and brands. Consumers can narrate their consumption experience by specific purposes like informing, warning, and supporting vulnerable consumers (Gurrieri & Drenten, 2019; Viglia, Minazzi, & Buhalis, 2016). Alternatively, they can share their experience to show their interests and find people with a similar enthusiasm for certain consumption activities, brands, or ideologies (Colombo & Senatore, 2005; Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). By forming or joining online consumption communities, consumers start to contribute to and shape the common characteristics I have discussed (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). Those characteristics are not predetermined or standard for each community, but community members form them. For instance, a shared ritual can be regular Q&A sessions, collective game nights, or live broadcasts for different online consumption communities. What determines these features are the identity projects of members that lead to collective characteristics. Utilizing visual and textual resources and signs and symbols, community members can define both individual and collective identities (Narvanen et al., 2013).

Although consumers are free to construct and present their identity projects online in consumption communities, actors who aim to gain statuses and power like fashion models in the fashion system (Parmentier & Fischer, 2011) and Instagrammers of Instagram cannot ignore field rules, norms, and cherished values in their identity projects (Freberg, Graham, McGaughey, & Freberg, 2011). Those actors need to preserve community cohesion to protect the power of their network. Also, they need to present themselves with causing no conflict to be respected in the community. Thus, as the conflict management in consumption communities literature suggests, those actors should assume the role of moderator (Husemann et al., 2015). Drawing from the resources to shape

community narratives, the moderator actors need to manage community conflicts. What are the resources in the marketplace to shape community narratives and the communication of identity projects?

2.2 Identity projects and marketplace resources

Consumer identity project studies have two main focuses. In the first section, I have discussed what is identity project and how we can observe it in consumer narratives and in the consumption communities. This section will focus on how identity projects are formed and communicated by the marketplace resources. Belk (1988; 2013) coined the extended self by suggesting that our possessions indicate and shape our identities. By possessions, he addressed not only physical products but also a network of people, avatars in the digital world, or virtual spaces that people share their blogs, music taste, or profiles (Belk, 2013). Scholars also use the capital model to refer to the resources that people can use in identity formation (Arsel & Thompson, 2011; Üstüner & Thompson, 2012).

The capital model was originally developed to examine the resources that create socio-economic classes in society (Bourdieu, 1986). As the extended self model of Belk (1988), capital forms correspond to certain possessions that consumers have. For instance, the scope of one's network indicates the strength of social capital that person has. Consumer culture scholars refer to this model by suggesting that consumption patterns, activities, and tastes can be conceptualized under capital forms to examine identity projects of different consumer groups. Arsel and Thompson (2011) draw from forms of capital to examine identity projects in indie music culture. Üstüner and Holt (2007) discuss consumer identity projects of poor migrant women in Turkey over capital possessions of two generations. Those studies draw from consumer narratives to observe which capital

forms consumers have and how they utilize capitals to communicate their identity projects. Accordingly, there are studies that examine social media narratives over the capital model to analyze consumer identity projects in the online environment (Bauermeister, 2015; Ellison et al., 2011). Those researches focus on both the formation and communication of identity projects by utilization of capital forms. Similarly, identity projects of consumption community members are discussed over certain capital forms in the literature (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005; Jones S., 2005; Poortinga, 2006). The next sections will review the forms of capital and discuss how consumers utilize them in an online environment. the forms of capital and discuss how consumers utilize them in an online environment.

2.2.1 Forms of capital

Bourdieu introduced the capital model in his field theory by claiming that capitals are the resources that determine our social positions in fields (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu originally specified four types of capital that we can mobilize to have or sustain positions in different fields (Grenfell, 2008). Economic capital is material accumulation (O'Hara, 2000) and monetary sources that we can have. It has different forms such as salary in return for labor (Tatlı & Özbilgin, 2012, p. 191) or property ownership (Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal, & Wright, 2009). It is also the basic form of capital, so all forms of capital can be reduced to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define social capital as "the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p.119). Social capital can be possessed either through involvement in networks or naturally through

group membership (Bourdieu, 1986). So, to gain social capital later, you need to invest in your social life, your bonds with the networks, and the creation of mutual relationships with people.

Cultural capital refers to choices and characteristics people have regarding taste, consumption, art, education, and language which emphasize the differences in social classes (Tatlı & Özbilgin, 2012, p. 192). Thus, by distinguishing social groups and communities, cultural capital leads to communal identities with social capital (Bauermeister, 2015). By being a source of collectivity and collective value creation through shared consumption patterns (Coşkuner-Ballı & Thompson, 2013), distinguished taste (Kates, 2002), and common practices (Schau, Muniz, & Arnould, 2009), cultural capital creates the feeling of collectivity, shared values, beliefs and behaviors. Cultural capital exists in three forms: embodied form is about the way you use your mind and body such as your taste in music or accent, objectified form refers to your material belongings that signal your cultural capital like your car or the book you wrote, and institutionalized form comprises symbols of cultural competence and more of a proof of your embodied cultural capital in forms of credentials, university degrees, etc. (Bourdieu, 1986).

Last but not least, Bourdieu (1989) defined symbolic capital as sort of a meta- capital which is the recognized form of economic and cultural capital. He later elaborated on this definition as "any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural, or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value" (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 47). In other words, symbolic capital refers to prestige, value, authority and, status (Grenfell, 2008; Holt, 1998). Besides symbolic capital, other capital forms are convertible to each other as well (Bourdieu, 1986). For instance, economic capital can be transformed into

social capital when a person increases his/her social circle through the network access that s/he gains through monetary power.

Later on, the literature of forms of capital was developed both by Bourdieu and other scholars. Especially the definitions and boundaries of cultural and social capital have been extended. In his later works, Bourdieu focused more on power relations in and structures of different fields such as journalism (Benson & Neveu, 2005), and art and literature (Bourdieu, 1994). Considering their distinctive, relatively autonomous, but similarly structured systems (Swartz, 1997), he suggested that cultural capital can be customized for each field. He initially termed it specific capital (Bourdieu, 1998b) but the literature developed it as field-specific capital (Holt, 1998). After the concept of specific capital for fields, new kinds of capitals have emerged in the literature, such as capitals specific to the field of the metropolitan Turkish hair salons (Üstüner & Thompson, 2012), Mormon religion field (McAlexander et al., 2014), and indie consumption field (Arsel & Thompson, 2011).

2.2.2 Forms of capital on digital environment

Capital literature has been formed as technological developments and especially the Internet change our social dynamics. Considering these innovations, Bourdieu (2005) introduced technical capital as an extension of cultural capital. He claims that people started to develop technical abilities that are acquired and improved by engaging with new technology and innovative tools. Later, other scholars follow Bourdieu's attempt to engage capital forms with new technologies and online environment (Levina & Arriaga, 2014). The literature on capital forms in the online environment can be divided into two comprehensive categories.

Some articles prefer to study existing capital forms on the Internet and digital platforms. Ignatow and Robinson (2017) introduce Bourdieusian digital sociology and discuss the components of his theory such as habitus, capital, and fields in the digital environment. Capital generation by successful social media strategies (Mandviwalla & Watson, 2014), taste and cultural capital accumulation of fashion bloggers (McQuarrie, Miller, & Phillips, 2013), and social capital acquisition through self-disclosure on social media (Ellison et al., 2011) form central discussions in the literature from a variety of disciplines. Especially social capital is studied and developed over its availability on social media platforms. As people started to socialize on social media, physical relationships are replaced by virtual networks (Resnick, 2001; Williams, 2006). As virtual connections gain importance, the literature was divided into two opposite arguments. Although some articles claim that the Internet facilitates the generation of new social capital (Hampton & Wellman, 2003; Steinfield, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008), others maintain that Internet usage diminishes social capital by damaging existing relationships (Nie, 2001; Nie, Hillygus, & Erbring, 2002).

Later, the literature develops new forms of capital specific to the online environment. Julien (2015) critically discussed social capital theories from different schools of thought and then raised the idea of digitalized social capital. He examined Internet memes as a form of digital social capital expression. De Zuniga, Barnidge, and Scherman (2016) compare social media social capital and offline social capital over citizenship and political participation concepts. Digital capital (Park, 2017), techno-capital (Lee & Chen, 2017), avatar capital (Korkeile & Hamari, 2020), and social media capital (Saxton & Guo, 2014) are some examples from the large and rapidly emerging literature.

Although the capital model and capital forms in the online environment are overstudied in the literature, little is known about how capital forms are utilized for self-presentation in social media. Besides, the community dynamics over capital forms are limited to discussions on social capital (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005; Jones S., 2005; Mathwick, Wiertz, & Ruyter, 2008; Poortinga, 2006). This study will address these gaps by examining the role of forms of capital in shaping the relationships in online consumption communities. Focusing on the utilization of capital forms in communicating identity projects and managing community conflicts, this study aims to discuss capital forms over the production lens (Schwarz, 2010). The research will analyze how capital forms are mobilized to produce social media narratives and visual representations to shape community relations.

2.3 Summary of the literature review and research gaps

In this chapter, the literature on consumer identity projects was reviewed under two sections. In the first section, why consumer culture studies are promising to provide rich analysis to the identity literature was addressed (Shankar et al., 2009). How identity projects are intersecting and how they can have conflicting features were discussed (Gopaldas, 2013). Then, how heterogeneous characteristics of members of consumption communities can create tensions in the community was pointed (Thomas et al., 2013). I claimed that although two literature have been developed separately, they are engaged with each other. The heterogeneous characteristics of community members stem from their different if not conflicting identity projects. For instance, the distance running community members had different ways of engagement with the running activity (Thomas et al., 2013). Some can be called "racers", while others can be "occasional runners". As

we can interpret, they have different consumer identity projects regarding the running activity. Although these two identity projects did not cause detrimental community conflicts, the identity projects related to legitimacy (de Valck, 2007) or community values (Hemetsberger, 2006) can cause community conflicts that need to be managed. The literature on conflict management in consumption communities was reviewed upon online consumption communities (Husemann et al., 2015). This emerging literature points to the research gap on conflict management in consumption communities with moral ambitions or sensitivities. This study will address this research gap by examining the modest fashion online consumption community.

The last discussion of the first section focused on the identity projects in consumer narratives. How social media platforms empower consumers to create their own narratives of consumer identity projects was highlighted (Viglia et al., 2016). In the second section, the marketplace resources that shape and communicate identity projects in those narratives were pointed (Thompson et al., 2018). The capital model was addressed and capital forms were reviewed under the marketplace resources (Bourdieu, 1986). Besides Bourdieu's initial capital concept, new forms of capital developed by scholars, especially for virtual social relationships were reviewed (Korkeila & Hamari, 2020; Park, 2017).

The prior studies claimed that capital forms are marketplace resources to shape consumer identity projects (Arsel & Thompson, 2011). However, the strategic utilization of capitals in communicating identity projects remains understudied. This study aims to interact conflict management in consumption communities literature with strategic utilization of capitals in communicating identity projects. By examining the capital forms that modest fashion consumption community Instagrammers have, this study will analyze

how the mobilization of capitals can be used to manage community conflicts. Considering that the main reason for community tensions is the conflicting identity projects, I claim that Instagrammers as the community moderators can manage these tensions by strategically mobilizing their capital forms. Consequently, they can resolve community tensions by reconciling conflicting identity projects in the community.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss the context, data collection, and data analysis processes of this thesis. The context is an online consumption community formed around modest fashion on Instagram. Drawing from netnography, data was collected from Instagram posts and stories of sample community Instagrammers. For simplicity, the collected data will be referred to as posts throughout the thesis. The data include screenshots and screen videos of informants' Instagram posts between late November 2020 and May 2021. Multimodal thematic analysis (MTA) was conducted to analyze the Instagram data. First, the data was open coded regarding the identity projects they address. Second, the data was re- coded according to the narrated experiences. The narrated experience codes were reviewed, grouped, and generated frames. The frames were lead to forms of capital as resources in communicating identity projects. Two coding processes in Maxqda 2020 qualitative analysis tool were conducted separately but the overlaps between two coding- arrays facilitate the analysis.

3.1 Research context

The fashionable ways of veiling, known as tesettür in Turkey, have been one of the most salient research topics in Islamic marketing and modest fashion for more than a decade (Abaza, 2007; Gökarıksel & Secor, 2012; Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010). Modest fashion is a broader term for fashionable modest dressing. Lewis (2013) described it as a youthful and individualized style of modest dressing that women can express themselves and their taste without relying entirely on traditional veiling and outdated modest clothes. Recently, the

women who dress fashionable but adhere modesty are called “hijabistas”, “hijabers”, or “hijabsters” in the literature (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018), as the terms resonate with a follower of the latest fashions, fashionista. As it provides an alternative to the generally accepted way of modest dressing, modest fashion becomes prevalent with contentions.

However, the tension between modernity and modesty is not a new discussion in the Middle East region and Islam (Kadıoğlu, 1994), especially in terms of the bodily practices of women. A simple item of clothing, headscarf, has been a powerful disruptive force that both secular and Islamic polar try to manipulate in Turkey (Çınar, 2008). Modest fashion exacerbates this discussion by introducing a tension between dressing attractive and being devout (Jones C., 2010) and participation of fashionable and attractive Muslim women in media (Lewis, 2010). The main disagreement causing these discussions is the intersection of Habermasian private and public spaces for covered Muslim women (Aksoy, 2005; Secor, 2002). Modest norms separate these realms for Muslims, especially for Muslim women. Covering certain body parts and abstaining from obtrusive behaviors belong to the public realm. Thus, private relationships, personal information, and charming bodily practices are considered immodest when they are disclosed in the public space. However, the intersection of these spaces becomes inevitable both by the spread of modest fashion and technological developments.

The invention of the Internet and later the spread of social media platforms allow people to instantly share their private lives. Starting with the launch of Facebook in 2004, respectively Reddit, Twitter, Tumblr, and Instagram have crawled into our daily lives. The participation of believers in digital platforms paves the way through the literature on the relationship between religion and the Internet (Brasher, 2001; Campbell, 2010; Cantoni & Zyga, 2007; Cheong & Poon, 2009). Although the literature focuses on a variety of

religions and beliefs, there is a considerable attention to Muslims, especially to the participation of Muslim women in social media platforms. The anthropological study of Waltorp (2015) investigates the social media interactions of young Muslim women in Copenhagen by discussing their composite habitus (p. 53), and the separation of public and private areas based on examples of love on Facebook. Pennington (2018) examines how Muslim bloggers challenge Muslim stereotypes, position themselves in Tumblr, and how Tumblr becomes a third space (Bhabha, 1998) between their private and public lives to negotiate normative understandings of a singular Muslim identity.

Instagram, as a visual-based social media platform, allows hijabistas to share their tastes and lifestyle instantly while enables them to easily reach numerous people. Kavakçı and Kraeplin (2017) discuss the dilemma of hijabistas between marketable western identity and Muslim values over three Instagram accounts. This study touches upon how self-disclosure of private life gets reaction from Muslim women followers, and how the inner tensions between western and Muslim values are presented by hijabistas on Instagram. Moreover, Baulch and Pramiyanti (2018) approach hijabers from a communal perspective to observe how hijabers frame themselves visually. Last but not least, there are studies pointing how social media platforms become channels for covered Muslim women to challenge stereotypes (Ahmad & Thorpe, 2020) and for encouraging collective actions to express social and political concerns (Beta, 2019).

This qualitative study of online modest fashion consumption community on Instagram was conducted to answer the following research questions: “How capital forms are utilized in communicating different online identity projects" and ""how online consumption community conflicts can be managed through capital forms?". Instagram as a social media platform is chosen for several reasons. As marketing professionals invest

in influencer marketing, the consumption communities have started to gather around and be shaped by Instagrammers and influencers. Since the consumption communities interact through the profiles of these influential accounts on Instagram, the scholars can observe communications among community members and obtain updated and rich visual and textual data, by this many-to-many communication channel. Moreover, Instagram enables researchers to observe instant reactions and uncontemplated stories, which provide valuable data in the illustration of community dynamics.

The informants of this study are the Instagrammers of the online modest fashion consumption community. By examining the identity projects they narrate and forms of capital they possess, this research also aims to address the community characteristics. Besides, the current study intents to contribute to an emerging literature on conflict management in online consumption communities. By analyzing community dynamics over identity projects of the informants and utilization of capital forms, I will present a discussion on the reasons and management strategies of inner community conflicts.

Until this thesis, the focus of the studies on modest fashion and hijabistas on social media was on the stigmatization and singularization of Muslim women's style and identity. The literature is limited in discussing the inner tensions and heterogeneities among covered Muslim women (Hopkins, 2011). Although there are studies that mention differences of opinion, there is no systematic examination regarding the management of these conflicts. Kavakçı and Kraeplin (2017), for instance, point how self-disclosure of hijabistas on social media is a controversial topic among followers in the comment section. Recently, two of the three informants of Kavakçı and Kraeplin (2017) have been unveiled, which might indicate that they could not manage the conflict but prefer their secular side in this dilemma. Moreover, the prior analyses of hijabistas on online platforms were based

on small samples and their limited scope of online activities (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018; Kavakçı & Kraeplin, 2017). Thus, the conflicts regarding heterogenous opinions on modesty norms at a collective level with extensive data remain understudied. Although there are recent studies focusing on Muslim communities (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018; Beta, 2019), our knowledge on online consumption communities around Islamic values is limited. Last but not least, as Husemann et al. (2015) pointed, there is a lack of knowledge about the conflict management in online consumption communities with moral sensitivities. This research aims to address these gaps in the literature by examining the dynamics of online consumption community over social media narratives that are shaped by and address to a large number of community members and audiences.

The modest fashion online consumption community in this study is formed by proximity with a single brand. A pseudonym brand name "Modest-anonym" will be used protect confidentiality of the informants' data. Modest-anonym was founded by a Muslim woman entrepreneur to organize modest fashion consumption festivals in different provinces of Turkey. Recently, the Modest-anonym has opened a shopping mall with the same name that addresses Muslim women consumers' needs. The brands in the mall are run by Muslim woman entrepreneurs. The founder and entrepreneurs also have online presences on Instagram. There is a common network of influencers, brands, and brand owners cooperating with Modest-anonym. Although they started to gather around the Modest-anonym shopping mall brand, the community has become a modest fashion consumption community by housing modest brands and hijabistas on Instagram.

The Islamic ideology affects the consumption behaviors, preferences, and lifestyles of the consumption community (McAlexander et al., 2014). Although their focus is on modest fashion; dowry shopping, cosmetic products with halal ingredients, and services

like Islamic tourism hotels are part of their consumption culture and lifestyle. These consumption preferences indicate how religious ideology of Islam has been translated into consumption practices and how these once distinguished two fields (Holt, 1998) turned out to be interwoven (McAlexander et al., 2014).

Despite their common interest in modest fashion and Islamic consumption ideology, the community houses heterogeneous ideas and consumption characteristics. Community members use various styles and garments to cover their bodies and hair, and they have different norms regarding the tightness and color of clothes. These heterogeneities are promising to provide valuable information for the analysis on the community dynamics and the related research questions that have been posed. Through the analysis of these heterogeneities, I examined how intersecting but conflicting identity projects create community tensions by triggering the heterogeneities in the community and how capital forms were mobilized not only to communicate but also to reconcile the identity projects.

3.2 Data collection

The multi-media data was collected on Instagram from late November 2020 to May 2021 by netnography. I became a part of the community for these six months to observe the communal dynamics and collect Instagram post data that facilitate the analysis process. 16 Instagrammer accounts from the online consumption community were chosen for data collection. The collected data comprises 548 screenshots and 4 screen videos from the Instagram activities of the informants. The multi-media data is supported with my field notes. Most of the data coming from the ephemeral feature of stories on Instagram. Launched in August 2016, stories is one of the innovative and interactive features on

social media platforms (Leaver, Highfield, & Abidin, 2020). Stories feature operates also on other platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp. It allows people to share ephemeral and transient content that remains visible for 24 hours. Also, comment sections under the posts may be altered or deactivated by the informants. Thus, most of the data used in this study are not available (stories) or may be changed or deleted. The following section will elaborate on netnography as the data collection methodology and discuss the data collection in this thesis as a netnographic study.

3.2.1 Netnography

In the Covid-19 period, online platforms become the main medium for us to maintain our daily activities. Education, entertainment, conferences, and even gyms are moved into our living room through the Internet. As physical interactions are restricted, social media platforms become the main communication channels. We use and be part of social media platforms for different reasons such as getting medical information (Depoux et al., 2020) or alleviating our anxieties (Wiederhold, 2020). As people socialize on these platforms, a vast amount of rich data starts to circulate in the digital environment which in turn becomes accessible to researchers.

To collect large but contentful data on Instagram, netnography is chosen as the suitable data collection methodology. Netnography is a qualitative research method that combines the Internet/network and ethnography. Kozinets briefly summarizes the methodology as follows:

> Netnography adapts the open-ended practice of ethnography to the contingencies of the online environment. It provides guidelines for participant observation in the online environment that includes: (1) investigating possible online field sites,

> initiating, and making cultural entree; (2) collecting and analyzing data; (3) ensuring trustworthy interpretations; (4) conducting ethical research; and (5) providing opportunities for the feedback of culture members. (Kozinets, 2006, p. 281).

Comparing to the alternative qualitative research methods such as personal interviews, netnography allows researchers to reach a vast amount of data in a limited time and with a limited budget. Besides, sensitive issues like religion require special care in the data collection process. The wording of questions in the survey, or the interviewer's attitude and approach during personal interviews or focus groups can distort the reliability of the data. Last but not least, netnography enables researchers to have a social proximity with their sample, as it enables me to observe the online community dynamics by being part of the community. Thus, netnography is promising to provide a vast amount of valuable data and observations without physical limitations and personal interaction biases. As I had six months to collect culturally rich data about the community, netnography was the suitable method to provide sufficient data in a limited time.

To address these points and the research questions of this study, I selected influencers and brand owners as my informants from the community. Those Instagrammer accounts are actively used and provide rich data regarding the community dynamics over identity projects and utilized capital forms. The sample Instagrammers for this study were chosen based on the guideline of Kozinets (2010, p. 89) for the netnographic research sample. 16 Instagrammer accounts were selected as informants based on their relevance to modest fashion, active membership in the community, heterogeneity regarding their modesty understandings, and the number of followers as an indicator of capacity to provide rich data.

All of the accounts in the sample are Instagrammers of the modest fashion online consumption community. They all follow each other and Modest-anonym brand account, and interact either by mentioning in posts or stories on Instagram or having physical contact as a friend. The informants also have high number of followers changing from 200K to 1,3M and they are highly engaged with their followers. They share at least one post and numerous stories on Instagram each day. Although the community range is not limited to Turkey, all of the informants live in Turkey and the textual data in the posts are in Turkish. Table 1 depicts the approximate age, marital status, the number of their children, and whether the informants are brand owners or not with their pseudonyms. Those information are based on the Instagram profiles of the Instagrammers.

3.3 Data analysis

After the Instagram data had been collected, it was analyzed by MTA separately for identity projects and capital forms. First, the posts were coded in the MAXQDA tool by following the steps of open coding (Creswell, 1994). Thus, identity projects have emerged from the social media narratives created and circulated through Instagram activities of the informants. Second, the posts were re-coded based on Bourdieu's Field Theory to reveal forms of capital. However, forms of capital were not obtained directly but derived by systematic inductive approach that Gioia et al. (2013) suggested. The first-order codes corresponded to the narrated experiences that posts represent. These narrated experiences were revealed by focusing on Bourdieu's capital model to address how informants show their possessions/capital forms in their social media narratives (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). The communication of identity projects was discussed through the co-occurrence analysis between identity projects and these narrated experiences. Then, the narrated

experiences were aggregated under the frames as the second-order codes, regarding how the researcher interprets them. The frames referred to capital forms, as they addressed the forms of possessions that the informants have and utilize. The following section will explain the data analysis process and methodology in detail and pave the way through the discussions in the findings chapter.

Table 1. Instagram Profile of Informants

Pseudonyms	Approximate Age	Married or Single	Children	Brand Owner
Elif	20-25	M	0	No
Hatice	20-25	M	0	No
Zeynep	40-45	M	2	Yes
Ayşe	20-25	M	2	No
Büşra	20-25	M	0	Yes
Selin	20-25	M	2	Yes
Başak	20-25	M	1	No
Esra	25-30	S	0	No
Oya	40-45	M	1	No
Zeliha	20-25	S	0	No
Cemre	25-30	M	0	No
Nur	20-25	S	0	Yes
Ebrar	20-25	S	0	No
Ecrin	35-45	M	1	Yes
Nisa	20-25	S	0	No
Rabia	25-30	S	0	Yes

3.3.1 Multimodal thematic analysis (MTA)

Braun and Clark (2006) propose thematic analysis as a rarely acknowledged but widely used research methodology for identifying and analyzing the patterns in data. Social science fields conduct thematic analysis especially for gaining insights from social experiences and interpreting these experiences in related social contexts (Rishi and Gaur, 2012). On that account, studies that work on social media data draw from thematic analysis to examine the patterns in social media narratives. Thematic analysis has been used on social media narratives for analyzing the social dynamics of a variety of social groups. Mother bloggers (Pettigrew, Archer, & Harrigan, 2015) people living in poverty (Caplan, Purser, & Kindle, 2017), and people with intellectual disability (Caton & Chapman, 2016) are examples from the recent studies.

Thematic analysis is used to analyze different aspects of social media narratives such as embedded meanings on textual data (Deighton- Smith & Bell, 2018), motivations behind posting and liking (Lowe-Calverley & Grieve, 2018), and identity projects (Shankar et al., 2009). This study conducted thematic analysis to examine the identity projects and utilized capital forms of the online consumption community Instagrammers. Following Highfield and Leaver's (2016) emphasis on the role of images in online identity performances and Marwick's (2015) argument on images' qualitative contribution to identity construction, the study had a multimodal approach in thematic analysis. As the data comprises textual, visual, and auditory data, not unimodal but MTA was conducted to reveal the identity projects and utilized capital forms of the sample Instagrammers.

In the first coding process, the posts were coded by the Maxqda tool according to the identity projects they address. The open coding process allowed identity projects to

emerge from the data. The identity projects were not isolated but intersecting in the social media narratives (Gopaldas & Fischer, 2012).

To derive capital forms from the data, the posts were re-coded based on the Field Theory of Bourdieu (1984). Unlike identity project analysis, capital forms were not obtained directly but derived through systematic inductive approach (Gioia et al., 2013). Following the steps of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006) and systematic inductive approach by Gioia et al. (2013), I started to generate first-order codes as the narrated experiences in the posts. Narrated experiences are like the themes that organize the patterns in the data to answer the research question (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). By looking at the repetitive ideas and activities that refer to capital forms, 14 narrated experiences were obtained from the Instagram data. 12 narrated experiences emerged as a result of eliminating the overlaps. Furthermore, the narrated experiences were aggregated under five frames based on of their relationships and relative positions to each other. Finally, the frames as the second-order codes corresponded to five forms of capital utilized by the informants.

By constructing capital forms through systematic inductive approach, the analysis of capital forms in communicating identity projects and managing community conflicts were facilitated. The results of two separate MTA were associated in the Maxqda environment. The co-occurrence matrixes of identity projects and narrated experiences combine the qualitative analysis with quantitative output (Boyatzis, 1998). Thus, the latent meanings were uncovered by the qualitative analysis through interaction with the quantitative illustrations. Moreover, this study analyzes the role of capital forms in conflict management by a fragmented approach. Since identity projects were associated directly with the narrated experiences in Maxqda, the reasons of community conflicts were

observed through this relationship. The contradicting identity projects and incompatible fields were discussed over the narrated experiences. Thus, the derivation of capital forms through narrated experiences and frames enabled me to analyze strategies on community conflict management over narrated experiences, without losing the details of conflicts observed in the data. The next chapter will discuss the findings of the data analysis over data exemplars and field notes. Some parts of the data exemplars will be blurred to protect the anonymity of the informants but the explanations will be provided under the figures. Since the informants share their contents in Turkish, the translations of the texts in the visuals will be given under each example.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In social media platforms, users construct, negotiate, and reconstruct their identities through social media narratives. In this chapter, the first part will discuss the identity projects of the informants communicated through Instagram profiles. The communication of identity projects will be discussed over the co-occurrences between the identity projects and narrated experiences in the data. This analysis will be supported by visual evidences, co-occurrence charts, and highlights from the interactions among identity projects. The discussion on the relationships between identity projects and narrated experiences will guide this chapter through the second part by addressing the interactions among identity projects. In the second part, the data structure from the narrated experiences and frames to capital forms will be revealed. The community conflicts and strategies to manage these conflicts will be discussed over the relationship between identity projects and capital forms. Through the analysis of conflicting identity projects, the sources of community tensions and heterogenous characteristics in the community will be addressed. Conflict culture of the community will be presented over the utilization and mobilization of capital forms in reconciling the conflicting identity projects.

4.1 Identity projects in consumer narratives

The posts of the informants were thematized according to the identity projects that they address. The identity projects were not predetermined but emerged from the data. Although they are discussed and exemplified separately, they all circulate together in the social media narratives of community Instagrammers. As these identity projects are

narrated to address the community members, the community dynamics and consumption behavior are also pointed throughout this section. Also, the distribution of narrated experiences across different identity projects supports this discussion by providing insight into the communication of identity projects through referred experiences that Instagrammers point to.

There are seven interactive identity projects found in this study as a result of MTA. Motherhood identity project emphasizes the holiness and the demanding nature of being a mother. By showing how they put their families first and caring about the development of their children with Islamic values, the informants signal that motherhood is an essential part of their identity which they will not neglect now or later. Entrepreneurship identity is revealed mostly by the brand owner informants through promoting their brands, encouraging the spirit of women entrepreneurship by supporting other enterprises, and sharing the customer satisfaction messages from the followers. Also, followers motivate the informants who are not brand owners by demanding personal brands from them with the promise of follower support. As modest fashion influencers and brand owners, the informants become fashion guides by sharing and following fashion trends, making suggestions, and promoting related brands. Thorough virtuous Muslim identity project, the informants show that they perform and also remind us of the daily duties of Muslims. By paying attention to the modesty rules, sharing pages from Qur'an, and inviting followers to fast together during Ramadan; the informants reinforce their virtuous Muslim identity. With the social media influencer (SMI) identity project, the informants become the tastemakers in the community who decide what are good and what are bad tastes (Arsel & Bean, 2018). By sharing their preferences in home design, lifestyle, and daily routines, they give their followers a chance to observe, follow, and experience daily life

with them. The informants also want to emphasize that they all are members and creators of the consumption community, without any system of hierarchy. So, they communicate with the community membership identity by emphasizing proximity, unity, and equal contribution from all parties to both community characteristics and content. Lastly, by being normative family members, the informants highlight their ideas on the duties of and expectations from family members. They accept constructed gender roles and division of labor in the traditional families, while emphasizing their hostility towards nontraditional relationships like homosexuality.

Figure 1 below shows the distribution of seven identity projects across the data, so we can deduce the characteristics of the community by dominant and rare identity projects of the informants. As the informants are the Instagrammers of this community with their followers, the dominance of SMI identity project is not surprising. Virtuous Muslim and community membership are the next dominant identity projects and they address the informants as a part of the modest fashion consumption community. The remaining four identity projects are minor in comparison to SMI, virtuous Muslim and community membership but support the image that the informants aim to build.

The identity projects are communicated through the marketplace resources that the informants of this study utilized. The capital forms are these resources that are mobilized in narrating the identity projects. Drawing from the narrated experiences in the posts, the forms of capital are obtained by aggregating the narrated experiences under the frames. The narrated experiences co-occur with the identity projects in the posts which allow me to analyze how capitals are mobilized in communicating the identity projects. Therefore, before examining the identity projects in detail, I want to address the data structure of the narrated experiences and frames to create coherence.

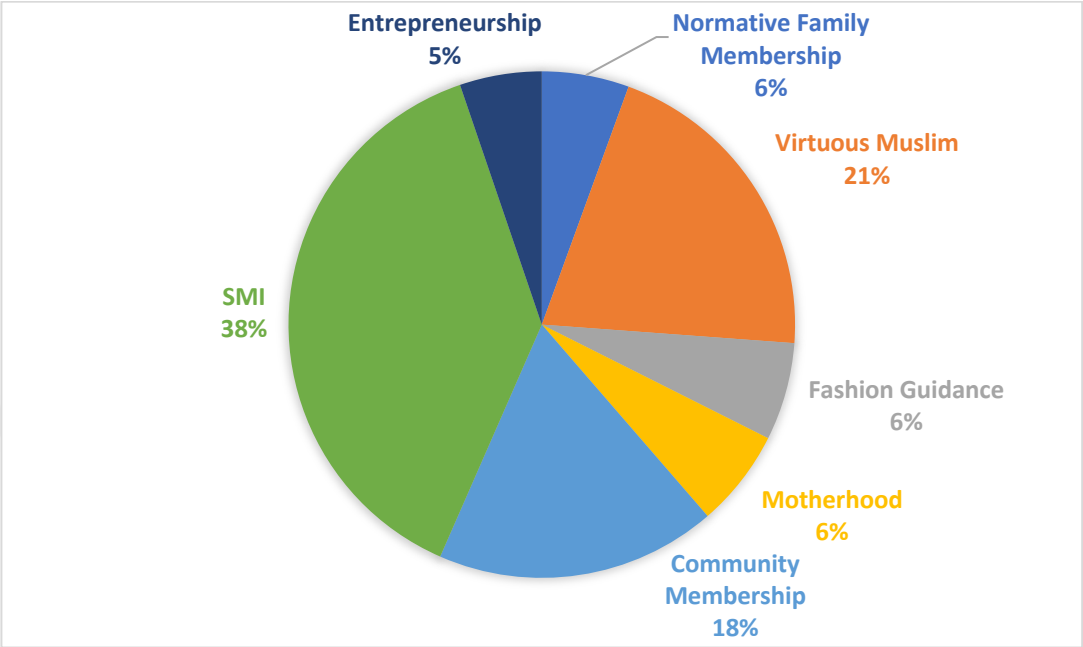


Figure 1. The pie graph of the distribution of the identity projects

Table 2 below summarizes the data structure of twelve narrated experiences under five frames. The narrated experiences will be explained under frame titles and the discussion will be supported with data exemplars. The data exemplars were coded for more than one theme, although the visual examples will be provided separately to discuss each narrated experiences. Therefore the narrated experiences are intersecting not only with the identity projects but also within themselves.

Table 2. Narrated Experiences and Frames in the Data

Narrated Experiences	Frames
Co-creation Responsibility Solidarity	Community
Instagram Skills	Technical Competence
Authority Companionship Personal Interaction Self-disclosure	Engagement
Religiosity Virtue	Muslimism
Family Synergy	Network

The narrated experience of co-creation is observed when the informants invite followers to join the content creation process or benefit from their ideas and questions to start new conversations. As Figure 2a depicts, the informants may motivate followers for interaction by posing them a question. Alternatively, Figure 2b illustrates how informants pick and share relatable ideas from the followers to show that they care about their contributions as community members. The narrated experience of responsibility corresponds to the informants' sense of duty for the community members (Muniz &O'Guinn, 2001). They display this awareness by informing followers about new updates in their personal life or the marketplace and correcting confusions about their actions.

The example in Figure 3a demonstrates how the informant explains the drawing in her hand to abstain from any misjudgments. She knows that tattoo is a controversial issue in Islam, as nail polish (Sandıkçı, 2020), because of its effect on ablution. She feels responsible to tell her followers that this is not a tattoo but a henna, so it is not waterproof and can be removed. The story in Figure 3b was shared when the scandal about child trafficking on an e-commerce website in Turkey came forward. The informant feels responsible to react negatively to this issue and show where she stands.

Lastly, the narrated experience of solidarity implies watching out the community members by supporting the community-based enterprises or warning the Instagrammers about their inappropriate contents. Figure 4 provides examples for both of the cases. In Figure 4a, a follower shares her satisfaction with the informant's brand and emphasizes that she likes the brand even she is not covered. This is also a good example to understand why the consumption community is named modest fashion rather than veiling fashion. In Figure 4b, a follower warns the informant about the explosion in the firework factory in Sakarya. The follower indicates that they know she has good intentions, but she can be misunderstood because of her cheerful stories. I combine these three narrated experiences under the community frame. They all reflect the values, sore points, and priorities of the community while encouraging communal attachment.

(a) The informant: "Do you know any woman who prepares tasty food in İzmir?" Question Box (QB) entitled as could you please share her account?

(b) QB entitled as so? 🐥: "Can you tell us what to pack for a vacation -name-" The informant: "I really like this idea, although people who have child are more experienced, I noted it down, I will share my list with you <3"

Figure 2. Data exemplars for the co-creation narrated experience

(a) "It is henna, not a tattoo 😒😑"

(b) "!!!Last minute news!!! -hashtags for brands- They are child trafficker!"

Figure 3. Data exemplars for the responsibility narrated experience

(a) QB entitled as let's talk while we are awake: "I wear your products willingly even though I am not covered and I am waiting for the new season <3" The informant: "Sweetie <3"	(b) Direct Message (DM) from a follower: "Dear -name-, you are very sweet and we love you but please do not share any more songs today, because of the incident in Sakarya" The informant: "What happened in Sakarya?"

Figure 4. Data exemplars for the solidarity narrated experience

Instagram skills is a general code that includes technical abilities of the informants. Photo editing, content creation, managing multiple social media platforms, and using innovative features like reels in Instagram are some of these skills. This narrated experience is under the technical competence frame because it provides examples of how the informants use Instagram and connect it with the other platforms effectively by benefiting from their technical abilities and adaptation skills to new technologies. The data exemplars in Figure 5 exhibit how the informants benefit from the "swipe up" feature of Instagram to promote brands and interaction between their accounts in multiple social media platforms.

(a) "It is more affordable than -brand name-, the front part takes whathever form you want." -She promotes women hijab from a sportwear brand-

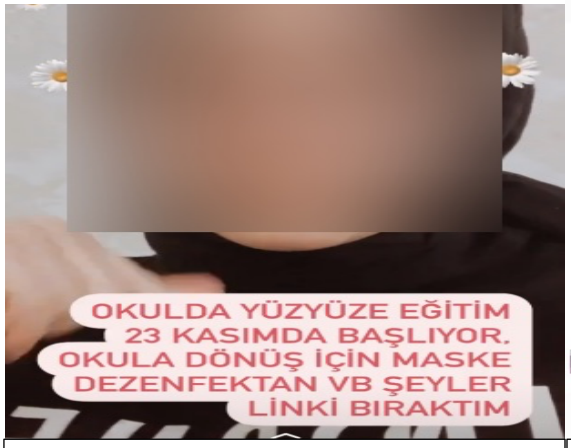
(b) QB entitled as 3-5 Q&A:"What do you do when you are unhappy 😔"The screenshot of tweet: "When I feel down, I firstly resort to my God then secondly to Turkish pop songs in the 90s" At the bottom: "You are invited to Twitter😂"

Figure 5. Data exemplars for the Instagram skills narrated experience

The narrated experience of authority is observed in the posts where the informants are perceived as authority figures who have expertise and experience in various topics. Data exemplars in Figure 6 show that followers trust the informants even for professional subjects such as chemical ingredients of cosmetic and hygiene products. Considering that the data was collected during the Covid-19 period, I can say that the community members trust the competency of the informants even in this ambiguous period. The narrated experience of companionship, on the other hand, corresponds to the instant posts and stories from informants' daily lives. The data examples in Figure 7 reveal how the informants offer followers to open cargo packages together or invite them to experience the coffee they drink. Through these posts, the informants want their followers to feel like they accompany the informants in their lives. The narrated experience of personal

interaction appears when there is a one-to-one conversation between the informants and followers. As Figure 8 shows, question boxes (QB) and direct messages (DM) on Instagram are the main channels of this interaction.

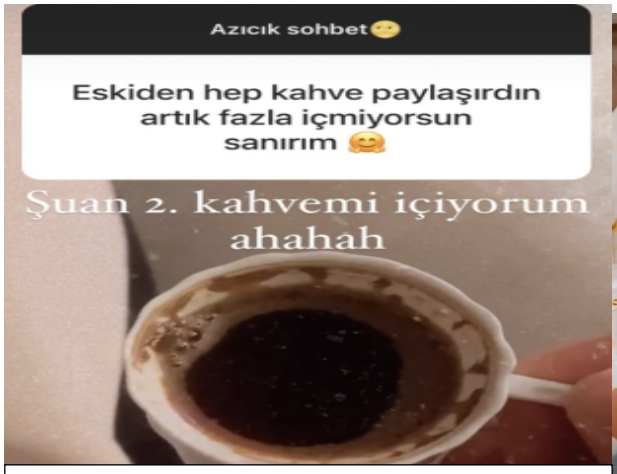
Lastly, the narrated experience of self-disclosure corresponds to removing the boundaries between private and public spaces by sharing personal information, intimate photographs, or household relationships. In Figure 9a, there is an intimate photograph that an informant and her husband hugging each other on their honeymoon. Figure 9b depicts a conversation between a follower and an informant about a personal health issue, gynecological disease. Besides being a private issue, women's health topics are social taboos in Turkey as well. For instance, recently a sanitary pad brand has covered their products with newspaper-like packages to draw attention to the period stigma in Turkey (Türkiye'nin Reklamları, 2019). As these four narrated experiences speak about the engagement dynamics of the community, I group them under the engagement frame.



(a) "In-person education in schools will start on November 23th. I share a link of mask, hand sanitizer etc. for back-to-school"

(b) Replied your story: "Can you please explain the benefits of this product one by one -nickname as blurred- I need to convince

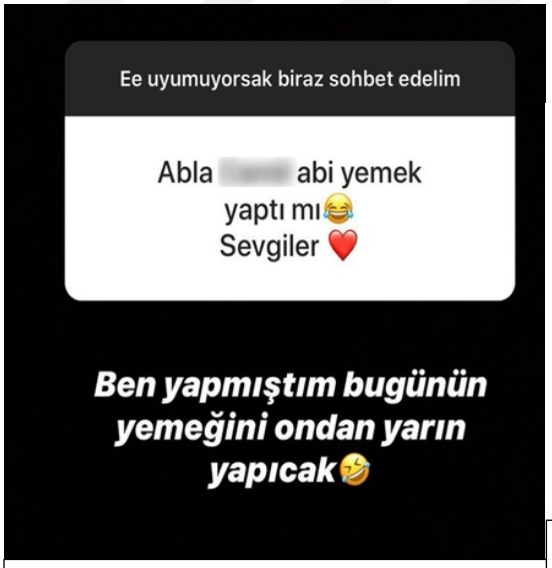
Figure 6. Data exemplars for the authority narrated experience



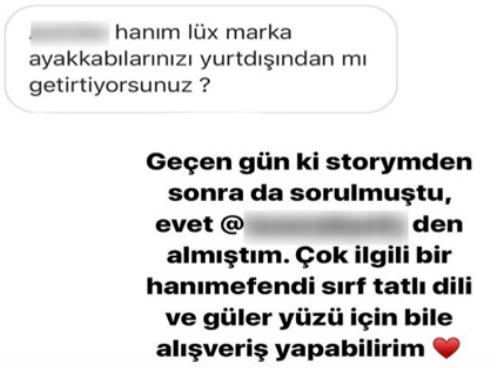
(a) QB entitled as small talk: "In the past you were always sharing your coffee, I guess you are not drinking it that much any more" The informant: "I am drinking my second coffee today ahahah"

(b) "Let's open the cargo packages together"

Figure 7. Data exemplars for the companionship narrated experience



(a) QB entitled as let's talk while we are awake: "Did your husband -his name- cook Sincere regards <3" The informant: "I have already cooked for today, so he will cook tomorrow"



(b) DM from a follower: "Do you order your luxury brand shoes from abroad?" The informant: "This question was asked the other day as well, yes I bought it from @-brand account-. She is very caring, I can buy even only for her silver tongue and similing face."

Figure 8. Data exemplars for the personal interaction narrated experience

(a) The picture of informant and her husband hug closely and the honeymoon place is tagged on the left side at the bottom. Text: “And close this night with a picture from our honeymoon 🙈<3”

(b) QB entitled as let’s talk ☺: “You had polycystic ovary, how did you overcome it, because I have the same problem” The informant: “Yes, I had it. It’s only cure is loosing weight which I have been trying and sharing the process with you lately ☺ However, it is better for you to go to a doctor, we might have different diseases”

Figure 9. Data exemplars for the self-disclosure narrated experience

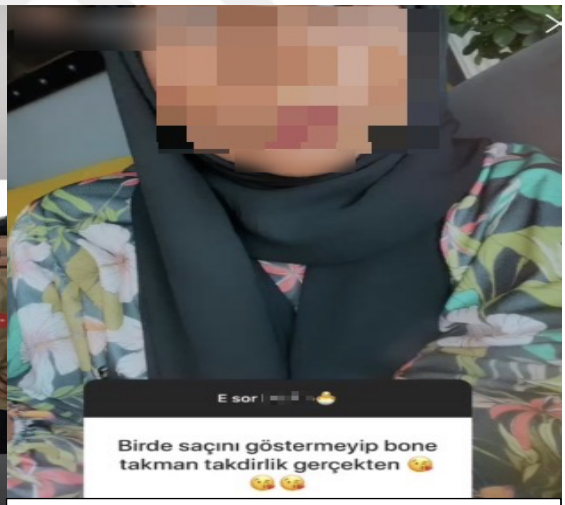
The Muslimism frame comprises religiosity and virtue narrated experiences. The posts coded under the narrated experience of religiosity exhibit halal consumption, fasting, pages from Quran and pictures from the pilgrimage. Figure 10 exemplifies the narrated experience of religiosity by addressing a religious marriage ceremony and concern about the new feature of a mobile game. Figure 10a illustrates how the informant reacts to a new update in a videogame called "idol worshipping". She emphasizes that a simple game can intoxicate Muslim children, thus parents should be alert. Virtue, on the other hand, is about being a role-model and altruistic Muslim. Through charity activities, respect for modesty rules, or emphasis on religious fellowship; informants show their virtue. Figure 11 exemplifies the narrated experience of virtue thorough a charity activity by a team of informants in Arakan and a compliment from a follower for informant’s veiling style. By promoting the values of Islam and inviting people to be better Muslims, religiosity and virtue are aggregated under the Muslimism frame.

(a) Red text: "I thought you were just a game!" Above the picture: "There is a new update in the #-name of the game- game to take weapons and equipment called "idol worshipping!"

(b) "19 September 2019
We became husband and wife in the presence of Allah <3"

Figure 10. Data exemplars for the religiosity narrated experience

(a) "Modest-anonym Team is on the job"
Banner: "-brand name- Festival Food and Sun Panel Aid Organization"

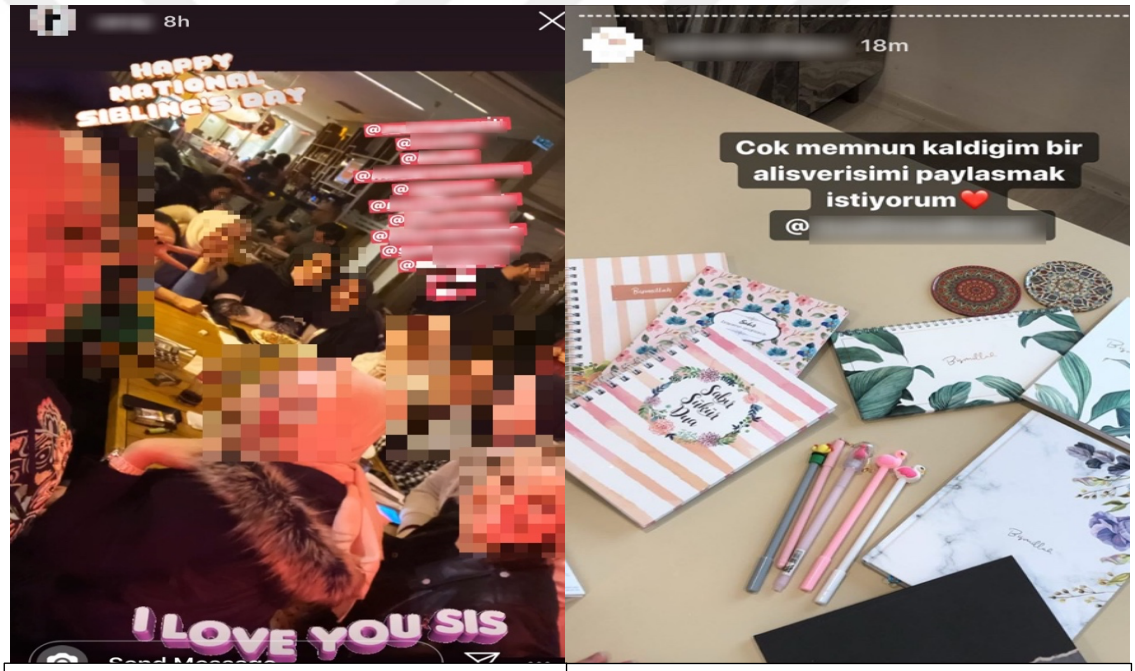


(b) QB entitled as ask me sister-blurred term is specific to the community-🐣: "It is really praiseworthy that you don't show your hair and cover it with lady's hat😘 😘😘"

Figure 11. Data exemplars for the virtue narrated experience

The narrated experience of synergy appears in the posts when there is a connection among the community members or promotion of the community-based brands. Figure 12 below exemplifies both of the cases by showing how the community network creates

synergy among themselves. The narrated experience of family is, on the other hand, observed when the informants refer their family members or relatives to indicate that they value family institution. They also integrate their family members into the community network by promoting their works or tagging their Instagram accounts, as Figure 13 shows. As they signal the large network of community participants, family members, and community-based brands, synergy and family narrated experiences fall under the network frame.



(a) The informant tags her friends in the blurred areas	(b) "I want to share a purchase with you that I am very satisfied with <3 @-brand account-"

Figure 12. Data exemplars for the synergy narrated experience

(a) "My cousin, my relative released a very beautiful chant." -In the blurred part under the text, the informant tags the Instagram account of her relative	(b)"Ahahahahaajah I am shocked, my husband - his name- has started to share stories 😄😄😄 @her husband's Instagram account"

Figure 13. Data exemplars for the family narrated experience

4.1.1 Social media influencer (SMI)

SMI is the most dominant identity project found in the posts. SMIs are the third parties who form the decisions and preferences of their audiences through blogs, posts, tweets, vlogs, and other types of social media activities (Freberg et al., 2011). The informants of this study are Instagram influencers who form and narrate the community's taste through their posts (Arsel & Bean, 2018). Although the informants communicate different identity projects, they all are in essence SMIs who introduce their brands to their audience or promote other brands by narrating and sharing their consumption tastes (Enke & Borchers, 2019). SMI is different from fashion guidance identity since it focuses on a broader scope of lifestyle guides, interaction with followers, up-to-date posts, and multimedia engagements. By being the tastemakers in the community (Arsel & Bean, 2018), SMIs lead the choices and preference of their followers in various areas of daily life.

Contrary to individual SMIs, the informants of this study act as a community and address a specific follower base. As in niche blogs such as for Harley Davidson drivers, the members of consumption communities share similar pleasures and consumption habits that they create content about. For instance, plus-sized fashion bloggers address and are followed by people who dress, demand, or curious about plus-size clothes (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). The informants of this study are covered Muslim women who dress modestly and respect Islamic values in their daily life. So, they address and are followed by people who share similar consumption ideology, habits, and concerns. Figure 14 portrays the lifestyle of and consumption priorities in the community. Figure 14a exemplifies the daily routine of an SMI that community members enjoy following because it reflects their lives. Praying, cooking, and tidying the house are the common daily activities for most of the community members. Figure 14b depicts the consumption criteria and concerns of the community about tourism hotels.

(a) "Get up -name- get up…Prayer will be performed, outfit video will be shot, dressing room will be tidied up, the dinner will be cooked"	(b) "Alcohol free family hotel, they have extra pool only for women <3 -@-the hotel account-"

Figure 14. Data exemplars for the consumption community characteristics

The co-occurrence distribution between the narrated experiences and SMI identity project is depicted in Figure 15. The three most frequent narrated experiences are self-

disclosure, personal interaction, and companionship which are grouped under the engagement frame. Self-disclosure specifically, is the main indicator of this identity project. It is a way to acquire social capital through network (Ellison et al., 2011) and symbolic capital by gaining credibility on social media platforms (Mazer, Murphy, and Simonds, 2009).

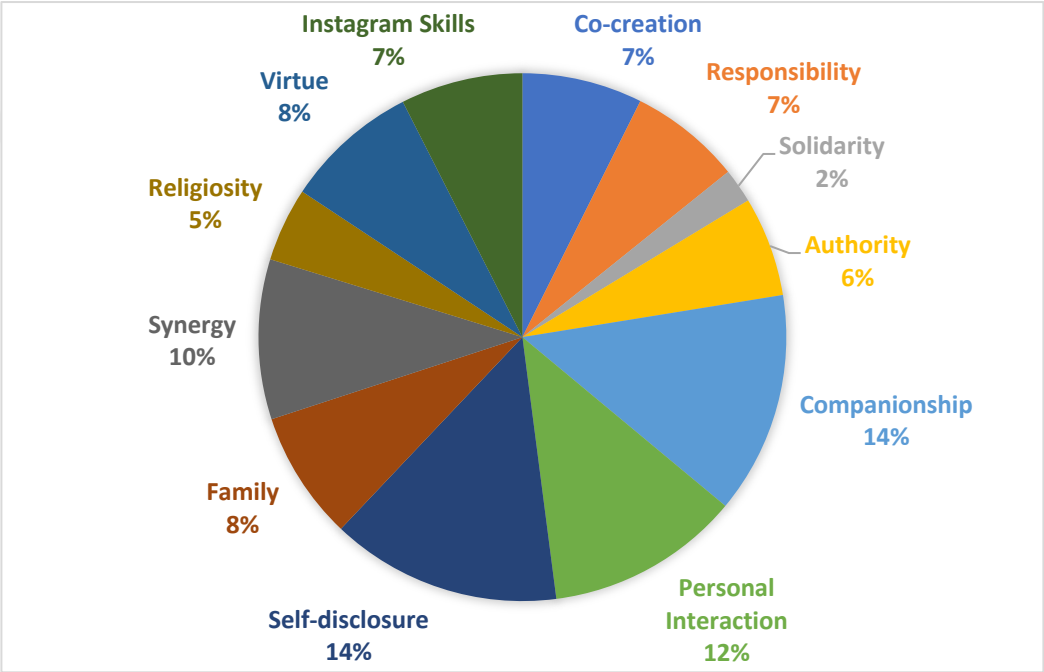


Figure 15. The relationship between SMI identity project and the narrated experiences

In Figure 16, two examples point the relationship between SMI identity project and the three frequently co-occurred narrated experiences. Figure 16a provides an example of how the Instagrammers narrate the companionship experience by sharing an instant photo and addressing followers as if they could answer immediately. Figure 16b exemplifies how followers consult SMIs about their experience in a private health issue. This image represents a solid example of how self-disclosure and personal interaction narrated experiences support SMI identity project.

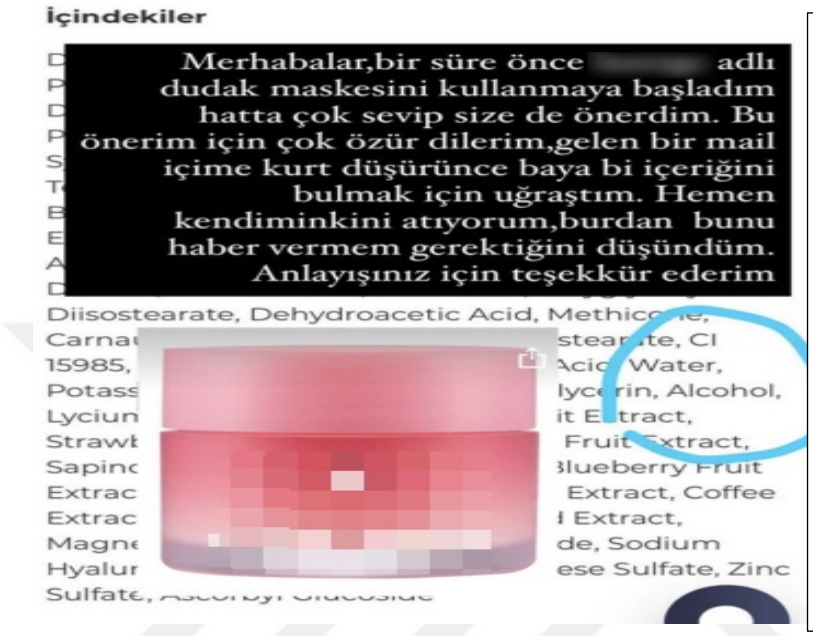
(a) "Heey, do you remember this bag? Very very useful and one of my favourites, now they sell it in another colorr"	(b) QB entitled as any questions🤗:"Have you ever gone into depression, if yes, how did you come out of it ☺" The informant: " Of course, I have been taking antidepressant for 8 years. I run away from listening to my inner self. I created proactively. Creating even absurd staff, finding novelty or discovering."

Figure 16. Co-occurrence between SMI identity project and three frequently narrated experiences

4.1.2 Virtuous Muslim

Virtuous Muslim is the second most significant identity project that the informants reveal in their Instagram activities. The attributive of virtuous in this identity project refers to being a good person, role-model for followers, merciful, and sensitive about social issues. Although this study does not examine followers' profiles directly, my observations from the comment sections and questions show that followers appreciate informants to be virtuous Muslims. In line with this expectation, the informants present virtuous Muslim identity project by sharing pages from Quran, promoting and consuming halal products, and paying attention to live socially responsible. Figure 17 presents an example in which

the informant shows her respect and care about halal consumption by apologizing to recommend a cosmetic product that turns out to include alcohol.



The ingredients list and a cosmetic product on the background: “Hello everyone, I have started to use a lip mask from -brand name- and suggested to you since I was satisfied with the product. I am so sorry for this suggestion. After I had had an e-mail which made me suspicious, I tried to find the ingredients list. I am throwing away mine right now, and I thought I needed to inform you also. Thank you very much for your understanding”

Figure 17. The data exemplar for virtuous Muslim identity project

The relationship between virtuous Muslim identity project and the narrated experiences is illustrated in Figure 18. Religiosity and virtue under the Muslimism frame are by far the most co-occurred narrative experiences with this identity project. This overlap is quite predictable since these narratives are parts of the identity project’s name. However, the high co-occurrence of virtuous Muslim with companionship and self-disclosure require further analysis. The data shows that through companionship, the informants invite followers to join their daily religious activities. The data example in Figure 19 demonstrates how the informant reminds her followers to fast by asking a directive question through polls function on Instagram while cooking for the evening meal during Ramadan.

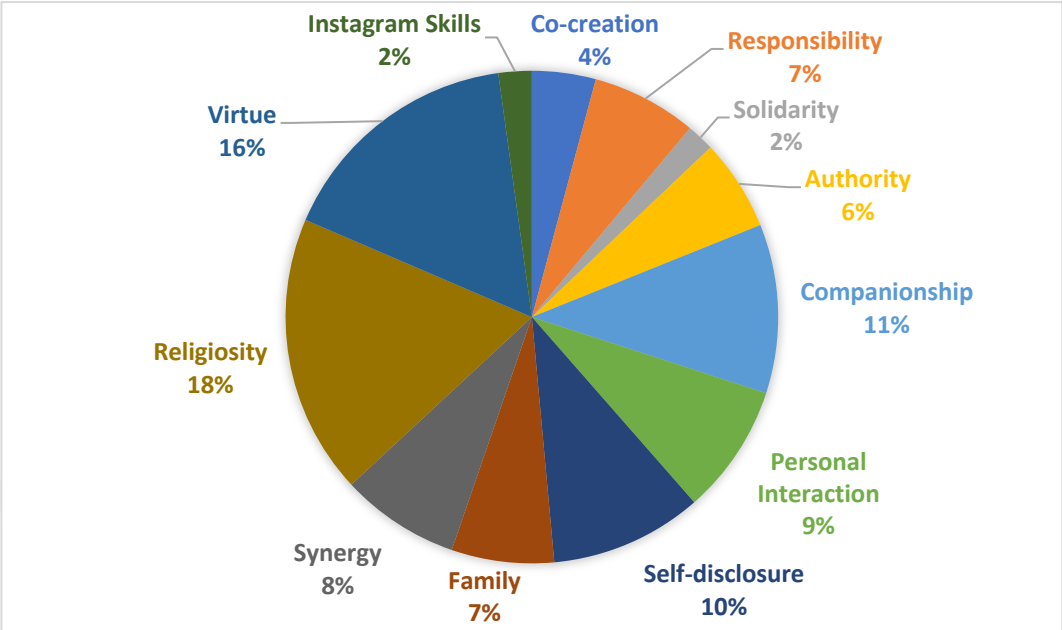


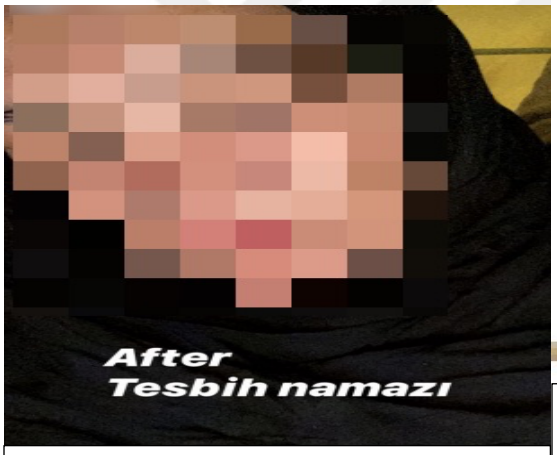
Figure 18. The relationship between virtuous Muslim identity project and the narrated experiences

"I am leaving the cheesecake to rest, by the way, we are fasting tomorrow, right?" Poll options are yes and no.

Figure 19. Co-occurrence of virtuous Muslim identity project and companionship narrated experience

As self-disclosure means removing the distinction between private and public space by sharing private information and moments publicly (Varnalı & Toker, 2015), self-disclosure contradicts with the modesty rules that virtuous Muslim identity cherishes. The extensive literature about the ongoing debates on the presentation of Muslim women's

body in the public realm over modest fashion and veiling (Bucar, 2016; Lewis, 2013; Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010) and visual representations of Muslim women on media (Jones C., 2010; Lewis, 2010) supports this interpretation. However, Figure 20 illustrates that the informants utilize self-disclosure to invite people to be better Muslims. In Figure 20, informants indicate that they have already performed prayer or share stories on how they or their family members started to veil. In line with this overlap, it can be argued that informants as virtuous Muslims benefit from self- disclosure by shifting its negative meaning. Through social media narratives, the informants change the immodest connotation of self-disclosure to a facilitator of Islam.



(a) "After tasbih salaat*"
*Tasbih salaat is a kind of prayer that Muslims perform

(b) The informant: "I have had a lot of beautiful messages like this since yesterday 😍Thank you very much, may God bless youu" DM from a follower: "Your mother becomes so beautiful and cute with veil -name-. May God bless you <3<3<3"

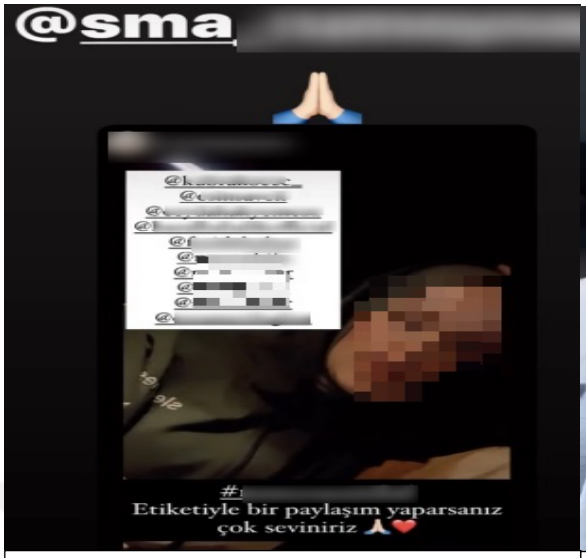
Figure 20. Co-occurrence between virtuous Muslim identity project and self-disclosure narrated experience

4.1.3 Community membership

Community membership is the third most salient identity that the informants communicate. Considering that the informants of this study are the Instagrammer members of the online consumption community, this identity project is highly expected.

The feelings of proximity and unity rather than hierarchy in taste-making differentiates this identity project from entrepreneurship, SMI, and fashion guidance. Community membership refers to expressing the collaborative nature of the community by addressing the network of people and the power of communal action. Incorporating followers into the community environment through consulting or thanking them, signals the community member identity of the informants. Figure 21 provides two examples to illustrate how informants trigger communal action for fundraising by suggesting cooperation and how they narrate the concept of "Instagram family" by referring to the long-lasting relationships in the community.

The distribution of narrated experiences across the community membership identity project is depicted in Figure 22. Although the narratives under the community frame is expected to have the largest proportions, they have relatively minor shares in the pie graph. Instead, the synergy narrative under the network frame and companionship, self-disclosure, and personal interaction narratives under the engagement frame are found as the most co-occurred narrated experiences with community membership identity. In fact, the informants present their community member identity not by emphasizing the communal characteristics but by engaging with followers and forming authentic relationships in the community.



(a) On the top, the informant mentions the Instagram account that they raise money for a child with SMA disease. They mention each other in the stories to create a chain of fundraising. At the bottom: "We will be very happy if you can share a story with #help-child's name- hashtag 🙏<3"

(b) "I was 16 when I have started to use social media🥹We grow together. Now, I am 22 and with you again. I pray we will be together and have many happy years to come☺️ Thank god you are with me. So glad I have you<3"

Figure 21. The data exemplars for community membership identity project

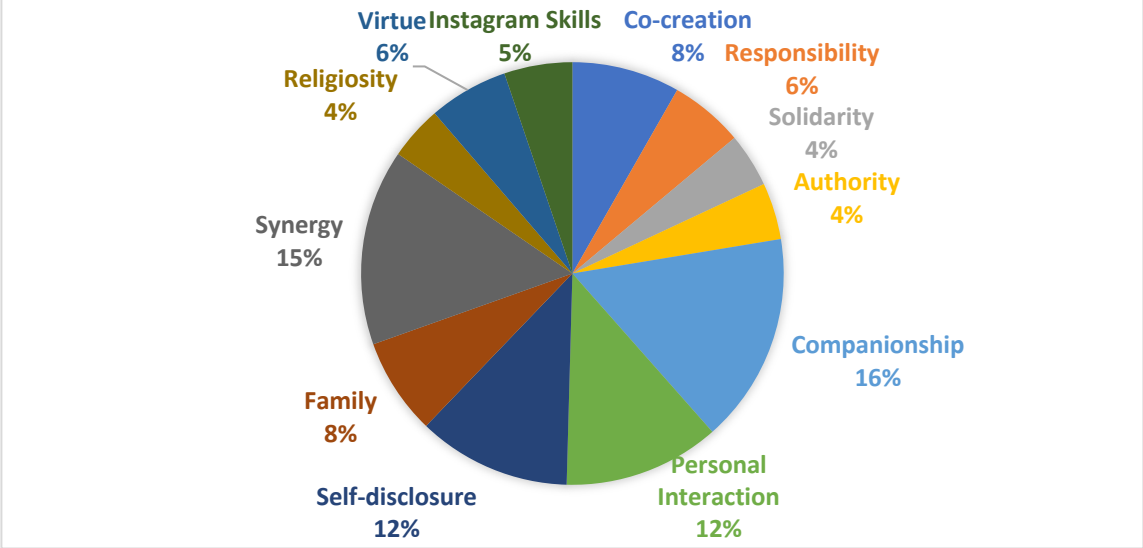


Figure 22. The relationship between community membership identity project and the narrated experiences

Contrary to individual Instagrammers; the informants of this study cooperate, promote community-based brands, and show us that they have a physical relationship outside of the digital environment. By creating a synergy in the community, they show the power of the network and collaborative environment that they have. Figure 21a is a good example of how the community generates financial resources to help people in need through creating synergy among community members. The data exemplar in Figure 23, on the other hand, demonstrates how the informants utilize the narrated experiences under the engagement frame to invite followers to experience their special moments like weddings together. By sharing these special and also personal moments with the community, the informants try to create genuine and nonhierarchical relationships with their followers, as community members.

Replied your story: “Believe me this night is unforgettable for all of us 😍😂Your Insta family loves you so much” The informant on the top: “Everybody sends similar messages since last night, I love you so much too, so glad I have you 😍I hope God gives you much better <3”

Figure 23. Co-occurrence of community membership identity project with the companionship, self-disclosure, and personal interaction narrated experiences

4.1.4 Fashion guidance

The fashion norms in the community is congruent with the recent phenomenon of modest fashion. As Lewis (2013) points, modest fashion introduces stylish, customizable, and young pieces that offer modest women the ability to express themselves rather than relying on traditional veiling. As a stigmatized group of women (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010), this community creates a common identity of modest fashion (Karababa & Scaraboto, 2018) which suggests that covered Muslim women can shop from mainstream brands while running their fashion enterprises. However, this common fashion identity houses heterogenous opinions on modesty norms (Thomas et al.,2013). Although majority of the informants cover their heads and most of their bodies; which garments are used to cover, which body parts are covered, and the norms on tightness and colors differ. Figure 24 below provides examples of how the ways of veiling and which body parts to cover are discussed in the community.

(a) QB entitled as let's talk a bit: "Don't be mad but why you are veiling like this 🙈"

(b) By addressing the reactions from the followers "I use this piece as tunic with a Jean underneath <3 I think you were confused a bit 😅"

Figure 24. Data exemplars to show heterogeneity on modesty norms in the community

Fashion guidance is one of the identity projects that have a relatively weak appearance in the social media narrative that the informants construct. Considering that SMI found as the most salient identity project, I can interpret that the informants internalize it more than their fashion guide side. So, although the community formed around modest fashion consumption; dowry shopping, kitchen appliances, cosmetic products, and even services like vacation hotels (see Figure 14b) are significant in the community's consumption culture. The fashion suggestions of the informants are not only for women's clothing but include men's fashion, accessories, make-up, and cosmetic operations like brow lifting and lip filler.

The pie graph in Figure 25 illustrates the relationship between the fashion guide identity project and the narrated experiences. Virtue, companionship, synergy, Instagram skills, and self-disclosure have relatively high co-occurrences with fashion guide identity in the data. As the community has conflicts about the adherence of the informants' suggestions to modesty rules (see Figure 24), the frequent co-occurrence of virtue narrative refers to the attempt of Instagrammers in managing the difference of opinion. This conflict management strategy will be discussed detailly in the second section over capital forms.

Informants take advantage of companionship and self-disclosure narrations to invite followers to the fashion journey at their home by opening packages or trying new clothes together. Lastly, the synergy and Instagram skills narrated experiences are observed usually when the fashion guide co-operates with fashion brands. As Figure 26 exemplifies, informants can promote brands by using their ability in content creation and photo editing. These elaborated posts draw more attention from the followers through likes and comments which serve both Instagrammers and brands.

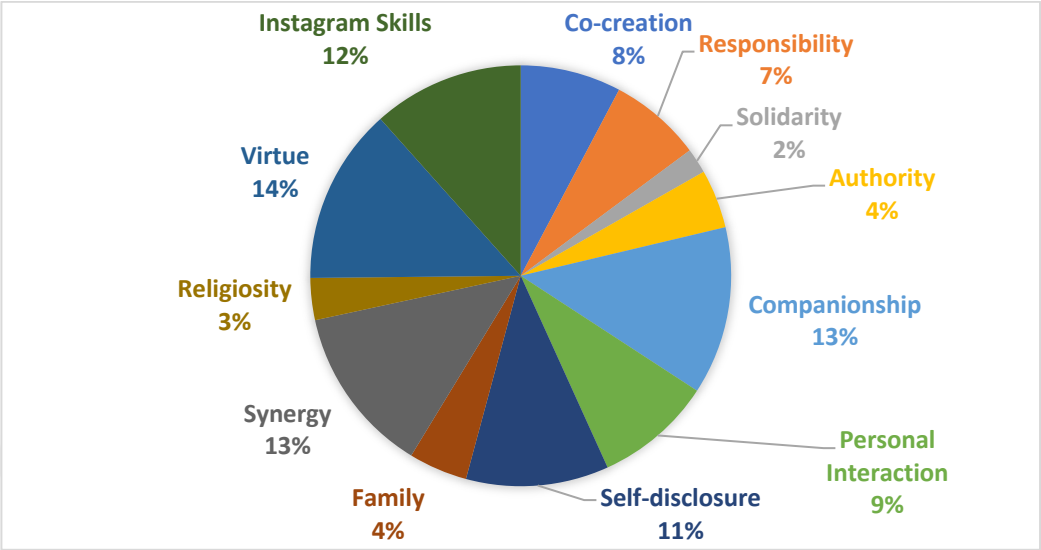


Figure 25. The relationship between fashion guidance identity project and the narrated experiences

Figure 26. Co-occurrence of fashion guidance identity project with the synergy and Instagram skills narrated experiences

4.1.5 Motherhood

Although only six out of 16 informants have children, motherhood is one of the identity projects of the informants with a 10% of occurrence rate in the data. Not only the

Instagrammers mention motherhood on their posts or stories, but also followers bring up this identity project via personal interaction channels such as Q&A sessions and direct messages.

Figure 27 provides a pie graph that depicts the distribution of narrated experiences across the mother identity project. Family and self-disclosure are by far the two most co-occurred narrated experiences with mother identity. Considering that children and motherhood role belong to a family institution, the co-occurrence of the family narrative and motherhood identity project is an expected overlap. However, as conservative Muslim women keep their private lives at home, self-disclosure is an unexpected narrative to be associated with motherhood and family institution. For instance, they veil only when they leave their home or host a male other than their brothers and father in their houses. However, the data shows that by sharing family photos or giving childcare advice, the informants invite us to their most private space, home. Unlike virtuous Muslim, self-disclosure gets no negative reaction and even demanded by the followers under the motherhood identity. Figure 28 depicts how followers encourage and request detailed information about nuclear family members. This demand can be interpreted of self-disclosure as another way to seek authenticity and intimacy in digital relationships. Thus, the more informants show their personal identity, as a mother, the more followers desire to see relatable and genuine experiences.

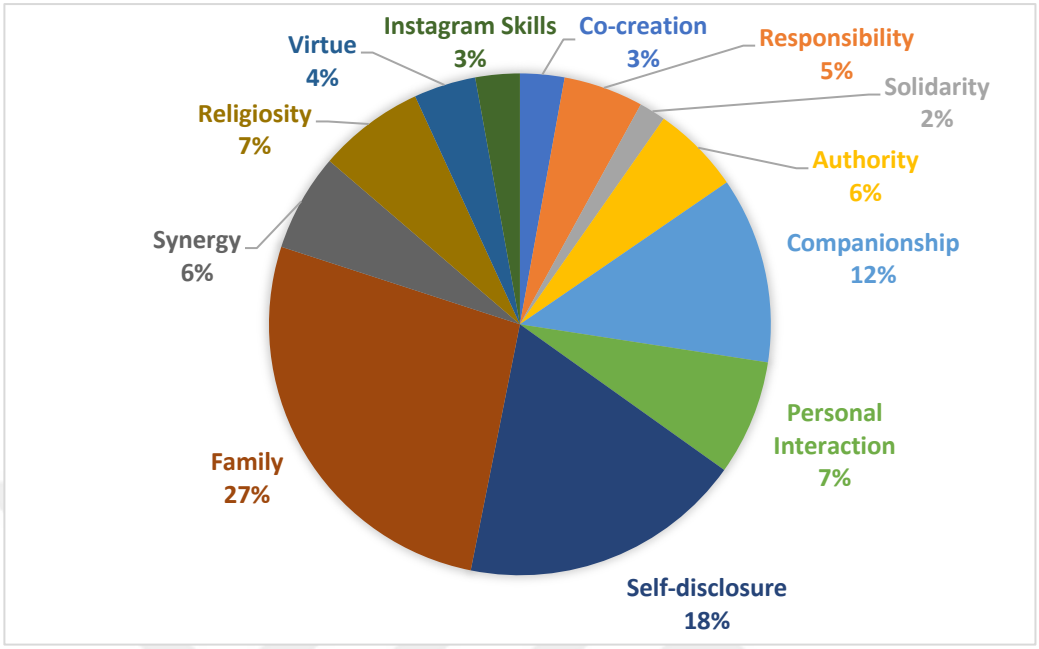


Figure 27. The relationship between motherhood identity project and the narrated experiences

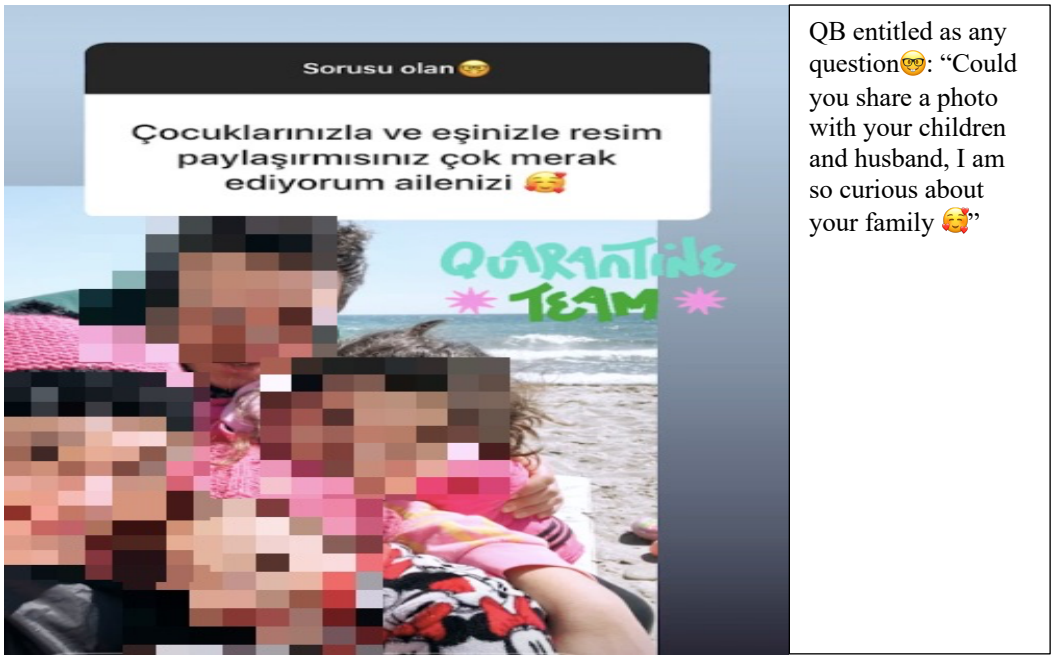


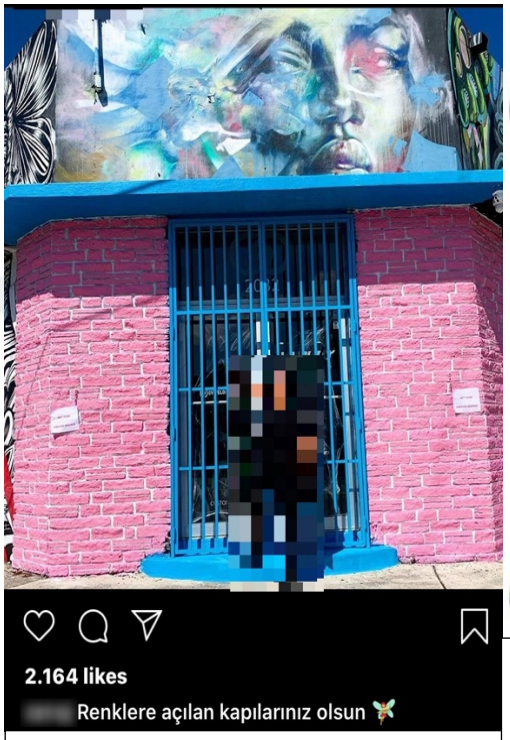
Figure 28. Self-disclosure request from followers

4.1.6 Normative family membership

Normative family membership is one of the relatively rare identity projects of the informants. Although it has a common ground with motherhood, normative family member identity refers principally to domestic relationships. The division of labor for house-related work and childcare, the ideal forms of motherhood and fatherhood, and traditional family members are structured with the discourses created by religion, educational institutions, or marketplace through advertisement (Epp & Thomas, 2018; Goffman, 1979). The men are characterized as physically strong breadwinners (Holt & Thompson, 2004), while home products and diaper advertisements address women as housewives who are in charge of their households (Kitsa & Mudra, 2019). Motherhood is also structured upon instincts of caring, sacrifice, and nurturing (O'Donohoe, Hogg, Maclaran, Martens, & Stevens, 2014), while fatherhood is presented as a learned role. Homosexuality, same-sex marriage, and lesbian and gay parenting have been stigmatized by Islam and perceived as threats to traditional family concepts like Muslim masculinity (Kugle & Hunt, 2012).

The informants' posts and interactions with followers reflect these constructed discourses in their social media narratives. Figure 29 exemplifies the negative reaction of the community towards LGBTI+ people. The post in front of the blue door was coincidentally shared during the Pride Week. Although lately the informant has deactivated the comment section for this post, I captured the comments when the post was shared. From the comments of three followers on the right, how the community indicated their hostility towards LGBTI+ people openly can be observed. Through my field notes, I can add that the informant was as hostile as the followers and angry to be associated with LGBTI+ people. The comments in Figure 29 and the informant's hostility point that

respecting constructed family roles and members under the frame of Islamic values has a significant effect on the consumption decisions in the community.



"I hope you have doors opening to colors"

First comment: "If this is the message you are sending, I will neither follow nor shop from you anymore" Replied by another follower: "I agree with you and I hope a woman whom we think promotes veiling does not have such disappointing thoughts or I will neither go nor suggest her. Third follower: " We will not shop from @Modest-anonym after this statement"

Figure 29. Data exemplar for normative family membership identity project

Figure 30 below gives the general view of the relationship between normative family membership identity and the narrated experiences. As it has been observed in the motherhood identity, self-disclosure and family are the two mostly addressed narrated experiences in the posts to communicate normative family membership identity project. Considering that most of the discussions are related to traditional family values and gender roles which motivate informants to share private information about their domestics relationships, both of the narrated experiences are expected to be dominant.

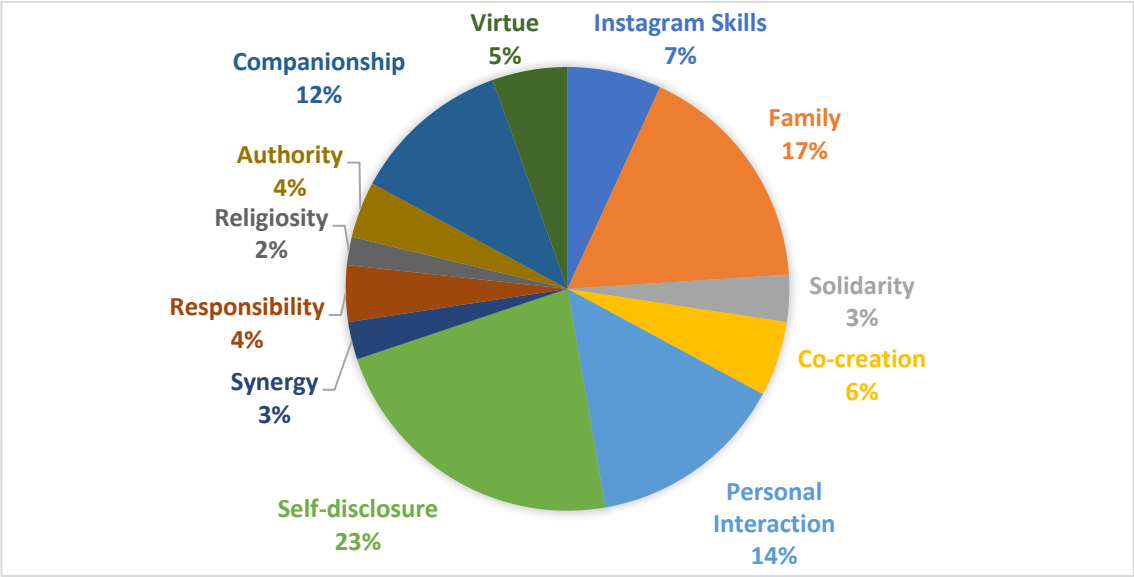


Figure 30. The relationship between normative family membership identity project and the narrated experiences

4.1.7 Entrepreneurship

As only six out of 16 informants have their brands, entrepreneurship is expectedly the least visible identity project found in the Instagram data. The documents that are coded under entrepreneur identity include the promotion of community brands and emphasis on women's entrepreneurship spirit. By supporting new women enterprises and sharing stories about their journey in running their own business, the informants encourage women ventures.

Figure 31 supports these observations by showing that synergy is by far the most visible narrated experience paired with the entrepreneurial identity of the informants. The informants create synergy either with their official brand accounts or new enterprises by women entrepreneurs. Figure 32 provide an example for both types of synergies.

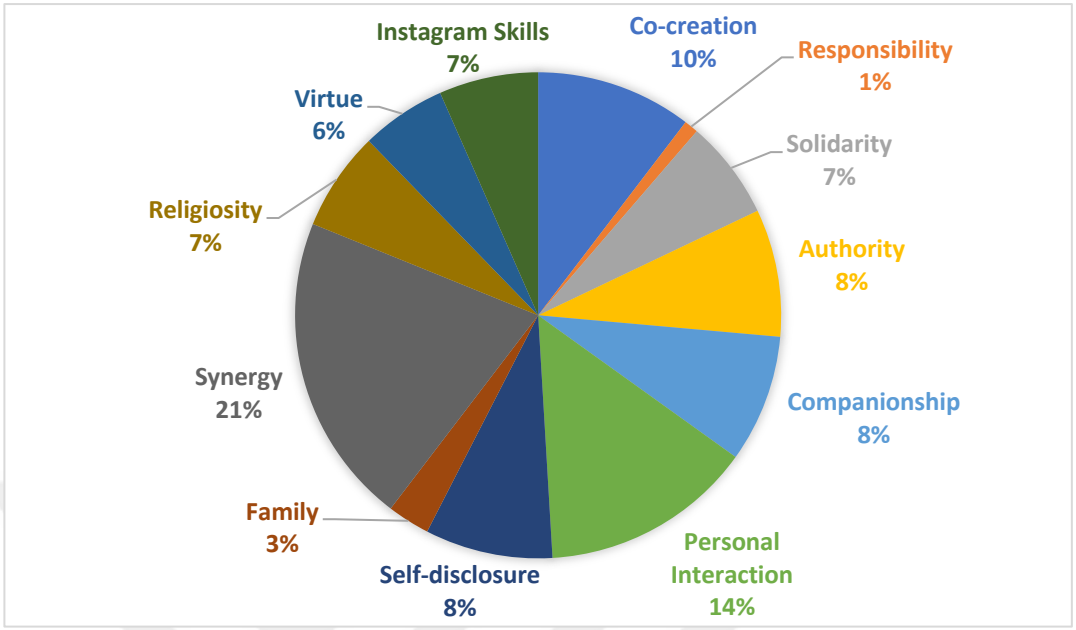


Figure 31. The relationship between entrepreneurship identity project and the narrated experiences

(a) "119.90₺ Free Shipping. One of my favourites -model of bag The looong-awaited is available!"	(b) "The person who made is a young entrepreneur women <3 Great job @-brand account-"

Figure 32. Co-occurrence between entrepreneurship identity project and synergy narrated experience

4.1.8 Interaction of identity projects

Although I discussed seven identity projects separately, they are intersecting with each other in the social media narratives (Gopaldas & Fischer, 2012). For instance, by promoting a fashion brand, an informant can address both SMI and fashion guide identity projects. If she also mentions the rules of modest dressing, we can observe virtuous Muslim as the third identity project in the same post. The code matrix in Table 3 below demonstrates the interaction among identity projects. Each cell, except diagonals, indicates the number of co-occurrences between two identity projects in posts/stories. Since the distribution of identity projects across 548 posts is quite disproportioned, the total number of posts that are coded for each identity project was indicated in the first row.

Table 3. Code Relations Matrix of Identity Projects

Identity Projects	Normative Family (50)	Virtuous Muslim (185)	Fashion Guide (56)	Mother hood (56)	Community Member (161)	SMI (343)	Entrepreneur (47)
Normative Family	-	6	3	10	10	19	2
Virtuous Muslim	6	-	18	16	37	84	8
Fashion Guide	3	18	-	0	10	34	6
Motherhood	10	16	0	-	13	16	1
Community Member	10	37	10	13	-	84	10
SMI	19	84	34	16	84	-	26
Entrepreneur	2	8	6	1	10	26	-

The most significant overlaps are between community membership and SMI, and between virtuous Muslim and SMI identity projects. The similar patterns of narrated experiences across community membership and SMI identity project support the former relationship. However, considering the ongoing debates studied in modest fashion literature and our previous discussions, the latter relationship can create community- level conflicts and may require further analysis. Being a virtuous Muslim requires serious separation of private space from the public (Sandıkçı, 2020), while being an SMI is supported mainly by self-disclosure of private life. Thus, the intersection of these two identity projects need to be managed by the Instagrammers through reconciliation of them in the community. The strategies of managing the conflicting identity projects will be discussed in the upcoming sections.

Besides remarkably high co-occurrences, there are also low intersections between identity projects that I want to emphasize. The most noticeable one is between fashion guidance and motherhood identities because they have never been together in any Instagram post. There are two reasons for this negative relationship that I draw from the data. First, most of the posts under fashion guidance are shared by the informants who are not mothers. Second, mother influencers usually prefer not to promote brands while they are posting about their families.

The second reason above is not specific to fashion guide and mother identity projects. Motherhood and normative family membership construct the familial side of the informants. Fashion guidance and entrepreneurship identities, on the other hand, are related to the professional side of the informants. The low co-occurrences between professional identity projects and familial identity projects indicate that the informants prefer to separate them. However, our previous discussions regarding the overlap between

virtuous Muslim identity and self-disclosure narrated experience revealed that the informants are comfortable with blurring the distinction between private and public space. These contrasting results suggest that the informants have a nuanced understanding of their public space. They refrain from incorporating their private life if financial benefits are directly involved. However, when the monetary gain is subtle, they don't hesitate to unite their private and public spaces to preserve their authentic relationships with their followers. Alternatively, they might think that their professional posts can be viewed by outsiders since the informants allow them to see by tagging brand accounts. However, photos regarding religious activities matter only to the community members who are not exactly outsiders in their lives. As a result, they control the utilization of self-disclosure in communicating different identity projects.

4.2. Forms of capital utilized in the consumption community

In the previous section, how the identity projects are communicated through narrated experiences in the posts of the informants' were discussed. This section will elaborate on the communication of identity projects by constructing capital forms through frames and narrated experiences. As Table 2 in the first section demonstrates, the thematic analysis directed by the systematic inductive approach provides twelve narrated experiences under five frames. Table 4 below completes the data structure by illustrating how the narrated experiences correspond to forms of capital through frames. Five capital forms are obtained as a result of the analysis. Cultural and social capital are the earlier forms coined by Bourdieu (1986) while the other three are relatively new forms of capital.

Table 4. The Data Structure Through the Thematic Analysis of the Data

Narrated Experiences	Frames	Capital Forms
Co-creation Responsibility Solidarity	Community	Cultural Capital
Instagram Skills	Technical Competence	Technical Capital
Authority Companionship Personal Interaction Self-disclosure	Engagement	Instagram-Capital
Religiosity Virtue	Muslimism	Religious-Capital
Family Synergy	Network	Social Capital

The narrated experiences of solidarity, responsibility, and co-creation under the community frame form the cultural capital. Those narrated experiences refer to the community frame by emphasizing the power of the communal action, respecting the values that the community cherishes, and stressing the valuable contribution of all members. Underscoring the common values and collective content creation motivates the formation of the community taste (Arsel & Bean, 2018). By sharing and internalizing this common taste, the community members delineate the insiders and outsiders of the community and hence the criteria for belongingness to the community (Jeannotte, 2003).

The distinction between insiders and outsiders indicates that the narrated experiences under the community frame correspond to cultural capital. Solidarity and responsibility strengthen the communal ties by emphasizing the sense of belongingness to the community and feeling of responsibility to other members (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). Co-creation, on the other hand, creates a common ground in the community and motivates members to join the content creation process.

Regarding identity projects, cultural capital is the main indicator of community membership identity. The informants remind collective identity, create communal taste, and motivate coherence against outsiders through cultural capital resources in narrating community membership. By reinforcing solidarity, reminding responsibility to the community and community members (Muniz & O'Guinn,2001), and motivating collective co-creation; the informants utilize their cultural capital communicate their community member identity.

Instagram skills narrated experience under the technical competence frame corresponds to technical capital. Technical capital was coined by Bourdieu (2005) in his later works as a part of cultural capital to capture the specific skills that people improve by their engagement with new technologies and innovative tools. Instagram as a social media platform includes a variety of technical skills to develop. Photo editing, creative content creation, managing multiple social media platforms, and using innovative features like reels in Instagram are some of the examples. The informants of this study show their technical competency to earn their position as Instagrammers. Also, the followers urge the informants to show those qualifications by asking for shopping links and demanding new vlogs to watch. Figure 33 provides an example of how informants value and appreciate their technical abilities and serve them as a proof of respect to their followers.

A story of an informant by adressing the reels video of another informant: “Respecting your work and your followers require you to aim higher and provide better service 👍🏾”. At the bottom: “Well done! @-the informant who made the reels video-”

Figure 33. Data exemplar for technical capital

Technical capital supports both SMI and fashion guide identity projects. Through exhibiting their technical competencies, the informants shape and indicate their position as full-time social media users. Both of their SMI and fashion guide identities are consolidated and internalized in the community through their technical capital. Also, those technical skills allow them to actively engage with and listen to the community members. By using Q&A sessions or polls, the informants gain insight about the community expectations. Through reel videos, the informants draw more attention to their profiles and hence spread their promotion activity to larger audiences. Thus, technical competence also assists the conversion of capitals for the informants (Bourdieu, 1986). Through active engagement and attention, the informants gain new social capital or strengthen their existing network. The powerful social capital attracts new sponsorship and cooperation activities that provide economic capital for the continuation of the capital cycle.

The narrated experiences under the engagement frame form the Instagram- capital as a field-specific capital. The informants utilize Instagram capital to engage with their followers on Instagram. What this capital offers as engagement opportunities are specific

to the Instagram environment. For instance, one-to-one communication presented under the personal interaction narrated experience will be responsive neither in physical settings nor in other social media platforms like Twitter. It is hard to interact personally with a crowd in a brief amount of time in the physical events. Also, it is challenging to address the whole community by pointing a general question from a follower in text-based platforms like Twitter. Drawing from their technical capital above, the informants can facilitate this engagement process on Instagram. Innovative tools like Q&A boxes and reel videos can support and intensify the engagement actions.

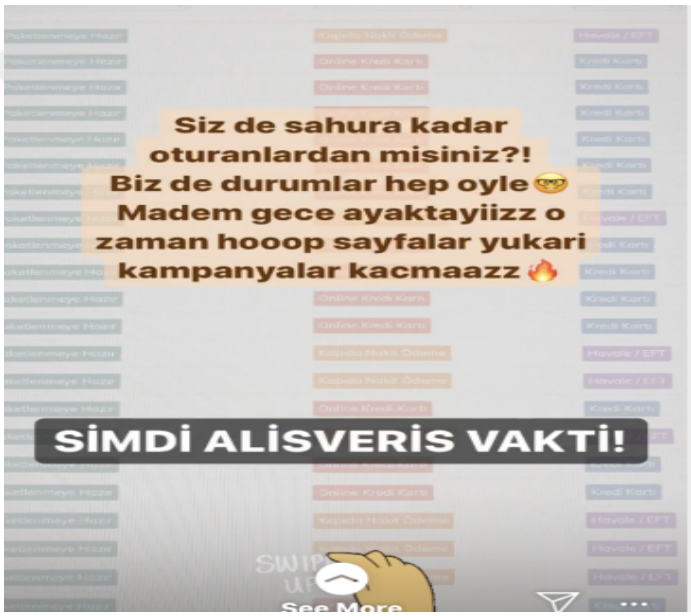
Besides, the narrated experiences under the engagement frame refer to the relationships specific to Instagram. Giving authority to Instagrammers for deciding on your consumption choice or experiencing the life of them as their company form the Instagrammer-follower relationship. Self-disclosure, on the other hand, makes this relationship authentic by removing the private-public space boundaries. Thus, the Instagram-capital supports all of the seven identity projects somehow. As the seven identity projects were created and communicated on Instagram, the posts and stories that symbolize these identities have been narrated by the Instagram-capital. However, SMI is particularly shaped and indicated by the Instagram-capital. The other identity projects can operate in other fields or they have been moved to social media from other contexts. For instance, the fashion guide identity project can be found in an offline setting as it originally belongs to the fashion field. However, SMIs are the third parties in social media who influence people through social media consumer narratives (Freberg et al., 2011). This identity project is created and operates in the social media context. Thus, the Instagram-capital is the main resource that both shapes and communicates the SMI identity project.

This relationship also elucidates why the Instagram-capital is found as a field-specific cultural capital.

The other field-specific capital is formed by the narrated experiences under the Muslimism frame. Religious-capital is utilized by informants in promoting halal consumption, reminding daily duties of Muslims, and emphasizing modesty rules. Hence, this capital addresses directly the virtuous Muslim identity project. The prior studies suggest that the main value of religion is operating as social capital to enlarge the social circle and accessible network (Deller, Conroy, & Markeson, 2018; Hopkins, 2011; Kaasa, 2013). Nevertheless, here I have observed how religion becomes a part of the cultural capital for the community. By narrating Muslim consumers' experiences and expectations, religious-capital communicates the virtuous Muslim identity of the informants. Rather than expanding the network, religious-capital operates as a part of cultural capital to shape community characteristics by defining the consumption ideology that the community gather around.

Considering the literature, religious-capital is expected to be valuable in the religious field, as the Instagram-capital has been in the Instagram field (Holt,1998). However, I observe that religious-capital is also valuable in the Instagram field as a form of symbolic capital. By providing legitimacy for the actions and prestige for the informants, religious-capital becomes valuable outside its field. The high co-occurrence of virtue narrative and fashion guide identity project supports this argument. Thus, although religious-capital addresses virtuous Muslim identity directly, it also supports other identity projects as symbolic capital. Figure 34 shows how the informant as an SMI legitimizes her call for consumption by bundling it with fasting. She nips the possible questions and inappropriateness judgments in the bud through associating fasting with

shopping in spare time by addressing sleeping late for sahoor. Besides, by addressing the common lifestyle (fasting during Ramadan) in the community through religious-capital, the informant knows that she can draw more attention to her post and the brand. Thus, she believes that this association and timing are components of an effective marketing strategy for this community.



"Are you one of those people who are awake until suhoor - meal before dawn during ramadan to start fasting-?! We are always up until sahoor Since we are awake, let's swipe up the page and don't miss the opportunity " At the bottom, by referring to the announcement of sahoor: " Now it is shopping time!"

Figure 34. Data exemplar for religious-capital

Last but not least, the narrated experiences under the network frame address social capital. By creating synergy with brands and among community members, the informants signal their wide network which allows them to reach a larger audience. The family members into the community network, the informants expand their influence domain. Figure 35 shows how the informant refers to her husband as an expert on men's fashion. Second, the informants show how they value and prioritize the family institution by disclosing their private life. Through this disclosure and information sharing, the informants invest in the quality of their social capital (Stone, 2001). They strengthen their

existing social capital by creating authentic relationships. Through the authenticity and proximity that the narrated experience of family provides, the commercial activities of the informants are conveyed as sincere suggestions (see Figure 35). Thus, the informant expands her sphere of influence subtly and creates an additional source of economic capital for her family. Now, both the informant's and her husband's accounts can attract companies for brand co-operations which allow them to convert their social capital into economic capital.

QB entitled as what do you want from me to link?: "Hello, can you share your advice on men's clothing 🤗" The informant: " I leave the stage to @-account of her husband-, he is better than me in this topic <3"

Figure 35. Family as a narrated experience in social capital

Under both synergy and family narrated experiences, social capital supports various identity projects with different missions. The narrated experience of family supports motherhood and normative family membership identities in creating authentic relationships in the community. The narrated experience of synergy is utilized in indicating community network for community membership identity. Also, fashion guide,

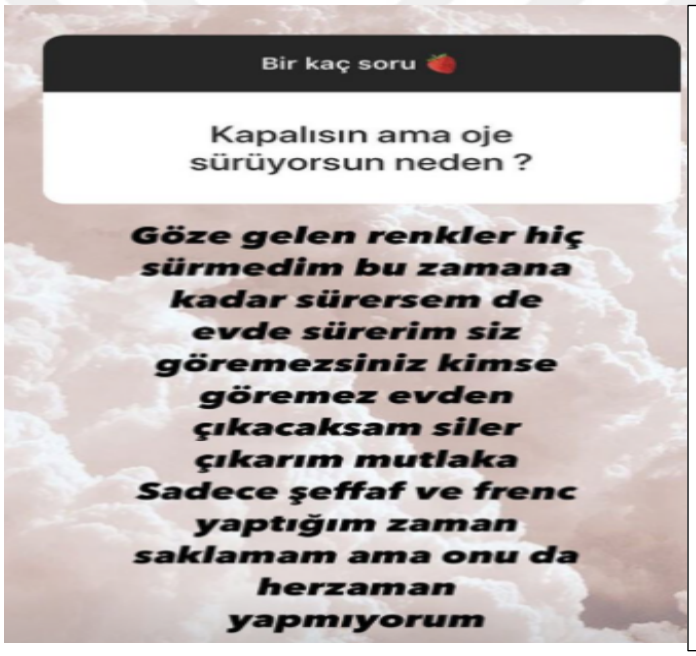
entrepreneur, and SMI identities draw from synergy to promote brands and products. Last but not least, as I have discussed, investing in the quality of social capital facilitate the conversion of social capital to economic capital for the informants.

4.2.1 Strategic use of capitals for conflict management

In this section, I will discuss the inner tensions of the community and how they are managed by strategic use of capital forms. The previous discussion presents that identity projects are not isolated but intersecting. Some of them have similar purposes, for instance an Instagrammer can address her outfit under both fashion guidance and SMI identities. Both of these identity projects are communicated by making consumption suggestions, brand co-operations, and emphasizing Instagrammer-follower engagement. Also, they have similar co-occurrence patterns with the narrated experiences and rely heavily on the Instagram-capital. Thus, the intersection of these identity projects seems natural and causes no conflict in the community. However, some co-occurrences create tensions by stimulating the heterogeneities in the community (Thomas et al., 2013).

Virtuous Muslim is the central identity project that defines the context of this study. Without this identity project, the online consumption community will lose its main focus of modest fashion and certain community characteristics. Nevertheless, virtuous Muslim identity creates tensions in the community when it intersects with other identity projects. First, by intersecting with fashion guidance, it reminds the difference of opinion on modesty norms in fashion and directs followers to question informants' consumptions and suggestions. Figure 36 below illustrates how followers question the appropriateness of nail polish to Islam. However, drawing from religious-capital, the informants find the way to reconcile their virtuous Muslim identity with their fashion guide personality. The long

defense of the informant in Figure 36 elaborates on the legitimization of nail polish. She gives several reasons to defend her action and prove her action is religiously appropriate. Thereby, religious-capital becomes the mediator capital in resolving this tension. The role of religious-capital here exemplifies another case where religious-capital functions as a symbolic capital apart from its field. By providing legitimacy and reliability in the fashion field, religious-capital becomes valuable also in the fashion field.



QB entitled as a few question 🍓: " You are veiled but also apply nail polish, why?" The informant: "I have never use salient colors up to this point. If I ever do, I will apply it at home so nobody can see it. If I leave the house, I will definetely remove it. I will only not hide it when it is transparent and french which happens rarely"

Figure 36. Reconciling virtuous Muslim and fashion guidance identity projects

The second tension is between the virtuous Muslim and SMI identity projects. As I have discusses, they have different priorities and cherish diverse values. SMIs stress the value of an investment in authentic and close relationships in the absence of physical touch. They keep their followers close by sharing their private lives, disclosing personal information and relationships (AlRabiah, Marder, & Marshall, 2020; Varnalı & Toker, 2015). The capital utilization for SMI identity project supports this argument. The

narrative of SMI identity relies on the Instagram-capital which is derived from the engagement frame. Narrated experiences like self-disclosure and companionship under the Instagram-capital address how the informants as SMIs share their private life to create intimacy with their followers. On the other hand, the virtuous Muslim identity emphasizes modesty norms by reminding that Muslim women should dress and act in accordance with Islamic doctrine. As the studies in the modest fashion literature (Bucar, 2016; Lewis, 2013; Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010) discuss, the modest lifestyle requires Muslim women to be covered in the public realm and avoid drawing attention. The further analysis of the data shows that the intersection of these two identity projects creates high tensions in the community.

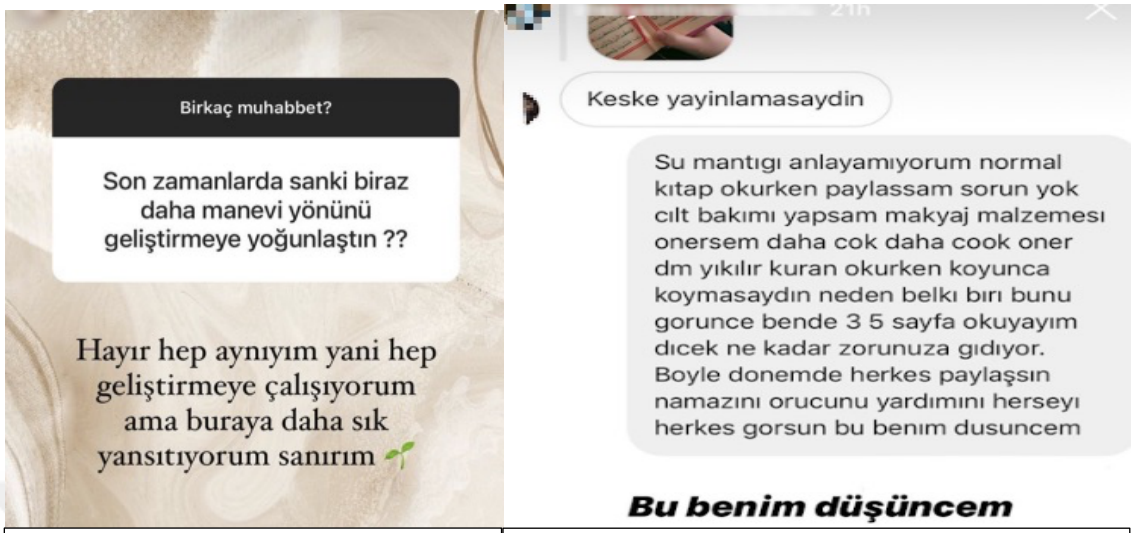
Although posts and stories about private life are demanded from the informants, some members have certain concerns and react negatively to self-disclosure (Kavakçı & Kraeplin, 2017). These negative reactions are observed in the comment sections of the posts that the informants share their private relationships. For instance, a photo that the informant and her husband-to-be are kissing on the cheek got the following comments: "Only your bedroom is missing!", "he is only yours, why do you show him to strangers", "so, you were kissing without being married". Those comments indicate that the community has difference of opinion on the self-disclosure of covered Muslim women's private lives.

In contrary to the previous tension, the informants reconcile virtuous Muslim and SMI identity projects by legitimizing self-disclosure. Drawing from the Instagram-capital, the informants utilize self-disclosure to invite people to be better Muslims. The informants change the connotation of self-disclosure from immodesty to facilitator of piety in the community (see Figure 20). As Mormon church members demythologizes

certain consumption taboos such as drinking coffee and wearing strapless dresses (McAlexander et al., 2014) and indie consumers demythologize the negative myths about hipster narrative (Arsel & Thompson, 2011), the Instagrammers of modest fashion consumption community demythologize the immodesty myth of self-disclosure by pushing it into a grey area. The political community in Scotland from Black and Veloutsou's (2017) article used a similar strategy to gather diversified ethnicities and nations under a roof of comprehensive Scottishness identity. They redefined and extended the meaning of Scottishness to embrace the whole community.

Data exemplars in Figure 37 demonstrate how the informants try to alter the meaning of self-disclosure in the community. They disclose their private spiritual side more often and emphasis the idea that self-disclosure of religion is as legit and necessary as self-disclosure of SMIs' lifestyle on Instagram. Thereby, they pave the way to self-disclose their life and create close relationships with the community, without being accused with immodesty. By contextualizing self-disclosure separately for two conflicting identity projects, the informants utilize the Instagram-capital in managing the community tension.

This is also a good example of the detailed analysis that the systematic inductive approach provides. As the communications of identity projects had been addressed over narrated experiences, conflicting features of identity projects were also discussed through this fragmented analysis. Such an approach allowed me to examine the function of Instagram-capital in conflict management without missing the fact that self-disclosure is the reason for this conflict. Thus, what resolves the conflict between these identity projects is essentially the management of the self-disclosure narrative.



(a) QB entitled as small talk?: "It seems you have been concentrating on improving your spirituality recently??" The informant: "I am always the same, I mean I always try to improve it but I guess I reflect it here more often than not 🌱."	(b) A follower replied to the story of the informant reading Quran: " I wish you did not share it." The informant: " I don't understand this logic, it is okay if I share myself read a normal book, apply skin care products, or suggest make-up products. You even send me DMs wanting more. When I share myself reading Quran, you say "no share". Why? Maybe someone will see it and be motivated to read 3-5 pages. I think during these periods, everyone should share their prayer, fasting, welfare activities, everything that can motivate others." Bold caption: "It is my opinion."

Figure 37. The change in the meaning of self-disclosure

4.3 Summary of findings and highlights from the discussion

This chapter addressed the research questions of "how capital forms are utilized to communicate different identity projects" and "how online consumption community conflicts can be managed through capital forms" under two separate sections. Firstly, seven identity projects were examined by referring to their interactions and relationships with the narrated experiences in the Instagram posts. Pie graphs and data exemplars provide evidence for the analysis throughout the chapter. By analyzing the co- occurrences between identity projects and narrated experiences in the posts, how capital forms communicate identity projects was discussed over narrated experiences. Also, the reasons

behind inner community conflicts were examined through the interaction analysis of identity projects. The analysis on communication of identity projects reveals that narrated experiences can assume different roles with different identity projects. For instance, the narrated experience of synergy addresses the collaborative and interactive network of community members when it co-occurs with the community member identity project. On the other hand, synergy narrative refers to brand sponsorships and co- operations when it co-occurs with fashion guidance identity project.

Secondly, drawing from the MTA and systematic inductive approach, the data structure has been formed. Twelve narrated experiences were grouped under five frames according to their common implications and relationships. These five frames addressed five forms of capital, which have been discussed as resources to narrate and communicate identity projects on Instagram. Drawing from the narrated experiences co- occurred with identity projects, which capital forms stick to certain identity projects as their main indicators have been examined. Besides, the interaction analysis of identity projects provided insight in the reasons for inner tensions into the consumption community.

The analysis revealed that virtuous Muslim identity project creates tensions when it intersects with fashion guidance and SMI identities by reminding the heterogeneities in the community. First, how the difference of opinion on modesty norms bring informants under suspicion regarding their adherence to religion has been discussed. The analysis on capital forms suggested that the informants manage this tension by utilizing religious-capital outside the religion field. Although Arsel and Thompson (2011) suggested the opposite, the informants of this study utilize religious-capital as symbolic capital in fashion field. Legitimization and reliability provided by religious- capital in the fashion field reconciled fashion guide and the virtuous Muslim identity projects. In line with the

consumption habits of the community, this analysis supports the argument of McAlexander et al. (2014) that religion and consumption are two interwoven fields.

Second, how the narrated experience of self-disclosure under the Instagram-capital was managed strategically in resolving community tension has been analyzed. By altering the connotation of self-disclosure from immodesty to facilitator of religiosity, the informants legitimized the co-occurrence of SMI and virtuous Muslim identity projects. The tension between self-disclosure and modesty was managed by pushing self-disclosure into a modest area.

Contrary to the existing studies, I do not observe solid examples regarding the useful contribution of community conflicts to community culture (Narvanen et al., 2013; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). However, in line with Husemann et al. (2015), this study supports that narrow sense communities require subtle and collective ways to manage community tensions. As it has been observed in the data exemplar from pride week in Figure 29, the communities with moral sensitivities like religion necessitate particular attention in conflict management to preserve community cohesion.

The conflict management analysis suggested that the consumption ideology of the community can be both the reason and the answer to inner tensions. Virtuous Muslim as the central identity project and religious-capital as the religion field-specific capital define the consumption ideology of the community as modest fashion. Although the virtuous Muslim identity project initiates community conflicts when it intersects with certain identities, religious-capital and modest connotation of self-disclosure narrative in the Instagram-capital reconcile it with other identity projects. Thus, it is critical and necessary to consider unifying features of the religious consumption ideology while developing conflict culture in these communities.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusions and theoretical contributions

This dissertation contributes to different domains of marketing literature streams. First, this study addresses the research gap in consumer identity project literature by scrutinizing previous works related to identity projects in consumption communities and communication of identity projects in social media narratives through capital forms. The thorough literature review reveals that although capital forms are studied as the marketplace resources to shape consumer identity projects (Arsel & Thompson, 2011; Üstüner & Thompson, 2012), the strategic utilization of capitals in communicating identity projects remains understudied. The current study aimed to address this gap in the literature by associating the studies under capital forms in the online environment (Levina & Arriaga, 2014; McQuarrie et al., 2013) and identity projects found in social media narratives (Heizmann & Liu, 2020; Page, 2012).

Second, by analyzing this research gap through the discussion of dynamics, heterogeneities, and conflicts in the online consumption community, this study aimed to contribute to the emerging literature on conflict management in consumption communities (de Valck, 2007; Hemetsberger, 2006; Husemann et al. 2015; Thomas et al., 2013). This thesis addresses the future research suggestion of Husemann et al. (2015) about an analysis of the communal dynamics and conflicts in consumption communities with moral sensitivities. By emphasizing the role that social media narratives can assume in conflict management, this study provides valuable insights into the cherished values,

heterogeneities, and conflict culture in communities that gather around religious consumption ideology.

Third, the research context of the modest fashion online consumption community on Instagram has been chosen to address a related research gap in the modest fashion literature. Most of the prior studies on modest fashion focus on how covered Muslim women are stigmatized and hence try to challenge the stereotypes in areas like fashion (Sandıkçı & Ger, 2010), sports (Ahmad & Thorpe, 2020), and social media platforms (Pennington, 2018; Piela, 2010). However, the communal dynamics of covered Muslim women regarding the modest fashion and participation in the digital arena remain understudied. Thus, community dynamics and conflict management in modest fashion online consumption community is a relevant context to analyze how capital forms are utilized in communicating identity projects and resolving community tensions.

The results of this study show that religious consumption ideology can be both the reason and solution of community conflicts. As the community conflicts were discussed over opposing identity projects of the community Instagrammers, virtuous Muslim identity was found central and specific to the modest fashion online consumption community. The results suggest that virtuous Muslim identity creates community conflicts by reminding the heterogeneities in the community regarding modesty norms and presentation of covered Muslim women on digital platforms. The management of these conflicts was analyzed over the reconciliation of virtuous Muslim identity with fashion guidance and SMI identities through capital forms. Instagrammers as the community moderators reconcile these identity projects through the utilization of the religious-capital as symbolic capital in the fashion field and changing the immodest connotation of self-disclosure by pushing it into a modest area. Consequently, the study reveals that capital

forms are utilized not only in the communication of identity projects but also in the reconciliation of conflicting identity projects to manage community tensions.

5.2 Suggestions for future researches and limitations

The study examines the identity projects and capital utilization in the community through social media narratives created by the community Instagrammers. Although the aim is to investigate the online consumption community's dynamics, the analysis was focused on one-sided communication. In other words, the insight from the interaction among community members and reactions coming from followers to Instagrammers remained limited. Future studies can elaborate their analysis by emphasizing mutual communications. Analyzing followers' interactions under comments sections with textual analysis can support the discussion of community characteristics. Also, quantitative analysis on informants' posts regarding the number of likes or comments can help future researchers to understand which type of posts draw more attention from the community members. Moreover, although the current research examines the conflict management strategies of Instagrammers as community moderators, conflict culture in consumption communities with moral sensitivities requires more intensive and comprehensive analysis by future studies.

Furthermore, I have a personal interaction with neither the informants nor the followers. Although netnography is a useful data collection methodology to reach updated and massive data, especially during the pandemic period, personal interviews and focus groups can support this analysis by providing personal insights. Even though this study discusses the interactions among identity projects, research methodologies like personal interviews and focus groups can provide a detailed intersectionality analysis (Gopaldas &

Fischer, 2012) by enriching the data through emotions and challenges that the sample Instagrammers experience.

This study has been conducted in a limited time. Although the utilizations of field-specific capitals have been examined, the discussion has felt behind the analysis on the generation and accumulation of these capitals. McAlexander et al. (2014) highlighted that the reasons behind the accumulation of field-specific capitals can be a process of building new identities. They exemplified this phenomenon with the closeted gays in Kates' (2002) research who try to build new openly gay identities. Future studies can put emphasis on the observation of a similar period of change with longitudinal research to understand the reasons behind field-specific capital accumulation.

Even though 2020 was a year of pandemic, lockdowns, and isolation; the data collection progressed smoothly. By means of the flexibility that netnography provides, the study reached a detailed and mass amount of data within a limited time and limited physical access. The only limitation regarding the data collection process was the field research. The shopping mall of Modest-anonym brand in Istanbul that addresses directly modest Muslim women was planned to be visited. If pandemic allowed this visit, the field observations would enrich the analysis and support the findings from social media data. The studies which will be conducted in after-pandemic period can consider field visit as a valuable part of the data collection process.

APPENDIX

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 09/11/2020-212

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı	:	8
Toplantı Tarihi	:	30/10/2020
Toplantı Saati	:	13:00
Toplantı Yeri	:	Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar	:	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen, Prof. Dr. Özlem Hesapçı Karaca, Prof. Dr. Ebru Kaya, Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra Seggie
Bulunmayanlar	:	

Ece Başkol
İşletme

Sayın Araştırmacı,

"Examining Religious Identity and Consumption Through Social Media Influencers" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığınız SBB-EAK 2020/40 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 30 Ekim 2020 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. COVID-19 önlemleri kapsamında kurul üyelerinden ıslak imza alınamadığı için bu onam mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Fatma Nevra Seggie tarafından bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
ÜYE

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr.Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
Raportör

SOBETİK 8 30/10/2020

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